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THE
Sieur de
CHARRON's
Three Books of
WISEDOM
Made English

London Printed for Mat.
Gillyflower, M. Bentley, H. Bon-
wick, J. Tonson, W. Freeman
T. Goodwin, M. Wotton, G.
Walthoe, F. Manshine and
R. Parker.
OF

W I S D O M.

THREE BOOKS.

Written Originally in French,

BY THE

Pierre Sieur de CHARRON.

With an Account of the Author.

Made English

By GEORGE STANHOPE, D.D.

Dean of Canterbury, and Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty.


L O N D O N,

Printed for R. Bonwick, J. Tonson, W. Freeman, Tim. Goodwin,
R. Parker, and R. Smith. 1707.
Pickering
7977
English
H. A. L.
11-24-1922
gen.
TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM
Lord DARTMOUTH.

My Lord,

IT is now near Two Years, since I was desired to employ some of my leisure Hours in considering this Book, and putting it into a Condition of becoming somewhat more useful and acceptable, than (it may without any suspicion of Vanity be said) the former Translation could pretend to be. A little Time spent in the Perusal satisfy’d me, that there was Matter in it not unworthy my Pains, and such as it was great Pity Men should want the Knowledge of, who understand not the Original. And as
The Epistle Dedicatory.

unreasonable did it seem, that others should be discouraged from enquiring into this Author, by the Misfortunes which naturally attend even the best Undertakings of this Nature, when Time, and Improvements of Language have given another Turn to Writing, and created a Disrelish for every thing, which is not suitable to the Genius of the present Age.

The greatest Difficulty which lay upon me, was that of finding Opportunities, in the midst of those more important Cares of my Profession, which neither This, nor any other Attempt or Consideration, however commendable or beneficial in it self, must prevail with me to neglect. But here I found even my Duty assisting; for That requiring part of my Attendance in a Place of somewhat more Retirement and Ease than where Your Lordship's Father was pleased to fix me, I made use of those Advantages to this purpose, and finished much the greatest part of the following Book,
The Epistle Dedicatory.

Book, in a way of Diversion, as it were, and unbending from severer Studies, and a more Laborious Station.

The particular Liberty taken by this Author, is a Qualification, which the present Generation, at least in our Parts of the World, will certainly be fond of. But it happened to have the same Effect upon Him sometimes, which we are not much to wonder if we find very frequent in those of less Judgment; and that is, over-straining Points of Dispute, by affecting to lay all, which either the Case will bear, or which any other Person hath said before. This gave Occasion for my interposing sometimes with an Advertisement; and that I hope in such a manner, as may not have injur'd the Author, while it designs the Benefit and Security of my Reader. One thing only I cannot forbear adding upon this Occasion, that in the midst of all his Free-Thinking, he constantly expresses a due and absolute Deference for Revelation and Divine Truths. And This
The Epistle Dedicatory.

Indeed was by no means the Effect of his Profession, but of his Judgment; for Your Lordship is too discerning, not to know, that, as a little and superficial Knowledge in Physick makes Men Quacks, so it is not the Abundance, but the Defect of Reason and good Sense, which makes them Infidels and Scepticks in Religion.

How little the Sieur de Charron suffer'd his Thoughts to be under the Bondage of any private Respects, will be sufficiently evident to any considering Reader, from sundry Instances. Particularly from what he hath deliver'd upon the Subject of Government, in his Third Book: In which, tho' some Moot Points may seem a little uncouth to Us of this Nation, yet if we reflect upon the Constitution, under which he liv'd, we shall rather have occasion to wonder at his admitting so few reserv'd Cases, than mentioning so many. Besides, that even those mention'd would be of no mighty ill Consequence, if always confin'd to those Condi-
The Epistle Dedicatory.

Conditions, and Occasions, which He hath temper'd and restrain'd them with. But, passing from the Mysteries of State, and pressing unusual Emergencies, to the Ordinary Measures of a Publick Administration, there is somewhat of an Air so full of Ingenuity, and such regard had to the Great Ends for which Government was instituted, as a very gentle Application would think an Encomium upon the English Constitution, and a sort of Prophetick Satyr upon the late Oppressions of a People to whom he stood nearly related.

Upon the whole Matter (My Lord) I have Reason to hope, This may prove not only a Book of Good Entertainment, but Great Benefit, to Persons who have the Capacity, and will give themselves the Pains, to consider it. Were it not so, I should not have thought it worth my Trouble; and should yet much less have presumed to make an Offer of it to Your Lordship. I can with good Confidence say, that no Man is better qualified to be
The Epistle Dedicatory.

be a Master of the Subject it treats of. The particular and intimate Knowledge of Your Abilities, which my being Honour'd with the Care of Your Lordship at the University gave me, would bear me out in delivering more upon this Occasion, than Your Modesty will permit. And indeed the General Opinion of all that have the Honour of Your Lordship's Acquaintance, saves You that Decency, and hath prevented me in this Point. The Manly Sense, and Wonderful Penetration, which appear'd very early in You, have given me many pleasing Reflections; and I am sure are Foundation sufficient for making Your Lordship a Greater Ornament and Honour to Your Family, than even that Nobility which You have by Descent.

But I must beg leave (My Lord) to put you in mind, that besides Your Own, Your Lordship hath a mighty Stock of Honour and Esteem to set out upon, deriv'd from the Memory of a Father, than whom
The Epistle Dedicatory.

whom Few, if Any, of his Condition, are more universally loved and admir'd. I say, loved; My Lord, for This, as a more rare, so is it a more valuable Tribute, than that of Honour, to Persons of Quality, and in Great Offices. For where so much is paid to the Station, we can make very little Judgment, what is sincere, and what is the Effect of Formality, or Fear, or Interest. But in His Lordship's Case there was something so Distinguishing, in all the Respects paid to Him, as plainly shew'd a particular Regard to his Person, and that the outward Testimonies were not Things of Course, but that he had engag'd the very Hearts of Those who paid them.

I will not so far seem to distrust Your Lordship's Acceptance of this Address, as to make the least Apology for it. You will interpret it, I doubt not, as a Testimony of the Honour I have for You, and a Desire to publish my having it, to the World: And Your Lordship will do me the Justice
The Epistle Dedicatory.

Justice too to believe, that were it in my Power to give any other Evidence of This, than such an open Declaration; nothing should be wanting on my Part, which might prove the Sincerity of those Professions I am Proud to make, of being,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most Obedient, and

Most Devoted Servant,

Lewisham, 
May 6. 1697.

Geo. Stanhope.
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OF
OF

W I S D O M.

Three BOOKS.

The Author's Preface.

Wherein the Title, the Subject Matter, the Design, and the Method of this Treatise are explained.

Before we enter upon the Book itself, it is requisite the Reader should be well informed what he is to understand by that Wisdom which is the Name, the Subject, and the End of it; and after what manner it is intended to be treated of in the following Sheets.

Now every One at the very first hearing understands by Wisdom some particular and uncommon Accomplishment, whereby a Man is distinguished and set above the Vulgar, by a greater Ability, and more masterly Readiness, whether in Good or Evil. For tho' there be not the same Propriety indeed in the Expression, a
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The P R E F A C E.

nour. With regard to these it degenerates into Avarice, Luxury, or Ambition; according to St. John's Division of it, All that is in the World is the Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eyes, and the Pride of Life. From whence St. James hath given it those scandalous Characters of Earthly, Sensual, Devilish. Now This is what both Philosophy and Divinity take upon them to reprove, and endeavour to suppress and reform. They pronounce it to be no better than Folly and Madness, and so accounted in the sight of God. And accordingly you will find no mention made of This in the following Treatise of Wisdom, except it be, to disallow, and to condemn it.

The Divine, and Higheft of these Three sorts is treated of by Philosophy and Religion, after a manner somewhat different from each other. As for what the Common and Vulgar sort of People usually say, or are capable of saying upon this Occasion, I omit it all, as too mean and low to have any place in our Consideration, and rather a Profanation of the Subject, than otherwise. Philosophers represent it as a Matter wholly Speculative, the Knowledge of First Principles, and the Hidden Causes of Things; and lastly, the Higheft and Supreme Cause, GOD Himself; which, with other abstracted Notions, is the proper Business of Metaphysics in particular. This resides entirely in the Understanding, and is its chief Happiness and Perfection; 'tis the first and most sublime of all the Intellectual Virtues and Excellencies, which are capable of subsisting without Probity, or Aiton,
The Preface.

or any Moral Virtue. Divines on the contrary do not so confine it to Speculation, as not to extend it to Practice too; for they make it the Knowledge of things pertaining to God, such as should enable us to form a Judgment of Matters to regulate our Lives and Actions by: And this they tell you is of Two Sorts; The One acquired by Study and Industry, not much unlike what I mention'd to be the Science intended by Philosophers; The Other infused, and coming from above; This is the First of those, (which are sometimes termed the Seven) Gifts of the Spirit, with regard whereunto he is styled The Spirit of Wisdom; such as rests only upon the Righteous, and the Pure; and, as the Book of Wisdom truly observes, will not enter into a malicious Soul, nor dwell in the Body that is subject unto Sin, This is what the present Treatise is not intended for neither; but is the Subject of my First Truth and those other Works of mine, which, are properly Treatises of Divinity, and Religious Discourses.

From hence my Reader easily perceives that Humane Wisdom is the real Title, and Subject of the following Book; of which it is fit some brief Description should here be premised, which may stand for the Argument, or Summary Account of the whole Work. Now, the Common Accounts of this Matter, as they are various and very distant from one another, so are they all narrow and imperfect. The vulgar and most general Notion of it, amounts to no more than Circumspection, Address, and Prudent Behavi-
The PREFACE.

our in Business and Conversation: This indeed is like the Vulgar and a Thought worthy of Them; who place all Excellence in Action, and Shew, and outward Advantages; and consider no good Quality any farther, than as it is observ'd and admir'd. They are entirely devoted to Eyes and Ears; the Internal Motions of the Mind are of little or no Consequence with this sort of Men; and therefore, in their Acceptation of the Matter, Wisdom may subsist without either Piety or Probity; for all they require from it is a good Outside, and Appearance, and such Easiness of Conduct and Agreeable Management, as shall approve a Man's Discretion and his Parts. Others again mistake it for a Roughness and Singularity of Temper and Behaviour; a particular Stiffness of Fashion, Obstinacy in Opinions, Affected Expressions, and a Way of Living out of the Common Road. And therefore those that value themselves upon these Qualities they call Philosophers, when in truth, to return a little of their own Jargon back again upon them, They are nothing better than conceited Humourists, Fantastical and Capricious Coxcombs. This now, according to the Scheme and Measures pursued in this Book, is, in plain English, Extravagance and Folly. The Nature then of this Wisdom must be learn'd from some other Hand; that is, from Philosophers and Divines, who have both explain'd and treated of this Matter in their Moral Tracts. The Former handle it as their proper Business. For they consider Men as they are by Nature, and with regard to practice; But the Latter
The PREFACE.

rise higher, and aspire to infused and supernatural Graces, such as are Speculative and more than Humane; that is, Divine Wisdom, and with regard to Faith. Hence it comes to pass, that the Former is more extensive and large, as undertaking not only to direct private, but publick Duties, Societies as well as single Persons are instructed by it; Whatever can be necessary or advantageous to Families, Communities, Common-Wealths and Kingdoms, all falls within its Compass and Jurisdiction. Divinity on the Other Hand is more silent and sparing upon these Accounts, and Aims chiefly at the Eternal Happiness and Salvation of particular Persons. Besides, The Manner and Air of their Treatises is very different; That of Philosophy more free, and easy, and entertaining; that of Divinity, more plain, and authoritative, and with less Pains to recommend it self to Mens Fancies and Palates. Philosophy therefore, which is the Elder of the Two, as Nature must have been antecedent to our Supernatural Assurances, tries to insinuate it self and win, Mens Favour,

* So as to join Instruction with Delight, Profit with Pleasure — Lord Roscommon.

And therefore she dresses and adorns her self with Discourses, Arguments, Turns of Wit and Flights of Fancy; Apt Examples, and moving

*Simul & Jucunda & idonea dicere vire.
Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo—— Horat.
The P R E F A C E.

Similitudes. Ingenious Expressions, useful Apo-
theqms, and all the Graces of Art and Elo-
quence. Divinity comes in a commanding Strain,
and thinks it a Diminution of her Majesty to
descend to such popular and mean Methods.
And accordingly there wants a great deal of that
Freedom and Gaiety, and (if I may so say )
Cheerfulness and Good Humour in this, which
you are to expect in Philosophy, which yet must
be so temper'd, as not to degenerate into Trifle
and Meaneness, but still continue to be truly Gene-
rous and Brave. It must be allow'd, that Phi-
losophers have acquitted themselves admirably
well in this particular; not only in the Instruc-
tive, but the Moving and Persuasive Part;
setting off all their Virtues to the best Advan-
tage, and taking care, that all the Heroick Ex-
cellence of them shall appear in its just Dignity
and Proportions. Under which Title of Phi-
losophers, I comprehend not only such as the
World have thought fit to dignify with the
Fame of Wisdom, as Thales, Solon, and those
that were of the same Strain, about the time
of Cyrus, Ctesibus, and Pisistratus; Nor them
only of the next in Succession, who taught and
profess'd Wisdom publickly, as Pythagoras, So-
crates, Plato, Aristotle, Aristippus, Zeno, An-
tisthenes; who were all of them Heads and
Masters in their Art; nor their Disciples and
Followers, who afterwards divided into particu-
lar sects; but I include likewise all those great
Men who render'd themselves exemplary for Vir-

tue and Wisdom, as Phocion, Aristides, Peri-
cles, Alexander, (whom Plutarch dignifies with
the
The P R E F A C E.

the Character of Philosopher as well as King) Epaminondas, and the rest of the Brave Greeks. The Fabricii, Fabrii, Camilli, the Cato's, the Torquati, Reguli, Lelli, and Scipio's, among the Romans, most of them Military Men and Commanders of Armies.

Upon this Account, though I do not refuse or disregard the Authorities of Divines, yet I have more frequent recourse to those of Humanists and Philosophers in the following Treatise. Had I design'd to prepare Men for a Cloister, or a Life of such Perfection, as aspires above the Precepts, and aims at the Perfection of Evangelical Counsels, then indeed my Subject would have obliged me to keep close to those Authors: But since I am training a Man up for the World, and forming him for Business and mix'd Conversation, Humane, and not Divine Wisdom, is the proper Accomplishment for me to recommend, and the Method of answering my Pur-

pose.

Speaking therefore in general Terms, and according to the Nature of the Thing, We must, in Agreement with Philosophers and Divines, acknowledge, that this Humane Wisdom consists in a Rectitude of the Man, when every part within and without, his Thoughts, and Words, and Actions, and every Motion is Graceful and Noble, and what is for the Honour of his Na-
ture. For this is the Excellence of a Man, confeder'd as a Man; so that, as we call That Piece of Workmanship Perfect, which hath all its Parts entire, and is finish'd according to the nicest Rules of Art: He is in like manner said to
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to be a wise Man who understands upon all Occasions how to shew himself a Man, by acting in perfect Conformity to the Fundamental and First Rules of Humane Nature; Or, to speak more particularly, He that is well acquainted with himself in particular, and Mankind in general; that preserves himself from all the Vices, the Errors, the Passions, the Defects incident to him, as well from the inward Causes of his own Mind; as the outward, proceeding from Custom and Common Opinion; that asserts the Native Freedom of his Mind, and hath a large universal Soul; that considers and judges every Thing, without enslaving himself to any; that directs all his Aims and Actions so as that they shall agree with Nature, that is, Pure, uncorrupted Reason, the Primitive Law and Light inspired by God, and which shines still in every Breast; The Model by which the wise Man squares his own private Judgment. That in his outward Behaviour complies with the Laws, and Customs, and Ceremonies of the Country where he dwells; that demeans himself toward others with Discretion and Prudence; is always firm and consistent with himself, pleased and contented; without any discomposure of Mind expecting and entertaining any Accident whatsoever, and especially Death, the last and most terrible of them all. All these Strokes or Lines, which go to the making up this Idea, may be reduced to Four, that are the principal and most commanding of all the rest. The Knowledge of a Man's self; Free and Generous Largeness of Mind; the acting in Conformity with Nature (which
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(which is of an Extent so large as when rightly understood, to be singly and by itself a Rule sufficient) and true Content and evenness of Temper. For these are Qualifications which never meet, except only in the wise Man. He that is defective in any one of them, does not come up to the Character. He that either mistakes his own Condition, or whose Mind is in any sort of Bondage either to his own Passions, or to the Common Vogue; that is partial, and tied up to any particular Notions, cramps up his Thoughts, and cuts himself out from his Native Right of examining, and judging every Thing. He that lives in Contradiction to Nature (that is, Right Reason) upon what Pretense soever he forsake it; whether be be seduced by Passion, or Opinion; He that trips and staggers through Trouble, or Terror, or Discontent; and lives in dread of Death; This Man is not, cannot be Wise. Thus you have in little the Piece, which this following Treatise designs to draw in its full Proportions. Particularly the Second Book, which consists of the General Rules, and a Description of Wisdom in the gross; and this indeed is more properly mine, than either of the others; so peculiarly such, and so full to my purpose, that I once had Thoughts of sending it into the World alone. And what I have here described in Words, the Graver hath done with his Style, in the Frontispiece of this Book, which the Reader will find an Explanation of, immediately after this Preface.
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Now there are two Things, which principally conduce to this Wisdom, and help Men forwards in the Attainment of it. The First of These is a Good Constitution, or Temperament of the Brain, which makes us capable of such Improvements, as our own Care and Industry shall be able to acquire. Of how very great Consequence this is, and how far it falls under the Power of Men to contribute to it, you will find at large in the XIII. Chap. of the First, and the XIV. Chap. of the Third Book.

The Second is the Study of Philosophy; not all the Branches of it equally, but the Moral Part chiefly; yet so as that the Natural be not wholly neglected. For this is our Candle to enlighten, our Guide to direct, our Rule to chalk out the Way for us; It explains and gives us true Ideas of the Law of Nature, and by this means furnishes a Man for every part of his Duty as a Man; whether it concern him in Publick or in Private; in Company or Alone; as a Member of a Family, or of a State; it sweetens and takes off all the Beast in us, makes us tame, and gentle, and good-natured; fashions and polishes this rude Mass, and forms it into Wisdom. In short, This is the true Learning; all the rest a Man is capable of is mere Vanity in comparison; at least it is in no degree necessary, and in a much less degree useful. For here we learn both to Live and to Die well; and this is the whole we have to take Care of: It teaches a generous and noble Integrity, and Honest Prudence; and well advised Probity; such as raise a Man above little Ends, and
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low Respects, and put him upon Virtue from the more exalted and Divine Principles, for the sake of its own Excellence, and the Sense that this is what becomes him to do. But alas! This Second Help is almost as generally neglected, or as ill used as the former. For the generality of the World are so entirely taken up with worldly Wisdom, that they give themselves little or no Trouble about this which I am now mentioning.

Thus Nature and Industry must both do their Parts, in order to a Man's obtaining Wisdom. He who hath been kindly dealt with by Nature, and brings the Disposition to Wisdom with him, in a convenient Temper of Brain, will find good Actions and Manners grow very naturally from hence, and feel himself advance'd a great way, without his own Pains: And those Pains need not be very great, where he is not so much obliged to conquer, as to promote Nature, and moves with speed and inclination towards the Prize he aims at: But if the Temper on the other hand be amiss, All will be difficult and strained: Industry must then correct and supply, oppose and subdue Nature; as Socrates observed of himself, that by infinite Pains, and laborious Study of Philosophy, he had at last got the better of a very ill Disposition.

In proportion to these two Helps; there are on the other Hand two Hinderances, or powerful Countermines, which carry Men into Folly; the one natural, the other aquir'd. The Former proceeds from the Distemper of the Brain, whether that be Original or Accidental; by this means
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means it happens sometimes to be too soft, or too moist, or the Parts of which it consists are too heavy and gross; from whence proceed Dullness of Apprehension, Weakness of Judgment, Dark and confused Notions of Things, flat, and low, and little Thoughts, such as we generally find among the mean and illiterate sort of People: Or else in the other Extreme, It is too hot and dry, which disposes the Person to be furious and bold, extravagant and intractable in Vice. These are the two Extremes, like Fire and Water, Mercury and Lead, each of them improper for Wisdom, which requires a strong and vigorous, but at the same time a fix'd and steady Mind; and such as in the midst of all its Gallantry and Firmness, may be manageable, and yielding, and modest. This Second Defect however, of the two, seems the easier to be redrest; the First is hardly curable.

The acquir'd Obstruction proceeds either from Want of all Instruction, or from being Ill instructed; which, among other Things, consists very much in Strong Preposessions, wherewith the Mind was early tinctur'd, and so finds itself captivated to them, not able to get above these first Impressions, nor to think freely and impartially. Such Men we commonly say are Headstrong, and touch'd in the Crown, Whimsical, and wedded to their own Opinions: And, if to that Obsinacy of Humour, there happen to be added any degree of Learning, This blows them up into Presumption and Arrogance, puts Weapons into their Hand to defend their Prejudices, finishes them in Folly, and renders their Disease, incapable
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incapable of all Remedy. Natural Defects, and acquired Possessions, are indeed two very formidable Obstructions; and if Learning do not, as in truth it very seldom does, cure them, it adds to the Disease, and renders them impregnable. Which yet is by no means any Reflection upon Learning, or Dishonour to it, as some may be apt to imagine, but rather a Commendation, and to its Advantage.

Learning is, without all Controversie, a most excellent Weapon, but not fit to be trusted in every Hand; and he who knows not how to manage it, will find more hurt than good from it. For it makes sick and weak Minds giddy and conceited, perfects and polishes Fools, no less than it does those of good Capacities and Dispositions. A weak and unjudicious Man knows not how to use his Weapon; on the contrary it weakens and over-powers Him: He is oppressed with it, like a Stomach over-charged with more Meat than it can digest, or an Arm that is numb'd and born down by a Staff heavier than it can use. The strong and sound Mind, quite contrary, plays with it dexterously, shews a masterly Skill in the use of it, turns it to Advantage perpetually, forms his Judgment, rectifies his Will, pours in this Oil to make the Lamp of Nature burn stronger and brighter; is the wiser and better for that very thing which makes the other but the more exquisite and more insupportable Fool. But, all this while, Learning is not accountable for those ill Consequences, any more than Wine is guilty of all the Excesses committed by it, or a good Medicine
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ill apply'd, for the Patient's growing worse upon it. Now against these conceited half-witted Fellows, whom Nature hath disposed to Folly, and their own Acquisitions have perfecled in it, I de-
nounce formal War in my Book, as looking upon them to be irreconcilable Enemies to Wisdom; and the fitteft Title I can find to distinguish them by, is that of Pedants; for which I have the Author-
ity of several good Writers, who have used the Word in this Signification. It is confess'd, that in its Original Language and proper Sense, it is taken in a very good and commendable Meaning; but in latter Times, and other Languages, the great Abuse and Corruption of Learning hath given occafion for the fixing a very ill and con-
temptible one upon it; a vile, sordid, peevish, stiff way, that makes no other use of Learning, but for Gain and Oftentation, Arrogance and Presum-
ption; In short, all That which makes Learning despicable and derided, is signify'd by it. And so this, like Tyrant, Sophiffer, and the like, is one of thoſe Words which hath absolutely left its first Signification, and is now become a Mark of Reproach and Contempt.

It is very possible some Persons may be off-
fended at my using this Term, imagining that I design an Affront to thoſe who make Learning their Business and Profession. But they, I hope, will be satisfy'd with this ingenuous Declara-
tion, that I have not the leaft Intention of re-
feeting upon any Science or Condition of Men, particularly not the Gown, which I have the honour to wear, and to be one of thoſe who are called Men of Letters, my felf; my meaning
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is only to charge a certain Quality of Mind, a sort of Souls which I have been describing, of mean and low Capacity, but moderately provided by Nature, and afterwards depraved by Art and Study; Men possess'd, and obstinate, and fierce in certain Opinions; and these are to be found in all Robes, and all Conditions; as in truth there is a World of Mobb in the Pit and Boxes, as well as in the Upper-Gallery. Vulgum tam chlamydatos quam coronam voco. Let these Objectors but find me another Word as expressive of these Qualities, and I will most readily consent to the Exchange. In the mean while, after this Declaration, I think I may justly say, that whoever shall still be peevish, and have any resentment upon this account, does but injure Me, and accuse Himself. 'Tis true, there are other Terms of Opposition to the Wise Man; but not any, I think, so extensive and significant as This. The Vulgar, the Ignorant, and Others, which I frequently take occasion to make use of; These are opposed more directly, like Low to High, Weak to Strong, Common to Scarce, a Servant to his Master, Prophane to Sacred: Thus likewise Fool is set the most directly in opposition to Him; but then This is, as Crooked is opposed to Streight, Vain-glorious to Modest, Constraint to Freedom, Sickness to Health. But now Pedant includes all this, and a great deal more, in the Sense which I apply it to: For it gives us an Idea of a Man, not only different from, and contrary to a Wise Man, as the rest of them do, but a Fellow that hath the Impudence to
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to oppose and make Head against him; that comes armed Cap-a-pe, saucily challenges him to Combat, and talks magnificially and dogmatically. And, because in the midst of all this Vanity and fierce Arrogance, he hath some sort of Misgivings, and thinks himself discover'd; therefore he bears an inveterate Spight to this Person who checks his Follies; is eternally cenning, condemning, running him down; esteeming and behaving himself as the only Person who has any Right to that Character of Wisdom; tho' in reality he infinitely exceed all others in the exquisiteness and troublesomeness of his Folly.

Having thus given my Reader a short Account of the Argument and Design of the following Treatise, it may not be unreasonable to premise one Word or two concerning the Order and Method observed in it. He must know then, that it consists of Three Books. The First directs the Knowledge of a Man's Self, and the Condition of Human Nature in general. This is laid as a necessary Preparation to Wisdom; and largely illustrated under Five General Considerations, each of which is subdivided into several Particulars. The Second contains the principal Lines and general Rules of Wisdom. The Third depends to particular Instructions and Circumstances, branched out under the Four Cardinal Virtues, of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance; and here every Part and Relation of Human Life, hath some Provision made for the Duties it engages us in.
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I add too, that I write and treat my Subject, not after a Pedantick Manner, and in set Forms, according to the Methods of the Schools; nor with regular Arguments in Mood and Figure, nor with Pompous Eloquence, nor any other Artifice whatsoever. I am verily persuaded what Tully says is most true, That Wisdom, could she but render herself visible to Human Eyes, would charm our Souls, and ravish our Affections, and make every Creature strangely in Love with her. (Quae si oculis ipsius cenneretur, mirabiles excitaret amores sui.) And therefore she need only discover her native Beauties, and is too noble, too glorious, to use any of those little modest Garbs, to adorn and set her off; but this I do too with a Liberty which all, perhaps, will not be well pleased with. The Propositions and Truths are compact and close, but oftentimes very dry, and served up crude and coarsely, like Aphorisms, Overtures, or short Hints of Discourses.

Some Persons, I am sensible, may be apt to think me too bold with some commonly-received Opinions, and take offence that I pay them no greater Deference. To these Persons, and the Fault they find with my free way of expressing my Thoughts; I answer,

First, That Wisdom, when above the common Standard, hath a Right to this Liberty. It is the Privilege and Jurisdiction of a Wise Man, to call Masters before him, to examine and try them, to censure and condemn vulgar Notions, which indeed, for the most part, are no better than vulgar Errors. And who shall pretend to bar this
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this Privilege? Why should be who hath it, decline the Exercise of it, though be knows at the same time that this cannot be done, without incurring the Envy and Displeasure of a great part of the World?

Nay, Secondly, I cannot but think, the juster ground of Complaint lies on my side, and must therefore reprove Them for this foolish and feminine Niceness, as a thing that is infinitely too squeamish and tender to bear necessary Truth, or attain to sound Wisdom. The boldest Expressions and Truths are most becoming a truly great Soul; and a Man who hath at all study'd the World, will not think any thing strange or shocking. For this proceeds from Weakness of Judgment only, which ought to be corrected; and a Man must harden his Mind, and accustom himself to consider patiently, even the oddest and most uncouth Things, in order to giving them a fair Trial. There is nothing so extravagant, but the Mind of Man you see is capable of thinking it; and consequent nothing so extravagant, but that a Man may, and will do very properly and well, to give it the bearing. All the Care to be taken upon this Occasion is, that we be not wanting to our Selves; That while we endure to examine every thing, tho' never so generally exploded, yet we yield our Assent to nothing, but what is good and decent, tho' never so universally commended or receiv'd. For the Wise Man gives Instances of bis Courage and Greatness of Soul in both these Cases, whereas these wise Persons betray an Effe-

minate Weakness and Delicacy, and are manifestly defective in them both.

Thirdly,
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Thirdly, Whatever I propose here, it is only with an Intention to have it considered: I pretend not to oblige Others to think as I do; I offer my Thoughts, but I do not impose them. If they differ in Judgment from Me, it breeds no Quarrel; I should injure myself extremely if it did; because this is one of those detestable Qualities that concur to make up a Pedant. Passion is generally an Argument that Reason is defective; and He that is disposed to any Opinion upon One of these Motives, hath seldom any great Mixture of the Other with it. Wherefore then are these Gentlemen Angry? Is it because I am of another Opinion? Let them give me fair Quarter at least, for I am not in any Degree displeas'd with them for differing from me. Is it for saying some Things not agreeable to their Taste, and that of the World? Alas, 'Tis for this very Reason, that I mention them. I hope at least, there is nothing said without Reason for it; if they can relish it, and discern the Force of that Reason, 'tis well: If they have better for the other side of the Question, and such as will overthrow mine, I am always ready to hear it; and shall be both pleased and thankful for better Information. But let them not think to run me down with Numbers and Authority, for These have no Weight with me, except in Matters of Religion only; and there Authority single is Argument sufficient to induce my Belief of things, which my Reason cannot comprehend. This is its proper Empire, but out of these Territories Reason reigns and hath absolutely Jurisdiction, as
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St. Augustine himself hath very truly and very ingeniously acknowledged. 'Tis a most unjust Usurpation over our Native Rights and Liberties, the very Madness of Tyranny and Rage, to think to enslave us to All that either the Ancients have deliver'd, or the Generality of the World entertained: But especially the Latter, since the greater Part of Mankind know neither what they do, nor say. None but Fools will suffer themselves to be led by the Nose at this rate; and for such this Book I confess is not calculated; if it should meet with Popular Acceptance, I should suspect it did not answer its Character. The Ancient Authors ought indeed to be heard, and considered and duly respected; but to be captivated by them, is an Excess of Veneration they must not pretend to. For though a Man should bear all, and pay a Deference to some, yet he must assent and yield up his Mind to none, but Reason only. And indeed, put the Case we might, and would be governed by Authorities; yet I would be glad to know how this is possible to be done; or how we shall find such an Agreement among them, as shall enable us to say, Authority is on our side. Aristotle, for Instance, pretended to be the greatest Man that had then appeared in the World; he took upon him to arraign and condemn all that had gone before him; and yet he said and wrote more absurd Things, than all of Them put together had ever thought of. Nay, he is inconsistent with himself, and many times does not know what he would be at; of which his wild Notions, concerning The Soul of Man,
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The Eternity of the World, The Generation of Winds and Waters, &c. are undeniable Testi-
monies. And, in truth, a Man who considers the Matter will find, that to have all People of the
same Opinion would be infinitely more prodigious and amazing, than to find them otherwise. For
Diversity of Opinions is as comely and beauti-
ful in the Minds of Men, as Variety is in the
Works of Nature. That Wise as well Inspired
Apostle St. Paul allows a great Liberty, in these
Two Rules; Let every Man be fully per. Rom. xiv.
suaded in his own Mind; and Let no Man 3, 5.
condemn or despise others of a different Judg-
ment and Behaviour. And it is observable,
that these Directions are given in a Matter
much nicer and of greater consequence, than what
we now treat of. For they do not concern Acti-
on merely Human, and External, and civil
Compliances, in which I have declar'd, that my
Wise Man should not take upon him to be singu-
lar, nor think it any Diminution of his Cha-
racter, to submit and conform to Custom and Pre-
scription: But St. Paul's Rules are of a Reli-
gious Consideration; and relate to such Di-
Stinctions of Meats and Days, as Men thought
themselves bound upon a Principle of Conscience
to make; Whereas all the Hardines and Free-
dom I contend for, is only that which enlarges
a Man's Thoughts and private Opinions from
Captivity and Restraint; and such as no other
Person is or can be concern'd in, but what a
Man is entirely and solely accountable to him-
selv for.

b 4        Fourthly,
The PREFACE.

generous Adversary, either to do him the Honour of freely acknowledging my Mistakes, and submitting to his better Reasons; or else to examine his Objections, and endeavour to make both Him and the World, sensible of their Impertinence and Folly.

An
An Explanation of the Figure in the Frontispiece of this Book.

At the upper end of the Page, and over the Title of the Book, you have Wisdom represented by a beautiful Woman; She is naked; yet so that there is no Offence given to the Chaste Eyes, (intimating, that she needs not any Additional Beauties, or the Assistance of Art to recommend Her, but is natural, plain, and simple; yet so as in the midst of Nature and Simplicity to have always a strict regard to Modesty.) Her Countenance is Healthful and Masculine, Smiling and Cheerful, Strong and Authoritative. Her Body Streight, with her Feet fixed close together, upon a Cube, that denotes Justice, and Firmness. Her Arms a-crogs, as if she were embracing her self; intimating, that she is happy in, and satisfy'd with her self. Upon her Head she wears a Crown of Laurel and Olive, which imports Victory and Peace. The void Space round about her, signifies Liberty: She looks in a Glass, held by a Hand coming out of a Cloud, at some distance from her, which presents her with the Reflection of her own Face; for Wisdom is employ'd in the Knowledge and Contemplation of her self. Upon her Right-side are the
An Explanation of the Frontispiece.

these Words, I know not; not thereby to give Countenance to perpetual Doubt and Scepticism; but arguing, that she is mature and cautious in Deliberating, slow in Determining; not positive or peremptory, but reserving an Ear open for fresh Reasons, and not ashamed to confess, that the best Human Knowledge is still dark and imperfect. On the Left-side are those other Words, Peace, and a little; which are the Author’s own Device, represented by a Root impaled, wound about with an Olive-Branch, and incircled with two Branches of Laurel in an Oval Form; implying, that a Competency is sufficient; and that Men have it in their own Power to be easy and contented.

Below, on each side the Title, are Four little, deformed, wretched, wrinkled Old Women, bound in Chains; the End of which is fasten’d to the Pedestal of Wisdom; who despises, condemns, and tramples them under her Feet. The Two on the Right-side of the Title are Passion and Opinion; Passion hath a meagre and discomposed Countenance, intimating Disorder and Fury. Opinion hath wild staring Eyes, an unsettled and sturdy Face: She is supported by several Persons, denoting the Extravagance and general Infection of vulgar Errors, and how fond of, and how stiff the common People are in them. The other Two on the Left-side of the Inscription are Superstition, with an amazed Look, her Hands clasped together like a Slave trembling for Fear; shewing the Terrors and Astonishment of People possest'd
An Explanation of the Frontispiece.

possess'd with this Phrensie of the Mind: And Lastly, there is Learning, which is a counterfeit, artificial, acquire'd, and Pedantic Virtue; a Slave to Laws, and Customs, and Forms; with a swell'd Face, a haughty arrogant Look, bold staring Eyes; and she reads in a Book, wherein is written, Yes, Nay; importing the Vanity and Confidence of Learned Men, their Eternal Disputes, and the wide Disagreement of their Notions; and yet the Presumption and Positiveness they betray in the midst of all this Difference and Uncertainty. And Lastly, The Chains which terminate in the Footstool of Wisdom, shew that Captivity of the Mind, which all these Qualities bring Men under, which they who study Wisdom labour to get above; and they who attain to it, break those Fetters, and are wholly free from that miserable Bondage.

A Brief
A Brief Account
OF THE
AUTHOR.
From the French.

Peter Charron was born at
Paris, in the Year 1541, and Baptized
in St. Hilary's Church in the Clos Bru-
neau. His Father was one Theobald Charron,
a Bookseller; and his Mother's Name was Ni-
cole de la Barre. By Her, Theobald had One
and Twenty Children; and Four more by a
former Wife: So that our Author had no less
than Four and Twenty Brothers and Sisters;
and yet, which is very remarkable, among all
this numerous Family, there is not any Male-
Issue now remaining. The Condition of his
Parents was not very plentiful; and their Ex-
 pense, 'tis plain, was great; but however, in
regard they saw something in their Son Peter,
which was very forward and promising, and
argu'd a more than common Capacity, they
took
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took the Hint from Nature's Kindness; and put him out to a very good School. After he had made sufficient Progress in Greek and Latin, he took care to qualify himself with other Sciences, and Parts of Human Learning, and study'd Logick, Metaphysicks, Moral and Natural Philosophy. From thence he proceeded to the civil and Canon Law in the Universities of Orleans and Bourges, where he commenced Doctor in that Faculty. At his return to Paris, he betook himself to the Profession of the Law, and was admitted Advocate in the Court of Parliament; Where Business often call'd him to the Barr, which he always declared to be the best and most improving School in the World: And accordingly, he took care to lose none of the Public Hearings; From whence his Mind took so strong a Tincture, that a Man may plainly discern the Effects of it in his Discourses, by the proper Application of Maxims and Terms of Law. This Course he continued some Five or Six Years; but foreseeing, that Preferment this way, if ever attained at all, was like to come hard and slow, (he neither having Relations among the Solicitors and Proctors of the Court, nor particular Interest, nor Spirit little enough to cringe, and flatter, and wriggle himself into Business,) he gave over that Employment; and applied himself close to the Study of Divinity. To this purpose he read the Fathers, and eminent Doctors of the Church; and having a Tongue well hung, and a Style
A brief Account of the Author.

Style free and easy, but yet refined and lofty too, above the rate of common Preachers; he made use of this Talent, by the Permission of the Parochial Clergy, and that with so good Success, that he quickly came into Reputation and Esteem with the Greatest and most Learned Men of his Time; Infromuch that the Bishops and greatest Prelates about the Town, seem'd to be in some sort of Strife, which of them should get him into his Dioces. Particularly my Lord Arnaud de Pontac, Bishop of Bazar, a Prelate of excellent Learning, having heard him preach at St. Paul's Church, in the Year 1571, was so in love with him, that he took him away from the Place of his Birth, and carry'd him to Saintes and Bourdeaux, and into his Bishoprick of Bazar, and several other Places in Gascony, and Languedoc, where his admirable Eloquence acquired so just Renown, that he had Proffers made by several Bishops, of being the Theological Canon (or Divinity-Lecturer) in their Churches, and of several other Dignities and Benefices, besides several noble Presents made him. In short, he was Theological at Bazar, Ars, Le-thoure, Agen, Chaors, and Candom successively; Canon and School-master in the Church of Bourdeaux, and Chanter in the Church of Condom. Queen Margaret, Dutches of Va-lois, was pleased to entertain him for her Preacher in Ordinary; and the then King, tho' at that time of the Reform'd Religion, was extremely pleas'd with his Sermons, and frequently
A brief Account of the Author.

frequently did him the Honour to hear them. He was also a Retainer to the late Cardinal d'Armagnac, Legat to his Holiness at Avignon, who had a great Value for him. He did great Good by his persuasive way of Preaching, and by the Excellencies both of his Life and Doctrine, for Two and Thirty Years together, converted and establish'd many. He never took any Degree or Title in Divinity, but satisfy'd himself with deserving and being capable of the Highest; and had therefore no other Title or Character but That of Priest only. He never saw Paris in Seventeen or Eighteen Years, and then resolv'd to come and end his Days there; but being a great Lover of Retirement, he had oblig'd himself by Vow to become a Carthusian; and was absolv'd of it about the end of the Year 1588. He went from Bourdeaux coming by Xainces and Angers, where he made several learned Sermons; and arriv'd at Paris, at the time the States were conven'd at Blois. Then he present'd himself to the Prior of the Carthusians, one John Michel, a Person of great Piety, who since dy'd Prior-General of the great Carthusian Monastery in Dauphine. To Him he communicat'd his Intention; but it was not accepted, by reason of his Age, which was not less than Seven or Eight and Forty. And all the most prevail'd Intreaties he could use were ineffectual; for the Excuse was still this, That That Order required all the Vigour of Youth to support its Austerities. Hereupon he address'd himself to the Provines.
A brief Account of the Author.

cial of the Celestines in Paris; but there too with the same Success, and upon the same Reasons alledged for repulsing him. Thus after having done his utmost to fulfil his Vow, and himself not being in any degree accessory to its not taking effect, he was assured by Faber Dean of the Sorbon, Tyrius a Scotch Jesuite, and Feuardent a Franciscan, all very learned and able Divines, that there lay no manner of Obligation upon him from that Vow: But that he might with a very safe and good Conscience, continue in the World as a Secular, and was at large, and at his own Disposal, without any need of entering into any other Religious Order. Hereupon, in the Year 1589, he returned back by Angers, where he preached the whole Lent, to the great Admiration and Benefit of the People. From thence he went back again to Bourdeaux, where he contracted a very intimate Acquaintance and Friendship with Monsieur Michel de Montagne, Knight of the Order of the King, and Author of the Book so well known by the Title of Montagne's Essays. For him Monsieur Charron had a very great Esteem, and did from him receive all possible Testimonies of a reciprocal Affection: For, (among other things) Monsieur Montagne order'd by his last Will, that in regard he left no Issue-Male of his own, Monsieur Charron should after his Decease, be entitled to bear the Coat of Arms, plain, and as they belong'd to his Noble Family. The Troublesome Times detaining Monsieur Charron
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Charron at Bourdeaux, from the Year 1589, to that of 1593, he composed his Book called Les Trois Veritez, The Three Truths, and published it in 1594, but without his Name to it. This was received with great Applause of Learned Men, and they printed it after the Bourdeaux Copy two or three times at Paris, and afterwards at Brussels in Flanders, under the Sham-Name of Benedict Valiant, Advocate of the Holy Faith; because the Third Part of that Book contains a Defence of the Faith, in answer to a little Tract concerning the Church, written formerly by the Sieur Plessis de Mornay. The Publication of this Book brought him into the Acquaintance of Monsieur Antony d'Ebrard de S. Sulpice, Bishop and Count of Caors, who upon perusing and liking the Book, sent for Monsieur Charron, tho' he had never seen him before, made him his Vicar-General, and Canon-Theological in his Church, which he accepted; and there he put out the Second Edition, with his own Name to it in 1595, enlarging it also with a Reply to an Answer, printed at Rochelle, and written against what he called his Third Truth.

While he was at Caors, the King was pleased to summon him to the General Assembly of all the Clergy of France, held the same Year 1595. Hither he came in the Quality of a Deputy, and was chosen first Secretary to the Assembly. As he was in this Attendance, an Invitation was sent him to preach at St. Eustache's Church, the most populous Parish.
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Parish in the whole City of Paris, which he did upon All-Saints-Day 1595, and two Days after. As also the Six Sundays in Lent 1596. In 1599 he returned to Caors, and in that Year, and 1600, he composed Eight Discourses upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; as many others upon the Knowledge and Providence of God, the Redemption of the World, the Communion of Saints: And likewise his Books of Wisdom. While he was thus employing himself, and enjoying that Retirement at Caors, my Lord John Chemin Bishop of Condom, presented him with the Chantership in his Church, to draw him over into that Diocess: But having at the same time an Offer from M. Miram, Bishop of Angers, and being courted by Him, to reside at Anjou, this was most agreeable to his Inclination. The making a determinate Resolution was a Work of Time; for his Affection and Convenience drawing several Ways, kept the Balance long in suspense. Anjou he looked upon as the sweetest Dwelling, the most delightful Retreat that France could give him; but that Province being then embroyl'd in Civil Wars, (for Bretany was not then reduced, and so like to make a very troublesome Neighbour) Condom carry'd the Point. It happen'd too, that the Theological Chair at Condom was just then void, and this being tendered him by the same Bishop, he accepted that, and resolved to set up his Staff there. To this purpose he bought a House, which he built new, and furnished to his own Fancy.
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cy and Convenience; resolving to give himself all the Ease and Diversion he could, and make the best of his growing Years, the Infirmities whereof would be solten'd at least by good Humour, and a pretty Dwelling. After he was settled at Condon, he printed those Christian Discourses mention'd just now, which were Sixteen in all; and also his Books of Wisdom at Bourdeaux, in the Year 1601, which gave him a great Reputation, and made his Character generally known: So that Monsieur Charron began from that time to be reckon'd among the Glories and topping Wits of France. Particularly Messieur Claude Dormy, Bishop of Bologne by the Sea, and Prior of St. Martin's in the Fields at Par
ris, wrote him several Letters upon that occasion; expressing the great Esteem he had for Him and his Writings, and as a Testimony of his Value and Opinion of him, offer'd him the Theological's Place in his Church. These Letters made Monsieur Charron desirous to see Paris once more, that so he might contract a Personal Acquaintance with, and express his Acknowledgments for the Favours of this great Prelate; and at the same time, in hope to get an Opportunity of reprinting his Books and Discourses, with the Addition of some new Tracts. For indeed the Impression at Bourdeaux he thought wanted correcting; and upon a Review was not: at all to his Satisfac

In pursuance of this Design, he arriv'd at Par

is the Third of October, 1603, and in a

con-
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convenient time afterwards he went to pay his Respects to the Bishop of Bologne, who receiv’d him with great Civility and Kindness, and repeated his Offer of that Preferment, merely to have him near himself, and more within the Eye of the Court. Monsieur Charron return’d him many Thanks for the Honour he had done him, and the good Intentions he was pleas’d to entertain for his Advancement. And with his usual Freedom, told an Advocate in the Parliament, who was a particular Friend of his, that he could be well pleas’d to accept that Preferment for some Years, but that the Moisture and Coldness of the Air, and its Nearness to the Sea, did not only make it a Melancholy and Unpleasant Place, but very Unwholsome, and Rheumatick, and Foggy too. That the Sun was his visible God, as God was his invisible Sun; and therefore, since he had no Hope of saving himself at Bologne with Safety to his Health, he thought it much better not to venture ther at all.

During his Stay at Paris, he lodg’d at one Bertaud’s a Bookseller, that he might be near the Press, and correct the new Edition of his Books of Wisdom, of which he liv’d to see but Three or Four Sheets wrought off. For on Sunday the Sixteenth of November, 1603, going out of his Lodging, about one of the Clock, at the Corner of St. John Beauvais Street, he call’d to his Servants and complain’d he found himself ill: And immedi-

ately, while they ran to hold him up he fell

upon
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upon his Knees, and with his Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, he expired upon the Spot, without the least Agony or Appearance of Pain. His Disease was an Apoplexy, and the Quantity of extravasated Blood was so great, that no Humane Help could have preserved him. The Body was kept Two Days, but the Physicians being well satisfied that he was actually dead, and the Blood too which settled about his Throat, beginning to mortifie, and grow offensive, they buried him with great Decency, and a very Honourable Attendance, in St. Hilary's Church, the Eighteenth of the same Month; where his Father, Mother, most of his Brothers and Sisters, and a great many other Relations were Interred. The Day of his Funeral he had his Face expos'd to view, and his Body drest in the Priest's Habit, as if he had been going to Officiate at Mass. And this was done by a particular Direction of his own; for he had frequently left those Orders in Charge, provided his Death happen'd to be such, as wrought no mighty Change or Deformity in his Person.

As to his Person, He was of a moderate Stature, inclining to Fat; of a smiling Countenance and cheerful Humour; a large open Fore-head; fair light Nose, pretty large downwards; light blue Eyes; his Complexion Fresh and Ruddy; his Hair and Beard very White, though he had not yet got through his Climacterick, being about Sixty Two Years and a Half when he died. The Air of his Face was
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was always Gay, without the least Allay of Melancholy; his Mien Graceful; his Voice Strong and Distinct; his Expression Masculine and Bold: His Health Firm and Constant; he had no Complaints, either from Age or Indispositions, till about Three Weeks before his Death. Then indeed he now and then, while he was in Motion, felt a Pain in his Breast, and found himself oppressed with Shortness of Breath. But this presently went off again after a little Rest, and fetching his Breath deep. However he acquainted his Physician the eminent Sieur Marçot with his Case, who advised him by all means to open a Vein; assuring him, that all his Illness proceeded from fulness of Blood, and, if some Course were not taken speedily to prevent it, a Suffocation might ensue. And accordingly it happen'd; for in all probability, the neglecting this Advice of bleeding quickly, was the very thing that cost Monsieur Charron his Life.

His Books of Wisdom and Christian Discourses were printed off after his Death, by the Particular Care of an Intimate Friend, whom he had charged with the Inspection of them in his Lifetime: And abundant Satisfaction was given to the World, that the Author himself had in this Impression added, and corrected several Passages. Some particularly, which not Others only, but Himself also thought necessary to be changed from that first Impression at Bourdeaux, in 1601. By these Alterations he hath explained his
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his Meaning, strengthened his Arguments, softened many Expressions without any Material Alteration of the Sense. All which was done Principally in Compliance with the World; to obviate the Malice of Some, and condescend to the Infirmities of Others. The whole had been perused and approved by some very good Friends, and Persons of sound Judgment; and till They had declar'd themselves satisfied and pleas'd, he could not prevail with himself to be so. But above all, he submitted his Writings to the Church; and hop'd there was nothing there, that might call for a just Censure, or minister ground of Offence, either to Religion in general, or to that Communion, of which he was a Member, in particular.

As to his peculiar Manner of handling the Subjects he undertook to treat of, whether in Books or Sermons, he was us'd to say, that there are Three Ways of expressing and communicating a Man's Thoughts, which bear Proportion, and seem to be adapted to the Three Several Faculties of the Mind; the Imagination, the Memory, and Understanding. One of these proceeds upon Rules of Art, runs upon Etymologies and Distinctions of Words and Things, Definitions, Divisions, Subdivisions, Causes, Effects, Accidents, and the like. A Second collects together what other People have thought or said upon the Occasion, and values itself upon the nicety of quoting Books, and Chapters, and Pages: The Third is free and generous, including and
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and doing in a manner all that both the for-
mer pretend to, but without any Oftenta-
tion of doing so, or enslaving it self to Ni-
ceties of Method, and Rules of Art. The
First of These he used to say was fit for
Schools, and to instruct young Beginners:
The Second too much in Vogue with Preach-
ers and Orators, who in Effect only tack to-
gether other Peoples Notions, and those too
very often after an affected and impertinent
Manner; for having nothing to say for them-
selves, they make other People speak for
them, though never so little to the Pur-
pose. In respect of this Way he declar'd him-
sel' of a Judgment directly opposite to the
generality of the World; That to stuff a Dis-
course with Quotations was an Argument ra-
ther of Weakness and Ignorance, than of Wis-
dom. That Men took this Course in all like-
lihood to set themselves and their great Read-
ing off to the World, which after all amounts
to no more than a good Memory: And
This, if not attended with Judgment, is no
such mighty Commendation. That These
things are oftentimes brought in at random,
and all Adventures; picked up from Com-
mon-place Books, and Indexes, where they
find Stuff ready made up to their Hands,
and so they vend it without more to do. Al-
legations indeed have their Uses and pro-
per Seasons; they are absolutely necessary
in controverted Points, where the Cause is
to be decided by Authorities; But then they
ought to be used with Moderation, and in
Measure;
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Measure; and good Care taken, that they be home to the purpose; that Prudence be used in the Choice of them; for generally the Fewer and the Weightier, to be sure the Better they are. For it was his Opinion, that of all the Three Manners of Expressing our Thoughts, This was the least valuable.

As for the Third, That indeed was infinitely the best, and the Persons who make it their Method, are by much the greatest and most significant Men. Antiquity and Authority were thus far of his side; The Ancient Homilists being so many Examples of it, in whose Writings and Orations you very seldom, or never, find a Quotation; and in truth the old Authors, of allSorts and Professions, seem to make sound Reason, and good Sense their Business. This being the proper, the generous Food for entertaining Men desirous of Knowledge, and of distinguishing Minds. This relishes and shews more of Judgment, and Understanding, which are Nobler, and more Exalted Parts of the Mind, than Memory. Laflly, This is infinitely the most Free and Noble in it self, and more Delightful and Improving to Hearers, Readers, and the Person who makes use of it too, than any other Method whatsoever: For by this, Men are rather made Wise than Learned; and more accustomed to examine and make a Judgment of Things. Consequently the Will is directed, and the Conscience informed this way, whereas the rest are good for nothing, but to stuff his Memory,
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and Imagination, with other Peoples Notions, or little trifling Niceties. This Account I thought not improper to trouble the Reader with, because from hence he will guess, what he is to expect in this Treatise, and see withal what kind of Taste our Author had in Matters of this Nature.

As for what relates to his Temper, Manners, Conversation, and Actions, whether in Publick or Private, I shall need to say only thus much; That he made it his Constant Business, to render them conformable to those Rules and Maxims contained at large in this Second Book of the following Treatise; and was very successful, and very accurate in the Undertaking: What Persuasion and Church he was of, his Three Verities abundantly declare; as do likewise his Christian Discourses, which were printed since his Death, and make a convenient Volume by themselves. How strict and conscientious he was, may appear from this single Instance; That, though he were possesst of several Theological Canonries one after another, yet he would never be prevailed with to resign any of them, in Favour of any Person: nor to name his Successor; for fear of giving Occasion to the Censure, of having upon private Respects put in an unqualify'd Man, and One who was not worthy to fill such a Post. But he constantly gave them up freely and clearly, into the Hands of those Bishops who had collated him.
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The last Thing I shall mention upon this Occasion is his Last Will; which was made and written all with his own Hand in January 1602, and after his Decease, registred in the Office at Condom. In This he first returns most humble Thanks to God, for all the Mercies and Benefits which by His Bounty he had enjoyed in his Life-time; begs him most earnestly, for his infinite and incomprehensible Mercy’s Sake, in the Name of his Well-beloved Son, and our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ; and for His Merits shed and multiplied upon all his Members the Elect Saints, to grant him Favour, and full Pardon for all his Offences; to receive him for his own Child; to aflift and conduct him with his Holy Spirit, during his Continuance in this World, that he might ever remain in a sound Mind, and the true Love and Service of Him his God; and that at the Hour of Death, he would receive his Soul to himself, admit him into the Society and sweet Repose of his Well-beloved ones, and in-spire all his Holy and Elect Saints with a Pious and Charitable Disposition, to pray, and make Intercession for him.

Then proceeding to the Legacies, he bequeathes among other Things; To the Church of Condom, provided his Corps be Interm’d there, Two Hundred Livres (Tournois) upon Condition that every Year upon the Day of his Death, High Mass shall be once said in his Behalf, and Absolution once pronounce’d over his Grave. He gives moreover to the Maintenance of pour Scholars, and young Girls, Two
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Two Thousand Four Hundred Crowns, the yearly Income hereof to be distributed for ever, the one Moiety to Three or Four Scholars; the other to Three, Four, or Five young Maidens, at the Discretion of his Executors, of which he constituted Five: The Master of St. Andrew's School, and Rector of the Jesuites at Bourdeaux for the time being; his Heir, and Two of his Friends; the Three Last to name some other Persons to succeed in this Trust after their Decease, with This Qualification, that they nominate such only, as are well known and reputed for their Abilities, Honesty, and Charity. And that any Three of these in the Absence of the rest, might manage, and dispose Things as they should see convenient: Likewise he gives, and bequeaths to Mrs. Leonora Montagne, Wife to the Sieur de Camin, King's Counsel in the Parliament at Bourdeaux, half Sister to the late Sieur de Montagne, the Summ of Five Hundred Crowns. And her Husband, Monsieur Camin, he constitutes his sole Heir; He paying the Charges, and Legacies contained in his Will, amounting in the whole to about Fifteen Thousand Livres Tournois, in the Gross Summ.

What hath been thus lightly touched upon, is a sufficient Evidence how Religious and Conscientious a Person Monsieur Charron was; that he feared God, led a pious and good Life, was Charitably disposed; a Person of Wisdom and Conduct, Serious and Considerate; a great Philosopher, an eloquent Orator, a famous and powerful Preacher; richly furnished
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furnished and adorned with the most excellent Virtues and Graces both Moral and Divine: Such as made him very remarkable and singular; and deservedly gave him the Character of a Good Man and a Good Christian; such as preserve a great Honour and Esteem for his Memory among Persons of Worth and Virtue, and will continue to do so, as long as the World shall last.
OF WISDOM, THE FIRST BOOK;

Which consists of the Knowledge of a Man's own self; and the Condition of Humane Nature in general.

An Exhortation to the Study and Knowledge of ones self.

The Introduction to this whole First BOOK.

THERE is not in the World any Advice more excellent and divine in its own Nature, more useful and beneficial to us, nor any at the same time less attended to, and worse practis'd, than that of studying and attaining to the Knowledge of our selves. This is in Truth the Foundation upon which all Wisdom is built, the direct and high Road to all Happiness. And sure no Folly can be compar'd to that which draws off Mens Attention, and employs their Diligence and Pains in the Search of other Objects, and fixes them every where,
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where, any where, rather than upon themselves: For when all is done, the true Learning is at home, and the proper Science and Subject for Man’s Contemplation, is Man himself.

Were this Advice thus generally neglected for want of being seasonably or sufficiently given, the Omission were more excusable: But the Matter is quite otherwise: For God, Nature, Wise Men, the World, All conspire to inculcate it; and both by the Instructions they give, and the Examples they set, preach this Doctrine, and loudly call upon Man to make Himself the Employment of his own Thoughts, and the Object of his own Studies. God, we know, is perpetually taken up with the Contemplation of Himself; and the unspeakable Happiness, as well as constant Business, of that vast Eternity, is the viewing, considering, and knowing his own Infinite Perfections.

The World is so contriv’d, as to have all its Eyes turn’d inward; and the several Parts of this Universe are ever beholding the Beauties and Conveniences of themselves, or of one another: 'For Heaven, and Earth, and Air, and Sea, may seem so many independent Bodies, yet are they in reality but so many distinct Parts of one Body; and the mutual Regards of these to each other, are but the several Prospects which one vast united Whole takes of itself. So perpetually are the Eyes of the World open upon it self, so necessarily contracted and determin’d to it self alone. But why should we go abroad for Arguments, who have such convincing ones at home? For Man hath this Engagement to Study and know Himself, which no other Part of the World hath, that it is natural to him to think. This is the peculiar Character, the very Essence of Man, and nothing is so near, nothing presents it self so immediately to his Thought as Himself. So that Nature here hath plainly taught our
and Knowledge of ones self.

our Duty, and shewed that this is the Work she cuts out for every Man. Nothing can be so easy, as for a Man to meditate, and entertain his Thoughts. It is incomparably the most frequent, most common, most natural Practice. Thought is the Food, the Support, the Life of the Mind; it must needs be so indeed, since the very * Essence of Mind is Cognition. And where, I pray, shall this Mind begin? Where will you find a more proper Subject for its Exercise and Entertainment than its own self? Can there be any more natural, any that hath a greater Right to this Contemplation? any that is nearer related, or that more highly concerns it to be well acquainted with? Certainly, to ramble abroad, and fix upon Foreign Matters, and at the same time quite overlook and forget ones self, is the greatest Injustice, and the most unnatural Neglect that can be. No doubt, every Man's true Business, and the Thing he is properly call'd to, is the thinking of Himself, and being well employ'd to see how Matters go at home. These are our Trade and our Concern; the rest but Entertainment and Diversion. And thus we see it is in every other Creature. Each of these takes care of it self, makes the Study of it self the first and principal Business, hath Bounds set to its Desires, and employs not it self, nor hath any Aim beyond such a certain Compass: And yet thou, O vain Man, who wilt be grasping at the Universe, who pretendest to Knowledge unlimited, and takest upon thee to control and to judge every Thing, art perfectly ignorant of thy own self; and not at any Pains to be otherwise. Thus whilst thou laboureft to render thy self the most accomplish'd Part of the Creation; whilst thou sittest like a Censor upon Nature, and determinest magisterially, and with an

* Cujus vivere est cogitare.
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Air of Wisdom; Thou, in reality, art the greatest Ignorant; Thou, all the while, the only Fool in the whole World; Thou art the emptiest and most wanting, the most impotent and most wretched; and yet in despight of all these Mortifications, the proudest and most conceited, the most arrogant and disdainful Creature upon Earth. Look at home then for Shame; turn thine Eyes inward, and employ thy Senses there. Call back thy wandring Mind, the Understanding, and thy Will, which rove and spend their Strength unprofitably abroad, and fix them in the Consideration of themselves. Thou art busy, and yet negligent; beggarly, and yet profuse: For thou losest and waftest thy Self in Things without, and forgettest quite what is thy own within. Thus thou art a Thief and a Traytor to thy Self: Restore then what thou haft thus false-ly stolen away; and instead of gazing round, and looking always before thee, collect thy Self, and confine thy Thoughts at home: Look diligently within thee; search curiously there, and know thy Self perfectly. Thus our wise Masters have ad-vised.

* Weigh no Merit by the common Scale.
The Conscience is the Test of every Mind;
Seek not thy Self without thy Self to find.
Please not thy Self the flattering Crowd to hear;
'Tis foulom Stuff to feed thy itching Ear.
Reject the noseous Praises of the Times:
Survey thy Soul; not what thou dost appear,
But what thou art, and find the Beggar there.

* Notice teipsum! — nec te quæsiveris extrà.
Respue quod non es.— Perf. Sat. 1.
Tecum habita, & naris quam sit tibi curta supellex. Perf. Sat. 4.
and Knowledge of one's self.

* Sift well thy Soul, its Product nicely view,
And learn from whence thy Tares and Darnel grew;
Which are to Nature, which to Custom due.
If the thin Crop sprung from a Soil too lean,
Or long neglected Weeds have choak'd the generous Grain.

The Knowledge of a Man's self is a Step to the
Knowledge of God: The best and shortest Method
we can possibly take of raising our Minds up to Hea-
ven. It must needs be so, because there is no other
thing capable of being known by us, which carries
such lively Stroaks, such express Images and Char-
acters, such clear and convincing Testimonies of God,
as Man does: And also because whatever there is
of this kind, may be more perfectly known by us:
For a Man must be of necessity more sensible of
those Faculties and Motions, which are within him-
sely, and better qualify'd to give an Account of
them, than he can be of those which belong to any
other Creature; because these are at some distance
from him, and he cannot possibly be alike conscious
of them. † Thou hast fashioned and closed me in, and laid
thy hand upon me: therefore is thy Knowledge become won-
derful. That is, The Knowledge of Thee, which results
from the Contemplation of my self, and the Resem-
blance of the Humane to the Divine Nature (as some
interpret that Passage.) From hence perhaps it was,
that Apollo (who among the Heathens was esteem'd)
the God of Knowledge and of Light, had this Inscrip-
tion KNOW THY SELF, engraved in Cha-
racters of Gold upon the Front of his Temple, as
a necessary Greeting, and Advertisement from the
God, to all that should approach him; intimating

——* Tu te confulse.
Teipsum concure, nunquid vitiorum,
Infeverit olim natura, aut etiam confuetudo mala.
† Mirabilis facta est scientia tua. *i. e. tui ex me.

A Scale
leading to
Divine
Wisdom.
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that this was the first Motion from Ignorance and Darkness; the most necessary Qualification for gaining Access to such a Deity: That upon these Terms only they could be admitted to his Temple, and fit for his Worship; and that all who were not acquainted with themselves, must be excluded from that Place and Privilege. * If thou know not who thou art, O thou fairest among Women, go thy way forth and follow thy Kids.

Would a Man make it his Business (as every Man sure ought to do) to lead the most regular, composed, and pleasant Life that can be, we need go no further to fetch Instructions for it, than our own selves. Had we but the Diligence and Application, as we have the Capacity and the Opportunity to learn, every Man would be able to teach himself more and better than all the Books in the World, and all his poring there can ever teach him.

He that shall remember, and critically observe, the extravagant Sallies of his Anger, to what Furies and Frenzies this raging Fever of the Mind hath formerly transported him, will more distinctly see the monstrous Deformity of this Passion, and conceive a juister Abhorrence, and more irreconcilable Hatred against it, than all the fine Things that Aristoteles and Plato have said upon the Point, can ever work him up to. And the same in Proportion may be expected from a Reflection in all other Cases, where there is a vicious Excess, or violent Contraction of the Soul. He that shall recollect the many false Conclusions, which an erroneous Judgment hath led him into, and the Slips and Miscarriages which an unfaithful Memory hath been guilty of, will learn to be more cautious how he trusts either of these for the future: And especially when a

* Si te ignoras, O pulcher sima, egressa, & ab ipso hædonos tuos.
Man calls to mind, how many Cases he is able to quote to himself, where in he thought, all Difficulties sufficiently consider’d, that he was a perfect Master of his Point; how asfured and peremptory he hath been, how forward to answer to himself, and to all he convers’d with; nay, to stake his Reputation for the Truth of an Opinion, and yet Time and After-Thought have demonstrated the direct contrary: This bold confiding Man, I say, will be taught from hence to distrust such hasty Arrogance, and abandon all that unreasonable and peevish Positiveness and Presumption, which, of all Qualities in the World, is the most opposite, most mortal Enemy to better Information and Discovery of the Truth. The Man that shall reflect upon the many Hazards and Sufferings, in which he hath been actually involved, and the many more that have threatened him; how slight and trifling Accidents have yet given great Turns to his Fortunes, and changed the whole Face of his Affairs; how often he hath been forc’d to take new Measures, and found Cause to dislike what once appear’d well design’d and wisely manage’d: This Man will expect and make Provision for Changes hereafter, will be sensible how slippery Ground he stands upon, will consider the Uncertainties of Humane Life, will behave himself with Modesty and Moderation, will mind his own Business, and not concern himself with other People, to the giving them any Offence, or creating any Disturbance, and will undertake to aim at nothing too big for him. And were all Men thus dispos’d, what a Heaven upon Earth should we have? Perfect Peace and Order and Justice every where. In short, the truest Glass we can consult, the most improving Book we can read, is Our own selves, provided we would but hold our Eyes open, and keep our Minds fixed with all due Attention upon it; so bringing to a close
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a close and distinct View, and watching every Feature, every Line, every Act and Motion of our Souls so narrowly, that none may escape us.

But alas! this is the least of our Care, and the farthest thing in our Thoughts.

* Into himself none labours to descend.

And hence it is that we fall so low and so often. To this must be imputed our perpetual Relapses into the same Fault, without being ever touched with a Sense of our Error, or troubling our selves at all about the matter. We play the fool egregiously, at our own vast Expence: For Difficulties in any case are never rightly understood, except by such as have measured their own Abilities. And indeed as a Man must thrust at a Door before he can be sure that it is shut against him; so there is some degree of Application and good Sense necessary, in order to the perceiving the Defects of one's own Mind. And we cannot have a more infallible Demonstration of the universal Ignorance of Mankind than this, that every Body appears so gay, so forward, so undertaking, so highly satisfy'd; and that none can be found, who at all question the Sufficiency of their own Understanding. For were we throughly acquainted with our selves, we should manage our selves and our Affairs after quite another manner: We should be ashamed of our selves and our Condition, and become a new kind of Creatures. He that is ignorant of his Failings, is in no Pain to correct them; and he that knows not his Wants, takes no manner of care for Supplies; and he that feels not his Disease and his Misery, never thinks of repairing the Breaches of his Constitution, or is solicitous for Physick:

† You must know yourself before

Nemo in se eenera.

† Deprehendet qui operet praequam amendas; sanitatis ini- tium sentire sibi opus esse remedio.
and Knowledge of ones self. you can mend your self; the first Step to Health and Recovery, is the being sensible that you need a Cure. And this very thing is our Unhappiness; that we think all is safe well. We are highly contented with our selves, and thus all our Miseries are doubled. Socrates was pronounc'd the wisest Man; not for any Excellencies of natural or acquird Parts, which render'd him superior to all the World; but because he understood himself better, behav'd himself with Modesty and Decency, and acted like a Man. Thus Socrates was a Prince among Men, as we commonly say, He that hath one Eye is a King among them that have none. Such as are doubly blind, and have no Sense at all left: (For so are the Generality of the World;) Nature makes them weak and wretched at first; but they make themselves doubly so afterwards, by their Pride, and lofty Conceits of their own Sufficiency, and an absolute Insensibility of their Wants and their Miseries. The former of these Misfortunes Socrates shared as well as others; for he had his blind Side too: That is, he was a Man, and consequently had the same Allay of Infirmity and Misery with other Men: But here was the difference, that he knew he was but a Man: He consider'd his Condition, and made no difficulty to acknowledge all the Imperfections of it; and therefore he dealt honestly, and acted wisely; for he liv'd and behav'd himself as a Man should do. To this purpose may that Reply be taken, which Truth it self made to the haughty Pharisees, who, in Derision, said unto him, What then? Are we blind also? If you were blind (says he) that is, if ye were sensible of your Blindness, ye would see better; but because you say, we see, therefore ye remain stark-blind. For those who have an Opinion of their own good Sight, are really blind; and those who are conscious of their own Blindness, are the Men that see best. How wretched
An Exhortation to the Study

ed a Folly is it to degenerate into Beasts, by not considering carefully that we are Men? * Since Nature hath made thee a Man, take care constantly to remember that thou art such. We read, that several great Persons have order’d that their Attendants should often ring it in their Ears, That they were Men, intending that Admonition for a Curb to their Exorbitances. And sure the Practice was admirable, if, as the Sound struck upon their Ears, the Consideration enter’d their Hearts too. What the Athenians said to Pompey the Great, was not much amiss, You are so far a God, as you acknowledge your self a Man. For thus much at least is beyond Contradiction, That the way to be an excellently good Man, is to be througly posses’d with the Sense of one’s being a Man.

Now this Knowledge of one’s self (a thing by the way, very difficult to be attain’d, and scarce to be met with ; as on the contrary, the mistaking and passing wrong Judgments of one’s self, is exceeding obvious and easy :) This Knowledge, I say, is never to be acquird by the Help of others. My Meaning is ; Not by comparing our selves with others, measuring by them, depending upon their Character, or observing what Argument or Disagreement there is between our Practice and their Example, so that a Man shall applaud or condemn himself, for doing or not doing as they do, or as they like or dislike.

* What the World says thou art, believe not true, This Credit only to thy self is due.

Nor indeed can we depend upon our own Word or Opinion in the case ; for This oftentimes is short-

* Homo cum sis, id fac semper intelligas.† Plus alius de te quam tu tibi credere noli. sighted;
and Knowledge of ones self.

sighted; it discovers not all that is to be seen, and
it makes a false Report of what it discovers; like a
treacherous or a brib'd Witness, that shuffles in his
Evidence, and is afraid to speak out. Nor can we
form a Judgment from any single Action; for this
may come from a Man without being intended, or
so much as thought of; it may be a sudden Push
upon an unusual pressing Occasion; the Work of
Necessity, or the Work of Chance; a lucky Hit,
or a sudden Sally; and owing to Heat or Passion;
to one, to all of these, to any thing indeed, ra-
ther than to the Man himself. And therefore we
can fix no Character from a thing which is not of
our own growth. One courageous Action no more
proves a Man Brave, nor one Act of Justice Juft,
than the breadth and depth of a River, and the
strength of its Current, is to be taken from a sud-
den accidental Flood, when all the neighbouring
Brooks empty themselves into it, and swell it above
its Banks. For thus there are Circumstances and
Accidents in Humane Life too, which, like strong
Winds, and rapid Torrents, change our usual
Course, and carry us beyond our selves; and this
in so surprizing a manner, that Vice it self hath
sometimes put Men upon doing very good Things:
So extremly nice a thing it is, to know Men tru-
ly. Again, We can learn nothing to purpose by
all the outward Appendages of the Man; his Em-
ployments, Preferments, Honours, Riches, Birth,
good Acceptance, and general Applause, of great
and common Men; no, nor yet by his Depart-
ment when he appears abroad; for there the Man
plays in Check, stands upon his Guard, and eve-
ry Motion is with Reserve and Contrain: Fear,
and Shame, and Ambition, and a thousand other
Passions, put him upon playing the Part you see
then acted. To know him throughly, you must
follow him into his Clofet, see him in the Tireing-

Room,
Room, and in his every-day Garb. Alas! he is oftentimes quite another thing at Home, than what he appears in the Street, at Court, or upon the Exchange; one sort of Man to Strangers, and another to his own Family. When he goes out of his House, he dresses for the Stage, and the Farce begins; you can lay no stress upon what you see of him there. This is not the Man, but the Character he sets himself to maintain: And you will never know any thing of him, till you make a difference between the Person of the Comedian that plays, and the Person represented by him.

The Knowledge of a Man's self then is not to be compassed by any, or all of these four ways, nor can we rely upon, or make any sure Conclusions from them. The only way to arrive at it, is by a true, long, constant Study of a Man's self, a serious and diligent Examination, such as shall observe and nicely weigh, not only his Words and Actions, but even his most secret Thoughts, (and that so critically, as to discern how they are first born, upon what they feed, and by what degrees they grow, the time of their Continuance, the manner and the frequency of their Returns upon him.) In short, no Motion of his Mind must escape his Notice; no, not his very Dreams: He must view himself near, must be eternally prying, handling, pressing, probing, nay, pinching himself to the quick: For there are many Vices in us, that lurk close, and lie deep; and we know nothing of them because we do not take the Pains to search far enough, and ferret them out: As the venomous Serpent, while numm'd with cold, is handled safely, and Stings not till he is warm'd. And further yet, when all this is done, a Sense and Acknowledgement of particular Failings, and personal Faults, and an endeavour to mend them, will not do the business; but a Man must be convinced of his Weak-
and Knowledge of ones self.

Weakness and Misery throughout, that every part of him is tainted with it; and from thence he must proceed to amend the whole, and make the Reformation equally general.

To this purpose we will now apply our selves in the First Book of this Treatise, to consider and understand Man; by taking him in every Sense, looking upon him in the several Prospects he is capable of; feeling his Pulse, sounding him to the bottom, going into him with Candles, searching and ransacking every Hole and Corner, every Maze and Labyrinth, every Closet and false Floor, and all the subtil Windings of his Hypocrisy. And all this Niceness little enough, God knows; for he is the cunningest and most dissembling, the closest and most disguis'd Creature alive, and, indeed, almost incapable of being perfectly known. Upon this account we will attempt the Consideration of him under the Five Heads represented by the Table here annexed, which sets before you at one general View, the Substance and the Method of this First Book.
The Scheme of the following Book.

I. Natural, consisting of the Parts whereof he is compounded, with their several Appurtenances.

II. Natural and Moral; by stating the Comparison between Him and Brutes.

III. By giving a Summary Account of his Life.

IV. A Moral Description of his Qualities and Defects, under Five Heads.
   1. Vanity.
   2. Weakness.
   3. Inconstancy.
   5. Presumption.

V. Mix’d of Natural and Moral; resulting from the differences between some Men and others, in,
   1. Their Temper.
   2. Their Minds and Accomplishments.
   3. Their Stations and Degrees of Quality.
   4. Their Professions and Circumstances.
   5. Their Advantages and Disadvantages; and, these Natural, again Acquired, or either Accidental.
THE
First Consideration.
Which is purely Natural, consisting of the several Parts whereof Man is compounded.

C H A P. I.
Of the Formation of Man.

This is two-fold, and therefore capable of a double Consideration: For the First and Original Formation was the immediate Work of God's own Hand; and this was Supernatural and Miraculous. The Second is the Work of ordinary Generation, and lineal Descent, according to the common and established Course of Nature.

According to that Image given us by Moses, of the Creation of the World, which (for the nine First Chapters of Genesis, wherein we have an Account of the First and Second Birth of the Universe, is, without dispute, the boldest, noblest, and most satisfactory System, that ever was publish'd, we may observe several Preferences and Privileges
vileges peculiar to Man. For he was made by
God, not only after all other living Creatures,
as the most exquisite and compleat; the Master
and Superintendent over the rest (so runs his Origi-
nal Commission, Let him have Dominion over the
Fishes of the Sea, and over the Fowls of the Air, and
over the Beasts of the Field;) made the same Day
with Land-Animals and Four-footed Beasts; which
bear the nearest resemblance to him of any other
Animals: But made, after all the rest was ended,
as the last and finishing Stroke; the Seal with
which it pleas'd Almighty God to close up the
whole Creation. And accordingly he hath given
him such a Bearing and Impress, as plainly speak
how nobly he is descended. * The Brightness of the
Divinity strongly reflected upon him. † So that each Man
is a sort of God in Miniature; expressly said to be formed
in His own Image, and after His Likeness. Man is
likewise not only the Creator, but the whole Cre-
ation in Little; the Universe in one small Volume:
Whence it is that Man is sometime stild a Little
World; and by the same reason the World might be
call'd a Great Man. He is, as it were, the Mediator
of the different Parts of Nature, that Link of this
long Chain, by which Angels and Brutes, Heaven
and Earth, the Spiritual and Corporeal Creation,
are tied together; and that void Space supply'd,
which would make a wide and most unfeemly
Gap in the Universe, if not fill'd up, and the Se-
ries thus continu'd, by a Creature partaking of both
Extremes. In a word, This was the last Touch,
the Master-piece, the Honour, and Ornament,
nay, the Prodigy, and miraculous Production of
Nature. Hence it is that God is represented to us
as entering into Consultation, and making this No-

* Signatum est in nos lumen vultus tui.
† Exemplumque Dei quisque est in Imagine parva.
Chap. 1. Of the Formation of Man.

ble Creature with Deliberation and Thought. God said, let us make Man. And when he had formed Gen. 1. Man, he is said to have ended all his Work, and to have rested. Nay, even that Rest itself, and the perpetual Commemoration of it, was for His Sake and Benefit. The Sabbath was made for Man, and not Mark 2:11. Man for the Sabbath, says Truth itself. After this there was no new Thing form’d, till that most stupendous Miracle of Mercy, when God made himself Man: And this too, as we most truly confess, in one of our Creeds, was for Us Men, and for Our Salvation. From whence it is most evident, that God, in all his Actions and Dispositions, hath a constant and more particular regard to Mankind, that They have a Concern in the greatest Works of Providence, and that almost all God’s Doings and Administrations are begun and ended with great Respect to Man’s Advantage; and so as that the promoting of this, shall be the best and most effectual Means of accommodating and reducing all Things at last to Himself; and Our Happiness be made the proper Instrument of his Glory.

Man was created naked, as being more beautiful than all the rest: The smoothness and delicacy of his Skin, the nice tempering of his Humours and Complexion, making a very advantageous Disposition in this respect, above any other Creature whatsoever.

The Body of Man is erect, and touches the Ground with but a very little part of it; but is set streight upright toward Heaven, where he may contemplate his Great Original, view and take Knowledge of his own Perfections, as in a Glass fitted for that purpose. The Plants are just the very reverse of all this: The Head and Root is bury’d in the Ground; and there they spread, and thence they get Improvement. Brutes are in a Position between these Two: But some of them ap-
Of Wisdom. Book I.

proach nearer to the one, and some nearer to the other of those Extremes. As to the true Cause of this upright Figure, it is plain, the rational Soul cannot be it: For the Crooked, the Lame, the Deformed, are so many living Instances, and undeniable Proofs to the contrary: Nor can it be the Back-bone form'd in a direct Line; for Serpents have the same: Nor is it surely the Excess of Natural and Vital Heat above other Creatures; for many other Animals equal, and some excel us in this respect; tho' I will not deny, but each of these may contribure somewhat toward it: (And that of the Serpent is the less Objection against the Form of the Backbone; because the crawling of that Creature upon his Belly, is expressly declar'd to be a Punishment and lasting Reproach, for the Tempter's having assum'd this Form in working the Seduction and Ruin of our First Parents.) But the very Truth is, Our great and mighty Maker and Master thought this the most convenient Posture, and such as best agreed with the Dignity and Pre-eminence of Humane Nature, particularly upon two Accounts.

Partly as a Mark of Distinction due to the Excellencies of the Humane Mind: Thus the old Poets represented it,

Ovid Met.
Lib. 1.

* A Creature of a more exalted kind
Was wanting yet; and then was Man design'd:
Conscience of Thought, of more capacious Breast.

And partly as an Ensign of Royalty; some Characters whereof Naturalists have observ'd in some other petty Principalities; such as the Crown in the Dolphin, the Diadem in the Basilisk, the Lion's stately Mane, which serves as a Collar of Honour; the Colour and the Eyes in the Eagle, and the

* Sanctius his Animal, &c.—*—*

King
Chap. 1. Of the Formation of Man.

King among the Bees. But Man being vested with an universal Monarchy, walks stately upon the Earth, like a Master in his own House: He subdues and manages All either by fair means or by foul; captivates and brings them to his Hand by Force; or makes them tractable and tame by gentle and winning Usage. Hence the same Poet proceeds,

For Empire form'd, and fit to rule the rest,
He, while the mute Creation downward bend
Their Sight, and to their Earthy Mother tend,
Looks up aloft, and with erected Eyes
Beholds his own Hereditary Skies. Dryden.

His Body was form'd at first out of Virgin-Earth, of a red Complexion, from whence the proper Name of Adam was deriv'd: For the common Appellative of the Species in general is Ἰάς. And this well moisten'd, was the common Materials of our Body. So again the Poet,

* Earth the Wise Maker temper'd into Paste,
And mix'd with living Streams the God-like Image cast.

In all Reason, the Body must be before the Soul, as we naturally conceive Matter antecedent to its Form; as the House must be fram'd and fitted up, before we can suppose an Inhabitant in it; and a Shop made and furnish'd, before any Trade can be exercis'd there.

When This was prepar'd and done, the next thing in order was to animate this Body, by the Infusion of a Soul, convey'd thither by Divine Inspiration; For God (says Moses) breathed into him the Breath of

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*Mixtam sylviasbus undis
Emittit in Effigiem. — C 2 —

Life,
C H A P. II.

The first and general Distinction of Man.

MAN as if design'd to be all over Wonder, is a Creature made up of Ingredients vastly different, nay, directly opposite to one another: For what can be more so than those two Constitu¬
ent Parts, His Soul, and His Body? Look upon him with regard to the former of these, and He is a sort of inferior Deity: Turn your Eyes down to the latter, and that Person which before you almost ador'd, you will now be tempted as much to loath and despise; For what is Man thus above a Beast? What but a Load of Corruption, and a Sink of Ill-Humours? And yet, this wonderful Disparity notwithstanding, these two so distant Parts are link'd together with such amazing Art, and embrace each other so close and kindly, that there is at the same time eternal Quarrels, and yet an inviolable Friendship between them. They cannot live together peaceably, and yet they cannot part contentedly: Like a Man that hath a Wolf by the Ears, and neither knows how to hold him, nor to let him go: So is each of these principal Parts in Man; and each may say to the other what the Poet did.

* My Help and Hindrance, Health and Sickness; I Cannot live with thee; and, without thee die.

* Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te.
Chap. 2. The General Distinction of Man.

But in regard one of these Parts admits of a Subdivision, by reason of a great and manifest Difference in the Faculties and Parts of this Soul of ours; the One Part Noble and Pure, Intellectual and Divine; the Other Mean, and Sensual, and Brutish: The best and most lively Representation of Man, and the surest Method of attaining to the Knowledge of him, seems to be the making of this First Division to consist of Three Branches; and saying, That the Conscientious Parts of Man are the Mind, the Soul, and the Flesh. Of these the Mind and the Flesh are the two distant Extremes, distant as Heaven and Earth are from each other; and the Soul hath a middle Station between both, like the Region where all the Storms and Meteors are form'd. The Mind is the most Heroick and exalted Part; the Breath, the Beam, the Image, the Efflux of the Divinity. This in the Man is as the King in the Body Politick; its Tendencies and Motions are to Heaven and Happiness; and it breaths nothing but what is Pure, and Spiritual, and Divine. The Flesh, quite contrary, is like the Dregs of the People, a vile and stupid, rude and tumultuous Mob, the Sediment and Lees, the Brutish Part of Man; and this is perpetually dispos'd to Evil, and sunk into Matter. The Soul, in its middle State, like Persons of Quality in a Kingdom, below the Best, and above the Worst, is capable of inclining to Good or to Evil; and accordingly it is continually solicited on both sides with great Importunity: The Mind and the Flesh are ever struggling to win it over, and, according to the side it takes, it becomes either a Spiritual and Virtuous, or a Vicious and Carnal Soul. This is the Seat of all those Appetites and Passions implanted in us by Nature, which, consider'd simply, and in themselves, have neither Virtue nor Vice in them: Such, for In
Of Wisdom.

Book I.

stance, as Love, (that kind of it which we bear to our Friends and Relations) and Fear, such as that of Shame, Compassion for Persons in Distress, and Desire of a good Reputation.

This Distinction deserves the rather to be observed, because it will assist us very much in the Knowledge of ourselves, and give Men a true Idea of their Actions, which are otherwise apt to be misunderstood, by passing Judgments upon a slight and superficial View, and attributing That to the Mind, which in reality proceeds from the Soul; nay, sometimes from the Flesh, and mistaking That for Virtue, which is meerly the Effect of Nature, nay, the Instigation of Vice: For it is no breach of Charity to say, That a great many noble and brave Actions have been done in Heat and Passion, or else out of Humour, and Fancy, and natural Inclination; not so much with a Design to benefit Others, as to please Our Selves.
CHAP. III.

Of the Humane Body, and its Constituent Parts.

The Body of Man is built and put together, so as to consist of Parts vastly numerous, both Within and Without: And of these, by far the greater number, are either round, or of a Figure not far distant from it.

Those Within are of Two sorts: Some dispers’d all over the Body in large Quantities and great Numbers; as for Instance, The Bones, which are the Bases and Pillars that support this Structure: The Muscles, which are the Instruments of Strength and Motion: The Veins, which are the Channels for conveying the Blood to the Heart; and the Arteries, which, like so many Pipes, feed them perpetually, by sending it from the Heart to the several Parts of the Body. The Nerves, which are distributed by Pairs, and are the Instruments of Sense and Motion, by vertue of the Animal Spirits contain’d in, and diffus’d by them. Of These some are soft, which serve the Head, and assist our Sight, our Hearing, our Tastte, and our Speech: Others are hard, and these are laid along the Spina Dorsii, and so inserted into the Muscles; the Tendons, the Ligaments, and the Cartilages. There are likewise the Four Humours, the Blood; Choler, which provokes and hinders Obstructions, throws off the Excrementitious Parts, and excites Cheerfulness: Melancholy, which whets the Appetite, and moderates sudden Motions: Phlegm, which sweetens the two Humours last mention’d, (Yellow and Black
Black Choler) and checks inordinate Heats. *The Spirits*, which are a sort of generous Fumes, evaporated by the Natural Heat, and Radical Moi-
fluence; and of These there are Three Degrees of Excellency, the Natural, the Vital, and the Ani-
mal. *The Fat*, which is the thickest and oyliest Part of the Blood.

3. Other Parts are single and determin'd to some particular Place. Now the whole Body may be conveniently enough divided into Four Stories or Apartments, which are in a manner as many several Shops or Workhouses, wherein Nature keeps her Powers and Faculties employ'd. *The First and lowest of These*, is that concern'd in the Prop-
agation of the Species. The Second, and next above, is the *Entrails*, the *Bewels*, and *Stomach*, which in Situation inclines somewhat to the Left-
Side; its Form is round, freighter below than above, with two Orifices, one at the Top, to re-
ceive Nourishment; another at the Bottom, an-
swering to the Guts, whose Business 'tis to dis-
charge and empty it. This Vessel receives, col-
lects, mingles, and concocts the several sorts of Nourishment taken in at our Mouths; and from thence works off a whitish Juice called *Chyle*, pro-
per for the Sustenance and Nutriment of the Body, and afterwards wrought over again more accu-
rately in the *Meseraick Veins*, thro' which it qual-
fies into the Liver. *The Liver* is hot and moist, lying somewhat more to the Right-Side. This is the proper Work-house of the Blood, the great Source of the Veins, the Seat of the Vegetative Faculty. Here the *Chyle* drawn off from the *Meseraick Veins* is converted into Blood, which is taken into its Cavities by the *Vena Ports*, and discharg'd again by the *Vena Cava*; (which takes from the Convex Part,) and its Branches, in abundance of Ducts, like Rivulets or Streams from a Foun-
Fountain. In the Left-Side lies the Spleen, which receives the Discharge and Excrementitious Humours of the Liver. Then follow the Reins and the Guts, which hang all together in one Link, and, as according to the usual Proportion, the Stature of a Man is seven times as much as the length of a common Foot; so the Bowels, when drawn out, are usually seven times the length of a Man. These Two former Apartments, which some contract into One, (tho' the Offices of them are so very different, as to justify the distinguishing them into Two) are, by many Authors, resembled to the lowest Region of the Universe; the Elementary one, which is the Seat of Generation and Corruption; and here that which goes by the Name of the Concupiscible Soul, keeps its peculiar Residence.

The Third Story is compar'd to the Æthereal Region; and this is separated from the former by the Diaphragme, as it is from That still above it by the Throat: Here the Inscible Soul hath its Dwelling; and Here those Parts in the Breast lie, which are termed the Præcordia; as the Heart, whose Situation is much about the Fifth Rib, and its Point a little diverting towards the Left Pap. This is exceeding Hot; the common Source of all the Arteries, by which it distributeth the Vital Blood there concocted, thro' the whole Body, and in that Blood the Vital Spirits: And all this by a Discharge so sensible and strong, that each Evacuation creates that Motion which we call the Pulse. Here likewise are the Lungs, a soft, rare, and spongy Substance, supple and pliable in their Motions, like a Pair of Bellows; and thus they become the Instruments of Respiration: By which the Heart is cool'd with fresh Air, the Blood kept in perpetual Agitation; the Fumes and Excrements that oppress it are by this means discharg'd, and the Voice form'd
form'd by the Help of the Aspéra Arteria, or Wind-Pipe.

5. The Fourth and last Apartment, which answers to that highest Region, by way of Eminence call'd Heaven, is the Head; and this contains the Brain, a Substance cold and spongy, cover'd over, and wrap'd up into two Membranes, One hard and thick, which touches the Skull, and is term'd the Dura Mater: The Other more gentle and thin, contiguous to the former, and known by the Name of Pia Mater. From the Brain are deriv'd all the Nerves, and that Marrow which runs all along thro' the Back-bone. This Brain is the Seat of the Reasonable Soul, the Source of Sense and Motion, and of all those Noble Spirits call'd the Animal, and extracted from the Vital Spirits, which, when sent up thro' the Arteries into the Brain, are concocted, refin'd, wrought off, and subtiliz'd, by means of an infinite number of small and exceeding fine Arteries, which, like so many little Threads plaited and interwoven with each other, make a sort of Labyrinth, or double Net, (the Rete Mirabile) in which the Vital Spirit being kept, by perpetual Motion, backward and forward, is exalted and refin'd, till it becomes Animal, that is, sublimated and spirituous to the last and highest Degree.

6. The outward Parts, and such as stand in View, are either single or double. If single, they are plac'd in the midst, as the Nose, which serves us in Breathing and Smelling, and conveys Comfort and Refreshment to the Brain; as it is also useful for the discharge of any Humours which happen to annoy the Head: And thro' this Passage the Air goes in and out, both for the Service of the Lungs below, and of the Brain above. The Mouth, which assists us in Speaking and Eating; and as the Uses of it are different, so are the Parts likewise
chap. 3. of the humane body, &c.

wife which qualify it for those uses. without, there are the lips; within, you have the tongue, extremly nimble in motion, and a nice distinguisher of tastes: the teeth, to bruise and chew our meat, and prepare it for the stomach.

if the parts of the head be double and alike, they are plac'd collaterally, and answer exactly to each other: so do the eyes, which, like sentinels or spies, are posted at the top of the house, for the gaining a more advantageous prospect: these are made up of wonderful variety; each hath three humours, seven coats, seven muscles, different colours, and are form'd with infinite artifice, and inexpressible contrivance. they are indeed the noblest and most admirable parts of any that appear outwardly in the body: their beauty, their usefulness, the sprightliness of their motion, their strange attractive power in creating love. these are to the face what the face is to the rest of the body; the life and air of the countenance it self: and in regard they are exceeding tender, and nice, and valuable, therefore provident nature hath cover'd and fenc'd them in very carefully on all sides, with skins, and lids, and brows, and hair. the ears are near upon the same level with the eyes; these being a sort of scouts to the body, and porters for the mind; they receive, report, and distinguish sounds, which naturally ascend upward. the approaches and entries of this organ of sense, are intricate and crooked, full of windings and turnings, to prevent the air from rushing in too quick, and with too great violence, by which means the hearing might be extremly impair'd, the organ wounded and strain'd, and the sound more confus'd by its excessive loudness.

to all these we must add the hands and arms, by which all manner of workmanship is perform'd; and
and our Legs and Feet, which like Pillars support this wonderful Edifice, and which, altho' not of the Trunk and main part of the Body, are yet Instruments of such universal Use, that the Body can very hardly subsist without them; and it would be very ungrateful not to allow These an honourable Mention in this Account, whose Labours make Provision for the whole.

C H A P. IV.

THE Body of Man hath several very particular and distinguishing Qualities, which are Excellencies peculiar to himself, and such as Beasts have no Share at all in. The first and most remarkable seem to be these that follow: Speech, an Erect Stature, that Form and Port which hath been in so high Esteem among Wise Men, nay, even with the Stoicks, the rigidest and most abstracted of all Philosophers, that they declar'd it more eligible to be a Fool in Humane Shape, than to be Wise in the Form of a Brute; so preferring the Advantage of this Frame of Ours, before even Wisdom itself, and all the Beauties of the Soul without it. The Hand, which is a Prodigy in Nature, and no other Creature, not even the Ape itself, hath any thing comparable to it; the natural Nakedness and Smoothness of our Skin; Laughing and Crying; the Sense of being Tickled; the Eye-Lash upon the lower Lid of the Eye; a visible Navel; the Point of the Heart inclining toward the Left-Side; the Knee, which is said to stand forward in no other Creature whatsoever; the Palpitation of the Heart; Bleeding at the Nose, which you will think very odd, when you recollect that Men carry their Head upright, and Beasts hang theirs down toward the Ground; Blush-
 Chap. 4. Of the Humane Body, &c.

...ing for Shame; Looking Pale for Fear; Multiplying at all times indifferently; not moving their Ears, which in other Animals is a Signification of their inward Passions: But these are sufficiently discover'd in Mankind by looking Red or Pale; and particular Motions of the Eyes and Nose.

Others, tho' they are not altogether his own, and incommunicable, yet may be stily'd Peculiar, in respect of the Degree and the Advantage he hath above others which partake of them: Such are the Number of his Muscles, and vast Quantity of Hair upon his Head; the Nimbleness and wonderful Variety of Motions in his Limbs and Joints; the great Abundance of the Brain; the Largeness of his Bladder; the Form of the Foot, so very long forward, and so short a Heel behind; the vast Quantity, the Cleanness and the Fineness of the Blood; the Easiness and Agility of the Tongue; the Multitude and unspeakable Variety of his Dreams, so extremely above all other Animals, that Man alone deserves the Name of a Dreaming Creature; the Faculty of Speaking: And, to be short, the innumerable different Motions of his Eyes, and Nose, and Lips.

Some there are that have particular Countenances and Looks, Gestures and Motions, which Art and Affection have accustomed them to; and some others who have these from Nature: They are particular indeed, and so distinguish them from other Men; but yet they are so natural, that the Persons are not at all sensible of them when they do them; as Leaning the Head on one Side, Blowing the Nose, and a hundred other such Gestures. But some again there are common to all Mankind, such as Reason and Contrivance hath nothing to do in, but they are the Effect of meer Natural Impulse; as for Instance, that of putting our Hands before us when we are falling; which
which all do without thinking; and some do it we see at a time when they cannot think at all.

CHAP. V.

Of the Advantages of the Body, &c.

The Excellencies of the Body are Health, Beauty, Sprightliness, Agility, Vigour, Dexterity, Gracefulness in Motion and Behaviour; but Health is infinitely above all; Health is the loveliest, the most desirable, the richest Present in the Power of Nature to make: It justly challenges Precedence above all Temporal Blessings and Advantages. Not only Learning and Knowledge, Wealth and Greatness, and Noble Blood, but even Wisdom it self, in the Judgment of the severest Philosophers, is inferior to it. This is the only Thing that deserves our utmost Endeavours, our greatest Hazards, the only one, which is worth the venturing our very Lives for the acquiring and Enjoyment of it: For indeed our very Lives without it are flat and insipid, nay, they are troublesome and painful; and Virtue and Wisdom languish, and decay, and die, if this do not keep them in Beauty and Vigour, and Exercise. Suppose a Man of the greatest Abilities that ever Humane Nature had, or is capable of, what Advantage would all this be to him in a Fit of an Appoplexy, or a Fever, or any other violent Distemper? Certainly there can be but one Thing in the World more valuable, and that is Probity; for Probity is to the Soul, what Health is to the Body. Now, tho' this be commonly the Gift of Nature, and the Effect of an originally good Constitution,
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a just and proper Temperament of Humours, and fit Disposition of Parts and Vessels in the first Formation of the Body; yet, no doubt, can be made, but the Nourishment and Methods afterwards contribute very much to it also. The wholesomeness of the Milk, and a good found Nurse in the time of Infancy; and a regular way of Living, when Men come to their own Conduet and Management; Sobriety and Temperance of all kinds; moderate Exercise; Appetites well govern'd, and keeping one's self from Melancholy, and all violent Passion and Disorder of the Mind, do assist, preserve, confirm, and finish what Nature and Complexion at first begun. Sickness and Pain are its Opposites and Enemies, and these are the forest, perhaps indeed (when all things are rightly consider'd) the only Evils incident to Mankind: Concerning which more will be said hereafter. But both in Enjoying and Preserving this, the Brutes seem to have the better of us; for Man often ruins himself, and pays dear for his Frolics and Excesses.

The next Advantage to This in Order and Dignity, is Beauty; which is a very great Recommendation, and of mighty Influence in Conversation and Society: This is the first thing that conciliates Mens Favour, and unites them to one another; and it is highly probable, that this was the first and principal Mark of Distinction, the first Consideration, which gave Men any Preference and Authority over their Fellows. The Power and Efficacy of this Quality is indisputable; every one sees and feels it; no other Accomplishment gains more Esteem; none is so general and so commanding in all the Affairs of Humane Life. None are so barbarous, none so stupid or so obstinate, as not to be smitten with it: It steps forward, and offers it self to publick View; it bespeaks our Favour,
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your, prepossesses our Fancy, seduces and bribes our Judgment, makes strong and deep Impressions, and is full of Importance, full of Authority. Socrates understood its Power full well, when he called it, a short Tyranny upon the Mind; and Plato, when he term'd it the Privilege of Nature. For a Man can hardly forbear thinking, that the Persons, to whom Nature hath been so partial in her Favours, and signaliz'd with charming and uncommon Graces, have a sort of lawful in-born Power over us, and were made to command. These, when they draw our Eyes and Observation, do insensibly attract our Hearts too, and fasten our Affections upon them, and captivate and enslave us, whether we will or no. Aristotle says, that Superiority and Government belongs to the Comely; that They command our Veneration next after the Gods, as being the liveliest and fairest Copies of those Glorious Originals; and that all but the Blind must and ought to be affected with their Excellencies. The Three great Princes, Cyrus, Alexander, and Cesar, found This of mighty Importance, and made the Gracefulness of their Persons turn to good account in their weightiest Affairs; and so did Scipio more than any of them. Handsom and Good, have a great Affinity, and both the * Greek Language, and the Stile of Holy Scriptures, seem to express this, by using one and the same Word to signify both. Several great Philosophers found their Beauty serviceable, in their Study, and Acquisition of Wisdom; and to shew that this Recommendation is universal, it is not confined to Men only, but is valued, and of great Request, even among Brutes.

Now Beauty is of great Variety, and may be consider'd in very different Respects. That which is proper to Men, consists chiefly in a Majestick Form and goodly Stature: The other sorts of Beauty are of a softer and more effeminate kind; they may be
be rather called Prettiness, and these are more peculiar to the Female Sex. In each of these, there is a Subdivision; One, which is a fixed and lasting Beauty; and this consists in having the Parts well proportion'd, and the Colours justly mix'd: A Body not swell'd nor bloated, and yet not so thin and meager neither, that the Nerves should shew themselves, or the Bones start out of the Skin; but full of Blood, and Spirits, and well in Flesh; the Muscles high and clear; the Skin smooth and soft; the Complexion fresh and rosy. The Other is a moveable and inconstant Beauty, which may be term'd Gracefulness; and this consists in a good Air, and becoming Motions; wherein all the Parts of the Body are concern'd, but the Eyes more so than any of the rest. The former is as it were dead, when not attended with This, for all the Life and Action is in the latter. There are also some Beauties of a more masculine, and rough, and fierce Air; and others of a softer, sweet, tender and languishing kind.

The Beauty and Excellence of the Body, is more peculiarly seated in the Face; and our Measures of it are chiefly taken from thence. The loveliest Thing in the Person of a Man is his Soul; and in the Body of a Man it is his Face; For this is as it were the Abstract, the Copy and Image of the Soul. It is a piece of Natural Heraldry, where all the Advantages and Coats of Pretence are distinctly Quarter'd and Blazon'd; and This, like a Scutcheon, is plac'd upon the Front of the House, that you may know whose Seat it is, and who, and of what Quality the Person is that owns and inhabits it. For the Face is an Abridgement of the whole Man; and this seems to be the Reason, why Art, which always follows Nature, and treads in her Steps, troubles it self little farther in Paintings and Carvings, than to give you an exact Representation of the
the Face from the Life; and leaves the rest of the Picture or Statue to the Artist's own Discretion.

Now there are several very great Niceties, particularly observable in Humane Faces; such as may very truly be term’d Properties of the Face, since neither Brutes, nor any other Part of our own Bodies, can pretend to the like. And indeed, for want of These, Brutes can scarce be truly said to have any Face. First, The great Number and Variety of distinct Features, and the several Fashions of them. For those of Beasts consist of much fewer; The Cheeks, the Chin, and the Forehead, are there all in one, and not distinguish’d like Ours; nor have they the Figure of Ours at all. Secondly, The wonderful Diversity of Colours; for in the Eye it self, there is a mixture of Black, and White, and Green, and Blue, and Red, and Crystalline. Thirdly, The regular Symmetry of the Parts, whereby the Proportions answer to each other. And this is observable in the Organs of Sense, being double, and exactly corresponding; and in the different Relations, which the rest bear mutually, in length and breadth. Thus the largeness of each Eye, measuring at the top of the Socket, gives you the Wideness of the Mouth; the Breadth of the Forehead is the same with the Length of the Nose; and that again is of the same Dimension with the Lips and the Chin below. Fourthly, The wonderful Diversity of Faces, so nice, so astonishing; that among so many Millions of People, there are not two to be found exactly, and all through alike. This is such a Master-Piece, as all Nature cannot furnish such another Instance of. And this deserves a little more particular Attention; because it shews the Goodness, as well as the Power and Wisdom of our Adorable Maker, upon the Account of the mighty Consequence and Benefit such Variety is of to Humane Society. First, In regard
Chap. 5. Of the Advantage of the Body.

regard it supplies us with Marks of Distinction, sufficient to know one another asunder by. For infinite and inconceivable Mischiefs must needs follow, no less indeed than utter disbanding and breaking off all Commerce and Communication, if Mens Faces were so like, as to make us liable perpetually to mistake one Person for another: A Daughter for a Wife, an Enemy for a Friend; and thus a second and worse Babel would follow. Were there no Resemblance at all indeed, then Men would not be distinguished from Brutes; but were there not some Unlikelihood too, then any one Man could not be discern’d from any other Man. And, which is yet more wonderful, Nature hath dealt these Differences so artificially, as to satisfy all Parties; and found out a Secret, that those who are most unlike should be highly contented themselves, and should please others also. For the Matter is so order’d, that there is no Person but is approved, and thought very well to pass, by some Body or other; and the Faces themselves do not disagree more than Peoples Fancies, and their Inclinations to several sorts of That which they call Beauty. A Fifth Quality peculiar to Humane Faces, is the Dignity and Honour of them, resulting from the oval Figure, theesture Postion, the Elevation above the Body, their Direction upwards to Heaven, their naked Graces, without any Covering of Shag, or Hair, or Feathers, or Scales, as Beasts and Birds have. A Sixth is the Air of the Face, a pleasant agreeable Sweetness; so infinuating, so engaging, that (as was said before) Hearts are immediately caught, and our Wills and Affections violently born away with it. In a Word, The Face is the Throne of Beauty and of Love; Seat of Smiles, and of Kisses, two Things peculiar to Mankind; agreeable and innocent, when used as Nature intended them, for true and affectionate Express-
Expressions of Civility and Friendship, and Kindness, and a good Understanding between Man and Man, and once a Ceremony used in the most Solemn Religious Assemblies. Lastly, This is adapted to all manner of Changes in the Temper; it expresses all the inward Motions and Passions of the Soul. Joy and Grief, Love or Hatred, Envy and Malice, Shame and Anger, Indignation and Jealousy, and the rest of them, immediately betray themselves here. This is like the Hand to the Watch, which tells us the Hours and the Minutes, while all the Wheels and Springs, by which those Movements are made, lie within and out of Sight. And as the Air receives all Colours, and all Alterations of the Weather, and so lets us know what Changes are coming: So may it be said of the Countenance too. *The Body (says one) both covers and discovers the Mind, and you may read the Man in his Face.

6. A Description of the Beauty of a Face.

The Beauty of a Face consists in a large, square, well-spread Forehead; clear and unclouded; even small and fine Eye-brows; a well cut, brisk and sparkling Eye; a straight well-proportion'd Nose; a little Mouth, with red Lips; high full Cheeks with a pleasant Dimple in Smiling; a round compact Ear; and all over These a lively Complexion of good wholesome White and Red. But yet this Description is not allowed Universally; for several Nations and Climates have several Opinions of Beauty. The Indians particularly esteem That the most exquisite Beauty, which We look upon to be the greatest Deformity; a Tawny Complexion, large thick Lips, a flat wide Nose, and Teeth stain'd with black or red; long hanging Ears; a low hairy Forehead; vast pendulous Breasts, so large, that they may sling them over their Shoul-

* Corpus animum tegit & detegit: In facie legitur Homo.
Chap. 5. Of the Advantages of the Body.

ders, and give Suck to the Children at their Backs; and these are so much in Esteem, so desirable Qualities, that they use all possible Art and Industry, to bring themselves to this Shape. But what need we go to the Indies, when our very next Neighbours differ so much in their Notions of the Matter? For the Spaniards think none Beauties but the Lean and Slender; and the Italians, on the other hand, prefer the well-set, the strong, and the plump; and think there can be no such thing as Handsomeness without these Qualifications. And indeed in every Country some are for the soft, the weak, the tender, and the little Women; and others for the tall, the strong, the masculine, and bolder Beauties.

Now this outward Gracefulness of the Body, and more particularly that of the Face, ought in all reason to be an Indication and certain Evidence of the inward Beauties of the Soul. (And these consist in an Evenness of Temper, a Regularity of Opinions and Judgments, steadily maintain'd, and a Firmness and Constancy of Mind resulting from hence.) For surely nothing is more agreeable to Nature, than the mutual Relation and Conformity of the Body and the Mind. And where this Correspondence and Similitude does not appear, we are to conclude, that some Accident hath unfortunately interpos'd, and broken the ordinary Course of Nature; as it very often happens, and is very apparent that there does. For the Milk of a base Nurse, the First Advances in Education and Instruction, the Company they frequent, and sundry other Things, may leave a strong Tincture behind, work mighty Changes in the Natures and Humours of Men, and give them Dispositions quite different from those they were born with, either toward Virtue, or to Vice. Socrates acknowledg'd, that the Deformity of his Body testified against him for the Deformity of his Soul; and that the Evidence
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it gave was true; but that by Study and Pains added to a good Education, he had amended his Mind. The Air and Face of a Man is no good Rule, and very dangerous it is to depend upon it either way. But they who have an honest engaging Look, ought to suffer double Punishment, if they belye it in their Actions. For they betray and deceive People by their fair Promises, which Nature hath written in their Foreheads, and which they themselves make so ill a Use of, as to trapan and cheat the World with them.

It were well indeed, if we would follow Socrates’s Advice upon this Occasion, as all of us ought to do, in becoming more nice and attentive in observing and considering curiously the Beauties of Mens Minds; and in taking the same Satisfaction in beholding those Charms, as we do in gazing upon these of the Body; and so to come up close to them, contract an Alliance and Friendship with them; and unite our selves to them inseparably, by admiring, loving, imitating them with all imaginable Affection and Zeal. This were an Object worthy our Passion indeed. But alas! all People are not qualified for it, none but Philosophical Eyes can behold and discover Those Graces, and none but pure and refin’d Souls can take Delight in the Love and Practice of them.

CHAP.
CHAP. VI.

Of Apparel for the Body.

Many probable Reasons may be given that may induce us to believe the way of going Naked, which is still continued in a considerable Part of the World, to have been the Original, and once Univerfal Mode of all Mankind, how odd and singular soever it may seem to Us at this Day. The other of Cloathing seems the Effecf of Art and Invention, contriv'd to abolish Nature upon Pretence of mending it; as fantastical People shut out the Sun, and enlighten their Rooms at Midday with Tapers and Candles. And surely this is not so much the Dictate of Necessity as some would make us believe. For it is by no means to be imagin'd, that Nature, which hath been so liberal in all her Provisions for every other Creature, and particularly in Point of warm and convenient Covering, hath dealt so much worse by Man, than all the rest, as to leave him the only indigent Child she hath, and in such Need of Help from other Hands, that he must starve and perish presently, if he be not succour'd, and supply'd with it. This is one of the Reproaches which fanciful and melancholy People cast upon Nature, when they call her a hard and cruel Step-Mother to Mankind; but that Charge against her is false and unjust. Upon the Supposition, that Men had from the Beginning been all accustom'd to Clothes, it is not easy to conceive how any Number of them should ever take up a Fancy of throwing them aside again, and going Naked; both because a Regard to
to their Health, which must needs have suffer'd extreamly by so disadvantageous an Exchange, and a Regard to Modesty and Shame too, must in all reason have persuad'd the contrary. And yet we see, this is still the Fashion in several Nations, which is a great Presumption of its having once been the Fashion of all Mankind naturally. For what can be alleg'd for the contrary Opinion? Will you urge the Two common Reasons, that Clothes were always necessary to cover our Shame, and to defend us against the Cold? (I mention not the Heat, because it is not likely they were taken up for a Protection against That) These Arguments are plainly insufficient. Look back to the Primitive State of our First Ancestors, and you will find that Nature never taught them to be out of Courtenance at their Nakedness. The Distinctions of this kind are of a later Date; and it was Guilt first, and then Custom, that introduced Shame. Besides, even those very Parts, which we take Pains to conceal, Nature hath been before-hand with us, in keeping out of Sight. But if we should allow this for one Reason of Cloathing, yet the Argument can only concern the Covering of these Parts. The Consequence of it cannot possibly extend to the rest; and thus we see in some Countries some Persons of better Condition, do consult their own and the Beholder's Modesty, without troubling themselves for any farther Garments; tho' the Common People in the same Places go stark naked. Some have thought it a Disparagement, that Man, who challenges a Precedence and Authority over all Things here below, should not dare to shew himself to the World, as God Almighty made him; but tho' that Thought be liable to some Exception, yet I think truly it cannot be for his Honour, to think himself enrich'd with the Spoils of his Subjects; to be proud of the Ornaments they furnish
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furnish him with, and value himself, or disesteem others, according as he possesses, or they want these poor Advantages, (if they are fit to be call’d Advantages even in the last and lowest Degree.) And yet this is a Vanity so prevailing, that, as if Reason could not urge enough to make People ashamed of it, Religion had interpos’d her Authority too, to forbid Affectation and Pride in tricking and setting off our Persons, and teaches us, that we should never think our selves truly adorn’d, except when the virtuous and shining Qualities of the Mind render us agreeable and lovely in the Eyes of God and Man. These are the Jewels, these the Ornaments which wou’d most effectually repair that Shame which all our outward Dresses were so industriously contriv’d to cover.

As to that other Argument, which proceeds upon Cold, and some other Things that render Apparel necessary, either to particular Persons of a Constitution more feeble, or to all that dwell under one Climate, sharper than the rest; we know full well, that some go naked, and others dress, in the very same Latitude, and the very same Air; and there is never a one of us but exposes the tenderest Part about him to all Weather continually: Which gave occasion to that Reply of a sturdy Beggar, who, when he was ask’d how he cou’d endure to go naked in the midst of Frost and Snow, made only this Answer, That other People cou’d bear their Faces naked, and he was Face all over. History tells us of several very great Persons who went constantly bare-headed, as Mæsinissa, and Caesar, and Hannibal, and Severus: And some Nations there are, who being accustom’d to no Defence for their Bodies at other Times, never trouble themselves for any when they go into the Wars, but engage in the hottest Action, whole Armies of naked Men together. Plato thinks it adviseable for the
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the Health never to cover either the Head or the Feet at all. Varro pretends, that when Men were commanded to stand bare in the Temple of the Gods, and in the Presence of the Magistrates; it was not only the Respectfulness of the Ceremony, but the Wholsomeness of it, that the Law had regard to; since Men by this Means harden'd their Bodies against the Injuries of Wind and Weather, and strengthen'd themselves, while they paid a due Reverence to their Superiors.

In a Word, abstractive from what Revelation hath taught us, and looking at Nature only, I shou'd make no doubt but the Contrivances of Hutts and Houses, and other Shelters against the Violence of the Seasons, and the Assaults of Men, was a much more ancient Institution than that of Cloathing; and there seems to have been more of Nature and universal Practice in it; for we see that Beasts and Birds do the same thing. The Care and Provision of Victuals was unquestionably of far greater Antiquity than either of the former; for this seems to have been one of the first Impulses and Dictates of Nature; the Necessities and Appetites whereof return so thick upon us, that it is not easy to suppose Man cou'd subsist at all without this Care. But of these Matters we shall have other Opportunities to treat more fully, when we come to give Rules for the Use and Regulation both of Food and Raiment, hereafter.
C H A P. VII.

Concerning the Soul in general.

We are now entering upon a subject of all others the most difficult and nice; one which has been treated of, and particularly canvassed by the greatest philosophers, and most penetrating wits of all ages and countries: Egyptian, Greek, Arabian, and Latin authors; but yet so that their opinions have been infinitely various, according to the several nations from whence they sprung, the religions they embraced, the professions in which they had been educated, and the reasons that offered themselves to their thoughts: So that how far ever each man might satisfy his own mind, yet they have never been able to come to any general good agreement or certain determination in the matter. Now the main points in controversy upon this occasion, are those ten that follow: What may be the definition of the soul; what its real essence and nature; its faculties and actions; whether there be one or more souls in a man; whence its original; what the time and manner of its entering the body; the manner of its residence; the seat where it dwells; the sufficiency to execute the several functions belonging to it; and lastly, its end, or separation from the body.

First of all: It is exceeding hard to give an accurate definition of the soul, or be able to say exactly what it is. And this in truth is the cause of all forms in general; and we cannot well conceive how it should be otherwise with things which are relative, and have no proper and independent

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Subsistence of their own, but are only Parts of some Whole. Hence, without question, it hath come to pass, that the Definitions of it put abroad have been so many, and at the same time so infinitely various too, that not any one of them hath been receiv'd without Clashing or Contradiction. Aristotle hath rejected no less than Twelve among the Philosophers who had written before him; and yet he hath found but little better Success with That of his own, which he labour'd (but in vain) to establish in the room of them.

Nothing can indeed be more easy and obvious than to determine what the Soul is not. We dare be confident that it is not Fire, Air, nor Water, nor a Mixture and due Temperament of the Four Elements together, the Qualities or the Humours nicely adjusted: For This is a thing in perpetual Flux and Uncertainty; the Animal subsists and lives without it: And besides, This is manifestly an Accident, whereas the Soul is a Substance. To this we may add, that Minerals, and several inanimate Creatures, have a Temperament of the Four Elements, and prime Tactile Qualities, and still continue Inanimate notwithstanding. Nor can the Soul be the Blood; for several Instances may be given of Animated and Living Creatures, without any Blood at all belonging to them; and several Creatures die without losing one Drop of Blood. Nor is it the Principle and First Cause of Motion in us; for several Inanimate Things impart Motion: So does the Loadstone to the Iron; the Amber to the Straw; Medicines, and Drugs, and Roots of Trees, when dry'd, and cut to pieces, draw and create very strong Motions. Nor is it the Act, Life, Energy, or Perfection, (for Aristotle's Term Entelechia hath been interpreted in all these differing Senses) for all this cannot be the very Essence of the Soul itself, but only the Operation and Effect of it, as Living, Seeing,
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Seeing, and Understanding are plain and proper Actions of the Soul. Besides, admitting this Notion, it would follow from thence, that the Soul were not a Substance, but an Accident only, that it could not possibly subsist without that Body, whose Act and Perfection it is, any more than the Roof of a House can subsist as such, without the Building which it covers and is supported by, or a Relative without its Correlate. In a word, When we express our selves after this manner, we only declare what the Soul does, and what it is with respect to something else; but we pronounce nothing of its proper and abstracted Nature, or what it is in itself.

Now, tho’ Things are thus far clear and easy, yet when we go farther the Case alters extremally. A Man may lay indeed that the Soul is an Essential Life-giving Form, which distributesthis Gift as the Receiver is capable of it. To the Plant it imparts Vegetation; to the Brute Sense, which includes and contains Vegetation under it; and to Man Intellectual Life, in which both the former are imply’d, as the Greater Numbers comprehend the Less; and as in Figures, a Pentagon includes a Quadrangle, and That again a Triangle. I rather choose to term this the Intellectual Life than the Rational, (which is compriz’d and understood by it, as the Less is within the Greater) and that particularly in deference to those many renown’d Philosophers, who have allow’d Reason in some Sense, and some Degree, even to the Brutes; but not Any of them have ever gone so high, as to attribute the Intelligent Faculty to Them; and therefore I take Intellectual Life to be a more unexceptionable, more distinguishing Character of the Humane Soul than the other, which some have thought not entirely and particularly our own. The Soul in the mean while is not the Principle and Original of Life: (This, in my Judgment, is a Term
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Tenth due to none but the Sovereign Author of our Being, the Lord and Giver of Life) but it is the Internal Cause (if you please) of Life and Motion, of Sense and Understanding: It moves the Body, but is not moved it self; as on the contrary, the Body is moved, but moves not; I say, it moves the Body, but it moves not it self; for tho' Self-Motion be in some Sense a Character by which we express the Freedom of the Humane Will, yet, considering the depending State of a Creature, I rather forbear a Term, which, in its strict and most exalted Sense, cannot, in my Apprehension, belong to any but God himself: For whatsoever moves it self thus, must be Absolute and Eternal; and that Power of moving the Body which the Soul hath, it hath not from it self, but from Above.

The next Enquiry concerns the Essence or Nature of the Soul, (the Humane one I mean; for as to That of Brutes, little doubt is to be made but this is Corporeal and Material, conceiv'd, born, and bred with Matter, and corruptible with it too) and this is no such inconsiderable Dispute as some perhaps may imagine; for some have affirm'd it to be Corporeal; others again, contend as vehemently, that it is Incorporeal: Which Opinions we will beg the Reader's leave to compare a little, and how wide forever they may seem, we'll try if it be not possible to reconcile them. The Arguments which have persuaded Men to believe the Soul Corporeal, are such as follow. First, The Authority of the most Eminent Philosophers and Divines; and of the latter, no less than Tertullian, Origen, St. Basil, Gregory, Augustine, and Damascene, who all admit, That the Spirits, both Good and Bad, which are entirely separated from Matter, are yet Corporeal; and if They be so who have nothing to do with Matter, how much more probable is this Notion of
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of the Humane Soul, which is in constant Dealings with, and closely united to it? The Ground of their determining these Things to be Corporeal, is a Notion, that All Creatures of what kind ever, when compar'd with God, are Gross, Corporeal, and Material; and that God Himself alone is so excellent a Substance as to be Incorporeal; and therefore every Spirit is Body, and of a Corporeal Nature. To this of Authority may be added another Argument drawn from Reason. All that is contain'd in this Finite World, must needs be Finite itself; limited in Virtue and in Essence; circumscrib'd by some Superficies, confin'd within some Place; all which are the true and natural Conditions of a bodily Substance. God alone is every where; He alone is Infinite, and therefore He alone is Incorporeal. The common Distinctions of a Circumscriptive, Definitive, Effective Presence, seem to be meerly verbal, and to carry very little or no Force at all: For still it is undeniably certain, That Spirits are in a Place after such a manner, that at the same time they are there, they are not elsewhere too, nor can be in more Places than one at once. They are not in Infinite Space, nor in extremam Little, nor extreamly Large Room, but to take up so much as is proportionable to their Size, and equal to their Finite Substance. And, did not the Case stand thus with them, how cou'd Spirits change their Place and Residence? How cou'd they ascend or descend, which yet the Scripture frequently takes notice of their doing? For, if Incorporeal, they must be incapable of Motion, Indivisible, and so everywhere indifferently. Since then 'tis evident they change their Places, is not this sufficient to convince us that they are capable of Motion and Division, subject to Time, and the Successions of it, which is requisite for the adjusting of Motion, and
and measuring the Passages and mutual Distances from one Place to another? All which are Qualities belonging to a Body. But now, in regard that the generality of People, who see not to the bottom of these Distinctions, by the Word Corporeal, form to themselves an Idea of something Visible and Palpable, and so gross as must affect our Senses: Since they have no Notion of pure and subtil Air, nor entertain any Conception of Fire abstracted from Fuel and Flame; since, I say, they cannot persuade themselves that Things so subtiliz’d are Corporeal, hence it hath grown into Use, to say, That Spirits in a State of Separation, and Humane Souls in the Body, are not Corporeal Substances: Nor are they so indeed in this gross and vulgar Sense; for they are of an Invisible Substance, whether that be Airy, as many Philosophers and Divines have persuaded themselves; or whether Celestial, and yet more refin’d, as some Hebrew and Arabian Authors, who call Heaven and Spirit both by the same Name, of an Essence proper to Immortality; or whether it consist of a Substance still more subtil and purify’d than even the Æthereal or Celestial itself; but still Corporeal nevertheless, since subject to all those Conditions of a Body, of being confin’d and circumscrib’d within a certain Space; capable of Motion, and measurable in that Motion, by the successive Periods of Time. Again, were they not Corporeal, they must be impalpable; for which way cou’d they suffer as we find they do? The Soul of Man manifestly receives, and is affected with, Satisfaction and Uneasiness, Pleasure and Pain; and as deeply as sensibly touch’d with these Things in her Turn, as the Body is from her Dictates and her Passions. Again, She is likewise wrought upon and distinguish’d by Good and Ill Qualities, Virtues and Vices, Affections and Inclinations of all sorts: All which are Acci-
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Accidents; and as such require some Bodily Substance for their Support and Subsistence. Lastly, All Souls, whether separated or united, Evil Angels and Spirits, as well as Men, are obnoxious to Punishment and Torture: From whence it must follow that they are Corporeal; For nothing can be in a Condition of enduring Torment, which is not so; and so the Subject of Accidents is one particular Property of a Bodily Substance.

See Advertisement at the End of this Chapter; and also That at the Conclusion of the Tenth.

Now the Soul abounds exceedingly in Faculties and Powers, as many almost as the Body hath Members. Some of these she exerts in Plants; a greater number yet in Beasts; but vastly more in Mankind: Such as the Vital, Locomotive, Appettive, Attractive, Collective; the Retentive, Concocting, Digestive, Nutritive; those of Growing, Sprouting, Hearing, Seeing, Tasting, Smelling, Speaking, Respiration, Generation, Cogitation, Reasoning, Contemplating, Affenting, Dissenting, Remembering, Judging: All which Faculties are by no means Parts of the Soul; for at that rate we must admit the Soul to be capable of Division, and made up of nothing but Accidents and Properties; but they are the Natural Qualities and Powers of it. Upon these follow the Actions or Operations of the Soul, which must needs, in order of Nature, be after those Faculties that qualify it for the Performance of them. And thus the great Dionysius, whose Doctrine in this Particular is universally assented to, observes, That in Spiritual Creatures there are Three Things to be consider'd; The Essence, the Faculty, and the Operation. By the last of these, which is the Action, we are led to the Knowledge of the Faculty; and from the Faculty again we are carry'd on to the Essence. Now we must
must take notice by the way, that the Actions may be obstructed, suspended, or a final Stop, and absolute Cessation put to them, without any Prejudice at all being done by this means to the Soul, or its Faculties: As the Skill and Faculty of Painting shall remain entire in the Artist, tho' his Hands be ty'd up, or he be otherwise disabled from exerting that Skill. But, upon a Suppos'dal that the Faculties themselves perish, the Soul must perish with them; as the Fire can be no longer Fire, if we suppose the Faculty of Warming to be taken away from it.

The Nature and Essence of the Soul being thus in some measure explain'd, there is another Enquiry which offers itself to our Consideration, and That indeed of very great Intricacy and Importance both, which is, Whether each Animal (but more especially each Man) have a Complication of several Souls, or but One only. Concerning which a multitude of Arguments have been offer'd on all Sides, and great Variety of Opinions have grown; but they may, I think, be reduc'd to Three. Some of the Greek Philosophers, and almost all the Arabian, after Their Examples, have fancy'd that there is but One Immortal Soul, not only in each distinct Individual Person, but in all Mankind, and distributed throughout the whole Species in general. The Egyptians are in the other Extremity, and conceive that each Person hath several Souls totally and essentially distinct from one another. That every Brute hath Two of these, and every Man hath Three. Two of which (the Vegetative and Sensitive) are Mortal; and the Third (which is the Intellectual) Immortal. The Third Opinion lies between these Two, and as it is more moderate, so hath it likewise been more generally entertain'd than either of the former; for most Nations seem to be agreed, That however Men may have been oblig'd to con-
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consider the several Faculties distinctly, yet there is in reality no actual Plurality, and but One Soul in each Person, which extends to all those Operations assign'd to several.

The First of these Opinions I shall say nothing to, thinking it too absurd, and too generally exploded, to stand in need of any particular Confutation.

The Second, which asserts a Plurality of Souls in each Animal, and particularly in each Man, must be confess'd on the one hand exceeding marvelous, if not altogether incredible and absurd; for what Philosophy will allow us in giving several Essential Forms to one and the same Thing? But then, on the other hand, it must be acknowledg'd too, that this Notion makes the Way fair and smooth for that of the Intellectual Soul's being Immortal: Because upon a Supposition of Three distinct Souls, there is no great Difficulty or Inconvenience in admitting that Two of these may die, without at all impairing the Immortality of the Third: Whereas the Unity of the Soul seems to make War upon its Immortality: For which way can we conceive the same Thing to be Mortal in one Part, and Immortal in another? Which yet seems to have been Aristotle's Notion. Certainly there is an absolute Necessity of concluding, That it is All of a piece in this respect, and either entirely Mortal or Immortal throughout; which yet are each of them loaded with very absurd Consequences: For the former Conclusion is destructive of all Religion and sound Philosophy; and the Latter advances the Brutes to the same Dignity, the same Immortal State with our Selves. But the most general, and, in my poor Judgment, the most probable Opinion is, That each Animal hath but One Soul; but One in Substance; That This is the Cause of Life, and the Universal Source of all
all the Actions perform'd by him; That tho' it have but One Essence entire and undivided, yet is it adorn'd, enrich'd, diversify'd with a vast number of Faculties and distinct Powers wonderfully different, and some contrary to each other; according to the vast Variety of Instruments made use of by it, the Vessels in which they are contain'd, and the Objects they are employ'd about: Thus the Soul exercises what we call the Sensitive and Rational Faculties more peculiarly in the Brain; there being the Instruments adapted to such Operations: The Vital and Irascible in the Heart; the Natural and Vegetative, (which are sometimes distinguish'd by the Concupiscible) in the Liver: These are the Chief and most Material Distinctions. But these so many and so different Operations, Instruments, and Faculties, no more impair the Unity of the Soul, or argue a Plurality of Causes, than a multitude of Streams conclude against one Fountain or common Source; or the different Effects of the Sun-beams prove more Suns than One in the Universe: For thus we daily see he sheds his Rays, and shines upon different Places and Objects with very different Success: To One he administers Heat, to Another Light: The Wax he softens and melts; the Clay he dries and stiffens: He makes the Snow whiter, and the Complexion blacker: He scatters the Clouds, and contracts the standing Pools. And if all this be done by One Sun in the Firmament, what shou'd hinder the Former to be effected by One Soul in the Body? Why shou'd That be admitted for an Argument against the Essential Unity of the Cause in one of these Instances, which we our selves are content to allow, and constant Experience makes it plain beyond all Contradiction, is of no weight at all in a Case so very parallel as This I have last mention'd.
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As to the other Difficulty, which relates to the Soul's Immortality, when the Matter is carefully consider'd, it will appear, that this Opinion of the Unity of the Hamane Soul, does it no manner of Injury. For this Soul does not suffer in its proper Essence, by the Death of the Vegetative and Sensitive Faculties; by which Death in reality is meant no more than an Incapacity of exercizing and exerting those Powers in a State of Separation from the Body. Which must necessarily follow, upon the Want and Absence of the proper Subject and Instrument to exercise them upon. But all this hinders not, but that the Third and most exalted, which is the Intellectual Faculty, may still exert itself; because a Body, tho' at present it be made use of as its Instrument is not yet so necessary and essential to that, that it should not be able to subsist and act without it. Supposing then this Soul to return to the Body a second time, it would return at the same time to the Exercise of its Vegetative and Sensitive Powers, as we see plainly by Instances of Persons who have been raised from the Dead, to live here below: But this would not infer a Necessity of the same Things for living in another State. For those Faculties, whose Exercise supports this Life we now lead, are not thereby proved of such Consequence, that no other kind of Life could be supported or enjoyed without them. It is in this Case with the Soul, as with the Sun (for the same Instance will be of use to illustrate our Argument in this Branch also) which continues the same in himself, every whit as entire and unblemish'd, not in any degree enfeebled, tho' his Lustre and Vital Influences be sometimes intercepted and obstructed. When his Face is cover'd with a Total Eclipse, we lose the cheerful Light and cherishing Heat; but tho' no sensible Effects of him appear, yet he is in his own Nature
Of Wisdom.

Book I.

5. Having thus (as I hope sufficiently) evidenced the Unity of the Soul, in each Individual animated by it; let us in the next Place proceed to observe from whence it is deriv'd, and how it makes its Entry into the Body.

Concerning the Former of these Particulars, great Disputes have been maintain'd by Philosophers and Divines of all Ages. Concerning the Origine of the Humane and Intellectual Soul, I mean; for as to the Vegetative and Sensitive attributed to Plants and Beasts, those, by general Consent, have been esteemed to consist entirely of Matter, to be transferred with the Seminal Principles, and accordingly subject to Corruption and Death. So that the whole Controversy turns upon the single Point of the Humane Soul; and concerning this, the Four most Celebrated Opinions have been these which follow. I omit the Mention of any more, which are almost lost in the Crowd, because these have obtained so much more generally, and gain'd greater Credit than the rest.

The First of these is that Notion of the Stoicks, embraced by Philo the Jew, and after him, by the Manichees, Priscillianists, and others. This maintains Reasonable Souls to be so many Extracts, and genuine Productions of the Divine Spirit; Partakers of the very same Nature and Substance with Almighty God himself; who being said expressly to have breathed it into the Body; these Perfons have taken the Advantage of Moses's Words, and fixed the sublimest Sense imaginable upon them. He breathed into him the Breath of Life; by which they are not content to understand that the Soul of Man is a distinct Thing, and of a different and more exalted Original than the Body; a Spirit of greater Excellence than that which quickens any other Animal,
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Animal, but they stretch it to a Communication of God's own Essence.

The Second was deriv'd from Aristotle, receiv'd by Tertullian, Apollinaris, the Sect of the Luciferans, and some other Christians; and This asserts the Soul to be deriv'd from our Parents, as the Body is; and in the same Manner, and from the same Principles with that, whence the Souls of Brutes, and all that are confin'd to Sense and Vegetation only, are generally believ'd to spring.

The Third is that of the Pythagoreans and Platonists; entertain'd by most of the Rabbinical Philosophers and Jewish Doctors; and after them by Origen, and some other Christian Doctors too; Which pretends that all Souls were created by God at the Beginning of the World; that they were then by Him commanded, and made out of nothing; that they are reserv'd and deposited in some of the Heavenly Regions; and afterwards, as his Infinite Wisdom sees occasion, sent down hither into Bodies ready fitted for, and dispos'd to entertain them. Upon this Opinion was built another, of Souls being well or ill dealt with here below, and lodged in found and healthful, or else in feeble and sickly Bodies, according to their Good or ill Behaviour in a State and Region above, antecedent to their being thus incorporated with these Mortal and Fleshly Tabernacles. How generally this Notion prevail'd, we have a notable Hint from that great Master of Wisdom, who gives this Account of his large Improvements, above the common rate Wisdom of Men, I was a wisty Child, and had a good Spirit; VIII. 19, yea, rather being good, I came into a Body undefiled. Thus intimating a Priority of Time, as well as of Order and Dignity in the Soul, and that its good Dispositions qualified it for a Body so disposed too.
Of Wisdom.  Book I.

The Fourth, which hath met with the most general Approbation, among Christians especially, holds That the Soul is created by God, infus'd into a Body prepared duly for its Reception: That it hath no Pre-existence in any separate State, or former Vehicle, but that its Creation and Infusion are both of the same Date.

These Four Opinions, are all of them Affirmative. There is yet a Fifth, more modest and reserv'd than any of the former. This undertakes not to determine Positively one way or other; but is content Ingeniously to confess its own Ignorance and Uncertainty; declares this a Matter of very abstruse Speculation, a dark and deep Mystery, which God hath not thought fit particularly to reveal; and which Man by the Strength and Penetration of his own Reason, can know but very little or nothing of. Of this Opinion we find St. Augustine, St. Gregory of Nice, and some others. But tho' they presume not so far, as to give any definitive Sentence, on any Side; yet they plainly incline to think, that, of the Four Opinions here mention'd, the Two latter carry a greater Appearance of Truth, than the Two former.

But how, and when this Humane Soul (for of the Brutal there is little or no Dispute, nor is the present Enquiry concern'd in it) Whether This, I say, make its Entrance all at once, or whether the Approaches are gradual and flow; Whether it attain its just Essential Perfections in an Instant; or whether it grow up to them, by Time and Succession; is another very great Question. The more general Opinion, which seems to have come from Aristotle, is, That the Vegetative and Sensitive Soul, whose Essence is no other than Matter and Body, is in the Principles of Generation; that it descends lineally, and is derived to us from the Substance of our Parents; that This is finished and per-
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perfected in Time and by Degrees, and Nature acts in this Case a little like Art, when That undertakes to form the Image of a Man; where first the Out-Lines and rude Sketches are drawn; then the Features specify'd; yet These, not of his whole Body at once, but first the Painter finishes the Head, then the Neck, after that the Breast, the Legs, and so on, till he have drawn the whole Length. Thus the Vegetative and Sensitive Soul (they tell you) forms the Body in the Womb: And when That is finish'd, and made fit for the Reception of its new Inhabitant, the Intellectual Soul comes from abroad, and takes Possession of its Dwelling. But that (all this notwithstanding) They are not Two nor Three distinct Souls neither together, nor in Succession. That the Vegetative suffers no Diminution by the Accession of the Sensitive; nor that again by the Addition of the Intelligent Mind. But all Those coalesce into One, and are form'd and finished, according to the stated Times, and usual Process of Nature.

Others rather incline to believe, that the Soul enters the Body entire, and takes Possession with her Faculties of every kind at the same Instant: That This is done, when all the Organs of the Body are framed, and the whole Shell finished and compacted: That till Then, the Body is only a senseless dead Mass, without any Soul at all: That it had only a Virtue or Natural Energy, (The Essential Form of that Matter out of which it is made) and this acting upon the Spirituous Parts, does, by the Agitation and Ferment These are put into, form and build the whole Body, and adjust every Part of this Structure duly. When Things are brought to this Head, then that Energy vanishes, and is quite loft, and the Soul succeeds into its Place. And when this New, this Noble Guest arrives, all Things change their Form; and That
That, which before was nothing but dead senseless Matter, exalts its Name and Nature, and from thenceforth commences Man.

When it hath actually entred the Body, we shall do well to know after what Manner it exists, and dwells in it. Some Philosophers, whose Notions of this Matter seem to have been much perplex’d, and at a mighty Loss, how to make out any tolerable Conjunction between these Two, have imagin’d the Soul to reside in the Body, like a Matter in his House, or the Pilot in a Ship. But tho’, as to the Governing and Directing Part, the Comparison be not much amiss; yet when apply’d to explain the particular Mode of its Existence, it is absolutely improper, and stark naught. For at this rate the Soul would not be the Form, the Internal or Essential Part of the Animal or the Man: It would have no Occasion for the Members of this Body to give it Reception; would not be affected in any kind from this close Affinity, nor have any of those tender and mutual Resentments and Sufferings, arising from Bodily Pains and Pleasures; but would be a Substance entirely distinct; subsisting from and by itself; at its own Disposal to go or come, to separate from the Body, without making any Difference in it; or any way taking from its own Functions, or the Exercise of them. All which are intolerable and most notorious Absurdities. The Soul then in the Body, is like Form in Matter, dispersed and extended over every Part of it; giving Life, Motion, and Sense, all thorough: And both these taken together make one Person or Hypothesis; that is, one entire Subject, which we call an Animal. Nor are we to be solicitous for the finding out any intermediate Quality, which should connect these Two; for there is no such Thing in Nature. All Philosophers consenting in This, That there can nothing come between Matter and
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and Form, no common Link or Band more inti-
mate for them. The Soul then is all in all the
Body; but as for what is commonly added, of
it being all in every Part too, I forbear the Ex-
pression; because, in my Apprehension, it divides
the Soul, and implies a Contradiction.

Now, altho' the Soul (in Agreement to what
we have but just now asserted) be really commu-
nicated and diffused thro' the whole Body in
general; yet it must be acknowledg'd, that she is
more eminently present and powerful, in some Parts
than others. Where, for the Sake of a clearer and
more visible Exercise of her respective Faculties,
she may be said to keep her Residence, or have her
Seat; tho' not to be entirely there; because
This would import Confinement; and the other Parts,
upon the Account of her Absence, would be left
void of all Soul and Form. In regard therefore that
the Soul is remarkable for the Exercise of Four
Predominant Faculties above the rest; Four Prin-
cipal Places of Action and Residence have ac-
cordingly been assign'd to her. Now these are the
Four distinct Apartments or Work-houses, taken
Notice of formerly, when we had occasion to treat
of the Fabrick and Contexture of the Humane Bo-
dy. These are the most Important and Prime In-
struments of the Soul; the rest are subordinate
too, and reducible under them, as the other Facul-
ties are likewise to those exercised in these Parts:
Namely, the Continuation of the Species in the
lowest Region: The Natural or Nutritive Faculty in
the Liver: The Vital in the Heart; and the Ani-
mal and Intellectual in the Brain.

The next Advance to be made upon this Sub-
ject, concerns the Exercise of these Faculties in ge-
gereral, and how the Soul is qualified for this Purpose. ex.
Now we shall do well to take Notice that the very
Nature and Form of every Living Creature, consist-

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ing in This Soul, it cannot be, but the Soul must be abundantly provided with necessary Knowledge, and understand its Business, without Pains or Industry, or the slow and laborious Methods of acquiring Instruction. As certain it is too, that what she is thus instructed in by Nature, she fails not to exert, and punctually to fulfil, as Need requires; provided no accidental Obstruction prevent or interrupt her, and that the Instrument she is obliged to make use of, be rightly disposed to follow her Directions. The Philosophers therefore were much in the right, when they stili'd Nature a Wise, Skilful, and Industrious School-Mistress: One that qualifies her Children and Scholars for all that is required from them. *The Seeds of all Art and Virtue (says one of them) are implanted in us originally; and Almighty God, the Great Master, brings forward our Natural Abilities, and draws them forth into Action. It were easy to prove this by pregnant Instances of every kind. The Vegetative Soul, of its own accord, without Artifice or Institution, forms the Embryo in the Womb, so curiously, so conveniently, so wonderfully, that we can never sufficiently express and extol the Excellence of this Skill. Afterwards it takes equal Care of the Nourishment and Growth; conveys, seeks, and receives Sustenance; retains what is eaten; digests and lives upon it; throws off the superfluous and excremental Parts; refreshes, recruits, repairs those Parts which sink or faint, or fall to decay. And These are all of them Operations manifest and constant, not in Men only, but in Brutes and Plants also.

The Sensitive Soul, in like manner, of her own accord, puts Men and Brutes upon all necessary Actions. Such as Moving their Feet, their Hands,

*Instita sunt nobis omnium artium ac virtutum Semina. Magisterque ex occulto Deus producit Ingenia.
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and other Limbs and Parts, which may be of use to them, to scratch, to rub, to shake themselves, to fuck, to menage their Lips and Mouth, to cry, to laugh, and other Expressions of Want; and Grief, and Pleasure.

The Reasonable and Intellectual Soul does the very same thing in Its Capacity: And thus it acts not by virtue of any Reminiscence, or Recollection of any Knowledge it had before with this Union with the Body, as Plato fondly imagin'd; a Notion which proceeds upon the Supposition of another State, in which the Soul pre-existed before its Entrance into, or the Formation of this Body; nor does it owe this Power to Knowledge receiv'd in at the Senses, and acquir'd by Their Means upon Use and Observation, as Aristotle conceives, who represents the Soul at the Birth, to be a perfect Blank, utterly void of all Characters or Images, but ready to receive Impressions of any kind: But it seems rather to discharge this Office by the Original Strength of its own Native Powers: It Imagines, Understands, Retains, Argues, Reasons, Concludes of itself, without any Instruction or additional Helps at all. This Assertion, I must own, seems more difficult to comprehend than the Former; and we can more readily assent to such a Native Aptitude in the Vegetative and Sensitive, than we do in the Intellectual Soul. It is manifest too, that Aristotle's Authority lies in some degree against the Thing: And therefore to satisfy all these Difficulties, I will allow this Matter a more particular Consideration, when we come to discourse of the Intellectual Soul distinctly.

There remains yet one Point more concerning the Soul, to be enquir'd into, which relates to its Separation from the Body: Now This may happen different ways, and be of sundry kinds. The only usual and natural Separation is by Death. Only
Only herein is a mighty difference between other Animals and Mankind, that when the Rest die, their Souls die too; agreeably to that Rule in Philosophy, That when the Subject-Matter is corrupted, the Form is perfectly lost, tho' the Matter still remain. Whereas the Soul of Man is indeed separated from his Body by Death, but by no means Lost or annihilated: So far from perishing, that it remains entire and unhurt, as having the Privilege of an Immortal and Incorruptible Nature.

There is not in the World any one Opinion which hath been more universally entertain'd, more eagerly embrac'd, more plausibly defended, more religiously stuck to (I may well say Religiously, since this Doctrine is in truth the very Foundation of all Religion) than That which affords the Immortality of the Soul. All this now is meant of an External and Publick Profession; for, alas! it is but too manifect and too melancholy a Truth; (and the prodigious Numbers of absolute Epicures, abandon'd Libertines, and prophane Scoffers at God and a Future State, bear Testimony to it;) That what Pretence soever the Generality of the World may make of receiving this Doctrine in Words and Speculation, there are but very few who express an inward Sense, and serious Belief of it, by living like Men that believe it indeed. Of that practical Assent, I shall take occasion to speak more largely hereafter. In the mean while, give me leave to lament, that so little and so poor Effects appear, of an Opinion capable of producing so many and so noble: For certainly, there is not any one Point whatsoever, the Persuasion whereof can bring greater Benefit, or have a stronger Influence upon Mankind. It may be objected, I confess, that all the Arguments which Humane Discourse, and meer Natural Reason endeavour to establish it by, cannot amount to a Demonstration,
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Fration. But it must be confessed, that there are several other Things, which Men are content to yield their Credit to, upon far more weak and insufficient Suggestions. And wherefoever Reason falls short, it is abundantly supply'd by Revelation; which, as it is the best, so it is the proper Evidence in Matters of this kind. But yet to shew the Importance of this Doctrine, even Nature herself hath implanted in all Mankind a strong Inclination to think it true: For it is natural for us to desire the lengthening out, nay, the perpetuating our own Existence. And no Reflection is more uneasy, than That which attempts to persuade us that we must once cease to be. This Disposition is interwoven with our very Frame; and hath given Birth to another no less general than it self, which is That anxious Care, and impatient Regard for Posterity, that takes such fast hold on every Man of us.

Nor would I be so far misunderstood, as to have it thought, that this Disposition of Mind is the only Humane Foundation upon which our Belief of the Soul's Immortality stands: For there are Two other Moral Arguments in particular, which give it great Credit, and, to say the very least of the Cafe, render it exceeding probable.

The First is, That Hope of Glory and Reputation, and the tender Care of preserving a Good Name when we are gone; nay, the Thought and Endeavour that our Fame should be Immortal. Now tho' I cannot but condemn this Solicitude of Vanity, when Men pretend to place their Happines in the Opinions of other People after themselves are dead; yet the marvellous regard, and universal Concern Mankind express for it, seems to say, that Nature inspires those Desires and Expectations. And Nature, we know, is a Wise Agent,
Of Wisdom.  

Agent, and does not use to cheat Men with Hopes, which are altogether impossible and vain.

Another Reason not easy to be got over by them who oppose this Doctrine, is, That common Im-pression that Those Crimes which are committed in secret, or which otherwise escape the Observa-
tion and Punishment of Civil Justice, and the Venge-
ance of Man, are still reserv'd to a farther Reck-
oning; that Almighty God supplies the Defects of Temporal Judicatures, and hath a severe Judg-
ment in store for such Offenders as Those cannot
extend to. And since we find by frequent In-
stances, that many Enormities of this kind are
not made the Marks of the Divine Vengeance in
the Present World; it is a good Consequence of
all the Idea's we can reasonably entertain of God,
that He should pursue the Guilty Wretches into
Another World, and chastise them as they deserve,
even after Death. And now I would be glad to
know, what greater Moral Assurance can be ex-
pected for a Subject of this kind, than, that Hu-
mane Nature disposes every Man to look for-
ward to it, to desire, and to think it probable;
and that the Consideration of the Divine Justice,
represents it as a thing not only greatly probable,
but absolutely necessary.

This last Reflection will lead us to the Discovery
of Three different Kinds and Degrees of Souls; all
which become proper Objects of the Divine Ju-
fice: Nor need we credit it upon that Account
only, but even Natural Reason, the Order and
Harmony of the Universe will persuade us, that
such a sort of Being, and so Immortal as we have
been describing the Humane Soul, is requisite to
make the Series of the Creation beautiful and
compleat. Of these Three sorts we may observe
that Two are in Extremes: The One consisting of
such
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Such Souls as are gross, sunk down, immersed, inseparable from, and compounded of mere Matter: Such are the Souls of Brutes. The Other quite contrary, such as have no manner of Communication with Matter and Body, as Angels, and Immortal Spirits, whether Good or Bad. In the midst, and between these Two, is the Humane Soul; and this is neither entirely and necessarily confin'd and fasten'd to Matter, nor entirely separated from it, but joyn'd and wedded to it in this present State; yet so, that its Divorce is not its Destruction, but it can subsist and live without Matter in another State.

Such an Order and Distinction as this, is no despicable Argument for the Immortality of the Soul, since otherwife we must suppose a wide Gap, a vast Defect, and foul Deformity in Nature, such as carries Absurdity in it self, casts a Refection upon its Author, and threatens Ruin to the World. Which is supported by nothing more than by the Gradual and Contiguous Order and Succession of the Creatures: And therefore between Distances so wide as altogether Corruptible, and absolutely Incorruptible, Nature requires some middle Condition of a Substance, partly the One, and partly the Other. Such a Link as this is necessary to tie the two Ends of this Chain together; and such a Link can be no other Creature than Man: For if we carry our Thoughts farther, we shall find that Other Beings are without the Compass of this Length, and so there are Five Stages of Beings in all. One below the meanest, and even those Souls which are said to consist entirely of Matter, such as Stones, which we cannot say have any Soul at all. Another far above even the most exalted, the most pure and immortal Souls; which is the Ever-Blessed and Eternal Spirit, the Great and Only God.
But besides the Separation of the Soul already treated of, there is Another unnatural and uncommon one; and this happens by Fits and Starts, is out of the Way, and consequently very intricate, and hard to give our selves any tolerable Account of: Such, I mean, as comes upon Men in Extasies and Raptures, which, as they differ very much in their Symptoms and Circumstances, so do they likewise in their Causes and Occasions. Of these some are Divine Extasies, wrought by the express and immediate Operation of God: Such are those Trances, which the Scripture takes Notice of in Abraham, Daniel, Ezekiel, Zacharias, St. Peter, and St. Paul. Others are Daemoniacal, procur'd by the Interposition of Good or Evil Spirits, many whereof are mention'd in Story: And we are told of John Duns-Scotus in particular, that having lain a long time in a Trance, and being taken for dead, he was carry'd to be bury'd, and put into his Grave; but being rouz'd with the Blows and Bruises of the Mould thrown upon him, he came to himself, and was taken up again; and in a few Days after dy'd in good earnest, with the loss of Blood, and the Bruises he had received upon his Head. Cardan mentions somewhat of this Nature, with which both Himself and his Father were possess'd. And many Creditable Authentick Relations have been made from several distant Parts of the World, of abundance of People, most of them of the Vulgar sort, too weak and ignorant to contrive such Stories; and of Women possess'd, whose Bodies have not only continu'd long without any Sense, or Motion, or Pulse, but have been cut, bruised, burnt, without ever feeling it, and afterwards when they came to themselves, they have complain'd of intolerable Torture and exquisite Pain, and have given very strange Accounts of what they have seen and done in Places a great way off.
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A Third Separation there is, which we may call Humane, because proceeding from Humane Means, and such as no Superior or Invisible Power seems to be concern'd in: This comes either from that Disease which from Hippocrates is call'd Morbus Sacer, but commonly known by the Name of the Falling-Sickness, (attended with Foamings at the Mouth, which are look'd upon as the Mark and Character of it, and distinguish this Distemper from Possessions, in which the Patients are said to have none of these Frothings, but a very noisome Stench in the room of them:) Or this Separation may be owing to the Force of Stupifying and Sleeping Medicines: Or to the Strength of Imagination, which being vehemently intent upon some One Thing, perfectly carries away the Soul, and renders it stupid and insensible to all other Objects besides.

Now in these Three kinds of Extasy and Transport, whether Divine, Daemoniacal, or Humane, the great Doubt aris'g is, Whether the Soul be really and truly separated from the Body; or whether, without any such Separation, it still continue there, but be so entirely taken up with some External Object, as perfectly to forget the Body belonging to it: So that its Natural Operations, and the Exercise of its proper Offices and Vocation are, during that Time, suspended, and wholly superseded.

As to Divine Extasies; The Apostle speaking of Himself, and what happen'd in his own Case, will not presume to define any thing: * Whether in 2 Cor. 11, the Body, or out of the Body, I cannot tell, (says he) God knoweth. And this Caution of His, is, methinks, a good Warning to all other People, that They too should be modest and reserv'd, and not rash in determining any thing positively, not only in These, but even in less Abstractions of the Mind.
As to the Second Case, That of Daemoniacs, Their having no Sense of great Blows, and exquisite Tortures, and reporting Things transacted at Two or Three hundred Leagues distance; these, I confess, are great Conjectures, and very violent Presumptions of an actual Separation; but yet, I think, they are not conclusive and necessary Arguments for it: For the Devils may amuse the Soul, and keep it so fully employ’d even when at Home, that it shall have no Commerce or Communication with the Body for some considerable Time; and at the very same Time too he may represent to the Imagination what passes at a great distance, in so lively and clear a manner, as to fool the Man with a Persuasion, that he hath really been there, and seen those very Things which the Images thus strongly imprinted upon his Fancy, have enabled him so particularly to relate. How far the Activity of Evil or Good Spirits extends, is not possible for us to say. But it is a very bold Assertion, and what Nature will very hardly endure, That the Whole Soul, formally taken, goes out, and abandons the Body; for upon these Terms the Body must die to all Intents and Purposes: And such Mens coming to themselves again, would not be a Recovery of their Senses, but a Resurrection from the Dead: And yet to say, That the Soul does not All go, but the Imaginative and Intellectual Faculties rove abroad, while the Vegetative stay behind and keep House, is still more monstrous and absurd: For at this rate, the Soul, which is entire, and One in her Essence, would be divided; or else we must suppose the Accident only to be transported and born away; and the Substance to remain fixed in its proper Place; and therefore we have reason to admit any other Solution of the Case, rather than that of an Actual Separation.
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As to the Third and Last part, which was termed Humane, the Thing is clear beyond a Doubt, that there is no real Separation in it, since all that can be pretended to in this Case, amounts to no more than some present Stupification and Disorder, by means whereof such of the Soul's Operations as are Visible and External, cease in Appearance, and are suspended for some time.

What becomes of this Soul, and in what State or Condition she continues after that Real and Natural Separation made by Death, Wise Men have not been able to agree; nor does this Point fall properly within the Compass and Design of the present Treatise. The Transmigration of Souls, advanced by Pythagoras, hath found (in some Parts of the Notion especially) tolerable good Acceptance with the Stoicks, the Academicks, the Egyptian Philosophers, and some Others. Not that they all admitted it in the same Sense and Extent, or to all the Purposes he intended it should serve: Some allowed it only so far as it might contribute to the Punishment of Wicked Men, who might suffer by being turn'd into Brutes, in a manner like that miraculous Infliction upon Nebuchadnezzar, as a Dan. iv. Scourge from God for his Vanity and Atheistical Pride. Some again, and those of considerable Eminence and Authority, have imagin'd, that Pure and Pious Souls, upon their quitting this Body, are translated into Angels; and the Black and Guilty ones transform'd in Fiends and Devils. Methinks it were more prudent to soften the former Branch of this Notion, as our Blessed Saviour hath done already, by saying, That they neither marry nor die any more, but are as the Angels, and are the Children of God. Some again have fancied, That the Souls of the wickedest and most profligate Wretches, after a very long Term of Time and Punishment, utterly perish, and are reduc'd to their First Nothing.
Nothing. But Humane Reason is, and must needs be for ever, in the Dark about all such Matters. And therefore these Disquisitions shou'd be constantly refer'd to their proper Topick of Instruction: For, as nothing but Revelation and Religion can inform us truly in what concerns a Future State, so they have not been wanting to declare what is full and sufficient for our Purpose, and therefore it is our Duty, as well as our Wisdom, to receive this without more ado, and stedfastly to rest in it.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN the Second Particular, which concerns the Essence and Nature of the Soul, the Author makes a very odd Distinction between Matter and Body, and tries to reconcile the Opinion of Those who say the Soul is Immaterial, with Theirs who affirm it to be Corporeal. The Result of which is, That the Souls of Men do not consist of gross and palpable Matter, but of a Body thin and subtle, even beyond all Imagination: And therefore, in the Sequel of this Discourse, he continues to make a Difference between the Souls of Men and those of Brutes, even in this very Point of Materiality itself.

But now, since Body and Matter, strictly and Philosophically taken, come all to one; and since no Subtlety, or Fineness of Composition, makes any Body the less a Material Substance; since again the Humane and Intellectual Soul hath evidently several Faculties, and performs several Operations, (such as Cogitation, Volition, nay, even Sensation itself) which are neither inherent Qualities of Matter, as such; nor what any Motion or Modification whatsoever, can render it capable of; Monsieur Charron's Subtlety of the Body will not help the Cause
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Cause at all: For *Aethereal* or *Celestial* Bodies are as truly *Matter* as any of the Coarsest and Graspest whatsoever. And the Notion of *Matter* is not to be taken from its Purity or Fœculency, its Palpability or its Fineness; but from its Essential Properties, such as Extension, Quantity, and Divisibility, being purely Passive, and Acting only as it is acted upon; Its being subject to the Laws of Motion; and the like: These now are the inseparable Properties of every thing that is *Body*; and from hence it must needs follow, that all Bodies whatsoever are equally distant from, equally unqualify'd for Thought, and Perception, and all other Operations and Faculties, which are the proper and distinguishing Characters of a Reasonable Soul. Concerning which, if my Reader desire farther Satisfaction than the Nature of a single Advertisement allows me room for, I refer him to Dr. Bently's Second Sermon against Atheism, where he will find this Argument handled at large.

When once such an Absurdity as This hath been shewn to attend that Notion which maintains the Soul's Corporeity; it is to very little Purpose to urge us with the Difficulties concerning the mutual Intercourse of our Souls and Bodies; or what the Soul suffers either in her United or in her Separate State: Some of which are capable of the same Resolutions with those given in the Case of *Brutes*, (by those Philosophers who allow them Sense:) and are not the Actions or Affections of the Intelligent, but of the Sensitive Powers: And for Others, which are superior to Humane Discourse, we acknowledge our Ignorance, and resolve all into the sole *Will*, and wonderful *Wisdom* of our Almighty Creator. He hath not told us what is the Band of Union between these Two; nor how this Communication and intimate Correspondence is kept up, and carry'd on; And we think
think it is impossible for any to acquaint us with this Process, except Him only, who contrived and constituted it. But Ten thousand such Objections weigh little, when balanc'd against a Flaw in the very Foundation: Every thing at this rate may be disputed, and Universal Scepticism be advanced, for we are able to trace nothing thro' all its Motions and Operations. But an Argument ab Absurdo, made evident in the First and most substantial Principles, is allowed, even in that Science, which professes the greatest Accuracy in Arguing, to be a Just and Legitimate Demonstration against any thing, which such Principles are alledged to establish.

See more concerning the Immateriality of the Soul, and her Operations, in the Advertisement at the End of the Tenth Chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Soul in Particular; and First, of the Vegetative Faculty.

Having thus given a General Description of the Soul, in the Ten Points already insisted on, I come in the next Place to treat of it somewhat more distinctly; by considering its respective Principal Faculties a-part. And the most convenient Order, as I apprehend, will be to begin with the Lowest first, and so proceed from the Vegetative to the Sensitive, from thence to that of Imagination and Appetite, and last of all to the Intellectual, which is the Supreme of all the Faculties, and that which is the true and peculiar Character of the Humane Soul.
Chap. 8. Of the Vegetative Faculty.

Soul. Under each of these there are several subordinate Powers, of less Note and Figure, which hold, as Branches of, or Deputies under those, and will fall in naturally to be mentioned, in the Prosecution of that Method I have here proposed.

As for that which concerns Vegetation, it is the meanest by much, and given us in common with the very Plants. I shall therefore say but very little of it, not only because the Subject is not of Dignity enough to bear me out in long Enlargements; but also because this is more properly the Business of Physicians, whose Profession leads to the Study of Health and Sickness, the Preservatives of the One, and the Remedies against the Other. I shall only call upon my Reader at present to observe, That under this Faculty, there are Three Great and very Important Subalterns concerned, and each of them subsequent and assisting to each other in a regular Progression. For the First promotes the Second, and the Second the Third: but not so, as that the Order can be inverted, and the Remark hold back again.

The First of these is the Nutritive; instituted for the Preservation of the Individual; and under this there are several Assistants, such as the Attractive or seeking of necessary Sustenance; that of Concoction and Digestion, which separates the good and useful Parts from those which are noxious and naughty: The Retentive, for what is necessary; and the Expulsive, to throw off what is offensive or superfluous.

The Second is that of Growing, which tends to the Perfection of the Individual, and giving it all its just Proportions.

The Third is the Generative; for the Continuance and Succession of the Species.
Of Wisdom. Book I.

From hence now it is plain, that the Two former of these were instituted by Nature, for the Sake and Benefit of the Individual: and terminate in the Advantage of one single Person, and his own Body. The Third extends to the Species in general, and its Effects do not, cannot center in the Person himself; and therefore This, as more Extensive and Beneficial, is esteem’d superior in Dignity to the other Two; and advancing nearer to That Faculty next above it, which is the Sensitive. For, Producing ones own Likeness, is a very Eminent Perfection in Nature, and gives us the Honour of some distant Resemblances, even to the Great Creator himself.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Sensitive Faculty.

The Exercise of this Faculty, or the Operations of Sense, require the Concurrence of no less than Six several Things; Four within, and Two without the Body. And they are these which follow.

I. The First is the Soul: This is the Prime Efficient Cause of Perception.

II. The Second is the Faculty of Sensation, (which I distinguish here from the Former, having already proved, that it is only a Quality of the Soul, and not the very Essence or Soul itself.) This consists in the Perception and Apprehending of External Objects: Which may be done Five several Ways; for which reason we are commonly said to have Five Senses. Concerning that Number I shall say something in the next Chapter; in the mean
mean while my Reader need scarce be told that these Senses are call’d, Hearing, Seeing, Smelling, Tasting, and Feeling.

III. The Third Thing necessary is the Bodily Instrument, or Organ of Sense; and these are proportionably Five too: The Eye for Sight; The Ear for Hearing; The Cavity at the Top of the Nose (which goes into the first Ventricle of the Brain) for Smelling; The Tongue for Tasting; and the Skin all over the Body, for that of the Touch or Feeling.

IV. The Fourth requisite, is that Animal Spirit, derived from the Brain, (which is the Origine and Seat of the Sensitive Soul) and convey’d thro’ the Nerves, to these several Organs: by the Motion and Mediation of which Spirit and Organ, the Soul exercises her Faculty.

V. The Fifth is, what the Philosophers were used to call the Species Sensibilis, which is, in plain English, the Object which moves and affects, or is propounded to the Organ: And This is of a different kind, according to the different Sense excited, or apply’d to by it. That of Sight, or the Eye (according to the commonly received Opinion,) is Colour; a Quality or Accident inherent in the Body colour’d. Six of these are still Simple Colours, as White, Yellow, Red, Purple, Green, and Blue: To which some add Black, and call them Seven. But, strictly speaking, Black is not any Colour, but only a Privation of Light, resembling Darkness; as other Colours do more or less resemble Light: The Number of Compounded Colours is infinite. And, indeed, if we go to the Philosophical Nicety of the Thing, there is no Colour at all in any Body, whatsoever; for This is nothing else in Truth but the various Representation which Light differently modified makes upon our Senses. For when the Light is gone, all Colour is gone with it, and
as this never appears without some Colour, so it never disappears, so as to leave Colour behind.

Now Light is a Quality proceeding from a Luminous Body, which creates in us a Perception and Sight of it itself, and of all Things else within our View. When this terminates upon, and is stopp'd by any solid Body, it rebounds back again, and doubles its Rays by Reflection: But if it penetrate the Body, and find farther Passage, it cannot be seen except only in its first Source, the Luminous Body from whence it was shed originally; nor does it then do us any Service in shewing other Objects.

The Object of Hearing is Sound; by which we are to understand that Noise which results from the mutual Collision of Two Bodies; and this is very various: For some Sounds are sweet and melodious, they soothe and charm the Soul, calm the Passions, compose the Humours of the Body, and chase away the Disorders of the whole Man. Others again are smart and piercing, strike thro' the very Soul, wound and disturb our Faculties with an ungrateful Harshness. But of all our Senses, the Mind seems to be most under the Power of This; none entertains it with greater Variety; none takes more absolute Possession of it.

The Object of Taste is what we call Savour or Relishes; of which the Simple are Sweet, Bitter, Sour, Sharp, Salt, Acid: But of the Compounds there is no Number; they are made so exquisite, and multiplied so industriously.

That of Smelling is Flavour; which is a sort of Vapour arising from the Odorous Object, and ascending thro' the Nose into the first and most prominent Ventricle of the Brain. Such Perfumes as are very strong, commit a sort of Violence upon the Brain, and are prejudicial or offensive to it: But those that are agreeable and moderate, minis
Chap. 9. Of the Sensitive Faculty.

fter wonderful Comfort and Refreshment, and both delight and do good to the Head.

The Objects of Feeling are such as usually are term’d the Tactile Qualities, Hot, Cold, Moist, Dry; to which we may add Soft and Sharp, Rough and Smooth, Motion and Rest, Tickling, &c.

VI. The Last Thing which must concur in Sensation, is the Medium, or Space betwixt the Object and the Organ; and this, to render the Operation what it ought to be, is the Air, not in any wise changed or corrupted, but free, and in its Natural Purity and Disposition.

From hence we may gather, That the Act of Sensation is perform’d, when the Object, or Sensible Species presents it self by the Help of a Medium dispos’d to convey this Representation to the proper Organ fitted to receive it; and that the Animal Spirits lodg’d there do accordingly take the Impression, and apprehend the Thing: So that here is Action and Passion both; and the Senses are not purely Passive; for, notwithstanding that they receive an Impression, and in that respect are acted upon, yet do they likewise act, in some Degree, themselves, so far as they perceive the Image, and apprehend the Object propounded to them.

See the Advertisement at the End of the next Chapter.

The old Philosophy before Aristotle’s Time, made a very remarkable Difference between the Sight and the rest of the Senses: Supposing This to be meerly Active, and imagining, that, whereas the Others receiv’d the Object and Impression from without, and so cou’d only be Passive; The Eye quite contrary, shot out its Rays of Light from within, and made an Impression upon the Visible Object. But ever since Aristotle, this Account of Vision hath been better stated, and all the Senses
Senses are allow'd to be equally Passive, equally wrought upon from without: All the Arguments of the Ancients to the contrary being very easily answer'd and set aside.

But now, besides these Five particular Senses, the Organs whereof appear outwardly, there is Another, which is call'd the Common Sensory within. Here it is that the several Objects of every sort, perceiv'd by the Corporeal Organs, make their Rendezvous: Hither they are brought to be examin'd, compar'd, sorted out, and distinguish'd asunder: For were there no such Office of Enquiry, all wou'd end in Confusion. This discerning Power is above the Capacity of any particular Organ of Sense; for each of these is intent upon his own Business, and whatever his Fellows do, is out of his Sphere; he knows nothing at all of the Matter; nor can he be a competent Judge in it.

Of the Senses, which are the most Exalted and Noble Parts of the Body.

The ordinary way of being conducted to the Knowledge of Things, is, by the Assistance and Ministry of our Senses; so say the Schools, but it is not universally true. These are our first Instructers: All our Learning begins with them, and is at last resolv'd into them: We can go no farther back than they lead us, or give occasion for us to build Consequences upon. Each of These is supreme within its own Territories; and a large Dominion each of them possess: An infinite Num-
Chap. 10. Of the Senses of the Body.

ber of Reflections and Notions arise from each; nor does any one of them hold under, depend upon, or stand in need of the rest: Thus the Power of them all is equally absolute, though some of them have a wider Range, and more Business, and a longer Train of Consequences and Instructions, than some others. Nor are we to wonder at this, since the Case is the same in other Instances: For a Petty Prince is as independent, as truly Sovereign within his own small Territories, as the greatest Monarch upon Earth in Kingdoms of the largest Extent.

It is a Maxim universally receiv'd, That there are but Five Senses in Nature; and that which in-Their Num-
clines all the World to think so, is, because we can observe no more in our selves: But possibly there may be more, and some question may be made of it; nay, indeed, some probable Reasons may be offer'd, that there are more. But, supposing that there are, it is certainly not in our Power to know it; nor can we possibly assert or deny the Thing positively; For there is no way to discover the Want or Defect of a Sense we never had. Several Brutes enjoy all the Advantages of Life that are necessary to them, notwithstanding they do not enjoy all the Methods of Sensation, which Nature hath given to Mankind; and I see no Reason, why an Animal may not subsist without any of the Five Senses, that of Touch only excepted, which alone would supply the bare Necessities of Life. It is plain we live very conveniently with Five; and yet perhaps there may be One, or Two, or Three more in Nature, which we in no degree partake of. But, as I said, this is more than we do or can know; for each Sense is confin'd within its own Division, and can make no Discoveries, nor hath any Jurisdiction out of its own Compass. A Man blind from his Birth can never be brought
to any Idea of Sight; nor can he (strictly speaking) either desire it, or be concerned for the Want of it. 'Tis true, he will tell you perhaps, that he wishes to See, but this is spoke by rote, and according as he hears other People express themselves; for indeed he wishes he knows not what: And all it comes to at last is, That he would be glad to have somewhat which he is told the rest of the World have, and himself hath not. The reason of all this is, Because the Senses are the Doors at which all our Knowledge makes its first Entrance; and that which did not begin, and is not let in that way, cannot come in at all. Thus a Man is not capable of forming to himself a Conception of more Senses than those Five which himself hath, and consequently cannot persuade himself, that there are, or can be more in Nature; but it does not follow from hence that there can be no more, because he hath no Notion of any more. Who knows whether the many Difficulties which still remain unaccounted for in many of the Works of Nature, and the Operations of Animals, that escape the nicest Enquiry, and subtlest Penetration of Humane Wit, may not be charged upon the Want of some Sense, which we are not provided with to discern them? What the World usually expresses by the Title of Sympathies, Antipathies, and Occult Qualities, may have some Sensitive Faculties in Nature, accommodated to perceive, and make a competent Judgment of them; and perhaps our Ignorance of them is owing to our being deficient in this Point. Who can tell, whether it be not some particular Sixth Sense, which informs the Cock, when it is Mid-night, and the first Dawning of the Day, and, by some secret Impulse, puts him constantly upon Crowing at those Times? The same may be said of that Direction, by which some Brutes are led
Chap. 10. Of the Senses of the Body.

led to such Herbs, as are proper for their Recovery, when sick or surfeited; and of many other such Things as these, which are notorious Matters of Fact, but the Reasons of them perfectly unknown. This is a Case in which we are utterly in the dark; and no Man can be positively assur'd on either side of the Question.

Some indeed have undertaken to give a Reason for this particular Number of Five Senses, and to Whether prove that These are sufficient, by comparing and distinguishing them, and the Uses they serve. All Bodies (say they) without us, which are Objects of our Senses, are either very near and close to Our Body, or they are at some distance from it: If they be close to us, and still remain without us, then they fall under our Touch: If they approach, and come into us, then they are the Objects of our Taste: If they are more remote, and stand before us, so that their Distances are measurable by a Right Line, then the Sight discerns them: If the Line be Oblique, and the Motion Reflex, then the Hearing does it. Now, methinks, the Distinction were better thus: Of the Five Senses accommodated for the Service of the whole Man, as he is compounded of Body and Soul, some are appropriated to the Use of the Body only; and These are the Touch and the Taste; the One for all that enters within, the Other for that which continues still without it. Some again are first and chiefly design'd for the Benefit of the Soul, and those are Sight and Hearing; the Former to assist Invention; the Latter for Improvement and Instruction, and all manner of Communication. And One more in the midst of these Extremes, fitted to those Spirits and Avenues that belong to Soul and Body both, which is Smelling. Again, They answer to the Four Elements, and their respective Qualities; The Touch to the Earth;
Earth; Hearing to the Air; Taste to Water and Moisture; Smelling to Fire; and Sight to a Compound of Water and Fire, because of the Brightness of the Eye. It is likewise pretended, that there are as many Senses as there are General Divisions of sensible Objects; and these are Colours, Sounds, Scents, Relishes, and a Fifth sort, which wants a Name to express it, adapted to the Touch, and comprehending all the Tactile Qualities, as Hot, Cold, Hard, Soft, Rough, Smooth, Sharp, and the rest of them. But this is evidently a Mistake; for the Number of the Senses is by no means adjusted, according to the Number of the Objects they are capable of. Nor are these Objects the Cause of their being just so many, and no more. Were this a good Account, it would follow, that we must have been endued with a great many more than we now have; whereas now one and the same Sense entertains Objects of different Kinds; and one and the same Object creates a Perception, and impresses itself upon several Senses at once. The most probable Account of this Matter seems rather to be, That the Senses were intended for Means and Instruments of conveying Knowledge to us; and that Nature, which, as she is not niggardly, so neither is she profuse, hath given us as many Senses as are sufficient for this purpose; and that when she had supply’d us with enough for our Use, she did not think fit to give us any more.

Of These the Sense of Seeing does surpass all the rest in the Quickness of its Operation; For it reaches the very Heavens in an Instant, and acts in the Air, which is full of Light and Images, without any Trouble or Motion; whereas all the rest of the Senses receive their Impression by the Motion of those Bodies which make it. And all Motion requires Time to be perform’d in; so that all the other Senses must needs proceed more slowly.
Chap. 10. Of the Senses of the Body.

slowly than This, which need but open its Organ, and is sure to find Light and Colours stand always ready to be discern'd by it. All the Senses are likewise capable of Pleasure and Pain; but This is observably of the Two grossest of them, That the Touch is capable of abundance of Pain, and but very little Pleasure; and the Taste, just contrary, feels a great deal of Pleasure, and little or no Pain.

The Weakness and Uncertainty of our Senses is the great Cause of our Ignorance and Error, and all sort of Misapprehension: For, since Knowledge is attain'd by the Mediation of the Senses only, if these make a false Report, what can we do but receive and stick to it? But after all, who can tell what Reports they make, or how can any Man accuse them of Falseness, since we learn all from Them, and, consequently, even That which gives us this Jealousy, and is the Ground of the Accusation. Some indeed affirm, That the Senses are faithful in all their Messages, and represent the very Truth; That, when we imagine they deceive us, the Fault is not in Them, but in something else; and that we ought rather to lay it at any other Door; for no other Thing is so free from, so incapable of imposing upon us. Some again run into the contrary Extreme, cry out upon the Senses as downright infamous Liars, and tell you, That nothing at all of Certainty can be had from them. * But the Truth lies between these Extremes.

Now, Whether the Senses themselves are deceiv'd or not, thus much at least is evident: That they put a Cheat, nay, sometimes a Constraint upon Reason; and that, by an unhappy Vicissitude, Reason pays them back in their own Coin, and returns the Cheat upon Them. And is not Man, think you, like to be wonderful Wise and Knowing, when the outward and the inward Instuments
ments of Instruction are eternally tricking one another, and his whole Composition is full of Falseness and Weakness in the most necessary and essential Parts of it? Now, that the Senses deceive, and commit a Violence upon the Understanding, we see plain enough in those Instances, where some of them immediately put us in a Rage, others sweeten and appease the Soul, and others again tickle and please it exceedingly. And why should Men turn their Heads away, when they are let Blood, or lanced, or suffer Incisions and Burnings, but from their Consciousness of the Power their Senses have to disturb their Reason; and that the same Thing is better born, when the Eyes do not observe the Operation? The Looking down a Pit, or a vast Precipice, disorders and confounds a Man, tho' he knows at the same time, that he stands safe himself, and cannot reasonably apprehend any danger of falling into it? And, to instance in no more, 'tis evident, that Sense of Pain and Pleasure both, does every Day vanquish, and utterly confound the best and bravest Resolutions of Virtue, and Temperance, and Patience.

Again, It is no less evident, that the Senses on the other hand, are cheated by the Understanding. This is demonstrated by those Agitations of Anger, and Love, and Hatred, and other Passions, which impose upon us, and make us see and hear Things quite otherwise than they really are. Nay, sometimes our Senses are not only deceived, but perfectly stuify'd, and bound up from all Power of Action, by violent Disorders of the Soul, as if the Soul retir'd inwards, and were entirely taken up there; For thus it often happens when our Mind is very intent upon somewhat else, the Eye never sees, nor takes the least Notice of those Objects that stand directly before it, and present themselves to our View. And Reason and Sense judge very diffe-
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differently of the Magnitude of the Sun and Stars; and of the Shape of a Stick in the Water.

Other Living Creatures have a Share in this Gift of Nature as well as We, and sometimes are more liberally dealt with in it: For some are quicker of Hearing than Men; Others have a stronger and clearer Sight; Others a nicer Smell; and Others a more distinguishing Taste. The general Opinion is, That a Stag excells all other Creatures in Hearing, an Eagle in Seeing, a Dog in Smelling, an Ape in Tasting, and a Tarantula in Feeling. But yet the Pre-eminence in this last hath been allowed to Man; which is not much for our Credit, since This, of all the Senses, is reckoned the grassest and most brutal. In the mean while, this Reflection upon what hath gone before, may not be unseasonable; That if the Senses are the Means and Instruments of Knowledge, and Brutes have Senses too, nay, frequently more acute and penetrating than Ours, there may a fair Argument be drawn from hence, for Their partaking in Knowledge with us, as well as they partake of the Helps and Means that convey it to us.

But tho' the Senses be the Instruments of Knowledge, yet are they not the only Instruments; much less are our own Senses alone to be consulted or depended upon in the Case: For if it happens that Brutes have from Their Senses a Report different from that which Ours make, and the Judgment given upon that Evidence do consequently disagree with the Notions we form to our selves, (as in sundry Instances 'tis plain it does happen) which of these two Testimonies shall we believe? Our Tasting-Spittle cleanses and heals our own Wounds, and yet it kills a Serpent: Now from Two so different Effects, what Conclusion can be made concerning the true Nature of Humane Spittle? Shall we say that it is of a Drying and a Cleansing,
or of a Poisonous and Killing Quality? To make any certain Determination of the Operations of Sense, we should do well, methinks, to agree with the Brutes, who have the same Faculties as well as We. But the least that can possibly be required in order to it, is, That we should be consistent with our own selves, and that the same Judge, and the same Evidence should always concur in the same Sentence. And yet even this we are not come to: Shut your Eye, and put your Finger upon part of the Lid, and this Eye so press'd sees Things after another manner, than it does in the Natural and Common Posture. Stop your Ear, and the Sound is vastly different from what it is in the ordinary Impression: These Differences every Man, when he will, may make for himself. But some there are which Nature hath made to our Hand: A Child Tastes, and Hears, and Sees much otherwise than a Grown Man; and a Man in his full Strength differs no less from an Old Man; One in perfect Health, from a Sick Person; a Wise Man from a Fool. Now where the Diversity and Distance is so great, nay, where there is even a Contrariety of Perceptions, where shall we fix, or what can we depend upon for Truth? Even one Sense contradicts and gives the Lie to another; for a Piece of Painting which seems Raised, and in Relief (as they term it) to the Eye, when we come to feel it with the Hand, is perfectly flat and smooth.
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Advertisement.

In order to giving the Reader a right Notion of the Matter treated of in this Chapter, I shall beg leave to detain him a little, with the Consideration of these Three Particulars.

First, What dependence may be had upon the Evidence of Sense.

Secondly, Whence those Mistakes do really proceed, which we find sometimes charg'd upon the Deceivableness of our Senses.

Thirdly, Whether All our Knowledge depends upon our Senses, so as that we can know nothing but by their means.

I. As to the Evidence of Sense; This is what all Mankind, who have ever allow'd any thing of Knowledge or Certainty at all, constantly look'd upon, as the surest and most irrefragable in all those Cases, which are the proper Objects of it: And therefore He that went about to evacuate or weaken this, was esteem'd a Man not fit to be disputed with: Because one must needs despair of producing any better and more convincing Proofs, and so he must continue in incurable Ignorance, unless we cou'd suppose so absurd a Process in arguing, as that a Man shou'd be persuad'd of a thing more manifest, by a Medium which is less so. It were an Affront to Humane Nature, to endeavour the establishing this by Arguments, since none ever disclaim'd the Truth of it, but They who wou'd not allow us to be sure that any Thing was true; and consequently, cou'd no more depend upon their own Objections against it, than they cou'd upon the Thing they brought them against. Therefore Lucretius hath very deservedly expos'd the Folly of such perverse Scepticks, in his Fourth Book.

Denique.
Denique nil scit null quis putat, &c.

He that says Nothing can be known, or knows not,
His own Opinion; for He nothing knows;
So knows not That. What need of long dispute?
Those Maxims kill Themselves, Themselves confute:
But grant this might be known, and grant He knew;
Yet since he hath discover'd nothing true,
What Mark, and what Criterion then can show,
Or tell, what 'tis to know, or not to know?
Or how could He what's Truth, what's Falsity, learn?

How what was Doubt, what Certainty discern?
From Sense all Truth and Certainty infer,
In vain some strive to prove that Sense can err;
For that which would convince, which would oppose
The Senses, must be surer far than those.

So that upon these Terms, it is evident all Knowledge must be given up, because if our Senses be false, we can have no stronger Conviction than what arises from Them, that any thing is true; nor that there is such a Thing as Truth or Falsity in the World. But besides, if it were proper to argue in such a Case, any reasonable Person would find no difficulty in the Belief of this Matter; For if he only allow the Being of a God, and considers the mighty Consequence of our Senses to us in all our Affairs whatsoever; it can never enter into one's Head, that a Being of such Perfections would leave his Creatures in perpetual Ignorance and Uncertainty, and give them such Organs and Instruments, as should only deceive and confound them: For God indeed is the true Efficient Cause of all our Sensations, and the Foundation of our Certainty; and his Goodness and Truth are our Pledges, that we are not mistaken
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It is taken, and always in the wrong, in the due Use of those Faculties he hath given us to distinguish Things by.

Again: If we observe the Manner how these Operations are perform'd, that it is by External Impressions, by which the Object strikes upon the proper Organ, and that Impression is continu'd till it be carry'd on to that, which is called the Common Sensory, or the inward Seat of Sense; All this must depend upon the same necessary Laws of Matter and Motion, by which Bodies in general act upon one another. And therefore, supposing the same Object, the same Force of Impression, the same Situation, the same Disposition of the Organ, the same Medium, and the like; the Report of the Sense cannot but be the same: But where there is a Variation in any of these, the Perception is under a necessity of Varying too. Thus, (to use the Instance mention'd by Charron) when part of the Eye-Lid is press'd down by the Finger, the Rays are differently admitted into the Pupil, and fall upon two several places of the Timica Retina, which consequently creates a twofold Impression of the Object: And This Duplicity is as natural and necessary in such a Disposition of the Eye, as truly agreeable to all the Rules of Matter and Motion, as a single Representation wou'd be in the usual Posture; so far from a Reflexion upon the Truth of Sense, that our Senses could not be true, if the thing were otherwise represented. A proportionable Difference must needs follow in the different Modifications of Light and Shades; (which is the Reason of that Appearance taken notice of here, of Pieces in Relief) the dextrous Management whereof makes the great Secret of the Art of Painting. So it is again, if there be any thing uncommon in the Medium through which the Rays pass from the Object to the Organ.
gan of Senses; which is the Case of Prisms, or of Eyes, either distorted in their Situation, or discolor'd in any of the Humours: and as these make a Change in the represented Colour of the Object, so does the Contraction or Dilatation of the Pupil, in the Magnitude or Figure of it. And the Eye, and other Organs of Sense, varying by Age, Sickness, Nature, or Accidents, unavoidably require different Sensations, in Persons of different Years and Conditions. The Matter coming much to one, whether the Object be variously represented through Distance, or its own Posture and Form, or through some Change and Defect of the Organ, which receives the Impression. All Which sufficiently accounts for the differing Sensations of Children, Grown-Men, and Aged Persons; the different Tastes of the Sick and the Healthful; and indeed the vast Diversity of Palats among Mankind in general: For here is a mighty Diversity in the Organ of Sense; and the making one and the same Report is therefore impossible: For our Senses are like Messengers, and all their Business is, To be Faithful and True in delivering their Errand, as they have receiv'd it. If it were not given as it ought to be at first, (that is, if there be any accidental Defects to change the Appearance.) This they are not responsible for; but they are to tell what they feel, and hear, and see; and in This they are faithful, and may be depended upon. For, That they may be trusted even in Matters of the greatest Consequence, is beyond all reasonable Contradiction; not only from the most necessary and important Matters of Humane Life, being carry'd on upon the Confidence of this Testimony, but (which to a Christian is much more considerable) from all the External Evidences of Religion being put upon this Issue. The Life and Death, the Resurrection and Ascension of our Blessed
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Blesséd Saviour, the Doctrines he taught, and the Miracles he did in Confirmation of them, being so many Appeals to the Senses of those with whom he convers’d, and the great Motive to Persuasion, which the Apostle urges, is, that he deliver’d That to his Profelytes concerning the Word of Life, of which they had had all possible Demonstrations, since it was what He and his Fellow-Preachers had heard, what they had seen with their Eyes, what they had looked upon, and their Hands had handled. All which was certainly a very weak and impertinent Allegation, if the Senses are so liable to Mistakes, and so uncertain a Foundation of Knowledge, that we cannot with safety fix any Conclusions from the Reports they make to us. And yet it cannot be deny’d, but Men do very frequently err by too easy a Credulity in this respect, which ministers sufficient ground for our Second Enquiry.

II. Whence those Errors do really proceed, which we find sometimes charged upon the Deceiveableness of our Senses. In This, as well as some Other Particulars, Epicurus seems to have been very unfairly dealt withal by the Stoicks, and some other Philosophers of a contrary Party; who, because he assur’d the Truth of the Senses, and vindicated their Fidelity in Reporting, have charg’d him with affirming, that a Man could not possibly mistake in forming Judgments according to those Appearances. Whereas in Truth Epicurus only places the Senses in the Quality of Evidence, whose business it is to relate bare Matter of Fact, but does by no means deny the Jurisdiction of the Court to which those Accounts are given, to pass Sentence as shall seem just and equal. To this purpose is that, which Diogenes Laertius in his Tenth Book mentions; and Gassendus in his Comment upon it, so rationally enlarges upon. By which is meant,
that Men ought to avoid Precipitation, and not rashly pronounce, that Things are in reality as they are represented; but calmly and slowly examine Circumstances, and observe the Causes of such Representations. Thus likewise Lucretius in his Fourth Book, after having instanc'd in several Appearances, which, when strictly enquir'd into, are found to differ from the Nature of the Things themselves, closes his Account with these very significant Verses,

Cetera de genere hoc mirando multa videmus,
Quae violare fidem quasi sensibus omnia quaerunt.
Nequequam. Quoniam pars horum maxima fallit,
Propter Opinatus animi, quos addimus ipsi, &c.

Which the English Reader may take from Mr. Creech thus:

Ten Thousand such appear, Ten Thousand Foes
To Certainty of Sense; and All oppose:
In vain. 'Tis judgment, not the Sense mistakes,
Which fancy'd Things for real Objects takes.

If then One Light appear to be Two, when the Eye-Lid is pres'd; if a Square Building at a Distance seem Round; if a Piece in Perspective seem a Cloyfter or a Portico; a Man is not presently to conclude that these are really such; nor can he be excus'd if he do so. For Reason and Consideration wou'd convince him, that these Idea's must be so, and cou'd not be otherwise; That the unnatural Disposition of the Eye must needs double the Image in the first Instance; That the Distance of the Object will naturally cut off the Angles, and render the Perception less distinct, in the second; and that Shades artificially cast, and some Strokes of the Pencil or Style bolder and stronger than
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than the rest, will of necessity create imaginary
Protuberances, and imaginary Distances in the
Last. What Course then shall one take to prevent
Errors in these Cases? In general, he must not
be too hasty in giving Judgment, but bring these
Things to the Test. The First must be viewed
with his Eye in its usual Form and Condition;
the Second he must make nearer Approaches to,
and view it close at Hand; For the Third he may
call in another Sense to his Assistance; and if the
Eye alone cannot, the Touch must set him right.

But to this Charron replies, and not only He,
but Lucretius: That no One Sense can possibly cor-
rect another:

An poterunt Oculos Auros reprehendere, an Auros
Tactus? &c.

What? Can the Ears convince the Eyes? Can
Those
Confute the Hand, the Palate, or the Nose?
Tell them wherein they err, when e'rr they
miss,
And give false Notices? Fond Fancy this!
For Each a proper Use and Power enjoys,
A proper Object every Sense employs.

But after all, What is the true Meaning of this
Argument, and how much does it amount to?
No more than this. That All the Senses are not
equally adapted to receive and distinguish all man-
ner of Objects: that Each of them is equally Faith-
ful in those peculiar to it: And consequently, the
Eyes cannot correct the Ear in Sounds; nor the
Ear the Nose in Smells: But does it follow from
hence, that when two, or more of these Evi-
dences are joyned, they will not corroborate the
Testimony, and give a firmer Assurance? or that
Rea-
Of Wisdom.  

Book I.

Reason, which is the proper Judge may not sift out the Truth by confronting these Evidences against one another? This is a Construction wholly Foreign to the Place, and to the Philosopher's Design. And therefore (says Empiricus) as Physicians pronounce of a Disease not from One single Symptom, but from the Concurrence of several; and a Fever is distinguish'd, not only by the quickness of the Pulse, but by the Excess of Heat, the Redness of the Complexion, the Height of the Water, the Excessive Thirst, and other Characters known to the Skilful in that Art; So a doubting Philosopher makes a Judgment of Truth, by the Co-incidence and good Agreement of several Ideas compar'd together. And to the same Purpose, Macrobius hath described the Process fit for such Cases. If (says he) a Man sees the Figure of an Apple at a Distance, it does not presently follow that this is a real Apple; because this Resemblance may be form'd out of other Materials. What then shall be do to satisfy himself? Let him put it to the Tryal of another Sense, and judge of it by the Smell: But possibly it may have lain among Apples, and retain the Scent: Then consult the Touch, and examine the Weight of it: But perhaps the Cunning Artificer hath been very Nice in adjusting this too; If so, let him have recourse to the Taste, and if he find the true Relish of an Apple; these concurring Evidences leave no reasonable Doubt of its being really the very Fruit it at first seem'd to be. From hence it does not only appear, what Care ought to be taken in judging the Representations of Sense; but likewise, how it comes to pass, that Men so often err upon this Occasion. That it is meerly the Effect of Rashness, and Negligence; and the determining more than we have Evidence for. For these Ideas, and Impres- sions give us only the Appearances, and external Accidents of Things; and so long as we affirm them to appear so to us, we are safe, and cannot err. But if from these Accidents we shall believe...
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undertake to determine of their Substance and Nature: If we shall definitively say, They actually are what they appear, our own Mind misguides us; and the Fault lies not in the Evidence, which told us true; but in the Judge, who decides the Cause, without canvassing the Witnesses, and declares That for Right and Truth, which was never pos'd before him.

My Reader will easily apply what hath been said here (perhaps too tediously) to what our Author infinuates of the mutual Cheat, in his Sixth Paragraph of this Chapter. For hence it is that our Panick Fears, and other groundless and violent Passions of the Mind, grow to such Excesses, that they run away with the First Impressions, and never call in Reason, to calm and moderate the Disorder of the Spirits; but are perfectly transported in the present Heat and Agitation, and instead of examining, magnify the tormenting Ideas to themselves. All which is in no degree owing to the Natural Defect, either of Sense or Reason; but to Strength of Passion, and Neglect of such timely Remedies, as Nature hath provided us with, if not wholly to prevent, yet at least to abate, and soften, and reduce it to a convenient Temper.

III. I proceed now to the last Enquiry, Whether all our Knowledge depend upon the Senses, so as that we can know nothing but by Their Means. Here Gassendus forsakes me, and fiercely vindicates that receiv'd Opinion of some Old Philosophers, That nothing can come at the Understanding, except it pass thro' some of the Senses in its Way thither.

It is not asserted by those who undertake to maintain that Opinion, That nothing more can be known by us, than what the Impressions of Sense give us an immediate Perception of; but that we are instructed from Reflexion as well as Sen-
Sensation; so that, by abstracting, enlarging, or otherwise modifying our Ideas, we come to understand the Nature of Things; yet so as that we can understand nothing, except the Ideas of it are entertained clearly and distinctly; either so as to represent to us the Thing itself; or so as to give us sufficient Matter for Reflection to work upon, in raising fresh Ideas from it.

I. Thus it is, that they pretend to answer the Argument commonly urged against them, from that very Power we find in our Selves, and the common Exercise of it, to correct the Errors of Imagination. For if all Perceptions of the Mind were Corporeal Images of the Brain, we must necessarily judge according to the Report of our Sensitive Organs; and so the Sun must be concluded no bigger than he appears. No (say they) for the Mind knows very well that Distance lessens the Object to the Eye; and therefore reflecting agreeably to the Rules given in the former Particular, it pronounces the Sun vastly bigger than it seems. But still, All this will not amount to those Reasons, which adjust its Magnitude, to be 160 times bigger than the Earth. Or, If they would, yet Proportions and Distances are more Respectts, and such as we can have no Corporeal Images of. These then are the Effect of another Principle; and so is the Determinate Magnitude of this Body; for tho' enlarging the Idea, and allowing for Distance, would create an Image vastly Bulky perhaps; yet this could not state the exact Dimensions, nor form the Comparison in such Odds, between that Globe of Fire, and this of Earth.

II. Another Argument against all Knowledge proceeding from the Senses, is taken from Those, which are commonly call'd the Reflex Aêts of the Mind, such as we perceive our Own Operations and Thoughts by: For all Ideas, which are intrumitted by the Senses,
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Senses, come from Material Objects, and such Impressions are subject to the common Laws of Matter; one of which is, To act by Impulse, and upon something else, but not upon it self. So that it is impossible for the Mind to have its own Image convey'd through the Organs of Sense; and consequently these sorts of Operations, by which it retires inward, and recollects, and views it self; As they are undeniable in Fact, so are they in all Reason to be ascribed to some other Power than Imagination; and such as the Senses and External Impressions have nothing to do in.

III. But though we should allow, that the Mind (as some have contended, though they have not been able to prove it) can by Similitude, Abstraction, and such other Methods, form Ideas even of these Things; yet what shall we say to the Case of Immaterial Substances? And that such there are, a Reflection upon our own Souls, the Objects about which they are conversant, their several Operations, and the manner of them, very incompatible with Matter and the Laws of Motion, will not suffer reasoning People to doubt. Now if all Knowledge be derived from our Senses, it must proceed from such Ideas as are drawn upon the Imagination, by Impressions upon the outward Organ, convey'd thither in the usual Course and Method of Sensation; but these Impressions cannot be made otherwise, than by Matter and Motion; and consequently, either we can have no distinct Notion, no Assurance of any Immaterial Substances; or else we may have some Knowledge which does not depend upon, nor accrue to us from our Senses.

IV. At this rate, neither can we have any Idea at all of the First and most Perfect Being, God himself: For what Representations can Senses give
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give us? What Reflections can it help us to, of a Being Infinite and Eternal, Independent, and produced from no other Cause; such as hath the Properties of Self, and Necessary Existence inseparable from the Notion of it? It is not the Image of an Old Man, nor the multiplying of Years into a vast Duration, that will do the Business here; for still the main Difficulty, of never beginning, never ending; Self-Origination, or aboriginal remains; and will for ever remain, not only incapable of any sensible Representation, but a Contradiction to them all. And yet Reason assures us, That such a Being there certainly is; nay, that there needs must be; for without it, nothing could ever have been at all; but We must lose our Selves, and all our Ideas, in a Maze and infinite Circle of Causes; and shall never be able to account for the Existence of any Thing, which our Senses are confess’d to represent to us, unless we admit of One thing, which, it must be confess’d, they never can give us any sort of Representation of.

V. Once more. To come lower, and observe even Corporeal Substances themselves. Such as we see, and feel, and converse with every Moment. From such as these it is that our Senses are moved. But let us consider, what it is that moves them; or how far we can be inform’d by such Impressions. Now it is granted on all Hands, That Sense can only instruct us in the Modes and Accidents of Things; and yet All thinking Men must allow that those Accidents are not capable of subsisting alone. So that we can learn this way the Powers and Properties of Things, but not the Things themselves. Thus, while we are forced to make a Difference between the Natural and Real Essence, and the Properties or Accidents inherent in that Nature; we must yield plainly, that all our Knowledge is so far from depending upon Sense, that we
we cannot know any one Thing by it. Since every Man's Reason undeniably assures him, that there is something more intimate and deep, which no Ideas can reach to; and without which those Superficial Qualities, of which he hath any Idea, could not possibly subsist.

Upon the whole Matter it is certain, that there must be some common Notices and Principles, such as evidence themselves to every considering Mind, which do not only assist, but carry us beyond any sensible Ideas, or any Reflections they can be improved into: Concerning which, if my Reader desire more full Satisfaction, and would see this Argument illustrated at large, he will do well to consult the incomparably Learned and Judicious Bishop Stillingfleet, in his late Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity. Chap. X.

I add only upon this Occasion, That the foregoing Reasons are of good Force to prove, that the Humane Soul is of a more Noble Principle than Matter. For, indeed, not only Reason, but Sensation, is not to be solved upon other Terms. Of which the Modern Philosophers were well aware; who, when they asserted the Souls of Brutes to be mere Matter, soon found an absolute Necessity of affirming, that they were altogether void of Sense too: For tho' the outward Impression be made upon the Organ, yet it is a Reflex Act, which makes the Sensation, and informs the Patient of it. And such Acts they have not been able to conceive how Matter should be capable of. Since it is the Property of one Body to act upon another, but no Body can act upon it self.
These are the Three Jewels, the most excellent and valuable Endowments, that belong to the Body of Man: None that appear to outward View, are comparable to them; but it will bear some Dispute which of the Three ought to be preferred. As to the Organ, by which they are performed, it must be confessed, that That of the Sight is admirable for its charming Form, and nice Composition; it is beautiful, lively, and sparkling, made up of great Variety; its Parts subtle and small; and their Humours mix'd to Astonishment, both for Use and Comeliness. From whence that common Observation hath obtained, that the Eye is one of those Parts, which Nature first begins to form, and finishes one of the last. Upon the same Account this is one of the tenderest and most delicate Parts about us: Subject to a vast number of Diseases and Infirmities. Physicians and Anatomists have reckon'd no less than a Hundred and Twenty Dispositions incident to it. Speech is esteem'd the next in Dignity, but Hearing makes some amends for the last and lowest Place, by the many great Advantages belonging to it. Sight seems to be the most necessary and most serviceable to the Body. And this seems to be the reason, why it is of greater Consequence to Brutes, whose Advantages are chiefly Corporeal, than Hearing can be: But Hearing seems to challenge the Preference, with regard to the Advantages and Improvement of the Mind. Sight is principally useful for Invention,
Chap. II. Of Sight, Hearing, and Speech.

vention, for most Things are discover'd by the help of this Sense; but tho' it lays the first Foundations, and gives the Hints, yet it brings nothing to Perfection. It is farther to be consider'd, that Sight is capable of Perception in nothing but what is Corporeal, and it gives no Knowledge of Universals. Individuals and Bodies are its proper Object, and it cannot penetrate into these any deeper than the Shell or Surface. It is the proper Instrument of Ignorant and Unlearned Men, who look no farther than that which is just before them, and makes an Impression upon the outward Sense.

Hearing may be term'd an Inward and Spiritual Sense: It is the Agent and Conveyer of Intelligence to the Understanding; the Instrument of Learning and Thought; and receives not only Individuals, as Sight does, but dives into their most secret and abstruse Parts; nay, it hath a Capacity so large as to comprehend General, Spiritual, Abstracted, and Divine Truths; such as Sight is so far from giving us any Assistance in, that it rather disturbs and confounds us in the Disquisition of them. Accordingly, there have been many Instances of Great Men who have been blind, and yet singularly eminent for Wisdom and Knowledge; and some of Persons who have depriv'd themselves of Sight, in order to the becoming more exquisite Philosophers; but no one Example of either of these kinds can be produced in Deaf Persons. This is the Gate by which we enter, and form the Castle; By This we bend the Mind to Good or Evil. So Profane Story tells us of Agamemnon's Queen, whose Chastity was preserv'd by Musick: And so Sacred Story relates, that Saul's Evil-Spirit was charm'd by David's Harp: And so the Roman History observes, that Cicero's, the famous Orator, sweeten'd his Voice by the help
of one that play'd to him upon the Flute, and taught him such Tones as were most moving, and for his purpose. In short, This is the Only Passage that Learning, and Truth and Vertue have found to our Souls; and the Gospel itself enters by it: For the Apostle hath told us, That Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing by the Word of God. And that they who obstinately stick to the Report of their Sight, will find it rather an Obfuscation than an Informer in the highest Mysteries of Religion. That Faith is the Evidence of Things not seen, and the Belief of Testimonies that are heard: And accordingly the Primitive Christians had a Class of Believers to whom they gave the Title of Audients, Hearers. To all this I may add, That this Sense is of great Use in the Dark, and when Men are asleep, by giving them seasonable Alarms, and awakening them to provide for their Defence and Preservation. Upon all these Accounts, the Philosophers are so profuse in their Praises of Hearing, recommending the diligent Use of it, advising us to purge our Ears, and keep them clean from Prejudice and Corruption; This being the best Security, the surest Guard of our Souls, as a Commander in Garrison would make it his first and chief Care, to keep strict Centry, and line the Gates and Walls well, for fear an Enemy should rush in and surprize him.

Speech is a particular Favour of Nature to Mankind, and a very useful, necessary, and excellent Gift it is. Consider it with respect to the Speaker, and it is the Image and Interpreter of the Soul; the Messenger of the Heart, the Door by which all that lies within, comes out, and shews itself abroad. Whatsoever is born in Darkness, is thus brought forth into the Light; the Mind discovers and displays it itself most clearly this way; which gave occasion to that Saying of one of the Ancients
Chap. 11. Of Sight, Hearing, and Speech.

ents, * Speak, that I may know what you are. Thus Men are like Vessels, which by the Sound are quickly distinguish’d, whether they be broken or whole, full or empty; and Speech to Them is like the Touchstone to Metals; the Counterfeit and the true Standard are immediately known by it.

But if we consider it with regard to the Persons to whom it is directed, thus it is a powerful and an imperious Master; enters the Castle, seizes the Governour; it moves and stirs him, it animates and encourages, it provokes and appeases, it raises and dejects him; it overwhelms him with Grief, and transports him with Joy; makes what Impressions, inspires what Passions it pleases; manages and moulds the Soul into any Form, and bends it all manner of ways: Nay, it extends its Dominion over the Body too; makes that Red with Blushes, and Pale with Fear; provokes Laughter and Tears; forces it to start and shiver; to tremble with Anger, leap for Joy, swoon and faint away with Violence of Passion.

Consider it with regard to the World in general, and Speech is as it were the Hand of the Soul, which This uses as the Body does the Natural one, for taking and receiving, for asking and for giving Assistance. This is the great Goer-between, the Carrier of Intelligence, the Factor for Trade †, as the Latin Etymologists tell us, that the Word which signifies Traffick and Commerce, derives itself from Mercury the God of Eloquence. By It Treaties of Peace are made, War proclaim’d, all manner of Business publick and private negotiated and dispatched; Learning, and all the hidden Treasures of the Mind uttered and distributed: For This in Truth is the Original and the Instrument of all Communication; the Band and Cement of Hu-
Of Wisdom. Book I.

mane Society, (provided the Language be perfectly understood; for, as one of the Ancients said,
A Man had better be in the Company of a Dog that he knows, and is acquainted with, than in that of another Man, who cannot make himself understood by us. So that one Foreigner to another does by no means answer the Character of his Nature, and is in effect as no Man.)

In short, The Tongue is a Tool converted to all manner of Uses; and Instrument of Good and Evil, as Wisdom itself hath taught us; Life and Death are in the Power of the Tongue. The Advantages and the Inconveniences that proceed from it are never to be exprest; a prudent or an incautious, a wicked, or a conscientious use of it, disposeth our own, and sometimes other Peoples Fortunes; or draws down infinite Dangers; preserves or destroys Reputation: So that nothing is of better or worse Consequence than the Tongue. The Tongue of the Wise and Just (says the same Divine Wisdom) is as choice Silver, it is Health, it is a Tree of Life, enriching, healing, reconciling; a Preservative and a Happines. It is as the Door to a Royal Cabinet, upon the opening whereof we immediately see a Thousand precious Rarities, more beautiful, more valuable than all the Wealth of both the Indies; more fragrant and refreshing than all the Gums and Spices of Arabia. The Wise draws out his Artillery in order, sets his Philosophical Aphorisms and profitable Sentences in array, applies his Similitudes and Examples pertinentely and reasonably, improves others by his reading, and renders the Histories of former Ages of present and publick Use, enriches all he converses with one of his own inexhaustible Mine; offers nothing but what is solid, and substantial, and try'd; and is ready

† Ut externus alieno non sit hominis vice.
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upon all occasions, (like the Wealthy and Prudent Houfholder alluded to in the Gospel) to bring forth out of his Treasures things new and old. Such benefi-
cial Instructions as may be of use to regulate the Manners of private Persons, and direct the Go-
vernment and Administration of the Publick; such as may be serviceable to all Circumstances, all the Parts and Duties of Men, and teach them both how to Live, and how to Die well. And when These are introduc’d at fseasonable Times, and ma-
ng’d with Discretion, the Beauty and the Plea-
Sure of them is exceeding great, as well as the Benefit and Advantage; A Word fitly spoken is like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver. So the Wife of Men hath express’d the Counsels, or Reproofs, or Comforts handfomely deliver’d; and what can possibly be more grateful, more valuable, more or-
namental?

The Mouth of a wicked Man, quite contrary, is a noifom flinking Pit; his Breath is contagious, and kills like a Pestilence; murders his Neigh-
bour secretly, flabs and wounds his Reputation to Death; and then infults over his mangled Honour with a barbarous Triumph. It is Sword, and Fire, and Poison, and Death, and Hell, and every thing that is Mischievous and Deftuctive. The Holy Spirit it self hath allow’d it no better a Character; for St. James hath call’d it a Fire, a World of Iniqui-

ty, a Defiler of the whole Body, and Incendiary to the Course of Nature; and this Firebrand is felf kindled in Hell. And the Son of Syracb hath enlarg’d upon Ecclus.

the Subject fo well, that the whole Paffage ought to be inserted. Curse the Whisperer and Double-tongued, for such have destroy’d many that were at Peace. A back-
biting Tongue hath disquieted many, and driven them from Nation to Nation; strong Cities hath it pull’d down, and overthrown the Housés of great Men. Who’s beark-
eneth unto it shall never find rest, nor dwell quietly.

The
The Stroke of the Whip maketh Marks in the Flesh, but the Stroke of the Tongue breaketh the Bones. Many have fallen by the Edge of the Sword, but not so many as have fallen by the Tongue. Well is He that is defended from it, and hath not past through the Venom thereof; who hath not drawn the Yoke thereof, nor hath been bound in her Bands. For the Yoke thereof is a Yoke of Iron; and the Bands thereof are Bands of Brass. The Death thereof is an evil Death, the Grave is better than it.

Now these Two, Hearing and Speech, answer, and have a near and intimate Relation to one another; each of them single is of no Significance at all; and therefore Nature, to make Either of them useful, found it necessary to supply us with Both. They are the Two Doors of the Soul, whereby she sends in and out, and holds a Correspondence all the World over; nay, she does not only send, but go; for these two, like Vessels with their Orifices joyn'd, the Soul communicates and pours out her Thoughts, and transfuses her very Self into another's Breast. Where these Passages are shut and closed, as they are in the Deaf and Dumb, the Mind is in perpetual Misery and Solitude; for Hearing is the Door for Entrance, and Speech for going Abroad: By the former of these, the Soul receives the Conceptions of others; by the latter she imparts and enriches them with her own. The mutual Operation of these Two may be resembled to the Flint and the Steel, from the Concussion and Strokes whereof, Truth, like a Sacred Fire, is kindled; for They agitating and polishing each other, scour off the Rust of the Mind, brighten and beautifie it, and bring all Knowledge to Perfection. Only we must observe, that these Noble Effects have their first Beginning from the Hearing; for Wisdom must needs have been put into the Mind before it can be drawn.
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drawn out from thence. And accordingly we see
that Persons born Deaf, are constantly Dumb too.
The first thing to be done is to furnish this House
within, which is ordinarily done by Hearing; and
then follows the distributing our Stores by Con-
versation and Speech: So that the Good and Evil
of what we speak, will depend upon the Good
and Evil of what we hear: For such as we are ac-
custom'd to receive, such of necessity we must
give back again: And therefore a Man should
above all things keep his Ears chaste and unpol-
luted, and stop them against Vice and Indecency;
for this sort of Communication is exceeding in-
fecious, and taints the Mind presently. The Ad-
sides that are proper for the Use and Government
of our Speech, will be insisted upon hereafter.

C H A P. XII.

Of the other Faculties, viz. Imagination,
Memory, and Appetite.

The Fancy or Imaginative Faculty, first col-
lects the several Images receiv'd by the Senses,
forms Idea's out of them, and lays them up for
use. This is done in so accurate and faithful a
manner, that though the Objects themselves be far
distant, nay, though the Man be asleep, and all
his Senses lock'd up, yet this Faculty represents
them to the Mind and Thoughts, in Images so
strong, so lively, that the Imagination does the ve-
ry same to the Understanding now, which the
Object itself did, by the first and freshest Im-
pressions heretofore.

The
The Memorative Faculty is the Register and Store-House of all the Idea's and Images first perceiv'd by the Senses, and then collected and seal'd up by the Imagination.

The Appetit seeks, and pursues, and culls out of all these things so apprehended, such of them as appear to be Good and most Agreeable.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Intellectual Faculty; which is peculiar to the Humane Soul.

Before we enter upon any other Discourse relating to this Subject, it is necessary to observe the Seat or Instrument of this Faculty, and then its Action, or Method of Operating.

Now the Seat, or rather the Throne of the Reasonable Soul, where it sits and reigns Supreme, is not the Heart, (as was generally supposed before Plato and Hippocrates) but the Brain: For the Heart is not capable of Wisdom, but is properly the Seat and Source of Vegetation. Now the Brain, which in Man much exceeds the Quantity assign'd to any other Creature, must be so contriv'd and dispos'd, that the Reasonable Soul may act freely; and in order hereunto, the Figure of it must be almost like that of a Ship; it must not be a perfect Round, it must not be too Great, nor too Little; though of the Two Extremes the Excess is much less to be found fault with, than the Defect: It must be compos'd of a delicate fluid Substance, of fine and subtle Parts, and these well joyn'd together, and all united without any Separation, or void Spaces throughout the whole. It hath Four small Cavitie
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vities or Ventricles, Three of which lie forward in the middle, and are plac'd in a Collateral Line to one another: The Fourth lies behind these, toward the hinder part of the Head, and is single by it self. This is the Shop in which the Vital Spirits are first form'd and united, in order to the being afterwards converted into Animal Spirits, and then convey'd into the Three Cavities that lie forward: And these Animal Spirits are the Instruments made use of by the Soul, for discharging her several Functions, and exercising all her Faculties. Those Faculties are likewise Three; the Understanding, the Memory, and the Imagination: And these are not exercis'd distinctly and apart, nor hath each of them a different Ventricle of the Brain appropriated to it; (which is all an old and vulgar Error concerning them) but their Operations are altogether, and in common. All the Three Faculties exert themselves in all and every of the Three Cavities; somewhat like our Bodily Senses, which are double, and have Two Organs, in each of which the same Sense performs all its Operations entire. From hence it comes to pass, that a Man who is hurt or disabled in Two of these Three Ventricles, (as one in a Palsy, for Instance) does yet continue to have the use of all his Three Faculties: That is, he understands, and remembers, and forms Idea's still, by virtue of that One Cavity, which the Disease hath not yet seiz'd upon. It is true, he does this more weakly, and every Operation of every kind is more imperfect than it was formerly, because the Strength and Vigour of One is not equal to the united Force of Three: But yet it evidently follows from hence, that each Faculty hath not its Work-house in a distinct Apartment, and entire to it self alone; for then, as soon as any of these Ventricles begins to be disabled, that Faculty to which it be-
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belongs, must immediately cease, and cou'd never more be exerted in any Degree at all.

Some Persons have been of Opinion, that the Reasonable Soul is not Organical; that is, that it can act separately and independently, and hath no need of any Corporeal Instrument to assist it in the Discharge of its Functions. And this Notion they have been more fond of, because they imagine it of Consequence for proving the Immortality of the Soul. Now without engaging in a vast and dark Labyrinth of Dispute, about a Matter which we are incapable of knowing perfectly, this Question may be brought to a short Issue: For if we will but credit our own Eyes, and our own Experience, every Day gives us Demonstrations, which overthrow this Opinion, and establish the contrary. It is certain that all Men have not equal Capacities, nor do they apprehend things, or argue upon them alike, but the Disparity is very great and visible between one Man and another. It is no less evident, that the same Person changes, and differs from himself; that his Reason is more clear, and perfect, and strong at one Time, and at one Age, in one Disposition of Body, and in one Circumstance of Fortune and Life, than it is in another. One Man can do nothing except he have Ease and Leisure; another requires Dangers and Difficulties to rouze him, and never thinks to purpose, till he be press'd hard, and driven to Extremities: A Third finds himself much more capable in Health than in Sickness: And a Fourth feels his Mind most vigorous and active, than when his Diseases and Weaknesses have reduc'd his Body lowest. The same Man at one Season excels in Judgment, and flags in his Fancy; so that One Faculty decays in proportion as Another improves. Now the most probable Account that can be given for all these Differences and Alterations...
rations, seems to be a Difference in the State and Disposition of the Organs, which are to the Soul as Tools to the Artificer. Which way but this shall we answer for the strange Effects we see produc'd by Drunkenness, by the Bite of a Mad Dog, by a high Fever, by a Blow upon the Head, by the Vapours that rise from the Stomach and annoy the Brain; and by several other Accidents which affect any of the Parts thereabouts? What Confusions do they make, how perfectly stupid, and childish, and frantick do Men grow upon them, lose their Memory quite, and feel their Heads turn'd upside down, their former Ideas eraced, their Judgment destroy'd? All the Wisdom of Greece is not able to maintain it self against them; and if the Shock be very violent indeed, then it does not only disturb and enseeble, but quite drive away the Soul, and constrain her to remove out of the Body. Now it is plain, that these Accidents are purely Corporeal, and consequently they cannot affect what is not so; they can never fly so high as the Exalted and Spiritual Faculties of the Reasonable Soul; all that they can do is to vitiate the Organs, to put them out of their Course, and intercept the usual Communications; and when This is once effected, the Soul can no longer act regularly; She may command, but They cannot obey; and if these Organs are sore bruised, and distorted very grievously, then She and They can no longer subsist together: The Lodging is no longer fit to entertain her, and she must be gone.

Now I do by no means see, how this Opinion can be guilty of any Prejudice to that of the Immortality of the Soul; For first, We are not here enquiring what the Soul is, but how she operates, and what Laws of Action she is bound up to, while in Conjunction with a Mortal Body. And I Se-
Secondly, The making Use of Corporeal Instruments, does by no means prove the User to be Corporeal, or Mortal. God, without all Question, is Immortal, and yet God himself does not think it below him to use such; and to proportion the Effects and Operations of his Providence to them. He produces Men of different Understandings and Parts, according to the Constitution of their Parents, and the Concurrence of other Natural Causes; nay, even according to the different Climate, and Country, and Air they are born in. For Greece and Italy have ever been observ'd to produce Men of quicker and clearer Wit than Muscovy and Tartary. And as God does in this Case, so does the Mind in others. It reasons better or worse, remembers more or less faithfully, hath a more fruitful, or more barren Imagination, according as the Organs (which are the Corporeal Instruments appointed to serve it upon these Occasions) are better or worse disposed to do their Duty. Now the Brain is properly the Instrument of the Reasonable Soul, and therefore upon the due Temperament of This, a great deal must needs, indeed the Whole in a manner, will depend: That therefore shall be the next Thing we attempt to give an Account of.

By this Temperament is to be understood the Mixture and Proportion of the Four Prime Qualities, Hot and Cold, Moiſt and Dry; or rather a Fifth Quality, which is, as it were, a Harmony resulting from a due Conjunction of all these together, like that Concord in Sounds, which arises from a Friendly Complication of different Notes. Now upon that Mixture of the Brain it is, that the State and the Operations of the Reasonable Soul depend. Only This is Man's great Unhappiness, that the Three Faculties, Understanding, Memory, and Imagination, do each of them require different, nay, contrary Temperaments, for their Exercise and Perfection. The Tempera-
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Temperament proper for the Understanding is a Predominance of Dry; and this gives us some Account, how it comes to pass, that Persons far gone in Years, are more Intelligent and Judicious than those that are Younger. For, besides the Advantages which Art, and Study, and Experience may give them; they have a Disposition to it from Nature. The Brain, as Men grow older, purifying it self from Excrementitious Humours, and growing dryer every Day: For the same Reason, in all likelihood, Melancholy Persons, and those under Affliction and Want, and Persons that are fasting (it being an Effect of Grief and Fasting to keep the Brain dry) may be better disposed to think; and qualify’d to do it to good Purpose, as well as some of them are necessitated, by their Circumstances, to apply themselves to it. This is farther observabel in Brutes; Ants, and Bees, and Elephants, as they are the dryest, so they are the most capable and ingenious of any; and those of a moist Constitution, (the Swine for Instance) are stupid and senseless. Thus again in Men; Those of Southerly Countries excel in Wisdom, from the Drought of their Brain, and their inward Heat being moderated by that of a violent Sun without, which exhales it.

The Temperament best accommodated to the Memory is Moist; and hence it is that Children are more ready and perfect in it than Old People; hence it is most apt and faithful in a Morning, when the Brain hath been well refreshed, and througly moistned by a good Night’s Sleep; hence also the Inhabitants of the Northern Climates have the strongest Memories, for These are under a moister Air, by means of their great Distance from the Sun. But this Moisture must not be so mistaken, as if I meant, that the Temper of the Memory is fluid, like Water; but rather such a
Moisture as we may observe in Air, Glue, Grease, or Oyl; something of such a Substance and Continuity of Parts, as may both take the Impression easily, and keep it a great while; as we see Pictures do that are laid in Oyl Colours.

The Temperaments fittest for the Imagination, is Hot, which makes Distracted, Hair-brain'd, and Feverish People, excel all others in bold and lofty Flights of Fancy. Thus Poetry, Divination, and all that depends upon Imagination, were always thought to proceed from a sort of Fury and Inspiration. This Faculty is for the same reason most vigorous in Youth and the Flower of our Age: The Poets accordingly flourished at these Years, and Almighty God, (who even in Supernatural Influences and Effects, made great Use of Natural Causes, and did as little Violence as was possible, to a Course of his own Instituting) order'd the Matter so, that most of the Prophets should do so too. The same Reason holds likewise for those Middle Regions, and more moderate Climates, between the North and the South, where Men are observ'd to excel in those Arts and Sciences, which are deriv'd from the Strength and Sprightliness of Fancy.

Now, from this great Inequality of these Mixtures and Proportions, it frequently happens, that a Man may be tolerably well to pass in all these Three Faculties, and not arrive at an Excellence in any one of them; as also, That a Man may be conspicuous, and exceeding well Accomplish'd in one of these Respects, and yet very Wanting and Despicable in the other Two. It is manifest, the Temperaments adapted for the Memory and the Understanding, are the most Distant and Contrary in the World; for what can be more so than Moist and Dry? That of the Imagination does not seem so remote from the rest, for Hot will agree well enough with Moist or Dry, and is far from being...

Incompatible with either; and yet, tho these seem so consistent in Nature, we see them very seldom reconcil’d in Fact; For those who are esteem’d most Excellent in Imagination, are generally found very Weak both in Point of Memory and Understanding; and thought near a-kin to Fools or Mad-men. The Reason whereof may possibly be this. That the Heat, which feeds and exalts their Imagination, wafts and exhausts that Moisture, with which the Memory is asifted; and also the finest and most volatile of those Spirits, of which that Dryness partakes, which is serviceable to the Understanding; and the Faculty, when destitute of these, grows flat and heavy. So that in effect this is an Enemy to both the other Temperaments, and Experience shews it to be destructive of them.

From all that hath been said we may plainly see, that the Principal Temperaments, which serve, assist, and set the Reasonable Soul on working, and which distinguish the Excellencies of the Mind, according to its Faculties, are Three, and cannot exceed that Number. For Cold, which is the Fourth, is of no Significance at all; Hot, and Moist, and Dry only, can contribute to Men’s Ingenuity. The Other is a sluggish unactive Principle, and, instead of quickening, does only benumb and stupefy the Soul, and put a Stop to all its Motions. Therefore, when in reading some Authors, we find them recommending Cold, as of Use to the Understanding, and saying, that Men of a Cold Brain, such as those of Melancholy Complexions, or under the Southern Climes, are Prudent, Wise, Ingenious, and the like; we must not there understand the Word Cold in its natural and most received Sense, but interpret it of a large Abatement and more moderate Degree of Heat only. For nothing can be more opposite to Wisdom, and a good Understanding, than that Excess of Heat, which yet to
the bettering of the Imagination, and refining the Fancy would be of great Importance. And, according to the Three Temperaments of the Brain, there are Three corresponding Faculties of the Reasonable Soul. But both the One and the Other of These admit of several Degrees; and may be variously subdivided and distinguished.

The Principal Offices to be discharged by the Understanding, and the different Qualifications of Men, with regard to it, are Three; To conclude truly, To distinguish nicely, and To choose wisely. The Sciences that fall properly under this Faculty, are School-Divinity; The Speculative Part of Physick, Logick, Natural and Moral Philosophy.

The Memory hath likewise Three Qualities to be distinguished by. For there is One sort of Memory, which easily receives Impressions, and easily loses them again. A Second, which quickly remembers, and seldom or never forgets; and a Third, where the Impression is hard to be made, and yet is presently worn out again. The Sciences proper to this Faculty are Grammar, and the Theory of the Civil Law, Dogmatical Divinity, Cosmography, and Arithmetick.

The Imagination abounds in Distinctions, and Differences are occasion'd by it, much more than either the Memory or the Understanding is capable of. To this belong, after a more peculiar manner, Fanciful Inventions, Pleasant Conceits, Witty Jests, Sharp Reflections, Ingenious Repartees; Fictions and Fables, Figures and Comparisons, Propriety and Purity of Expression; and, in a Word, All that Quaintness, and Elegance, and Easiness, which adorns Conversation, and becomes the Character of a Man of Sense and Good Breeding. And therefore we may range under this Division, Poetry, Eloquence, Musick, Correspondence, Harmony, and Proportion.
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Now, from hence it appears, that Sprightliness, Subtlety, Readiness of Parts, and all that which commonly goes by the Name of Wit, is to be imputed to the Warmth of Imagination; Solidity, to the Mature Judgment, and Truth, to the Dryness of the Understanding. The Imagination is Active, and Blustering, and Busy; keeps all about it awake, and sets the other Faculties on work. The Understanding is a grave, sedate, and severe Action; The Memory acts not at all, but is purely Passive; and the manner of these Operations seems to be thus. In the First Place, the Imagination collects together the Ideas and Figures of Things, not only such as are present by the Conveyance and Ministry of the Five Senses; but those that are absent too, by the Assistance of that Inward and Common Receptacle, called the Sensorium commune, where the Forms of them lie deposited. The next Thing in order, is to represent these to the Understanding (if that be thought fit) and then this Faculty takes them into Consideration; examines, digests, and makes a Judgment of them. When That is over, the Imagination lays them up carefully to be preserved in the Memory; as a Man takes down a Memorandum in his Table-Book) that so they may be consulted, and made use of again, when any future Occasion shall call for them. Or if the Imagination be not so disposed, then she commits these Things into the Memory's Custody, without referring them to the Understanding at all, and so the Second Branch of this Operation is wholly superseded. Now this Account informs us, that the Acts of Recollection, representing to the Intellectual Faculty, laying up in the Memory, and drawing out those Stores again for Use, are all of them Operations of the Imaginative Faculty. So that That Common Repository, the Internal Sense, (Reminiscence, as it is called) and Fancy, come within
within the Compass of This, and are not (as some pretend) Powers of the Mind, distinct and separate from it. And, consequently, there is nothing in those Operations that should oblige us to quit the former Division, or allow more Faculties of the Reasonable Soul, than the Three already insisted upon.

The Common People, who (to give them their due) are very seldom in the right, have an high Esteem, and make a marvellous to do with Memory, extolling This infinitely above the other Two; The only Reason whereof seems to be, that this hath more of Shew, is more pretending and forward, and makes a greater Noise in Conversation. Hence it is, That a Man whose Memory is well stored, is usually reputed a great Scholar; and that to pronounce one a Person of good Parts, you look no farther than his having a good Memory; as if Learning were to be preferr’d before Wisdom, which indeed comes infinitely short of it; and this Faculty from whence it is furnish’d, is the least valuable of all the Three; For it is consistent with great Folly, and insufferable Impertinence; and very rarely to be met with in any great Degree, where the Person excels in Understanding and Wisdom; for the Temperaments indeed from whence they result, are contrary to one another. From this vulgar Error, I suppose the improper Methods of Teaching Children, to have taken their Rise; it being the Custom of Country-Schools almost every where, to follow them close with Tasks to be got by Heart, (as they call it) that so they may be able to repeat, and quote Things readily out of Books. Thus they stuff their Memories full, and load them with the Riches of other Men, without taking any care to awaken and whet the Understanding; to form or to refine the Judgment: Which, after all, is the most ne-
necessary Part of Instruc\ion, to shew them the true Worth of their Natural Faculties, to draw out the Stores and Abilities of their own Mind, and by the Exercise and Improvement of their Home-Growth, to render them considerate, and wise, and qualify’d for all manner of Business. Accordingly we see, that many of your Scholars, which carry all Aristotle and Cicero in their Heads, are mere Prigs and Puts, and incapable of any Management at all, and that, (generally speaking) the World is led by the Nose, and all the weightiest Affairs of Governments entrusted with Men of little or no Learning. Which yet, no doubt, is of infinite Advantage, and would render even the prudentest and cunningest Politicians, yet more capable than they are, if wisely infill’d, and well us’d. But then they must not (as the Way of the World is) value themselves upon Other Mens Wisdom; nor think it their Own, because they remember it; but make it so, by digesting what they read, incorporating it with their own Thoughts, refining and improving upon it, and knowing how to convert it to the Use and Benefit of themselves and others. But to return; All Wise Men have given the Preference to the Understanding; and admit it to be the most excellent and choicest Piece of Furniture belonging to the Mind. If this moves right, all the rest goes true, and the Man is wise; and if this be false, the whole Movement is out of Course. Imagination is the Second in Dignity; and Memory is the Last and Lowest.

The following Similitude may perhaps contribute something to our apprehending the true State of these Faculties, and the different Circumstances and Relations they are in, more perfectly. The Reasonable Soul then cannot be more painted to the Life, than by forming an Idea of it to our selves, as a Court of Judicature. Now in every such
such Courts there are Three Degrees and Orders of Persons concern'd: The Uppermost and most Honourable Order is the Bench of Judges; and here there is little or no Noise, but a World of Business and Dispatch: For they proceed calmly and quietly; and without any Hurry or Passion, try Causes, decide Controversies and Claims, make Decrees, and give the Final Determination to all Matters brought before them: This carries a very lively Resemblance to the Understanding, which is the highest, the most honourable, and the judging Faculty of the Soul. The Second is the Bar, where the Council and the Attorneys are plac'd; and here is a World of Clutter, and Bawling, and Noise, but nothing done; for they can bring nothing to an Issue; They make no Orders nor Awards, pronounce no Sentences: All Their Business is only to discuss Matters, to plead the Cause, and to lay it before the Judge. This is a lively Picture of the Imagination, which is a loud, a blustering, and a restless Faculty; never lies still, not even then, when the Soul seems perfectly bound up in the profoundest Sleep; but is eternally buzzing about the Brain, like a boiling Pot; and this can never fix, or come to a peremptory Resolution in any thing. The Third and last Degree is that of the Notaries, and Registrars, and Clerks; where there is neither Noise nor Action: It is no Part of their Concern which way Things go; they are purely Passive; and all they have to do, is to make Entries of what passes in Court, and to take care that the Records be faithfully kept, and ready to be produced upon occasion. This gives us no ill Idea of the Memory and its Office.

The Action or Employment of the Soul is Knowledge or Understanding; and this is of Universal Extent: For the Mind is a House open to every Guest;
Guess; a Subject ready to receive any Impression. As the Philosophers say the Primitive Matter is disposed to be moulded into any Forms; or as a Looking-Glass receives and reflects all Faces; so this Soul is capable of considering all things indifferently, be they Visible or Invisible, Universals or Particulars; Objects of Sense or not, the Understanding is in at all. But (if we may be allowed to argue from the vast, and almost infinite Diversity of Opinions, and the still growing Doubts upon this Matter) it is acquainted with it self the least of any thing. This Knowledge is but dim and indirect: It is attained by Reflection only, and the Knowledge of other Things brought home, and apply’d to it self: By which it feels, that it does understand, and thence infers a Power and Capacity of this kind. This seems to be the Method, by which our Minds attain to the Knowledge of Themselves. Almighty God, who is the Sovereign Mind, knows Himself first, and all Things else in Himself: But Man, who is the last and lowest of all the Intellectual World, inverts that Order quite, and discerns other Things before he can come to any Knowledge of Himself; for his Mind is in Contemplation of other Objects, (like the Eye in a Looking-Glass) which cannot work upon it self without the help of a Medium, and sees nothing at Home, while the Vision is continu’d in a straight Line, but can do it by Reflection only.

But the great Difficulty to be enquir’d into upon this Occasion, concerns the Manner of Operation, and by what Method the Soul attains to the Knowledge of Things. The most receiv’d Opinion is that deriv’d from Aristotle, importing, That the Mind understands and is instructed by the Senses: That it is naturally and of it self, a perfect Blank, a clean white Paper; and that what-
whatever is written in it afterwards, must be dictated by the Senses, and cannot be convey'd thither any other way.

But first of all, This is far from being Universally true; for, (as was hinted before, and the Point referred hither for a farther Disquisition) there have been great Authorities of Philosophers, that the first Seeds of all Sciences, and Vertues, and necessary Knowledge, are originally sown in our Minds, and grafted there by Nature; so that Men may if they please, live very comfortably, and grow Rich out of their own Stock; and, provided they take but a little care to cultivate and cherish the kindly Beginnings, the Harvest will not fail to be plentiful, and abundantly to reward their Pains.

Again; That Opinion seems highly injurious to God and Nature, and taxes them with unreasonable Partiality: For upon these Terms the Rational Soul is more sparingly dealt with, and left in a much worse Condition, than either the Vegetative, or Sensitive, or any other Creature whatsoever: For all These, as hath already been observ'd, exercise their Functions readily, and are sufficiently instructed by their own Native Endowments, in all Things necessary for their Purpose. Thus Beasts apprehend several Things without Experience, and the Discipline of Sense: They make Inferences, so far as their Case requires, and conclude Universals from Particulars: From the sight of one Man they know the Humane Shape wherever they see it again; they are forewarn'd to avoid Dangers, even while invisible; and to follow after That which is agreeable and beneficial to Themselves, and their Young: And wou'd it not be a Reproach, or scandalous Blunder and Absurdity in Nature, if this Noble, this Divine Faculty, shou'd have no Provision at all of its own, but

but sent about a begging, and depend for mere
Necessaries upon so mean, so frail Relief, as what
the Senses are able to give?

Once more; How can we perceive that the Understanding shou'd go to School to the Senses, and
be taught by Them, who are not able to teach
themselves? What precious Masters are these,
whose utmost Knowledge goes no deeper than bare-
ly the Accidents and Outsides of Things? For, as
to the Natures, Forms, and real Essences of them,
they know nothing at all of the Matter. And if
This be the Case of Individual Substances, much
less are they capable of penetrating into Universals,
the dark and profound Mysteries of Nature, and all
those things which do not affect the Sense at all.

Besides; If all Knowledge were deriv'd from the
Senses, the Consequence of this (one would think)
shou'd be, That They, whose Senses are the quick-
est, strongest, and most discerning, wou'd always
be the Persons most conspicuous for Ingenuity,
and Learning, and Skill in Reasoning. But we
frequently see it happen just contrary; that such
People are the dullest, most stupid, and most in-
capable of all others. Nay, some Persons have
thought their Bodily Senses rather an Obstruction
than any Advantage to their Improvement: And
upon that Account have wilfully depriv'd them-
selves of them, that so the Soul might be more
expedite and free, and do her Business without Di-
fraction, when the Avocations and Disturbance
of Sensible Objects were taken out of the way.

Now if this Matter be as I have represented it;
you will ask perhaps, Why these Things are not
always perform'd by the Soul, and why not by
every Man alike? What hinders that all should
not be equally Wise and Knowing; but especi-
ally, why it shou'd lie dormant, without be-
ing reduc'd into act; or, if it do act, how comes
it to pass that its Operations are not always equal, that it goes about its Duty feebly, and performs its Functions much more lamely and imperfectly at one Season than at another? This is the Case even of the Wisest and most Capable Persons; and some are so miserably stupid, that the Intellectual Soul seems never to exert itself at all. Where it does, the Vegetative Soul is vigorous and active in Youth, and very weak in Old Age: It is then decay'd, and spent, and cannot repair the Losses of Nature, (those of Teeth especially.) Which yet it does with the greatest Ease imaginable, in Children and young People. The Reasonable Soul, quite contrary, is evidently weaker in Infancy and Youth, and cannot exert itself then, as it does afterwards in riper Years, and old Age: This also performs some sort of Actions in some sorts of Distempers, which it hath not power to do in time of perfect Health; and others again there are perform'd in time of Health, which it is utterly incapacitated for, when the Body labours under a Distemper.

Now all these Objections are insufficient: For, First of all, They who hold the Opinion I am now contending for, never pretend, that the Faculty and Power of Understanding is communicated to every Man in equal Proportions. They admit a very great Inequality; from whence that Ancient and Noble Aphorism became so usual in the Mouth of Philosophers, That the acting Intellect is given to very few; and this very Inequality they make use of, as an Argument to prove that Science does not proceed from Sense; since it is very manifest, according to what hath been urged already, that They who are most advantageously provided for in point of Sense, are oftentimes least so in point of Learning and Wisdom.

As
Chap. 13. Of the Intellectual Faculty.

As to the Second Part of the Objection, That these Functions are not always perform'd alike; The true Reason of this is certainly, The different Condition of those Instruments, which the Soul hath absolute occasion for, and constantly works by; for These neither are, nor can be at all times in the same Order and Disposition. Sometimes they are disturbed so as to be fit for no Business at all: And when they are not put out of their Course, by any accidental Interruption, yet, even in their Natural State, they are not qualify'd for all Business alike; nay, they act in perfect Contrariety, and cross, and interfere with one another. To express this now in as few Words, and as clearly as the Thing will bear:

That Temperament of the Brain, which you have heard so much of already, is the next and immediate Instrument, by which the Soul is assist'd and determin'd in her Actings. Now This is exceeding various and mutable; and at those Seasons when it serves well for one Function of the Soul, it obstructs and runs counter to another. In Youth it is Hot and Moiſt; and this Complication is extremely proper for strengthening the Vegetative Faculty; but it keeps the Rational one Weak and Low. On the other hand it is Cold and Dry in Aged People; and This is a convenient Temper for the Reasonable Soul, but highly prejudicial, and improper for the Vegetative. When this Temperament of the Brain is soundly heated and refin'd by a high Fever, it is then accommodated to the Imaginative Faculty, and does Wonders in Invention and Fancy; but this very Condition disables the Intellectual Faculty, and is the most opposite that can be, to Mature Deliberation, and sound Wisdom and Judgment.

It is no part of my Intention, by all this Discourse, to defraud the Senses of any part of the Com-
Commendation, which is their just due; but only to prevent their ingrossing All, and assuming more than their due. 'Tis confess'd, that the Mind reaps great Advantage, and is very conveniently served by the Senses; especially in the beginning of its Contemplations, the first Hints and Occasions, the Invention and new Discoveries of Things. But still we affirm, in vindication of the Mind's just Rights, that it does not depend upon the Senses entirely; that it is capable of Knowledge and Understanding; can reason and discuss Matters, infer and conclude, without the Senses: Whereas, on the contrary, all Knowledge proceeds from the Mind; and the Senses, when left to themselves, cannot make the least Progress, nor have one single Perception without it.

12. It is farther observable, that the Mind proceeds in different Methods, and makes regular and gradual Advances in the Consideration of Things. Sometimes it proceeds by the Addition and Conjunction of Idea's: As first it conceives a Lion simply and directly, without attending to any of his Qualities: Then it adds the Idea of Strength to the former; and so having from some Effects had reason to believe that these will agree well together, and be true of each other, it concludes, that the Lion is Strong. This is what they call the Affirmative way of Arguing. Sometimes it proceeds by the Division of Idea's, which is what they term the Negative way. Thus it understands the Hare to be Fearful; for observing her to run away and hide herself, it concludes from this Timorous Behaviour, that a Hare is not Stout. Sometimes again, we come to the Knowledge of Things by Similitude, and the help of Comparison; and of Others by a Collection of several Idea's, Exaggerating and Amplifying these as we see fit. Other Methods there are, which need not be instanced.
Chap. 14. Of the Parts of the Humane Soul. 129

...tancing in particularly, because any Man, from his own Observation, and what hath been already deliver'd here, may easily represent the manner of them to himself.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Parts of the Humane Soul: And first, of the Understanding, which is its noblest Function; Imagination, Reason, Wit, Judgment, &c.

This Mind of Man is a dark and deep Abyss, an intricate Labyrinth, full of Corners and Creeks, and secret lurking Places: Such is the Disposition and State of this exalted Part of the Soul, distinguish'd by the Term of Intellectual, which consists of vastly many Parts, and Faculties, and Operations, and different Movements; each of which have their proper Names, and each of them infinite Doubts and Difficulties peculiar to them.

The First Part of its Office is commonly known by the Name of Apprehension or Imagination; and this consists in barely receiving and apprehending Images and simple Ideas; which is, indeed, in the Nature of a Passion and Impression, occasion'd by the Presence of Things that strike upon, or are represented to it.

The next is that Power by which we feed upon those Ideas, to which the Imagination hath given such Entertainment; we handle and turn them about, chew the Cud, concoct and digest them; and this is Reason, or ἡγεῖον.

The
3. The Third Action or Office, is what we commonly term Discourse or Ratiocination (λόγος, διάλογον, because διὰ νοῦ). And the Exercise of this Power consists in collecting or separating; joyning together, or taking asunder the Ideas thus received; and, according as those are found to agree or disagree, adding some fresh to them, which is the Nature of Inferences and Conclusions.

4. The Doing all this with Ease, Nicety, and Readiness, searching deeper, and seeing farther into Matters than the World commonly do, is an Excellence known by the Name of Penetration, or Sagacity; (Ingenium) and the Persons happy in it, are distinguished by the Titles of Ingenious, shrewd, sharp Men, Persons of good Parts, good Sense, and the like.

5. The bringing Things over again, allowing them a Second Thought, and applying the Touch-stone to them over and over, that our Disquisition may be as curious and elaborate as possible, and nothing may pass, but what we are well assured is true Standard; this is Judgment; and its Business is to go upon sure Grounds, and come to no Resolutions, but such as one may abide by.

6. The Effect, Lastly, of the Understanding, thus exercised is, as you perceive, Knowledge, Speculative Wisdom, and Resolution.

7. The Action, which follows next, and is a Natural Consequence of such Knowledge and Resolution, is that of the Will, or Volition; by which the Mind reaches forward, and makes some Advances, towards the Object so known.

8. Now from hence, I think, it follows, that the Essence of all these Things is the same; and the Operations of them only are different. That is, Understanding, and Imagination, and Reason, and Discourse, and Penetration, and Judgment, and Wisdom, and Resolution, are only so many several

Several Methods, by which the same Mind moves and exerts itself. And accordingly we find some Persons better disposed to one of these Ways, than they are to others; a Man, for Instance, shall be excellent for Quickness and Readiness of Wit, and yet very weak and childish with respect to his Judgment. Every Man hath all these Powers inherent in his Mind; but every Man hath them not alike, nor is alike qualify'd for the Exercise of them all.

I am well enough content to hear the Characters and lofty Commendations of the Soul of Man; and take great Delight in the Account of its Comprehension, and Sprightliness, and vast Abilities. I allow it be called the Image of the Living God; a Drop of the Fountain of Immortality, an Efflux of the Divinity, a Beam of Heavenly Light; That the Great Creator hath furnished it with Reason, by which, as by a living Rudder, this Vessel may steer its Course regularly; That it is an Instrument most exquisitely Harmonious; That by it we contract a great Resemblance, and have the Honour of being near of Kin to God; and that therefore he hath so disposed the Seat and Situation of this Mind, that it should be in a perpetual Disposition of looking upward, to the Place of its Birth. In a Word, I agree, that there is nothing in this lower World truly Great, but only Man; and nothing truly Noble in Man but his Mind; that if you come up to the utmost Height of this, you have climb'd higher than the very Heavens themselves: These Characters I content to very heartily, and they are such as the Schools, and Chairs of Philosophers and Divines, have commonly abounded in; with a Design to render Men duly sensible of the Dignity of their Nature, and to teach them not to base or undervalue themselves.
All This, I say, is admitted; but still with this Proviso, that Men would apply themselves withal, to examine, and come to a more distinct Knowledge of This Soul of ours. For upon a more intimate Acquaintance, we shall find, that it is capable of being made, and (as the Matter is commonly order’d) does actually prove an Instrument of much Danger and Mischief to oneself and others; a terrible Disturber of the Publick Peace; which, like a common Jugler, with his Legerdemain, amuses you with Slight of Hand; and waits all Opportunities of putting the Cheat upon you. For in Truth, all the Falsehood, and Forgery, and Mischief, that the World labours under, are owing purely to This, and have no other Original.

The Bodies of Men, as infinitely various as we see them, are yet less different from one another than their Souls are: In general, They may properly enough be reduc’d into Three Classes; each of which is capable of being sub-divided again, and hath several Distinctions and Degrees comprehended under it. The Lowest of these are poor and weak Souls, not much removed from that of Brutes. And this Defect may be caused sometimes from the Faults and Imperfections of the Natural Constitution; too great a Predominance of Cold and Moisture in the Temperament of the Brain; as Fishes, whose Composition is of this kind, are reckon’d the lowest and most wanting of all other Animals: This Infirmity is born with us, and deriv’d from our Parents. Sometimes it is chargeable upon accidental Failings afterwards: Want of due Care to awaken and exert the Natural Powers, and letting them rust upon our Hands, till they degenerate into Senslessness and Stupidity; Of these we can make no certain Account, nor can they be esteemed a certain Species; For in Truth, they are not in a Condition to govern

vern themselves as Men, but are Minors and Ignorants all their Days, and ought to be constantly kept under the Tuition and Care of others, wiser than themselves. * They snore and nod with their Eyes open; and, while they seem to live and act, are dead in the very midst of Life; Moving Carcasses, and Men that walk in their Sleep. Such are the Boors and Common People, without Sense, without Apprehension, without Judgment. The Uppermost Class are those Elevated, and singularly Excellent Souls, that seem rather to be Angels and Demi-Gods than Common and Mortal Men; Strong and Vigorous, and every way Accomplish'd; These are conspicuous and admirable indeed, but so rare and few withal, that if we could bring all of them together that ever the World knew, this long and numerous Succession could not furnish enough to compose one Common-wealth. The Middle Sort is infinite in Partitions and Degrees, Men of moderate Endowments, refin'd from the Dregs, but still beneath the Cream and Flower of Humane Nature. And These take in much the greatest Part of Mankind. Of those Distinctions, there will come a more proper Time to treat more largely hereafter. In the mean while, we must try to give a more particular Description of this Soul, with regard to its Nature and Qualities, which yet are so intricate and manifold, that it is as hard to represent them truly, as it would be to draw a Picture like, from a Face that is always in Motion.

First of all; We may observe, that it is perpetually in Action. The Soul indeed cannot live idle, for to be doing something is its very Essence; and hence it is, that for fear of lying quite unactive, it employs itself in false and fantatical Imaginations.

* Qui vigilans fletit.
Mortua cui vita est prope jam vivo atque videnti.
Of Wisdom.

Book I.

tions, forms a Thousand wild Ideas, will study to cheat and deceive it self, and go directly contrary to its own Knowledge and Persuasion, rather than be out of Business. Like Fallow and neglected Grounds, which must always be kept down with some Grain or other, if the Soil be rich and fruitful; otherwise they will provide themselves a Harvest, and put forth vast Crops of wild and noxious Weeds. Thus the Mind, if it be not set on Work, and kept close to some particular Subject, turns Vagabond, wanders and floats among a Thousand Whimsies; there is nothing so Foolish, or so Extravagant, but it will produce it. And if it be not fix’d down, it is lost; for to be every where, is in Truth to be no where. Agitation is, indeed, the very Life and Beauty of the Soul, but then this Agitation ought to be directed and prescribed; found for it by another Hand, but by no means left to its own providing. Suffer it to go all alone, and on its own Head, it falters about and tires its self to no purpose; languishes and grows feeble. And yet the other Extreme is every whit as dangerous; for if you hold it too high, and lay too much upon it. This is keeping the Bow always bent. Constant intense Thought, is what cannot be born; it strains and puts the Mind upon the Stretch, till at last it cracks and breaks it.

This Agent is also Universal, and in at every Thing. No Subject whatsoever, no Topick is out of its Compass; let the Farce be what it will, the Soul will have a Part in it, tho’ it be never so low or so extravagant. The vaineast and most trifling Matter will serve its Turn to work upon, as well as that of the greatest Consequence and Weight; Things which it knows not, nor hath any Comprehension of, as well as those, with which it is never so well acquainted. For even the being made sensible, that it is out of a Man’s Power to enter

deep, and search Things to the Bottom, and that in many (in most Cases indeed) all the Knowledge we can have is merely superficial, and goes no farther than just the Shell, and Out-side of Things; The very Coming to this Sense, I say, is a very brave and bold Stroke, and argues a Masterly Judgment. Learning, nay, Truth it self, may be found in a Man that wants Judgment, and many may have a good Judgment too, who are unskill’d in Learning and Books, and under some Mistakes, as to particular Opinions. But for a Man to see, and to acknowledge his own Ignorance and Personal Defects; to pretend to no more than he really hath, and is; this single Quality argues so much Judgment, that there are few better Testimonies to be given of it.

A Third Character very considerable in this Agent, is the Nimbleness of its Motions; whereby it traverses the whole World, and runs from the one End of it to the other, in a Moment of Time; never standing still, never at rest; but fluttering about, and peeping and medling every where.

* Man is endu’d with a busy, active, Mind; that never keeps at home; but expands and dilates it self; wanders every where, cannot bear any Rest, and is never so agreeably entertain’d as with Novelties, and fresh Objects. Nor is it strange; For this Mind of ours is descended from that Celestial Spirit above; and Motion, we know, is so natural there, that the Heavenly Beings, are never out of it. This mighty Quickness and Agility must be confess’d in one respect prodigious, and one of the most miraculous Qualifications belonging to the Soul. But on the o-

* Mobilis & inquieta mens homini data est; nuncquam se tenet; Spargitur vaga, quietis impatiens, novitate rerum laetissima; Non mirum ex illo celestii spiritu descendit. Celestium autem natura semper in motu est.
ther hand, it is very dangerous too; for Spirits so exceeding subtle and refin'd, are liable to great Inconveniences; and an Excellence of this kind is observed to be a mighty Disposition to Folly, and borders hard upon Madness, as you will hear by and by.

Upon the Consideration of these Three Qualities it is that the Arguments for the Immortality of the Soul are usually grounded. Since Matter (which is corruptible by Nature) hath none of these; and what is not Material, no Reason in Philosophy can evince to be Mortal. Now an Agent in perpetual Motion is very distant from Matter, to which Rest seems natural, since it neither does, nor ever can move it self. An unlimited and universal Agent differs extremely from Matter, which is cramp'd and confin'd in all its Operations, and proper only for One, or a Few; but always the same Matter can serve only some and the same determinate Uses: And That again which is sudden and instantaneous, which is bounded by no Time, no Place, but carries its Thoughts to the most distant Objects with equal Swiftness as to those that are nearest: This sure is most contrary to Matter, whose Motions are local and gradual, bound up by necessary Laws, and proportioned by the respective Distances of the several Objects. Consequently This Mind is something above Matter and Mortality, a Spark of Divine Fire, and the express Image of that Active and Omnipresent Spirit, which we call GOD.

Now the Trade and constant Employment of this Soul, is to be perpetually upon the Seek, ferreting, and doubting, and hot in the Pursuit of Knowledge, as of its proper Food. This Appetite and Hunger for the Truth, makes Men eternally prying, and curious, and inquisitive; which made the Greek Poets call Men amansus, a sort of Creature

nature, whose Thoughts and Inventions are always at work. Nor is there any End of our Enquiries; for they are circumscrib’d within no Bounds, nor regulated by any Forms and Measures. Doubts and Difficulties are the Suffenance we live upon; and the Principle within us is a perpetual Motion. The whole World is our School, and our Theme, and which is particular to the Case now before us, We labour for Labour’s sake; The Chafe and Pursuit is not so much our Toil, or our Diversion, as it is our Game and our Prey: For the succeeding, or not succeeding in our Disquisition, is a Thing of another and very different Consideration.

But still, in the midst of all this busy Curiosity, it is rash, tumultuous, and disorderly, observes no certain Rules and Measures, but is eternally roving, and variable, and inconsistent with itself: 'Tis a perfect Nose of Wax, that bends every way, stretches it self to any length, is accommodated to all Forms, more subtle and yielding than Water or Air. * Thus justifying the Character given of it, that as a Spirit is more refined and subtle, so it is likewise more flexible and yielding than any the thinnest Matter whatsoever. Of this Thersamene’s Shooe was the true Emblem, which fitted Feet of all Sizes. All it is at a lofs for is, only for some Contrivance how to turn and change with some Appearance of Probability; for when This is once found, it moves every way, takes all sides, crosses and contradicts it self, and argues for Truth or Fallhood indifferently.

Thus Reason sports wantonly, and invents or entertains Arguments for the widest and most di-

* Flexibili omni humore obsequentior, & ut Spiritus, qui omnī Materiā faciilor, ut ānuior.
Of Wisdom. Book I.

Nothing so extravagant, nothing so absurd, but hath found its Assertors and Abettors: And this not only in the fanciful Conceits of private Persons, but in the more general Sense and Agreement of large Societies and Communities. Thus History tells us, that what is detested as Impious, Unjust, and Unnatural in one Country, has been receiv'd with Veneration, and practis'd as highly Decent, and a Duty, nay, even esteem'd an Act of Religion in another. And there are not many Laws, or Customs, or Opinions, which we can say, have universally obtained, or have been everywhere rejected. The Marriages of near Relations Some condemn as Incestuous; but Others have not only allow'd, but recommended, nay, in some Cases even enjoy'd them. The Murdering of Infants, and of Parents, when old and decrepit, and the having Wives in common, are now, and in our Parts of the World, look'd upon as barbarous and execrable; but the Worshippers of Molech, we know, thought their Children the most acceptable Sacrifice; and if Herodotus, and some other Historians, say true, the Scythians thought the other not only innocent, but a Mark of Tenderness and Respect; and never pretended to any Propriety in a Marriage-Bed. When Dionysus offer'd Plato a rich Embroider'd Robe, he refus'd it, with this Reason for his Denial, That it was not fit for a Man to be so effeminately clothed; And yet Aristippus, another Philosopher, accepted it; and he had his Reason for That too, which was, That no External Habit cou'd corrupt the Mind; and that the Soul might still be Masculine and Chaste, tho' the Body were attir'd in Clothes never so Soft and Effeminate. The Dialogue between this last Philosopher and Diogenes, each vindicating his own manner of Living, and reflecting upon the other's that

that differ'd from him, is thus represented by Horace *.

Diog. If Aristippus patiently cou'd die
On Herbs, he wou'd the Courts of Kings decline.

Arist. If he that cenures me, knew how to use
The Courts of Kings, he wou'd his Herbs refuse.

Creech.

When Solon was Mourning, and full of Lamentation for the death of his Son, a Friend advised him to moderate his Passion, since Tears upon that Occasion are unprofitable, and to no purpose; That very Consideration, says Solon, excuses my Excess of Grief; for what can justifie a Man's Concern, what can provoke Tears so much as the Thought that all our Sorrow is Fruitless and Vain? Socrates his Wife pretended this Aggravation of her Grief, that the Judges had condemn'd him unjustly: Nay, sure, (reply'd he) if a Man must suffer, it is infinitely more eligible to die Innocent, than to deserve Condemnation. One Philosopher tells you, That a Man is truly poss'd of nothing which he is not prepared to lose. † For the Fear that a thing may be lost, is a Passion every whit as tormenting as the Concern for it when actually lost. Another, who pass'd for as wise a Man as He, comes and tells you quite contrary; That the Uncertainty of what we have, and the Apprehension of its being taken away from us, heightens and gives a Relish to our Enjoyments, by disposing us to hold the Blessings faster and closer to our Hearts, and rendring us more affectionate and tender of them. A Cynick beg-

* Si pranderet olus patienter, Regibus uti
Nollet Aristippus. Si sciret Regibus uti,
Fastidiret olus, qui me notat —
† In æquo enim est Dolor amisæ rei, & Timor amittendi.
ged of Antigonus, that he would bestow a Drachm of Silver upon him; No, says the King, so small a Thing is not a Present fit for a Prince to give: Then, Sir, be pleased to give me a Talent: Nor that neither, says Antigonus; For a Talent is a Summ as much too great for a Philosopher to receive. A certain Person was extolling a King of Sparta for his exceeding great Goodness and Clemency; and the Instance he gave of it, was, That he was kind even to the Wicked and Unworthy: And this argu'd a great Degree of Goodness in him. So far from that, says another, that according to this Account he is no good Man, for no Prince can be so, who is not severer to the Wicked. Thus you may observe, how many different Faces Reason puts on, and what a Two-edg'd Sword it is, which with dextrous Management will cut both ways. * Every Medal hath its Reverse, says the Proverb. There is nothing said, but hath somewhat to be said against it, says the soundest Philosophy; and a Man might demonstrate the Truth of it upon any Subject in the World.

Now this great Variety and Flexibility may be imputed to several Causes: It may come from that perpetual Flux of Humours, and variable Constitution of the Body, which is so great, so constant, that a Man is never exactly the same in this respect at any two times of his whole Life. It may be charg'd upon that infinite Variety of Objects that offer themselves to his Contemplation; It may proceed from the Temper of the Air, the Difference of Weather, of Climates and Seasons; for, as was observ'd before,

* Ogni Medaglia ha il suo riverfo.
+ In each Man's Breast that Weathercock, the Mind, Moves with the Rack, and shifts with every Wind.

And a Thousand other external Causes may contribute to it. But if we come nearer home, and look within, much may be laid upon the several sorts of Motion, which the Mind is put into, both by its own natural and constant Agitation, and by the different Impressions, which the Passions make upon it. Much also may be argu’d from the different Manner of the Object’s being represented to it, according to the different Prospects taken of them: For in this respect it happens to the Eye of the Mind, as it does to that of the Body, that no two Persons see the same thing exactly, and in all respects alike. Their Situation, their Organs, and infinite other little unobserv’d Accidents there are, that make some, though perhaps not so great a Diversity as to be discern’d in the Act of Vision. Besides, every thing we know hath different Glosses and Faces, and is capable of being consider’d under different respects; which was Epictetus’s meaning, when he said, That every thing hath two (he might very truly have said a great many) Handles. “But after all, nothing adds more to this Ambiguity, and variety of Opinions, than that Spirit of Contradiction and Dispute, and a vain Affectation of Wit, generally predominant in the World, which lets nothing pass quietly in Conversation; and accounts it a Reflexion upon one’s Parts, not to have somewhat to say by way of Repartee and Objection, though never so contrary to Truth, and sometimes even to the Persons own Judgment.

† Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse Jupiter autheret à lustravit lampade terras.

+ too
Of Wisdom. Book I.

“too. And hence it is frequent for such People to take contrary Sides; for their Business is not so much to advance an Opinion, or to urge what is really Argument and good Sense, as to shew their Talent in opposing what any Body else shall say.

From hence it comes to pass, that the Mind obstructs itself in its Business, like Silk-worms that are intangled in Webs of their own spinning: For while it reaches forward, and expects to attain some distant Truth, and is led on in this Hope by I know not what imaginary Probabilities; in the midst of his Course, up start some fresh Difficulties, and these multiply and cross the way upon the Man, and so by putting him upon a new Scent, carry him off from his first Design, till he is quite intoxicated, and bewildred in the Maze of his own Thoughts.

The End of all this anxious Pursuit is two-fold; That which is more general, and more natural indeed, is Truth: For of all the Desires that we feel our selves moved with, there is not any of them more closely interwoven with our Nature, than the Desire of Truth: It is with great Eagerness and Diligence that we try all the Means capable of leading us to the Knowledge of it; but alas! our utmost Attempts are short and insufficient; for Absolute Certainty is not a Prize allotted to us; nor does it condescend to be taken, and possessed by any the most assiduous Humane Soul. Truth lodges in the Bosom of God; there is its Retreat and proper Apartment; Men understand not any thing in its utmost Perfection; We know in part, and here we see through a Glass darkly, says the Fountain of all Truth. We turn and tumble Objects about, and grope like Men in the Dark for probable Reasons; but these are to be found every where; and Falshood as well as Truth hath some-what

what to be alleged in its behalf. We are born indeed to search and seek for Truth, but the Enjoyment of it seems to be a Blessing reserv'd for some greater and more exalted Powers than any that Mortals are endued with. That is the Happiness of Beings above us at present, and is reserv'd for Mankind in a future State, till he be purify'd from the Dross of Matter, and Flesh, and Infinity; and the Clouds that now hang before us, and dim our Sight, be scatter'd by clear and everlasting Day. At present the Difference between one Man and another, is not who reaches the Goal, and gains the Prize, and who not; but who is distanced, and who not; who runs best, and makes the nearest Approaches to that which none of us All can come up to. If at any time it happens that a Man in the study of Nature fixes upon Truth, This is more by a lucky Hit than otherwise; and his good Fortune is to be extoll'd as much as his Industry; and when he hath it, 'tis odds if he can keep it; for many times a Man suffers it to be wrested out of his Hands again by Sophisms, and Delusions, and contrary Appearances, for want of being Master of his Point, and able to distinguish Truth from Falsity, and Reality from the Counterfeit. Errors are entertain'd by the same way that Truth is; the Passage by which both enter our Souls, is one and the same; the Methods made use of for discovering it, are Reason and Experience: And both These are extremely weak and defective, floating and uncertain, hard to fix, and changeable upon every flight Occasion, when we think they are fixed. The great Argument of Truth is that of Universal Consent. But what will all this amount to, when a Man hath consider'd, what a vast Majority of Fools there are, and how very few wise Men in the World? And again,
To any one that observes how Opinions spread, and become general: Men take them from one another, as they do Diseases, by Infection: And Applause is that Breath that corrupts the Air, and bears about the Venom: This Applause again is given commonly blindly and inconsiderately, by them who never examine into the true Merits of the Cause; and by them too, who if they do pretend to examine, are not capable of judging in the Case. And thus, when some few have begun the Dance, the rest have nothing to do but to fall in with the Tune, and follow them that lead it up of Course.

The other End aim'd at by the Mind, is Invention; which if it have less of Nature, yet hath more of Ambition and bold Pretension in it: This is aspir'd to, as its highest Point of Honour, that which makes most Shew to the World, and contributes most to its Reputation; That which it looks big with, and thinks the liveliest Image of the Divine Nature: It is this particular Accomplishment, to which all those noble Works have owed their Original, which have fill'd the World with Transport and Wonder. And those that have been of Publick Use among them, have even Deify'd their Authors, and Immortaliz'd their Names. What Renown have some gain'd, that were mere Curiosities, only for being eminent in their Kind, though no Benefit at all accrued to Mankind by their means? Such as Zeuxis's Vine, Apelles's Venus, Memnon's Statue; the Colosse at Rhodes, Archytas's Wooden Pigeon, the Sphere of Sappho King of Persia, and infinite others. Now the Excellence of Art and Invention seems to consist not only in a good Imitation of Nature, but in outdoing it. This often happens in particular Instances; for no Man nor Beast seems ever to have been so exquisitely formed

formed in all its Parts, nor the Proportions of any one and the same Body, to have met together of Nature's Composition, so exact as these Artists have delineated and represented them in Their Pieces. There are likewise several Improvements and Exaltations of Nature, in producing and compounding those Things by Art, which Nature alone never produces. This is plain from the Mixtures of Simples and Indgredients, which is the proper Business for Art to exercise it self in; the Extraction of Spirits and Oyls, and Distillation of Waters, and compounding of Medicines more refin'd, more powerful and efficacious, than any Nature furnishes us with. And yet after all, These Things are not so wonderful, nor do they commend Humane Wisdom and Industry so highly, as the Generality of the World are apt to imagine: For, if we will pass that Judgment in this Matter, which is agreeable to Truth and Duty, and pay a just Deference and Acknowledgement to the First Author; These are but Imitations, and not properly Inventions; They are Improvements, but they only promote and perfect what God hath first revealed. And what we commonly value and esteem as our own Original Contrivance, is nothing more than observing the Works of Nature, arguing and concluding from what we find there, and then reducing those Observations into Practice: Thus Painting and Opticks were first rude and imperfect Hints, taken from Shades; and the Perfection they are now in, consists only in a due, and proper, and beautiful Mixture of Colours, which makes those Shades. The Art of Dialling comes from the Shadows cast by Trees; and what they do in our Fields, we do upon our Planes; They are Nature's Measure of the Sun's Motion, and the Gnomon is Ours. Sculpture, and Engraving of Seals, and Characters, and L Cyphers,
Cyphers, seems to be derived from the particular Marks, and Figures, and Embofings found in Precious Stones. And if This be allowed, the result of all our Boasts is very poor; for it all terminates here, That Man (in Truth, and strictly speaking) hath invented nothing, but God and Nature give the Hints and first Draughts of all, and We improve, and, by degrees, refine upon them.

If all that went before be true, we easily perceive to what Rashness and Error the Mind of Man is subject, and how great the Dangers are which it exposes every one of us to; but those Men above all the rest, in whom it is more sprotly and vigorous than ordinary: For, since the Nature of it is perpetual Agitation, since its Motions are so free and unconstrain'd, and since all kind of Objects fall within its Contemplation; since it refuseth to be bound up, or directed by any certain Forms and Measures; and upon all Occasions is so bold in the Use of its Native Liberty, without submitting to be captivated and controuled by any thing: The common and natural Effect of this is, to shake and difsettle Opinions generally receiv'd, and already establish'd, and to complain of all those Rules by which Men endeavour to regulate and restrain it, and check those Extravagances which some Men call Free-Thinking, as an unjust Tyranny and Usurpation upon Nature, and a Yoke which every Man hath a right to break. Hence it pretends a Privilege of taking nothing for granted, but assumes a Power of examining everything; and pronounces the greatest part of those Notions which are entertain'd and approv'd by the Generality of the World, to be no better than Vulgar Errors, ridiculous and absurd Prepossession. It finds some appearance
of Reason on every side; and because nothing above a bare Probability is to be found, it believes nothing certain. Some Notions may have more, and some less; but all have some Allegations in their Favour: And by indulging these sorts of Ambiguities, it is to be fear'd, that at last Men are lost in a Labyrinth, give all up, and sit down in Doubt, and Scepticism. That thus it often hath happen'd is too manifest; and as evident, that this is commonly the Disease of warm and witty Men, who trust to their own Sufficiency, and have brisker Parts than their Neighbours; (such as, according to our former Scheme, may deserve a Place toward the upper Part of the middle Clafs of Souls. For such as these, we commonly find by Experience, are more loose in their Principles, more particular in their Opinions, more extravagant and disorderly in their Manners, than any other sort of Men whatsoever. There are but very few of this Constitution, fit to be left to their own Conduct; or who know how to manage their Abilities to their own Safety and Advantage, and how to let their Judgments run beyond the common establish'd Opinions, without plunging out of their Depth, and paying dear for their Rashness. A great and sprightly Wit, well temper'd with Solidity and Discretion, is now so hard to be found, that it is almost a Miracle among Men. For this is an Edged-Tool, and apt to do great Mischiefs, if it be not in a very Wise Man's Hand: 'Tis like a nimble Sayler without Ballast, whose Swiftness does but hasten its Ruine, and drive it so much the sooner upon Rocks and Shelves. And if History be enquir'd into, all the Disorders in the State, Heresies in the Church, Revolts in Armies, Parties and Factions of every kind, will be generally found to have taken their Rise from
from such Authors as These. * Great Errors (says one) have never sprung from any but great Wits; Nothing is more prejudicial, more despicable to true Wisdom, than too much Smartness of Parts. No doubt, That Man hath a better Time on’t. lives longer, enjoys more Ease and Happiness, and is better qualify’d for Government, (says Thucydides) who is but moderately, or not so much as moderately, provided in Point of Natural Parts, than He, who hath a very Noble and Transcendent Elevation of Soul: For This Temper commonly is good for nothing, but to create Trouble and Torment, and never let one’s self, or others, live in quiet. It is observ’ble, that the dearest Friends, when they fall out, make the bitterest and most irreconcileable Enemies: And that the soundest Health, and most vigorous Constitutions, are subject to the acutest and most mortal Diseaes; and our Minds do so far sympathize with our Bodies, that Those of them, whose Operations are more quick and subtle than ordinary, are of all others most exquisite in their Follies, and have the strongest Propension to Madness and Extravagance. Wisdom and Folly may be said to dwell pretty near one another; there is but a short Turn between them; the Behaviour of distraeted People plainly shews it. Philo- sophy tells us the same Predominance of Humours disposes to both; for each abounds in Melancholy. And sure there is no Folly comparable to That which we find is the Effect of nice and subtle Wisdom.* This mov’d Aristotle to affirm, That Nature never made a great Soul without an Allay of Folly; and Plato upon the same Account declar’d: That it was a vain Attempt for a Man of good Judgment and sound Sense to knock at the Door of Poetry;

* Magni errores non nisi ex magnis ingenii; nihil Sapientiae odiosus acumine nimio.

That was not a Place for such as him to be admitted into; The Solidity of his Judgment wou’d hinder the Soaring of his Fancy. And upon this Consideration it is, that the most skilful and celebrated Poets have not always thought it necessary to submit to Rules, but approve of extravagant Flights, and the giving one’s self a Loose now and then. Thus we may understand those known Sayings. * It is pleasant to fly out. ’Tis decent sometimes to be vain. While the Mind continues it self, its Performances are mean: Great and Noble Thoughts require a vehement Agitation to give them Birth.

Upon this account, They were certainly in the right, who have set strong Barriers and Boundaries The necessity about the Soul. The Necessity of curbing and fettering it with all manner of Restraints, with the Articles and Precepts of Religion, with the Authority of Laws and Customs, the Rules and Sciences of Learning, the Promises of Reward and Threatenings both in This and a Future State; This Necessity, I say, hath been well consider’d both by God and Man; and great indeed it is; for notwithstanding all these Checks, the Soul hath its Frolicks and Flyings-out still; and in these Humours, it leaps over, and bursts thro’ all; so exceeding fierce and intractable, so head-strong and self-conceited is it naturally: And therefore Art must manage, and make it tame, for Force is to no purpose at all. † The Mind of Man (says Seneca) is naturally stiff and rebellious, continually bending the wrong way, and bearing hard upon the Bit; and is easier led than driven, as high-mettled Horfes are.

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* Infamire juendum est. Dulce est delipere in loco. Non potest grande & sublime quicquam nisi morta mens, & quamdiu spuit se est.

† Naturæ contumax est Animæ humanus, in contrarium arduum nitens; sequiturque facili ducitur, ut generosi & nobles equi melius facilis fræno reguntur.
better ridden with a Snaffle then with a Curb. It is a much safer Course to keep it under the Custody of a Guardian, to soothe and gently lay this indiscreet Minor asleep, than to let him have his Head, and ramble abroad at his own Pleasure, and go his own Pace. For, if the Mind be not very regular and prudent, as well as very lively and strong, (the Conjuncture of which Qualities make that happy Disposition of Souls, of the first and highest Order) or if it be not weak, and tender, and somewhat dull of Apprehension, (which were said to be the Characters of the last and lowest Set) there is great hazard of its losing and ruining itself, by the Freedom it takes of examining and judging Things, and submitting to no Prescription or Authority. And therefore very expedient it is, that it should be put under some Confinement; and if it go abroad, that it be duly and conveniently equipp'd: For there is greater need of a Clog than of Wings; and of a stireight Rein, than of a Spur: The Advice of Phæbus to his Son;

* Son, spare the Whip, and strongly use the Rein; They of their own accord will run too fast, 'Tis hard to moderate their flying Haste.

That Advice is necessary here too; otherwise This, like another Phæton, and his Steeds ungovern'd, would set the World on Fire. The Prevention of that Inconvenience, is what hath been chiefly aim'd at by all those Great Men, who have either modeild mankind into particular Societies at first, or devis'd Laws for them ever since. And this sort of Men are the very Persons, with whom both the Founders and the Governors of States

* Parce puer Stimulis, & tostijs utere Loris.—Quid, have

have been most of all perplex'd. For the Common People, and those of meaner Capacities, are generally more peaceably disposed, than those whom Wit and Part make thoughtful and busy, and consequently factious and troublesome. The general Genius of a People is very remarkable to this purpose; for in the single City of Florence, who are a Sharp-witted People, there have been more Seditions, and Civil Confusions, within the Compass of Ten Years, than have been known among all the honest dull Suisses and Grisons for above Five hundred Years together. And just so it is with particular Persons in the same Community: They that have but a bare Competency of Understanding, are generally the honestest Men, the best Subjects; more flexible and tractable, more contented to submit to the Laws, to be commanded by their Superiors, to hearken to Reason, and be govern'd by it, than these brisk and discerning Sparks, whose Parts and Penetration are above being controul'd by Power or Persuasion, and put them upon new Hazards and Projects, and will not let them content themselves with their own Business, and sleep in a whole Skin. So very wide a Difference there is between Wit and Wisdom.

The Mind hath likewise its Defects, Decays, and Diseases, as well as the Body, and indeed the Number of these is greater, the Consequence of them more dangerous, and the Cure of them more difficult and impracticable, than that of Bodily Distempers. For the better understanding of these, it is necessary to distinguish them into their several Sorts. Now some of these are purely Accidental, and fall upon it from outward Causes. Among which we may take notice of Three more especially.

The First is, The State and Disposition of the Body. Accidental. For Diseases which make any Alteration in the
Temperament of the Body, do manifestly carry their Influence farther, and produce a mighty Alteration in the Mind, and impair the Judgment at the same Time. Sometimes the Substance of the Brain is not of a good Composition, and so the Organs of the Soul are not in a Condition to do their Duty. And this again happens either from a Fault in the first Formation, as in Them who have an ill-shap’d Head, too little, or too round; or else from some accidental Hurts afterwards, as many have suffer’d extremely in their Reason and Memory, by Falls, and Blows, and Wounds upon their Head.

For the Second Cause of these Defects, we may assign that Universal Infection of common and popular Opinions entertain’d in the World; With which the Mind is tinctur’d early, and these take Possession, and usually keep it obstinately. Or, which is yet worse, sometimes wild and fantastical Delusions have been drunk in, and with these the Mind is so strongly season’d, so grossly cheated, that They are not only not dismiss’d, but made the Rule of our Judgments, and the Measure of Truth in other Cases. All is brought to this Standard; and receiv’d or rejected as it agrees or disagreeas with it. Here the Man fixes his Foot, and will not be got one Step backward or forward. The Instances of this kind among the Vulgar are infinite; most of whom are guided by some fantastical Notion, some erroneous Conceit, that hath grown up, and is like to live and die with them. And, indeed, when these Fancies or Opinions are common, they are like a strong Torrent; Every Body hath not Force and Vigour of Mind enough to stand it, and keep himself from being carried down the Stream with his Neighbours.

The Third, and That which sticks much the closest of all the rest, is the Sickness and Corrup-

ruption of the Will, and the Inordinacy and Strength of the Passions. And in this Case, the Soul is a World turn'd upside-down. The Will is made by Nature so follow the Directions of the Understanding; this is its Guide to instruct; its Candle to give it Light; but when once the Strength of Passion hath corrupted, and, as it were, laid violent Hands upon the Will, then the Will, in like manner, corrupts, and commits a Violence upon the Understanding. And from this disorderly Procedure it is, that the greatest Part of our false Judgments grow. Envy and Malice, and Love, and Hatred, and Fear, make us see Things with other Eyes; and take them for what they really are not; and draw such Conclusions and Inferences from them, as they minister no just Ground for. From whence it is, that we so often are admonish'd, and do admonish others, to judge without Passion. This puts us upon all those base and black Interpretations, by which we labour to eclipse the virtuous Behaviour, and generous Actions of other Men; Hence we study and invent Causes and Intentions for them, and, of our own Malice, assign vain and wicked Motives; and Occasions for what they do. This is a most abominable Vice, and an evident Proof of great Malignity in our Nature, and of a diseased Mind; There is no great matter of Wit or Judgment shewn in such Proceedings, but they betray a World of Baseness and Ill-Nature. For whence can all this Misconstruction spring, but either from that Envy, which our Neighbours Honour and Reputation provokes in us; or from a measuring of others by our selves, and so taking that for granted in Them, which we are conscious of in Our selves; or from a Weakness and Distemper in the Mind, which, like some Sicknesse in the Body, alters and vitiates the Palate, confounds and blinds the Sight, that we neither see
see nor taste Things as they are; and that Virtue, in its Native Purity and Luftre, is too strong for us to bear or conceive? From the same Cause it is, that we are so officiously spightful, in publishing other Mens Vices and Failings, that we aggravate these beyond what they deserve, but take good Care to extenuate their Virtues as much; hence from single Actions, and particular Circumstances, we draw general Inferences, and fix standing Characters upon Men; Hence comes our Partiality in judging, and our Regards, not to the Thing, but the Person. If he be a Friend; or of Our Opinion, or in Our Interest; then all he does is justified or applauded, and every Thing becomes him; and his very Vices are Virtues; But if he be an Enemy, if he have disoblige'd us Personally, or be engag'd in a contrary Faction; he is stark nought, and nothing is as it should be. Thus we are content to wrong and disgrace our Judgment, provided we may but gratify our Passions. But alas! we are not come to the End, nor to the worst Part of it yet; For most of the Impieties and Heresies, the Errors in Point of Belief, and Controversies of all sorts in Religion, if we examine them strictly, and trace them up to their first Head, will appear to be so many noisome Streams of this bitter Fountain; a polluted and wicked Will, inordinate Passion and sensual Pleasure, which by degrees bribes and debauches the Understanding, and wins it over to its own Side. The People sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play; As the Scripture observes of the Israelites Idolatry; and St. Augustine very well to this purpose; *That when a Man feels an Error agreeable to him, he does not believe what is True, but what he would gladly have to be True. Thus, by degrees, it hath come to pass, that the Wickednesses which at first

* Quod vult, non quod est, credit; qui cupit errare.
were committed with many Doubts, and Mis- 
givings, and great Reluctancies, have not only 
out-worn all Scruple in Time, but been asserted 
and maintained for Divine Truth, and Express Re- 
velation. What was at first in the Sensual Appe- 
tite only, hath made its Way higher, and got the 
upper Hand of the Understanding; what was 
meerly Passion and Pleasure, hath been advanced 
into a Principle of Religion, and an Article of 
Faith. So dangerous a thing is it for any part of 
the Soul to be diseased; so strong the Infection, 
and so quickly does it spread from one Faculty to 
another. And thus you have had an Account, 
what those Three Causes of our Mental Defects, 
and the Errors in our Judgment are, which were 
said to be external and foreign to the Mind it self. 
For it appears, that the Understanding may be 
wanting or impaired, by Means of Sickness or Bo- 
dily Indisposition, more especially any Disease or 
Hurt in the Head, or any inconvenient Shape of 
the Skull. From the prejudice Opinions of the 
World, and taking up groundless Whimsies for 
measur'd and certain Truths. And lastly, from 
any Disorder in the other Faculties of the Ratio- 
nal Soul; which are plac'd below, and ought by 
Nature to be under the Governance of the Mind. 
Those whose Failings proceed from the first of 
these Causes, deserve our Pity, not our Censure or 
Blame; and of them some are curable, and others 
incurable. The Second are not wholly Innocent 
but yet Faulty in such a Degree, that we may 
pardon, and excuse them. But the Third sort are 
altogether guilty. They deserve both Censure 
and Punishment, for suffering the Order of their 
Creation to be so inverted, that those which were 
born Subjects, and ought to submit, should usurp 
the Throne, and presume to give Laws to their 
Natural Sovereign.

But
But, besides these outward and accidental Failings, there are others, Natural and Internal, such as take their first rise from, and are born and cherished in the Mind itself. The greatest of all, and indeed the Source and Root of all the rest, is Pride and Presumption. (The First, and the Original Sin of Mankind, the Bane of every Soul, and the Cause of all manner of Evil.) 'Tis this that puffs Men up with Sufficiency and Self-Satisfaction; This will not suffer us to yield to any Body, or think others Wiser or Better than our selves. This makes us despise the good Counsel of our Friends; and place an entire Confidence in our own Opinions. This calls the Judgments of other People into Question; arraigns and condemns them; nay, sometimes, such as we understand nothing of, nor are capable of examining or comprehending the Reasons of them. 'Tis most truly observ'd, that Judgment and Wisdom is not only the Best, but the Happiest Portion God Almighty hath distributed among Men. For tho' this Distribution be made with a very uneven Hand, yet no Body thinks himself flinted or ill dealt with; but he that hath never so little is contented in this Respect however, and thinks he hath a Child's Share at least. Now This Distemper is owing to no Cause so much, as the want of being more intimately acquainted with our selves; for by this means we are Strangers to our Wants and Weaknesses, and not at all sensible of our greatest Misfortunes; So that the Root of all our Diseases is Ignorance, not That which is opposed to Skill in Arts and Sciences, and conversing with the Writings of learned Men; but Ignorance of our own Affairs and Condition; the Removal and Cure whereof was proposed in the Beginning, as the Design of this whole First Book.
Chap. 15. Of the Memory.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Memory.

Memory is very often mistaken by the Vulgar for Understanding and Good Sense; but in truth they are very different Things. For both Reason and Experience tell us (as hath been observed formerly) that it is very possible and usual, for a Man, who is Excellent in one of these Respects, to be wretchedly weak and wanting in the other. This indeed is a Faculty very Serviceable and Useful to Mankind; but it comes far short of the Understanding; and is much the Tenderest, and most Feeble of all those Parts, whereof the Rational Soul is composed. To excel in it is not very necessary; except for Three Sorts of People: 1. Men of Trade, and much Business. 2. Those that are extremely Talkative, for this is the Store-house, from whence they must be furnished with Matter for Discourse; and it is naturally more full and fruitful than Invention; but he that cannot be supplied from hence, must make it up by Stuff of his own forging. And; 3. Great Lyars, for *These, indeed, ought to have good Memories. The want of Memory hath its Conveniences too. For this will dispose Men to speak Truth, to be Modest, and talk no more than their Share; and to forget the Faults and Injuries of other People. A moderate Proportion of this Faculty, will serve ones Turn, and answer all the Ends of it very well:

* Mendacem oportet esse Memorem.
C H A P. XVI.

Of Imagination and Opinion.

The Power of Imagination is exceeding great; This is in Effect the very Thing, that makes all the Noise in the World: almost all the Clutter and Disturbances we feel, or make, are owing to it. (Accordingly it was observ'd before, that This is, if not the Only, yet at least the most active and bustling Faculty of the Soul.) And, in good Truth, the Effects of it are Wonderful, Unaccountable, and almost Incredible. For the Influences of Imagination are not confined to the Body or the Mind of that Person alone, where it is born and cherished; but extend and transfuse themselves far and wide, and act very strongly upon other People. It is fitted for all manner of Operations, and the most distant and contrary Passions are raised by it; it puts the Man into all manner of Forms, and the Face into all Colours and Complexions: Makes Men blush with Shame, look pale with Fear, tremble and quake, cast them into Fits of Raving and Confusion; These, tho' strange, are yet some of its least Effects, and gentle in Comparison of others. It checks and enfeebles Men in their hottest Career; balks their Pleasures, and chills all their Spirits. It marks and deforms, nay, sometimes kills Embryo's in the Womb; hastens Births, or causes Abortions; takes away the Speech, and ties the Tongue; and sometimes enables the Dumb to speak, as the Story of Cæsus his Son affures us. Makes Men Stiff and Motionless, numbs and binds up the Senses, stops
Chap. 16. Of Imagination and Opinion. 

It stops the Breath; These are its Effects upon the Body. Then for the Mind, It robs Men of their Knowledge and Judgment, turns them into Fools and stupid Sots; as Gallus Vibius for Instance, who having strain'd his Imagination too far in the study and practice of Folly, and its Motions, is said to have disturb'd his Understanding to that Degree, that he turn'd a mere Natural, and cou'd never return to sound Judgment and good Sense again. It inspires Men with strange Prefages of Things hidden and future, fills them with Enthusiasms and Fancies, out of the common Road of Thinking; throws them into Extasies and Raptures; nay, possessest them with the Thoughts and Expectations of Death, till at last they die indeed; as it did that Malefactor, who, when his Cap had been pull'd over his Eyes in order to Execution, was found stark dead upon the Scaffold, when they came to uncover him again, and read his Pardon. In a word, A great part of those unusual Operations, which create such Amazement in the Vulgar, Apparitions, and Visions, and Witchcrafts, are to be attributed to the force of Imagination; and what They think done by the Power of the Devil, or some familiar Spirits, (for I meddle not here with the Supernatural Operations of God's own Spirit) is commonly no more than a strong Fancy, either in the Person that does these strange Things, or of the Spectators that are deluded with them, and think they see those Objects, which really they do not. And the great Care in these Cases is, to distinguish wisely between Truth and Falshood, and not suffer our Judgments to be captivated with vulgar Errors.

In this part of the Soul it is, that Opinion keeps its Residence, which is nothing else but a vain and ease, a crude and imperfect Judgment of things, taken up upon flight and insufficient grounds; too
too credulous an Ascent to the Representations of our outward Senses, or common Report, which rests in the first Appearances of Things, and fixes in the Imaginative Faculty, without ever going farther, or referring the Matter to the Understanding, to be thoroughly examin'd, and digested there; and so wrought up, and finish'd into solid Reason. Till this be done, no true Judgment can be made; and such as a Man may venture to abide by. And accordingly we fee; the other is mutable and inconstant, fleeting and deceitful. A very dangerous Guide, that makes Head against Reason; of which it is only the Image and Shadow, and that but an empty and false one neither. This is the Source of all our Evils, our Confusions and Disorders, our Passions and Troubles; the most, and the worst of them rise out of a prepossess Fancy, and heated Imagination: So that in truth Mad-men and Fools, the ignorant and the Mobb, are blindly led by the Nose by it, and follow this Leader; and betray their Folly in doing so; as Wise and Judicious Men distinguish themselves, and approve their Prudence in suffering nothing but Reason to guide and govern them.

That thus it is, we see plainly; for, as hath been observ'd long ago by one of the Ancients, 3.

*Opinione sepies quam Re laboramus: plurà sunt quae nos terrent, quàm quae nos premunt.*
Chap. 16. Of Imagination and Opinion.

portions, nor works upon us by its natural Force and Authority; for were it thus with us, all Things that are alike in themselves, would be alike to us; and the same Object would produce the same Affections and Resentments in all Men, allowing only some small matter of difference in the Degree of them. At this rate all Mankind would be of the same Opinion: What is false would be universally rejected, and what is true as universally embrac’d; for Truth can be but one and the same; and is always equal and consistent with itself. But quite contrary, We find that the Difference of Opinions is infinite; Men do not only vary from, but directly contradict one another. And there are but very few Instances, in which even Men of the best Natural Abilities, and most eminent for their Improvements and acquir’d Learning, are all of a Mind. This shews sufficiently, that the Idea’s of Things are compounded and mix’d before we entertain them, that we have them at our Mercy, and put what Forms we please upon them; And, that the Condition they come to us in, is not what Nature gave, but what the Temper and Disposition of our own Minds have moulded and model’d them into. That which I firmly believe myself, I cannot prevail with my Friend to believe; those are Arguments to Me, which to Him are none at all. Nay, which is more; Let one be never so confidently assur’d of a Thing to Day, I cannot engage that I shall continue in the same Opinion of it to Morrow: And it is odds I may, (and plain that I often do) entertain very different Notions of it, and be quite otherwise affected with it another time. So sure it is, that Things have just that Place in our Opinion and Esteem, which we think fit to assign them; that they are relish’d just as our Palate stands at that time; and shew to us ac-
Of Wisdom.  Book I.

ding to those Colours which we our selves have tintur'd them with. Like the Eyes of Men in the Faundice, or the Prisms, that refract and vary the Rays, that fall upon the Organs of our outward Senses, so does the Soul alter its Objects too; and the present Constitution of it is the Medium, thro' which they must pass to us. St. Paul's Observation with regard to Morals, may be apply'd to Speculation too, Unto the Pure all things are pure, but unto the Defiled is nothing pure. Thus our Thoughts are like our Clothes, that keep us warm, with a Heat which is none of their own, but such as we first gave them, and they keep it; and at the same time that they receive our Warmth from within, they receive and keep the Cold of Frost and Snow without. But still the Warmth we feel is all our own; we first impart it to them, and they in requital preserve it for our Benefit, and pay what they received, back again to us.

How few are there of those Opinions, which we profess to entertain, that, when look'd into, are not at last resolv'd into Authority, and taken upon Trust? We believe and act, we live and die upon Credit and Content; and our great Business is to conform our selves to Custom, and to think and do like the rest of the World, and according to what They, not our own Reason, esteems most adviseable. Thus Fashions, and not Judgment, govern Mankind; and perhaps indeed, for the greatest Part of Mankind, this is not much amiss; for most People have not Wit enough to choose for themselves, and therefore ought to resign the Government of their Actions to others: But Wise Men are above these mean and servile Compliances; they have a better Rule to walk by than Authority and Example; as I hope to shew at large in the following Parts of this Treatise.
C H A P. XVII.

The Will.

THE Will is a most exquisite Piece, a magnificent Accomplishment of Humane Nature indeed; of wonderful Importance, and such as deserves and requires our utmost Care and Study, to regulate and manage it well: For this hath the most commanding Influence upon a Man's Condition; and his whole Happiness in a manner depends upon it alone. This is the only Faculty which Nature hath put in our own Power. All the rest, such as Memory, Understanding, Imagination, are at the Mercy and Disposal of a Thousand Accidents, which oftentimes disturb, and change, and impair, nay, sometimes destroy, and take them quite away from us. Again: This draws the whole Man after it, and carries him whithersoever it self is determin'd; for he that conquers the Will hath subdued the Person. When the Understanding is convinc'd, the Conquest is by no means entire; for the Will frequently holds out afterwards, and makes an obstinate Defence against Reason and Sober Judgment. But when once This yields, All is surrender'd, and the Man is not now any longer his own Master, he hath from thenceforth nothing left that he can call his own. Once more; This is the very Thing that fixes our Character; It makes and it denominates Good or Ill Men: This gives our Temper and Complexion, and we appear to the World under its Colours and Dispositions. As of all Virtues and Qualifications of the Soul, Probity is the first and chief, and infinitely

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Of Wisdom. Book I.

ly more desirable than Learning or Parts: All that Nature, or Art, or Industry can give, are not comparable to it; so it must be confessed, that the Will, which is the Seat and proper Residence of Virtue and Goodness, is infinitely the most excellent Faculty that Humane Nature can boast of. A Man is neither virtuous nor vicious, honest, nor dishonest, for knowing what Virtue and Vice, Honesty and Dishonesty are; tho’ this Knowledge be never so nice and exact in the Speculation; but by his Inclination, and Love, and Practice of these Things, by the Disposition of his Mind, the Choice of his Heart, the Bent of his Affections, and the general Tendency of his Manners and Behaviour. There are indeed some other Pre-eminenties peculiar to the Understanding; it is as the Husband in the Family, and this as the Wife, which ought to be under its Governance and Direction: That is the Guide, or as the Light, This as the Traveller, which thou’st follow its Instruction, and walk by them: But still the last Result of all depends upon the Will; This finishes the Action, and determines the whole Matter; and in that respect the Will is superior even to the Understanding itself.

2. The true and most remarkable Difference between these Two Faculties, with regard to the manner of their Operation, seems to be this: That by the Understanding Objects come into the Soul, and are there receiv’d and entertain’d, as the several Terms by which the Offices proper to this Part, are usually express’d, (such as Apprehending, Conceiving, Comprehending, and the like) do plainly import. And here they make their Entrance, not according to what they really are in their true Nature and full Proportions, but according to the present Disposition and Capacity of the Person, and in such Measures only as he
is able to receive them in. Those Objects which are great and sublime, are for this reason under a necessity of condescending and contracting themselves, and come to us with considerable Abatements and Defalcations; because the Passage at which they enter is not large enough for their true Height and Bulk. Just as the Ocean flows into the Mediterranean, not in such Quantities as are agreeable to its own Fulness, but such only as the Streight's Mouth can give Admission to. Now in the Operations of the Will, the Method is quite contrary; Here the Soul goes as it were out of itself, it stretches and moves forward toward the Object; it seeks and runs after it with open Arms, and is eager to take up its Residence, and dwell with the Thing desir'd and belov'd: Nay, it even transforms itself into That, assumes its Name and its Nature, wears its Livery, and is distinguished by the Things it serves, and retains to. Hence we give it the Title of a Virtuous or Vicious, a Spiritual or a Carnal Mind; according as it pursues commendable and exalted Objects, or is sunk into Sensuality and Vice. Thus the true and only way by which the Will can enoble itself, is by loving and cherishing worthy and noble Things; and the abandoning itself to little and low, base and unworthy ones, is the debasing and disparagement of it. So that our former Comparison is in this regard justify'd again; for thus the Will is as a Wife, who gets or loses Quality, according to the Person she marries; and in Strictness can claim no Honour, nor Place, but that which belongs to her Husband.

Daily Experience assures us, that there are Three Things which whet and stimulate the Will; The Difficulty of Obtaining; The Rarity or Excellence of the Thing we seek; and The Absence, or Fear of Losing it. And the Three Considerations
derations opposite to These, which are, Its being Easy, and in our own Power; The Abundance or Commonness of it; and The Constant Presence, and Secure Enjoyment, do as much blunt and pall our Will. The Three former raise our Esteem of any Thing; the Three latter render it cheap, and beget Neglect and Contempt. We are also sharpened and made more eager by Opposition and Refusal; and entertain some sort of Indignation, which makes us more resolute against any thing that pretends to stand in our way, and disappoint our Desires. And thus, in the other Extreme, we disdain and overlook the Blessings we have in hand, tho' never so valuable; and lose what we are already possess'd of, for Things distant and in Reversion; and in Proportion, what we lawfully do or may enjoy, for such as we cannot or ought not.

* What comes with Ease we nauseously receive; Restraint inflames; and Hardships Pleasure give.

Thus the Case stands with us in our Pleasures of all sorts. † The Danger, which in reason should absolutely destroy Delight, is the very thing which heightens it, and the strongest Incentive to our Appetites in the Pursuit of it. So that both Extremes have at last the same Effect, and either of them serves to make us miserable: Want and Plenty, Security and Fear, Desire and Enjoyment, all give us the same Disquiet; and put us to perpetual Pain. And this unhappy Disposition is the true Account, why Men so seldom make a right Estimate of Things; from

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* Quod licet ingratus est, quod non licet, acrius urit. Ovid Eleg. Amor. Lib. II.
† Omnium rerum Voluptas ipso quo debet fugari periculo erexit. whence
Chap. 18. Of the Passions in general.

whence grew that Proverb of the Prophet in his own Country, to intimate, how very different Intrinsick Worth and Common Opinion are; and that the highest Endowments, and most Divine Excellencies, when Custom and Acquaintance hath render'd them familiar to us, can no longer preserve the Value and Veneration most justly due to them.

What Course is to be taken for the managing and regulating our Will, will be shown hereafter.

See B II. Ch. 2. B III. Ch. 6

The Passions and Affections.

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The Passions of the Mind are a very large and copious Subject, furnish great variety of Matter for Reflection, and are one of the most considerable Topicks in all this Treatise of Wisdom: And, upon this Occasion, we are to observe, that the first Step to be made in this Branch of it, is to learn the true Nature of the Passions, and how to distinguish them from each other, which shall be taught you here in the First Book: And then, for the Remedies of Cure, by which they are to be curbed, controll'd, and brought within due Bounds, such of them as are general will be laid down in the Second; And those that are proper for each Passion in particular, will be directed and specify'd accordingly in the Third Book. This Method being most agreeable to that Scheme of the whole Work, drawn out in the Preface.

Now in order to attaining a clear and distinct Knowledge of them at present, I design to employ one Chapter in treating of the Passion in general, and then to speak of each Passion singly in the Chapters
that follow. But before I enter upon That, I think my self oblig’d in Justice to declare, that of all the Authors I have seen, none hath represented this Matter more copiously, and to the Life, than the Sieur de Vaux in his Moral Traets; to whom I have been much beholding, and have borrow’d a great deal from thence, of what I shall lay upon this Subject of the Passions.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Passions in general.

1. Passion is a violent Motion of the Soul, in that which is distinguished by the Name of its Sensitive Part: And the Cause and Tendency of this Motion is, either to pursue somewhat which the Soul apprehends to be Good; or to decline and run away from something which it apprehends to be Evil.

2. But it is very necessary, and of great Consequence upon this Occasion, to be rightly inform’d how these Motions begin, and what it is that cherishes and kindles these Fires in us. Of This, several Accounts may be given, and different Comparisons made use of to illustrate it by, according to the different Respects in which we consider them. And first of all, with regard to the Suddeness and Vehemence of their Emotions, it is to be observ’d, That the Soul, which, however seemingly multiply’d by Distinctions, is really but one and the same in the Body, hath several Powers belonging to it; and These differ greatly in their Qualities and Operations, according as the several Vessels in which the Soul keeps her Residence, and
Chap. 18. Of the Passions in general.

and the Instruments she makes use of in discharging her Functions, and the Objects propounded to her Contemplation are differently dispos'd. Now when the Parts, where the Soul takes up her Lodging, are not crowded or over-burden'd, but fill'd in such Proportions as fute well with their ordinary Custom and Capacity, and such as are convenient for a due Discharge of their respective Duties, then all the Operations of the Soul are gentle and mild, sedate and regular. But, on the other side, when any of these Parts are either put into a swifter and more violent Motion, or are heated above their ordinary and proper Temper, then they immediately feel a considerable Change, to the great Prejudice and Disorder of the Soul. The like we see in the Beams of the Sun, which, when scatter'd loosely with all that Freedom they naturally take in diffusing themselves, impart a moderate and gentle, a cherishing and kindly Warmth; but when contracted within the Concave of a Burning-Glass, they burn up, and quite consume the very Things to which they gave Life and Nourishment before. It must be farther observ'd too, that these Parts are not always distributed alike; and from hence arises another Distinction, not only with regard to the Kind and Quality, but to the Degree of their Emotion; and so they differ in the same sort, as their Violence is greater or less. Those Motions that are moderate, are capable of being relished and digested; a Man knows what he feels, and is in a Condition of expressing his Resentment in Words, or giving it Vent by Tears. But those that are excessive and extreme, are too big, and too mighty. They stun and take away our Senses quite, fill the Soul with Confusion and Amazement, bind up, and quite over-bear her Powers, and disable her from acting.

* Slight
* Slight Passions find a Vent, and Words command;
The Fierce swell inward, dumb and stupid stand.

Thus much may suffice, to give us some little
Notion of the Passions, the manner of their Op-
eration, and their Degrees in general. But if we
now look upon them, in the Second Place, with
regard to the Viciousness, and Irregularity, and
Extravagance; the Injustice and Unreasonableness
these Passions are frequently guilty of; thus Man
may not un unfitly be resembled to a State or Com-
monwealth, and the Condition of the Soul, to
that of a Monarch, presiding over that State, con-
stituting several Officers and Magistrates under him,
to assist in the good Government of such vast Mul-
titudes of People; giving particular Laws and Di-
rections for their Behaviour, and for the due Ex-
ercise of their particular Charges and Commissions;
but still referring to himself and his own Supreme
Jurisdiction, the Cognizance and Determination of
all Matters of great Weight and general Impor-
tance; and for the giving fresh and necessary
Orders, commanding that all extraordinary Acci-
dents and Emergences, should immediately and
faithfully be reported to himself in Person. Now
upon such a Constitution, and such Orders duly
observ'd, the Peace and Prosperity of the whole
Kingdom will depend. But if these be neglected
and broken, and put out of their proper Course;
If the Magistrates, which go between, and are
a sort of Balance between King and People, shall
suffer themselves, either to be impos'd upon thro'
Easiness or Credulity; or corrupted by Favour or
Affection; or if they shall employ their Authority

* Cure leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent, Sensi stupor.
Chap. 18. Of the Passions in general.

in acting contrary to the established Laws, and Duties of their Places; or, if they shall go beyond their Commissions, and come to a final Resolution in Causes, which they ought not to determine, without ever laying them before their Sovereign, who hath reserv'd the Hearing and Decision of all such Matters to himself in Person: In all these Cases, I say, the publick Peace is violated, the Establishment infring'd, the Prerogative incroach'd upon, and nothing but Mischief, and Misery, and Confusion can be the End of it. Now thus it is likewise in our Little World. The Understanding is King in Man; and under him is employed a Faculty, whose Business it is to receive Idea's, and to make an Estimate of them; This is the Subordinate Magistrate, whose Office obliges him to examine, and to judge; the Evidence he goes upon, is that Report the Senses make of all Things represented to them; and according to this Testimony, and the Judgment in Consequence of it, the Affections are by the same Faculty put forward, in order to execute this Sentence. For his Direction, and Governance in the Execution of this Office, our Judge in Commission hath the Law, the Light of Nature, and Dictates of Reason to go by; and this, in ordinary Cases, is sufficient without any farther Formality: But if it happen, that the Affair be of great Moment, or if any Difficulty arise, then he must have recourse to, and know the Pleasure of his Superior; and in this Case the Understanding, which sits Supreme, answers all Doubts and Points of Law, and expects to be consulted and applied to for Orders and Advice. This is the Scheme of our Government and Constitution; and so long as Matters are thus managed, all is quiet and well. But it is our great Unhappiness, that this Imaginative Faculty, (which is under the Intellectual, but over the Sensitive, and
to whose Jurisdiction the first Examination and Judgment of Things belong,) often suffers itself to be bribed, corrupted, imposed upon; and the Effect of this is, First to pass wrong and rash Judgment; then to set the Affections at work to very ill Purpose; and at last to disturb, and confound, and ruine All. Now several things there are, which may contribute towards the depraving, and disordering this Power, in its Judgments and Operations: As first of all; The Senses themselves, which cannot penetrate into the Bottom, nor comprehend the real Substance, and hidden Nature of Things, but the bare Surface, and next Appearance of them only: And these make a Report to the Soul, according to their present Apprehension; set before it the outward Images only, and that, so as may gain them Favour and Recommendation, and pre-posefing it with a Character of their Qualities, founded upon the Satisfactions and Delights they are capable of administering to these Senses in particular, and not upon the Considerations, how Necessary, or how Advantageous they may prove to the whole Man in general. A Second Corruption, which often confirms, and strikes in upon the Neck of This, is the False Notions, and Unthinking Cry of the Vulgar; when we look upon our Selves oblig’d to Approve and Disapprove, as Others do; and when nothing is reputed needful to establish an Opinion, more than its being Popular. From these two false Offices of Intelligence, The Report of our own Senses, and the Voice of the People, proceeds a rash Inconsiderate Opinion, which the Soul takes up of Things; and without fair Tryal, or sufficient Deliberation, pronounces them, Good or Evil; Advantageous or Hurtful; fit to be courted, or fit to be detested and avoided. And this is without all Dispute a very dangerous Guide; a very hot and hasty Mistress; for
for as soon as ever we entertain it, without more ado it seizes upon the Imagination; and there standing upon its Defence, strengthens it self as in a Castle, mans all the Works, and holds it out against Reason; then it comes down to the Heart, and there starts and agitates the Affections, with the violent Refractions of Hope and Fear, and Joy and Grief. In a Word, it is a perfect Incendiary in the State, looks out all the Fools, and disaffected in the Soul, and blows them up into Sedition; raises the Mobs, that is, the Passions, and sets all in an Uproar and Confusion. And all this by taking wrong Methods, going Headlong to work, and not submitting the Matter to the Understanding, as by the Nature of this Establishment, and the Duty of its Station, that Faculty was obliged to do.

Permit me to set before you another Illustration of this Matter by a Comparison taken from Military (as the former was an Allusion to Civil) Government. The Senses answer here both to the Centinels, whose Post it is to watch, and be constantly upon the Guard, for the safety of the Soul; and also to Scouts, who are to look out, and scour the Country, and bring in Intelligence to the Understanding, which is the Supreme Commander of the Soul. To qualify them for this Duty, They are endowed with a Power, of perceiving Things; discerning and taking the Faces and Forms of them; and embracing or rejecting them, according as they appear Agreeable or Disagreeable, Delightful or Odious to them. But now in the Execution of their Office, their Business is only to spy our, and to report; to take Care, that their Intelligence be true, and to bring it Faithfully, and relate it Plainly and Calmly. And they ought to satisfy themselves with delivering their Message, without taking upon them to disturb the higher Powers, or to sound to Arms immediately, and so put all into Con-
Conternation and universal Disorder. And thus it often happens; that as the Centinels in an Army, may lie under Mistakes, because they are not acquainted with the secret Designs of the General; and so receive Them for Friends, which are Enemies in Disguise; and suspect those for Enemies, which are Allies, and marching to their Assistance; The Senses, in like manner, not being privy to all that passes above, and for want of consulting Reason in the Cafe, are frequently imposed upon by counterfeit Appearances, and apt to take That for a Friend, which is, in truth, our deadly Enemy. And when they go giddily to work upon this Imagination, and without ever expecting Orders from the Understanding, fall on immediately, and alarm the Concupiscible, and Irascible Faculties; then they raiife Tumults, and Mutinies in the Soul; and while these last, there is nothing but Clamour and Violence; the Voice of Reason cannot be heard, nor the Commands of the Understanding be at all obeyed.

Let us now in the next Place, observe their several Regiments and Ranks; the General, and the Subordinate Kinds and Divisions of them. Now we must know, That all Passion whatsoever, is moved by the Appearance, either Real or Imaginary, of Good or Evil; what actually is, or what is by the Person apprehended so to be. If the Object be Good, and the Soul considers it as such, simply, and without any other Circumstances, this is that Motion of the Soul, which goes by the Name of Love. If to that Good, so considered as before, be added the Circumstance of its being present, and the Man reflect upon himself, as in full Possession and actual Enjoyment of it, This is call’d Joy, or Pleasure; but if it be future and distant, then it is Desire. On the other Hand, consider an Evil Object, abstractedly, and merely as such, and
Chap. 18. Of the Passions in general.

the Passion it stirs in us, is Hatred: If it be present, and affect us sensibly, it is Grief and Pain; if some other Person labour under it, 'tis Pity and Compassion; if it be future and approaching only, then 'tis Fear. And This is remarkable, concerning the Passions already named; that Those of them, which proceed from the Apprehension, or the Appearance of Evil, such as we run away from, and are possest with an Abhorrence of, do of all others sink deepest into the Heart, take fastest hold of us, and are most difficult to be dispossess again. This now is the first Regiment of Mutineers, which disturb the Content, and break the Peace of our Souls, and these are quarter'd in that which is term'd the Concupiscible Part. The Effects and Disorderly Carriage of These are, it must be confest, of very dangerous Consequence; but yet they are not near so outrageous and Mischievous, as those that we are going to mention. For these first Motions, formed here by the Representation of the Object, are afterwards continued, and communicated to the Irascible Part of the Soul, that is, The Place, where the Soul is active, and contriving Means to obtain what she apprehends to be Good; and to deliver her self from that which she apprehends to be Evil. And then, as a Wheel already in Motion, when a fresh Force pushes it, receives that Addition easily, and whirls about with wonderful Strength and Swiftness; so the Soul, which is already stirred and warmed with the first Apprehension, when a Second Attempt is made upon it, and the Coals are blown, flames out, and is transported with Rage and Violence, much greater than before. The Passions Then rafied, ride higher; are much more furious and ungovernable; for now indeed they are double: the first have come in and joyned them, and thus they back and sustain one another, by this
this Union, and mutual Consent. For the former Passions, which were the Result of Good or Evil in Appearance, considered in Speculation only, now fall in with the Practical Consideration of Means proper for the acquiring or avoiding them, and so excite in us Hope or Despair. And here, those that arise from the Prospect of a future Evil, produce in us, either Fearfulness or Courage; the Apprehension of a present Evil, kindles Anger and Indignation; which are Passions extremely Furious and Violent, and such, as when they find the Reason once disturbed, confound and absolutely overturn it. These are the Principal Winds, that raise all the Storms in our Souls; and the Cavern (like that of Aelleus) where they are engendered, and from whence they break loose, is nothing else but Opinion, (and Opinion is most commonly a false, fleeting, and uncertain Thing; contrary to Nature and Truth, to Reason and Certainty,) that is, A Notion we have, that the Things which are then represented to our Imagination, are Good or Evil. Nor matters it much, how wild, and extravagant, this Notion is in itself, provided we do but give it Entertainment. For Men proceed not upon Realities, but upon their own Fancies; and when once we have taken a Conception that a Thing is Good or Evil, we run after, or we run away from it, with as much Eager ness and Impatience, as if it were actually such; and yet it often, very often happens, that the Nature of the Object is directly contrary to our Apprehensions, and ought to move Resentments, just opposite to those we feel upon its Account. And such in general are our Passions.
Chap. 18. Of the Parts of Humane Soul.  177

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The Nature of these Passions comes next to be considered; and my Design in it is, to expose the Folly, the Vanity, the Mility, the Unreasonableness and Injustice, the Horror and Desormity that is in them; that so Men may be taught to know them as they are, and to hate them as they deserve. The Advices proper for preserving our selves from the ill Effects of them, will be deliver'd at large in the following Books. For the two Parts of a Physician's Business, you know, are first to shew the Disease, and then to apply fit Remedies. My present Care then shall be, to tell Men what they ail, and where their Distemper lies; and for the Prescriptions they must wait a little longer.

Now of the several Passions here to be describ'd, those shall first be spoken to, which have a respect to the Appearance of Good, such are Love, and the several sorts of it; Desire, Hope, Despair, Joy, and the like. And after these we will enter upon those that are excited in us by the Apprehension of Evil, which indeed are very numerous, as Anger, Hatred, Envy, Jealousy, Revenge, Cruelty, Fear, Grief, and Compassion.
C H A P. XIX.

Of Love in general, and at large.

Love compared with and distinguished from the rest.

Love is the First, the Chief, the Reigning Passion; the rest are all deriv'd from, and reduc'd at last into This; But it is of vast Extent, employ'd upon different Subjects, distinguish'd into different Sorts and Degrees. Of These the Three principal that fall within our present Purpose, and to which all the rest may very well be refer'd, are Ambition or Pride, which is the Love of Honour and Greatness; Avarice, which is the Love of Riches; and Sensuality, or Carnal Desire, which is the Love of Pleasure. (These I call such as come within our present Design, which is to treat of Love, as it is vicious, and the effect of Passion; for Virtuous Love, which may be distinguish'd into Friendship, Charity, and Natural Affection or Tenderness, is out of the compass of this Place, and will be spoken to under the Virtue of Justice.)

Book III. The Three foremention'd Passions are those Three Gulphs and Precipices, that drown so great a Part of the World in Destruction and Perdition; the Plagues of Mankind; from the Infection whereof, how few, exceeding few escape untouch'd? The Corruptions that taint every Part of us, even All we are, and All we have, and All we take in hand; our Souls, and Bodies, and Possessions: These are the Magazines, from whence those Three mortal Enemies of the Peace and Salvation of Mankind, the Devil, the World, and the Flesh, furnish themselves with Arms to assault and destroy
Chap. 20. Of Ambition.

They may in Truth be call'd Three Powers or Potentates, the commonest and most universal Passions, whose Territories are so large, that the Apostle hath divided the whole Universe between them. All that is in the World (says he) the Lust of the Flesh, and the Lust of the Eyes, and the Pride of Life.

Of these, Ambition is the most refin'd and spiritualiz'd, and hath therefore been esteem'd more noble, or less mean, than the Two others. Sensuality, or Love of Pleasure, in regard of its being more Natural and Universal, (for even Beasts, which are wholly unacquainted with the other forts, have a Share in this) is more violent, and less vicious. When I speak of Violence, I mean, considering it simply, and according to the Nature of the thing. For tho' it may, and sometimes does happen, that Ambition prevails over it, yet this is a particular Diffemper, a Case excepted from the common Course, and general Rules. But of all the rest, Avarice is the most stupid and senseless Passion, the surest Symptom of a fordid and sickly Mind.

CHAP. XX.

Of Ambition.

Ambition is a Thirst of Honour and Glory, a greedy, and gluttonous, and inordinate Desire of Greatness. It is naturally a gentle and pleasing Passion, which with much Ease insinuates itself into Great and Generous Spirits, and is not driven out again without great Difficulty. We all think it our Duty and Commendation, to
to pursue and embrace that which is Good; and of all Things that pretend to this Character, Honour is most in request and esteem with us. And therefore all of us run full speed, and put our selves upon the utmost Stretch, where This is the Prize. The Ambitious Man strives to be first, keeps his Eye forward upon the Goal, and upon those that have the Start of him; but forgets and takes no notice of the many he hath outstript himself. He feels more Discontent for One Man that hath got before him, than he enjoys Satisfaction for a Thousand that he hath left lagging after. Seneca observes very well, *This is the constant Fault, and inseparable ill Quality of Ambition, never to look behind it. Now Ambition is of Two sorts; The One aspires after Glory and Honour, a Good Reputation, a Great and Immortal Name; and this is of great Use and Publick Benefit; It is not only allowable, but in some Sense, and under certain Qualifications and Restraints, highly commendable: The Other sort affects Greatness and Power; and this is generally not only vicious, but destructive, and of most fatal Consequence to the World.

Ambition hath this peculiar Advantage, that the Seeds of it are sown, and the Root of it fast fix’d in the Heart of every one of us. We have a Proverb, indeed, which tells us Nature is contented with a very little; but then we have another too, that says with as great Truth the direct contrary; That Nature is never satisfy’d, nor capable of being contented at all. A Man never comes to the End of his Desires, so as to set up his Rest, but is always for climbing a little higher, and growing a little richer. No Man goes a mode-

*Habet hoc vitium omnis Ambitio, non respicit.*
rate Pace, or chooses to advance leisurely towards Greatness and Glory; but lays the Reins in the Neck, and rides Whip and Spur. † Humane Nature is greedy of Preference and Power, and drives furiously on toward the gratifying those Desires. And, indeed, their Speed is oftentimes so great, that the Riders are thrown, and break their Necks; as History and Experience shew a world of Aspiring Men to have done, who have paid dear for all their Hopes, and loft both Them and Themselves, just when they were in View, and upon the Point of enjoying their promised Happiness. This, in short, is a Passion riveted into, and interwoven with our Constitution; it seizes us early, 'tis violent while it lasts, and leaves us very late; from whence some of the Philosophers have wittily called it the Shirt of the Soul, the Vice next our Skin, and that which is last pull'd off. * For even Wise Men are observ'd to strip off all other Vices, before they quit this Desire of Glory and Reputation.

As Ambition is the most violent and powerful in its Influences and Effects, so is it likewise the loftiest and most noble in its own Nature, of any Passion whatsoever. The Power and Force of it is manifest, in that absolute Mastery it gains over all other Things, even those which the World is most subdu'd by, even all other Passions and Desires. Nay, even Love it self, which sometimes pretends to dispute the Point of Power and Precedence, is yet miserably vanquish'd and tyranniz'd over by it. Alexander, Scipio, and Pompey, are so many Instances of this Observation; and

† Natura nostra Imperii est avida, & ad impleandam Cupiditatem precess.
* Eriam Sapientibus Cupido Glorix novissima exuitur.
so are abundance of great Generals besides, who have refus'd to gratify their Inclinations, upon extraordinary fine Women, when they had them at their Mercy: And all this from no other Principle than a Point of Honour; and a Soul enflamed with Ambition; to which the Fires of Love were so far from being equal, that they were made subservient to it; and the Conquest of these Desires became a Triumph and a Sacrifice to their Glory. Thus it happen'd very remarkably in Caesar; for no Man alive was ever more fiercely addicted to Amours of all sorts than He, (as the many Extravagances he had been guilty of both at Rome, and abroad in Foreign Parts, abundantly testify) no Man was ever more choice of his Person, more nice in Dress, more careful to preserve and render it agreeable to the Ladies; and yet Ambition was evermore his reigning Passion. The Pleasures of Love, tho' they had him in perfect Submission, when This came not into Competition with them, were then so feeble, and so over-match'd, that they never could prevail for the throwing away upon them so much as one Hour, which was capable of being employ'd, or made in any degree serviceable to the promoting his Honour. So that, notwithstanding the Mixture of any other Passions, which had their Seasons too; yet Ambition sat supreme in his Soul, and was to all Intents and Purposes, as if It had had the sole and entire Possession of him. 'Tis true, we meet with an Example, the very Reverse of this, in Mark Anthony, and some Others, who have been so enslav'd by Love, as to give up All, banish their most necessary and weighty Cares, and lose themselves, and their Crowns, through mere Effeminacy and Neglect. But then these have been Persons of quite different Tempers; for where both meet together, and are fairly weigh'd one
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one against the other, *Ambition* will cast the Scale. Some indeed, who argue for the Force of *Love* above it, tell you, that in reason it must needs be so, because this extends to the Body as well as the Mind, keeps the whole Man in Captivity, and is not only agreeable, but necessary and convenient too. But I shou’d think, the Reason holds on the contrary side, and that *Ambition* is therefore the stronger, because the more Spiritual Passion: What they pretend of the Body being also concern’d in Love, proves the Passion to be so much the feeblest; for from hence it must, by necessary Consequence, be capable of being satiated and cloy’d. Again; What is Corporeal it self, admits of Corporeal Remedies and Cures, some which Nature provides, and others which Art invents; and accordingly Experience hath approved these, and shewed Instances of many who have beaten down the hottest Flames of Love; and of some who have overcome and quenched these quite, by artificial Means, and good Management. But now *Ambition* is so far from being glutted, that its Appetite is never satisfy’d. Enjoyment does but whet it more; and being feared wholly in the Soul, and the Reason, renders the Disease obstinate and incurable, incapable of outward Application, and too deep and subtle for Medicines to reach and fasten upon.

It does not only conquer the Regard for one’s own Health and Ease, (for indeed Honour and the Care of Ease can never dwell together) and make Men of Life content to sacrifice all their Quiet, and Comforts, and Enjoyment of the World; but even the natural Care and Tenderness for our very Lives is not able to stand before it. *Agrippina*, the Mother of *Nero*, was an eminent Example of this Nature, who being extremely desirous that her Son should be Emperor, and inform’d, that he should
should be Emperor indeed, but it should be at the Ex pense of Her Life, made an Answer fit for the Mouth of Ambition her self, cou’d that be personated: Provided he may have the Power, (sai’d she) I am content it should be upon the Condition of using it to my Destruction. * Let my Son kill me, so my Son may but reign.

Thirdly; Ambition makes its way through all Laws, and tramples Conscience itself under Foot: The great Professors of Morality, who tell you, that a Man must make it his Business to be entirely Virtuous, and pay an Universal Obedience to Laws; yet when they speak of Ambition, begin to mince the Matter, and are content to make an excepted Case of it. A Crown it seems is so sweet, so delicious a Morsel, that the Temptation is invincible, and deserves a Dispensation. The most abstemious Man may strain a Point, and break his Fast upon this Feast. * If ever Breach of Law and Equity be allowable, (sai’s one) it is in the Case of gaining a Kingdom; but in every thing else, be sure to be strictly Virtuous. “Not that even in “this, or any Case, such Liberties are to be in- “dulg’d; but They who thus express themselves, “signify the strong Propensity of Humane Na- “ture to this Passion; how strong it is in all, “and how difficult to be subdu’d by any, who are “tempted with very great Advantages.

With the same Infolence does it treat the Ho- liest Things, erases all the Reverence of God, and treads Religion under Foot: For what greater Con- tempt of these can be shewn, than the World have seen in Jeroboam, who establish’d an Idolatrous Worship for the securing his Throne; and Michtom, who gave general Encouragement to all

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* Occidat modo imperer. † Si violandum est Jus, reg- nandi causâ violandum est, in ceteris pietatem colas.
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Persuasions, and valu’d not which was uppermost, so he might reign: And the old Broachers of Heresies, who rather chose to forsake the right Way, and so become Heads of Parties, and Ringleaders in Falshood and Lyes, tho’ a Thousand Disorders and Impieties were the visible and unavoidable Consequences of that wicked Choice, than to continue in a lower and less conspicuous Station, by being Disciples and Followers of the Truth? With regard to such as these it is, that the Apostle hath admirably foretold the Doom of Ambitious Men, That they who suffer themselves to be intangled in these Snares, make Shipwreck of a good Conscience, \[1 Tim. 6.\, 11\] from the Faith, and pierce themselves through with many Sorrows.

In short; It changes Men’s Natures, hardens their Hearts, and makes them brutish; defaces all those tender Impressions and Resentments, which are most customary, and most due to our nearest Relations. The infamous Accounts, which Sacred or Prophane History hath recorded, the Barbarities and Murders committed upon the Persons of Parents, or Children, or Brethren, are most of them instigated by this Passion. Witness Absalom, and Abimelech, and Asbaliab. Romulus, Seti King of Persia, who flew his Father and his Brother; Solomon the Turk, that dispatch’d his two Brothers. So unable is any Thing to stand against the Force of this impetuous Passion, which is for removing every Thing out of its way; and where-ever it takes its Course, overturns, and lays all level with the Ground.

* That which renders the Cafe yet more deplorable, is, that the Noblest and most Generous

* Eft autem in hoc genere molestum, quod in maximis Animos, splendidissimi ingenios plerumq; existunt honoris, imperii, potentiae & gloriae Cupiditates. Cic. Lib. 1. de Offic.
Spirits, such as Nature seems to have design'd for Master-pieces and Patterns, are most liable to this Passion. It is in it self a tall and stately Quality, and none but great Souls are capable of giving it Reception. This was the Temptation which seduced the Angels themselves; a Temptation of all others best accommodated to Their Circumstances, and perhaps the Only one the Perfection of their Nature cou'd be corrupted by: For Ambition is a Vice not suited to mean and little Souls. Your pitiful scoundrelly Fellows cannot come up to it; nor can common and indifferent Performances pretend to any Reward or Desert, such as it thirsts after. Glory and Renown always imply somewhat Brave and Great, and of a larger Size than ordinary; they are never to be bought at cheap and easy Rates; but are the Recompence and Effects of Good and Beneficial, shall I say? nay, rather of Great and Noble, and very Difficult Actions; of uncommon and wonderful Excellencies; such as excite Admiration and Atonishment, at the same time that they command Honour and Applause.

That ignoble greediness of Respect, that base and beggarly way of gaining Reputation, which submits to cringing and fawning upon all sorts of People, and declines the use of none, no not the most scandalous Methods of acquiring it; is fordid and shameful. Such Honours are a Scandal and Disgrace. A Man must take care not to express such an Eagerness after these Things, as is inconsistent with the Things themselves; not to be exalted and puff'd up with vain Opinions of one's self, every time he does well; for he that does thus, procures his own Dishonour; and while he strives with great Pains to lift his Head above the Crowd, discovers his Nakedness and Shame at the same time.
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Ambition is intricate and various; it takes several Roads, and exerts itself by very different Methods. Sometimes it goes to work openly, and marches straight up to the Mark; and thus Alexander, and Caesar, and Themistocles, and other truly generous Spirits have proceeded. Sometimes it works in Secret, and goes in crooked Paths; and thus some Philosophers, and great Pretenders to Piety and Virtue, have indulged themselves in the Exercise of it. They fetch a Compass, and come in at the Back-Door; like Water-Men, that row one way, and look another; they have laboured to get Honour, by a seeming Neglect, and contempt of Honour: And no Doubt, as Plato told Diogenes, there is more Glory, and greater Vanity, in refusing, and trampling upon Honours and Preferments, than in seeking and enjoying them. And Ambition never manages itself with greater Cunning and Success, than when it goes out of the beaten Road, and comes up to the Prize some unusual, and unseen Way.

Ambition is without Question a very vain and foolish Passion; For after all, what does it so Zealously pursue, or what can be the Gains of it, when rightly computed? It is giving Chase to a Vapour, catching at Smoke, instead of Fire and Light; embracing a Shadow, instead of Body and Substance; it is making a Man's whole Happiness precarious, suspending all the Satisfaction and Content of his Mind, upon Popular Opinion, the Humour, and the Breath of an ignorant and changing Multitude. It is a voluntary, and consequently the very worst, and most despicable Slavery; the parting with our own Native Rights and Liberties, and depending upon the Arbitrary Passions of other People: 'tis the putting one's self under perpetual Constraint; and engaging to act contrary to one's own Sense, in Hopes, by displeasing and disapproving...
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ving our selves, to please and gain the Approbation of Standers-by; 'tis a sacrificing our Affections and Reason to the Capriciousness of Spectators; 'tis the prostituting of Conscience to common Opinion; renouncing all love of Virtue, any farther than the World shall please to like, and keep it in Countenance; and 'tis the doing of Good, not for the sake of Goodness, but merely in Consideration of the Credit and Advantage to be got by it. In a Word, such Men are like full Vessels, that must be pierced for the Liquor they contain; not one Drop can be drawn from them, unless you give them Vent; nor any Benefit to be had of these Qualities, but such as takes Air.

Ambition hath no Bounds; 'tis a deep Gulph without Bank or Bottom; This is that true Vacuum, or vast empty Space, which the Philosophers after all their study, have never been able to discover in Nature; a Fire that feeds, and grows upon the Jewel we heap upon it. And in this Respect indeed it is just to its Master, and pays him for his Pains. For Ambition is only just in this, that it is sufficient for its own Punishment, and never fails to tease and torment itself abundantly. What the Poets have couched under the Fable of Ixion, is the Restless Motion of the Ambitious Man's Desires; These are the Wheel that rolls to all Eternity within its own Circle, and, by its constant and wearisome Returns, gives no quiet, no relaxation to the Mind of the vain Man that is condemned to turn it.

Some, who have undertaken to flatter Ambition, pretend in its Vindication, that it is of great Use to Virtue, a Whet and Spur to brave and noble Enterprizes. For Men are content to abandon many other Vices, for the sake of This; and by degrees come at last to resign this too, for the sake of Virtue. But alas! the Matter, when critically examin'd,
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mind'd, will be found far otherwise. 'Tis true, Ambition covers over, and conceals many Vices; but it takes away, and throughly reforms never a one. And even that Industrious Concealment, is but for a Season. It takes them up, like Fire in the Embers, under the Dust and Rubbish of Hypocrisy, and Mischievous Dissimulation; but it is only to keep the Fire from going out, that it may be blown up, and flame out again more fiercely than ever, as soon as this Cheat hath carried its Point, and Men have gain'd Authority sufficient to bear them out in Bare-fac'd Wickedness. When the Man is in Power, and too Big for Punishment, or Control; then, and not before, you see what he truly is. Before that, trust him not; for if you do, you will be apt to mistake him. When Serpents are numb'd with Cold, they have still the same Venom in their Nature, though the Effects of it be suspended for the present: and the Ambitious Man hath still the same Vices, the same Heat and Fury; he carries it about him; how Gentle, and Tame, and Cool forever his Disguise may be. The Fisht is not yet caught; but when it is, then he will come abroad, in his true Colours, and Natural Complexion; and though Ambition should make so good Progress toward Virtue, as to quit all other Vices; yet there is but very little Hope or Appearance of its ever renouncing it self. It pushes Men to Brave and Illustrious Actions, I confess it; and the Benefit of these Actions to the Publick is unspeakable; but though Others may reap the Fruit, and be the better for such Actions, yet it will not follow, that the Person who does them is one whit the Better for them. These may be the Effect of Passion, and not of Virtue or Principles; and if they be so, this Excuse is vain. For at present it is not the Profit, but the Intrin-sick Goodness of such Exploits, that we are inquir-
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ring into. I know indeed this Passion shelters it self under that very excellent Maxim, That we are not born for our selves alone, but for the General Good of Mankind; But how good a Sanctuary this is, the Methods made use of for rising in the World, and Mens Behaviour after their Promotions and Successes, must shew. And These, if they be nicely observ'd, will give us Cause to suspect, that the Men, who talk at this Rate, speak against their own Consciences; and that private Interest is at least an equal, if not a stronger Motive to the Generality of Mankind, than the Good of others. Men look nearer Home in all they do, and That, how large soever the Pretensions to it may be, (for we cannot wonder, that Men should pretend at least to One of the best and most valuable Qualities in the World,) yet a truly Publick Spirit is very rarely to be found.

See Advice and Remedies again his Passion in particular. Book III. Chap. 42.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Avarice, and the Passions opposite to it.

BY Avarice is to be understood an inordinate Love, and vehement Desire of Riches. Tho', indeed, it is not only, the Love and Fondness for them, that deserve this Name, but all Sort of over-curious Niceness, and solicitous Concern about Riches will bear it very justly; even the Care of distributing them; and Liberality it self, if it take up too much of our Time and Pains, in ordering and making it exact. In short, All manner of Anxious Thought, with relation to Riches, favours strongly
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Strongly of this Passion; for they ought to be entertained and used with a becoming Negligence, and to be looked upon, as they really are, not worth any earnest Attention of the Mind, nor a fit Object of our Care and Trouble.

The vehement Desire of Riches, and the mighty Pleasure of Possessing them, is merely Fantastical; a Creature of our own Imagination, and hath no Being, no Foundation in Nature at all. 'Tis a Canker, or Gangrene in the Soul, that spreads and mortifies, and with its Venom corrodes and quite consumes all Our Natural Affections, and fills us with noxious and virulent Humours in their stead. No sooner hath This taken up its Dwelling in our Hearts, but immediately all those Tendernesses, and kind Concerns are banished thence, which either Nature inspires, or Virtue recommends, and improves in us. All the Duties and Regards we owe to our Relations, to our Friends; nay, to our very Selves, are no longer of any Consideration with us. All the World, when set in competition with Interest and Profit, goes for Nothing; and at last we come to that pass, as even to over-look and despise our own Persons; our Ease, our Health, our Bodies, our Souls, All are sacrificed to this Darling, this adored Wealth; and, as the Proverb expresses it, \textit{We sell the Horse to get the Provender.}

\textit{Avarice} is a mean fordid Passion; the Temper, or rather the Difease, of Fools and Earth-Worms. \textit{The Folly and Misery of it.} who esteem Riches, as the \textit{Supreme Good}, and most exquisite Attainment Humane Nature is capable of; and dread Poverty as the \textit{Last of Evils}; who cannot content themselves with a bare Competency, or such Provisions as are necessary for their Subsistence, which indeed are so small, that very few want them. They measure their Riches by the Bags and Weights of Bankers, and Goldsmiths; whereas Nature teaches us to make a different
ferent Judgment, and directs us to the Standard of our own just Occasions. Now, is not this the very Extremity of Folly, to fall down and worship That, which Nature hath taught us to despise, by casting it under our Feet, and hiding it in the Bowels and dark Caverns of the Earth; as a thing not fit for publick view; but to be trampled and trod upon, as a just Object of our Neglect, and an Intimation of its own Worthlesness? There it was Originally, and there it had remained to all Eternity, had not the Vices of Mankind ranfack'd those dark Cells, and with great Difficulty and Violence drawn it up: and great their Reward of such Industry hath been: For what have they gain'd by it, but the Ground of Infinite Controversies, and Quarrels, and Bloodshed, and Rapine, a Fatal Instrument of devouring and destroying one another? *We take unspeakable Pains to fetch up that above Ground (says one) which, when we have it, serves us only to fight for. Nay, we are not out of Countenance to have those very Things in highest Esteem, which God and Nature had made lowest, and thought the deepest Mines of the Earth, a Place good enough for. Nature indeed seems in some Measure to have given sure Presages, how Miserable those Men should be, who are in love with Gold, by the manner of its Growth, and the Quality of the Soil that produces it. For, as That Ground where the Veins of this Metal are found, is Unprofitable for other Uses; and neither Grass, nor Plants, nor any other Thing, of Value and Service to Mankind, will grow there; it is in this Respect a most lively Emblem of the Minds of Men, which are enamour'd with it; They being, in like manner, the most fordid, and abject, and

*In lucem propter quæ pugnaremus excutimus; non orubescentem summa apud nos haberis, quæ fuerunt ima Terrarum.
abandon'd Wretches, cursed and condemned to Barrenness; void of all Honour, lost to all Virtue; and no kind of thing that is good in itself, or beneficial to the World, is to be obtained or expected from them. What a horrible Degradation is this? And how do we lessen and disparage ourselves, when we give up that Dominion and Liberty to which we were born, by becoming Servants and Slaves to the very meanest of our Subjects? * For Riches (as is most truly observ'd) are the Wise Man's Servants, and the Fool's Masters. And, in Truth, the Covetous Man cannot be so properly said to possess Wealth, as that may be said to possess Him. He hath it indeed, but he hath it in such a Sense only, as he hath a Fever, or some violent Disease, which hath got an absolute Mastery over him, and preys upon his Vitals, and all his Faculties. How extravagant is it to dote upon That, which neither hath any Goodness of its own, nor was ever able to make any one Man good since the Beginning of the World? A Thing that Providence distributes promiscuously, and with a negligent Hand; scatter'd in common to all the World, and the greatest Share, very often, permitted to the worst and most scandalous Part of Mankind? Nor is this all. For, tho' the Thing be indifferent in its own Nature, and that single Consideration is sufficient to wean, or at least to moderate, our Affections; yet the Effects and Consequences of it are by no means indifferent, but in the Issue and Event, incline strongly to the Worse. The Debasement of Mens Minds, and the Depravation of their Manners, being the manifést and frequent Effect of it. And, though it cannot be proved, that Riches ever reform'd one ill Disposition, and

* Apud Sapientem Divitiae sunt in Servitude, apud Stultum in Imperio.
made it Virtuous; yet there are innumerable Instances of Persons otherwise well-dispos’d, who have been corrupted and made Vicious by their Means. And when we have computed all the Conveniences that attend them, and represented these in their best Light, and to all possible Advantage; it must be acknowledg’d after all, that a great many Wise Men have liv’d very easy and happy without them; and a great many more Foolish and Naughty Men have dy’d scandalously for them. So then They are no necessary Ingredient of Life, and they expose us to Danger and Disgrace, and Death. In a Word, This is to act upon our selves the Barbarity and Tyranny, for which the cruel Mseznius was infamous; to tie the Living Body to the Dead Carcasses, that so it may languish and expire with greater Torment; to mix a Noble and Refined Spirit, with the Dross and Excrement of the Earth; to perplex and involve the Soul with innumerable Difficulties and Tortures, which this Passion will be sure to bring upon it; to entangle one’s self in the Snares of the Wicked one, and voluntarily to be taken Captive by the Adversary of Souls, as the Scripture admirably expresses it. And, indeed, there is scarce any Vice more pathetically, and more frequently decry’d in those Holy Books. Where we find these very significant Characters given of It; The Unrighteous Mammon; The Thorns which choak the Good Seed of Piety and Virtue; The Robber, that steals away Mens Hearts and Affections; The Nets and Snares of the Devil; The Idolatry, that draws Men off from the Regard and Worship of the True God; and The Love of Money, which is the Root of all Evil. And sure, if Men would but turn their Eyes inward, and obverse that Ruff and fretting Canker of Sins and Discontents, and desperate Anxieties, which Riches breed in their Hearts, with the same Atten-
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Attention and Diligence, that they gaze upon their glittering Metals with, the Consequence of This must be, that They wou'd then be as much, and as generally hated and despis'd, as now, we see, they are below'd and admir'd. *Necessity wants many Things; Covetousness wants every Thing. † The Covetous Man is good to No Body, but worst of all to himself.

Not but that there is another Passion in the contrary Extreme, which is by no means free from Vice neither; and that is, a down-right Detestation, and obstinate Refusal of Riches: For this is refusing the Means and the Opportunities of doing good, and putting it out of a Man's own Power to practise many excellent and very beneficial Virtues. There needs but little Consideration to convince us, that the using Riches as one ought, and getting an absolute Dominion over them, is a Task much more laborious and difficult, than the being content under the Want of them; and a prudent and virtuous Behaviour in Poverty, is more attainable than a steady Goodness in the midst of Plenty. In the former of these Circumstances, a Man hath but One Attack to guard, and may bend all his Forces against That without Distraction; If he can but keep his Courage up from sinking under the Affliction, and maintain his Ground with Constancy and Resolution, he hath done his Business effectually. But the Temptations of Wealth and Prosperity are various, I had almost said infinite; and the Duties which are expected from Persons in that Condition, are proportionably so too. There must be Temperance in the Use of them; Moderation in our Desires; Liberality to those that want the Com-

* Defunt Inopie multa, Avaritiae omnia. † Avarus in num lum bonus est, in se pessimus.
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forts we enjoy; Prudence in the Choice of fit Objects to exercise that Liberality upon; Humility, and Meekness, and Condescension, and several others, too numerous to be specify'd particularly. The Indigent Man hath only his own Virtue to take care of; the Rich must preserve That, and hath another Task of Action and Distribution to take care of afterwards. He that divests himself of large Possessions, is at leisure for greater and better Things, which mov'd some Philosophers and Christians to do so. He does at the same time disburden himself of a world of Cares and Sorrows, of Duties and Difficulties unavoidable, which attend the Management of himself, first in the Pursuit and Acquisition, then in the Keeping, then in the Using and Dispensing of Wealth. So that upon the whole Matter, (except when done upon a Principle of Charity and Religion) This is only the declining of Sollicitude, and Business, and Trouble; and when such Men pretend to Resignation, and Magnanimity, and Contempt of the World, I should make no Scruple to tell them very freely, Gentlemen, You renounce these Things, not because They are advantageous, and you are got above them, but because you know not how to make a right Use of them, and are afraid of the Trouble and Hazard, which those who make it their Business to possess and manage them as they ought, are of necessity exposed to. For when all is done, though Riches do not deserve our Hearts, and are an Object too low for our Affections, yet they are as much too high for our Disdain. And tho' no Wise Man will suffer himself to be brought into Bondage to them, nor desire them immoderately, nor get them indirectly, nor place his Happiness in them; yet when the Bounty of Providence hath dealt them to us fairly, and made them our Lot; in such a Cafe, what Seneca hath observ'd is undoubtedly true,
true. That for a Man not to be able to bear a plentiful Fortune, is not an Argument of his Wisdom, but a Symptom of his Weakness and Littleness of Soul.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Sensuality; and Carnal Love in particular.

This is a burning Fever, and furious Passion; and the Consequences of it are infinitely dangerous, when a Man suffers himself to be vanquish'd and over-born by it. Such a one is no longer at his own Disposal; His Body shall endure a Thousand Tortures in Pursuit of Pleasure; His Mind a Thousand Reproachings and Self-Condemnations: In short, he feels a perpetual Hell, for the Service and Gratification of his filthy Desire; That Desire, if allow'd, and let alone, will turn to Rage and Madness; and yet a great part of this is unavoidable: For Nature hath given us the Inclination; and that is the Reason why it is common to All, and very strong in the greatest Part of Mankind. The Care incumbent upon Us must be, to keep a strict Hand, and a constant Watch over this Passion; To check and divert its RANT Irregularities, and cool those Fires which we cannot absolutely quench: For, if indulg'd, it levels Men with Brutes, stupifies all our Wisdom, baffles our Resolution, confounds our Prudence and Conduct, breaks in upon our Contemplation, hardens the Conscience, blinds the Eyes of the Mind, and disturbs all the Operations of our most noble Faculties. This convinc'd Alexander that he was Mortal; and is such another Argument.
Argument of our Frailty, as Sleep is; for both of them agree in suspending, suppressing, and binding up the Powers of the Reasonable Soul.

Philosophy takes upon it to treat of all manner of Subjects, and uses great Freedom of Expression in doing so; that so the true Causes of Things may be discover'd, a right Judgment made of them, and proper Rules and Directions given for the governing our selves with regard to them. The same Thing Divinity does likewise, which is a Science infinitely more sublime and refin'd, of nicer Honour, and greater Modesty and Reserve. And this Liberty may sometimes be very convenient, nay, very innocent and chaste; for the Sun shines upon Dunghils without contracting any of the Pollution, or ill Scents, by his Rays that fall there. "But this is a Cafe that requires "great Tenderness and Caution, and usually "Silence is the most becoming, and the most "profitable: For one had better altogether con-"ceal and suppress those Things, which, when "intended for Good, are yet liable and likely "to be made an ill Use of by most of Those "into whose Hands they fall. And highly pro-
"bable it is, that many Persons have learn'd to "be more exquisite in their Vices of this kind, "by those very Precepts and particular Instruc-
"tions, design'd to teach them how to prevent or "conquer those Exorbitances." 'Tis true in-
ded, Nature by strong Impulses persuades to these Gratifications; but yet it is as true, that she teaches us to blush, and be out of Countenance at the very Mention of what she is so important for. Some indeed pretend, that we ought to be ashamed of nothing that is Natural; and that this Affection of Modesty serves only to sharpen Mens Appetites the more; That we may as well be ashamed for the Infirmitie
of our Bodies, the spontaneous Motions of our Lungs, and Heart, and Veins, and Arteries; our Eating, and Drinking, and Weariness, and Pain, and Sickness, and Dying; all which, like this before us, have their Motions and Intervals, without our Consent or Knowledge; return by certain necessary Causes, and act upon us by unseen Springs; and All, like This too, betray the great Weakness, and indigent State of humane Nature. Our Brain discharges itself by Defluxions, our Eyes by Tears, our Body by proper Evacuations; our Faces grow red or pale; our Bodies fat and lean; our Hair black, or white, or grey; and we are not concerned in, or for these Things; which yet are no more Natural than This; yet They, or any Discourse of Them, is by no means ignominious or unbecoming, and in the present Case it is. To all which Objections it were sufficient to oppose the general Sense and Practice of all civiliz’d Persons and Countries, who, in Proportion to their being polish’d and refin’d above others, have ever express’d a greater Reserve in educating their Children, in their own Behaviour and Conversation, and in looking upon all such as impudent and profligate, who indulge loose and wanton Discourse; and even They, who are but too much Friends and Slaves to this Passion, choose rather to provoke it by distant mysterious Expressions, and nauseate the Roughness and Rudeness of blunt uncomely Language. But still you will ask, whence this Shame proceeds, and how that Custom became so general. The Gratification of these Appetites, I grant you, is not shameful in itself in the least: It is truly and properly Natural; and no Shame is due to it, simply consider’d; for Beasts, ’tis plain, have no Sense of any. But why do I speak of Beasts? The Sacred Oracles of God themselves, have told us ex-
Of Wisdom. Book I.

presly, that This is no Appendage of our Nature; that while Man preferv'd his primitive Purity, and was in that Condition which was originally and truly Humane, he had no Sense of Shame, nor ever blush'd at his own Nakedness. Every Work of God is Sacred and Good, and nothing but the Abuse can cast a Blemish upon it. So that in Truth, Shame is only the Effect of Weakness, and that Weakness the Effect of Sin. Shame came into the World afterwards, and by Accident; it was no Part of the Creation, hath no Being in Nature, but is the Creature of our own Wickedness, and what we have brought upon our own selves, by making the Workmanship of God, Instruments of Vice and Pollution.

The true Reason then, which makes this Passion so violently condemn'd and run down, is not from any real Vice or Shame in it, when consider'd abstractly, and in its own Nature; but from the general Corruption and Inordinacy Men are betray'd into by it. For how very few are there, that have any Regard, to Moderation, or Discretion, or Decency? What infinite indirect Methods do they use for the gratifying of these Appetites? What Quarrels and Disturbances, what Wars and Publick Confusions, what Desolation and Ruin have been owing to this accursed Cause, this common, but most fatal Incendiary of Mankind? In so much that the Wickedness of the Means that introduce these Pleasures, and the long black Train of Consequences they draw after them, are worse a thousand times than the Thing it self: The Expence and Damages are infinitely more than the Purchase is worth. And all these ill Effects are peculiar to Mankind, for other Creatures know nothing of all this Clutter. But Men have used great Industry to trapan themselves; On one side they make Laws to keep them off, urge Religion, and
and *Modesty* and *Decency*, to restrain their *Desires*; and yet, on the other hand, they sharpen and inflame them, set all their Wits at work to contrive, to confound, to get over every Thing for the compassing their *Desires*: Witness *Comedy* and *Poetry* particularly, whose pretended Beauties, even when most Chaste, were chiefly seen in amorous Subjects; but now they have perfectly prostituted themselves to Lewdness, and seem to design nothing so much, as the laughing Virtue and Reserve out of Doors, as if these were the Things we ought most to be ashamed of. But of all others, the most mischievous Corruption of Nature seems to be the setting an extravagant value upon stolen and unlawful pleasures; representing Injuries of this kind as a piece of Gallantry and Accomplishment; and suffering those Methods to be despised and ridiculed, which both Divine and Humane Constitutions have assigned for satisfying Men's Natural *Desires*, by *Honest* and *Honourable* Marriage.

For Directions and Remedies against this Vice, consult Book III. Chap. 41.

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**C H A P. XXIII.**

*Desires.*

The Sea it self hath not more Waves and Billows, more inconstant nor more furious in their Tossings and Rollings, than the Heart of Man hath *Desires*. This is a vast and boundless Ocean too, govern'd by Winds and Tides, various and uncertain; it is confus'd and irresolute; sometimes
times wicked and detestable, but very frequently vain and ridiculous in its Desires.

2. But the first and most necessary part of this Consideration, ought to be a due Care to distinguish them rightly; for this is what they are very capable of. And here you may observe, That some of these are Natural; and they that be so, are just and lawful, and common to Us with Beasts: They are likewise short, and bounded in a narrow Compass; a Man may easily see to the End of them. For These there is abundant Provision, and no Man is poor in this respect. An Occasion of enlarging upon these will present itself more conveniently hereafter; for in truth they do not properly belong to the Subject we are now upon, since, strictly speaking, they are not Passions.

The Others are either beside, or beyond Nature; they have no Foundation in our Frame and Temper, but exist only in our Opinions, and are the Offspring of Fancy and Imagination; these are Artificially form’d by Industry and strong Impression; they are superfluous too; serve only to gratify our Humours, not to supply any real Necessities. And if you would have them distinguish’d from the former by a different Name, call them if you please, the Covetings of the Soul. These are entirely our own; the Portion or the Scandal of our Species. Beasts are altogether unacquainted with them; Man is the only Creature irregular in his Appetites. These have no certain Mark to aim at, no End where to stop; but are eternally in Motion, run wild and at random, and know not what they would have. * The Desires which Na-

Chap. 23. Of Desires.

ture suggests, are determined and finite; but those which arise from Opinion and Whimsie, are infinite; for Error knows no Bounds. A Man that goes in the Road must come to his Journey's End at last; but he that wanders out of the Way, may wander for ever. With regard to These, no Man ever was, none ever can be Rich or Contented. Somewhat constantly falls short, or some fresh Thing is wanting. Of these it is that the Poet speaks,

Their Stores increase, and yet I know not what,
Still they do something want,
Which neither Pains can get, nor Heaven can grant,
To swell their narrow, to a full Estate.

Creech,
Horat.
Od. XXIV
Lib. III.

To such wanton Longings of the Soul, the Characters set down at the beginning of this Chapter agree; and They are what we mean, and are now treating of under this Head of Passions. These are the Things we sweat and toil so vehemently for, the gaining what we might very well be without, and the satisfying Desires which we ought not to entertain. 'Tis upon the Account, and for the Sake of These, that we compass Sea and Land; that we take up Arms, and kill one another; nay, that Men kill and drown themselves, betray and ruine themselves; which gave just grounds for saying, that Covetousness is the Root of all Evil. The Matter indeed is sometimes so order'd by Providence, that this inordinate Passion of the Mind should be made its own Punishment; and while Men are greedy to gratifie their fantastical Wants, and glut themselves with the Riches and Pleasures of Fortune, they lose a real Good, and cut them-

Scilicet improbae
Crescent Divitiae; tamen
Curtae aetiosis quid semper abest rei.

selves
Of Wisdom.  

Book I.

Themselves off from the Advantages of Nature. Which are so much more valuable than the other, that Diogenes, who refused the large Present of Money offer’d by Alexander, desir’d as a greater Favour, that he would please to stand aside, and not hinder him from the Comfort and Brightness of the warm Sun-shine.

C H A P. XXIV.

Hope and Despair.

Those Desires which are Natural, and these Covetings last mention’d, which are Accidental, and Diseased to the Soul, are cherish’d by Hope. This inspires them with Warmth and Strength; this blows up our extravagant Imagination with a gentle and pleasing Breath; kindles a Fire in our Minds, but raises so thick a Smoak withal, that it quite blinds the Understanding; our Thoughts are lost and bewildered, and violently carry’d away with it; it keeps us in perpetual Suspense, and makes us dream with our Eyes waking. As long as ever our Hopes last, we never let go our Desires. But on the other hand, when once Despair takes possession of us, the Soul is perfectly put upon the Rack; and the Thought that we shall never be able to obtain what we aim at, is so torturing and violent, that it bears down all before it; and we lose what we stand actually possesst of, for the sake of somewhat which we apprehend impossible to be possesst. This Passion is like froward Children, who, when you take away one of their Playthings, throw the rest into the Fire for Madness.
Chap. 25. Of Anger.

It grows angry with itself, turns its own Executioner, and revenges its Misfortunes upon its own Head. It refuses to live under Disappointments and Crosses, and chuses rather not to be at all, than to be without the Thing which it hath once imagin’d necessary to its Happiness. And thus you have had a short Account of those Passions, which have some apparent Good for their Object; we will proceed in the next place to consider those others, which arise from the Apprehension of Evil.

C H A P. XXV.

Of Anger.

Anger is a foolish and a frantick Passion, which puts us quite besides our selves; and by seeking some means of beating back the Evil, that either approaches and threatens, or hath already reached and fallen upon us, makes the Blood boil in our Hearts, and raises wild and furious Vapours in our Mind; such as blind and pervert our Reason, and thrust us headlong upon any, tho’ never so desperate Attempts, that may contribute to the satisfying those Desires we have of taking Revenge, and doing Mischief upon the Person that gave the Provocation. It is a short Madness, and dangerous, not only for the time it continues, but as it prepares and opens the Way for a lasting Phrensie and Distract. The Motions of it are so sudden, the Violence so strong, that it overpowers all our other Passions, swallows them up quite, or carries them along with it by the force of its own Torrent.
The Causes from whence it arises are various. 

I. Weakness of Judgment, which is most remarkable in Women and Children, Aged and Sick People; whom Experience shews to be of all others most fretful and peevish, and easie to be provoked. *Every thing that is infirm, is naturally disposed to be querulous and froward. It is a Mistake as great as it is common, to imagine that Fierceness and Rage is an Argument of Courage: for all violent Motions are like the Efforts of old Men and Children, who run when they would walk, and go faster, because they have not Strength enough to go slow. There is not in the World any Thing so feeble as an irregular and unsteady Motion; and therefore Anger, which is such in the Mind, is rather a Mark of Infirmity and Cowardise. It is a Distemper in the Soul, which makes it tender and sore, not able to endure Offences; as Hurts and Wounds in the Body render the Smart of every little Blow intolerable. Were it in a State of perfect Health and Soundness, every Trifle cou'd not create so great a Disorder. † But when all is full of Aches and Diseases, the gentlest Touch is troublesome, and it is always complaining, because always ailing. A Miser will fume and storm for the los's of a Penny, for the missing of some Advantage which he might have gain'd; A jealous Husband will fall into a Rage for the most innocent Smile of his Wife, or the least Glance of her Eye. Luxury and Niceness, or any particular Fancy, that renders a Man Singular and Humorsom, and Uneasie, is apt upon the least Accident which crosses that Humour, to put him into Passion; and || No one thing (says a great

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* Invalidum omne naturâ querulum est.
† Nulquam sine querela sarga tanguntur.
|| Nulla res magis Iracundiam alit, quam Luxuria.

Phi-
Chap. 27. Of Anger.

Philosopher) cherishes Anger more than this vain Temper. So again does the being fond of any little trifling Things, not worth our Affection and Concern: A Glass, a Dog, a Bird; This is a Folly that gives us a great deal of Trouble, and often exposes us to most unreasonable Passions; the least of which is more than they can possibly deserve. Another Cause is Curiosity, and a busy inquisitive Temper. * He that asks too many Questions, is solicitous to disquiet himself: This is so far from avoiding, and conniving at, that it is seeking Occasions, hunting about, and following the Scent, and with great Eagerness and Pleasure running abroad after Provocations, without having the Patience to stay till they come home to Us. Sometimes indeed (says Seneca) Anger comes to Us, but not near so often as We go to It. Another is Credulity and Easiness, the suffering our selves to be possessed with the first Account, and the first Chance-comer, and not reserving an Ear free for the other side of the Cause, nor suspending our Belief, till more perfect Information. But the Principal, and indeed the very formal Cause of Anger, is an Opinion that we have been undervalued, and ill us'd; That some Word, some Look, (for any thing will serve) carried an Air of Contempt, and was less respectful than it ought to have been. This is always the Argument angry Men lay hold of in their own Justification. "And no wonder then, that proud Men are most Choleric, and fuller of Resentment than any others, since no other Disposition makes Men think so much their Due, and consequently inclines them to be so jealous of Affronts, and Omissions in point of Respect. For which

* Qui nimis inquiris, seipsum inquietas.
Reason the Scripture tells us, that Only by Pride cometh Contention, in one Place, and it most Emphatically Proud Wrath in another.

The Signs and Symptoms of this Passion are many, and manifest, more and more visible than those of any other; and so Strange and Strong, that they make a mighty Difference in the Person, alter the whole Temper and Frame both of Body and Mind, transform and turn him into quite another Man. In somuch, that * it is not easy to say, whether this Vice be more detestable, or more deformed and disfiguring; Some of these Changes and Symptoms, are outward and apparent: Redness and Distortions of the Face, Fieriness of the Eyes, a wild and enraged Look, Deafness and Insensibility in the Ears, Foaming at the Mouth, Palpitation of the Heart; Quickness and Unevenness of the Pulse, Swelling and Bursting Fullness of the Veins, Stammering in the Tongue, Gnashing and Setting of the Teeth, Loudness and Hoarseness in the Voice, the Speech thick and indistinct; and in short, The whole Body is set on Fire, and in a perfect Fever. Some have been transported to such a Degree, upon these Occasions, that their very Veins have broke, their Urine stopp'd, and they have dropt down dead, being stifled and strangled with excess of Passion. And what Condition can we suppose their Mind must be in in the mean while, when the Disorders of the Body are so violent and Dismal? Anger at the first Brush, quite banishes Reason and confounds the Judgment; clears all before it, and takes possession for it self alone; and when it hath got it, then it fills all with Fire and Smoke, with Darkness and Confusion, with Noise and Clamour; it is like a Robber, or an Enemy, that first drives the Master out of doors, and then sets

*Ut sit difficile, utrum magis detestabile vitium, aut deforme.
Chap. 25. Of Anger.

Fire to his House, and that with such Fury and Madness, as to destroy and burn it self alive in the Flames. It is like a Ship that hath neither Rudder, nor Pilot; neither Sails, nor Oars, nor Ballast; but floats about at Random, and commits it self to the Mercy of Winds and Waves; and that, when the Sea rides highest, and the Storms are loudest and most raging. And what can be expected in such a Case, but Strandings and Shipwrecks, when there are so many Rocks on every side, to break her to Pieces, so many Quick-sands to swallow her up, when she thus lets her self drive upon them?

This leads us to consider its Effects, which are, indeed, very great, and, for the most part, exceedingly wretched and deplorable.

1. For First; Anger urges and exposes us to Injustice; it takes Fire afresh, and is render'd more violent and fierce, by any Opposition, tho' never so reasonable and fair; and that too, not only by Dispute from others, but even from a Man's own Senses and Reflection, and the being conscious to himself, that he is angry, either without any just Cause, or to a greater degree than the Provocation deserved. When a Man hath thus suffer'd his Reason to be shaken and disturbed, let one, with all the Calmness imaginable, offer the clearest Vindication, the justest Excuse, any thing to remove or mitigate this Passion, all is to no Purpose, or to worse than none; for Truth and Innocence are still but more enraging, as Seneca observes: In such Cases * the Unreasonableness of our Passion makes us so much more obstinate and unpersuadable, as if the being very angry, and implacable, were the best Argument that the Ground of our Anger is just. The Example of Pisio upon this Occasion is well

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* Pertinaciores nos facit iniquitas irae, quasi argumentum sit justis irascendi, graviter irriti.
worth our Observation, and the Story is generally known. He, who was in other Respects eminent for Virtue and Goodness, yet once in Heat of Passion put Three Persons to Death unjustly; and strain'd the Law to bring them in Guilty, only because there had been one proved not Guilty, whom he by a former Sentence had adjudged Guilty. Anger is likewise exasperated by Silence and Coldness, because such Indifference speaks Scorn and Neglect; and when Men see their Resentments make no Impression, they look upon themselves to be slighted and affronted. This is very usual with Women, who oftentimes put themselves into a Passion, purely for the Sake of putting other People into one too; And when they see that a Man does not condescend to be angry, and refuse to heap on more Fewel, they take all imaginable Pains to cherish and blow up their own Fire, and grow perfectly out-ragious. So wild and savage a Beast is Anger, so fierce and intractable, that neither Vindications nor Submissions; neither Excusing nor Acknowledging; neither Speaking nor holding one's Peace, can do any good upon it. No foul Means can tame, no fair ones win it over, or make it gentle. The Injustice of this Passion is farther evident, in that it always takes upon it self to be both Party and Judge in the same Cause, in that it expects all manner of People that hear or know any thing of the Matter, should take its Part, and justify its Proceedings; and takes it mortally ill, nay, flies in the very Faces of all that either stand neutral, or in any degree seem to think it in the wrong.

II. A Second Effect of this Passion is Headiness and Obstinacy, Rashness and Inconsideration. It drives us forward, and thrusts us down head-long, into unspeakable Mischiefs; and very often draws upon our own Heads the very Calamities we are
endeavouring to avoid by being angry; the very same Sufferings, or many times worse than those, which we in the bitterness of our Malice and Revenge, are so eager to inflict upon others; and thus, while it punishes an Enemy, it tortures and executes it self. This Passion is no ill Resemblance of Great Ruins, which crush indeed, and batter whatever they fall upon, but in the same Fall, break themselves to Pieces. Anger is so eagerly bent upon the Hurt and Destruction of others, that it fights out of all Guard, and takes no manner of Care to avoid or ward off its own Death. It draws us in, and hampers us in a Thousand Inconveniences; puts us upon speaking and doing many Things that are base and unworthy, such as by no means become us, and what we cannot but be, at leaft we ought to be, most heartily ashamed of. To be short; it transports Men to those Excesses of Extravagance and Rage, that they know not what they do; ensnares them in the most injurious, the most scandalous Actions; hurries them into Mischief incapable of any Reparation, Murders and Bloodshed; Treachery and Villany, Poisonings, and secret Assaffinations. Things that leave long and lasting Remorse behind, and such as they cannot but have very afflicting Remembrance of ever after. Alexander the Great was a remarkable Instance of this kind; and Pythagoras used to say; that where Anger ended, there Repentance always began.

This Passion is never to be convinced of Folly; it is big, and always well satisfied with its own Discretion and Justice; flatters and pleases it self with a Notion, that the Man does well and wisely to be angry; clears it self from all manner of Blame, and lays the whole Fault upon some ill or indiscreet Thing done, that gave the Provocation. But, supposing another guilty of Injustice, it will not
not therefore follow, that my Anger is guilty of none. Suppose I receive Injury from another Hand, will my paying back the same, or a greater Wrong, take off what I suffer? Will it make me any real Amends, or bring any true Profit to me, that another suffers as well as I? The Truth is, Anger hath too much of Obstinacy and hair-brain'd Giddiness, ever to do any Good. It pretends to cure one Evil with another; and when we turn over an Offence to be corrected by this Passion, it is no better than setting Vice to chastise and punish itself. Reason, which ought always to bear the Sword, and exercise the Supreme Authority in our Breasts, does not desire any such hot-headed Officers to execute her Commands, as do Things upon their own Head, without waiting for Orders. Reason, like Nature, works easily and gradually, is sedate and slow; and whatever is violent, is equally foreign, and contrary to both.

But you will say, What! must Virtue then be so tame and soft, as to see the Insolencies of Vice Triumphant, without any degree of Indignation and Concern? Must she be so bound up, as not to take the liberty of being angry, nor dare to make any Opposition against unreasonable and wicked Men. To this I answer. Virtue hath its Freedoms, but they are such as are just; it takes, it desires none, that are unfit or unbecoming. It hath Courage too, but this Courage must not be employed against itself. Nor must another Man's Ill be converted to its Prejudice and Disturbance. A Wise Man is as much obliged to bear the Vices of Naughty People without Passion, as he is to see their Prosperity without Envy. The Indiscretion of rash and heady Men, must be endured with the same Patience and Pity that a good Physician exercises toward his Patients, when they are under the Ravings of a Fever. There is not any

Any one Instance of Wisdom more commendable in itself, nor more useful to the general Good of the World, than that of being able to bear with the Follies and Extravagances of other People. For if we do not so, the Consequence will be, that we shall fall into the same Extravagances; and by not supporting Their Follies, we make them our Own.

What hath been spoken here at large of Anger in particular, is in great measure applicable to the Passions that follow; such as Hatred, and Envy, and Revenge; for these are the same in Substance, and at the Bottom; They are Anger too, but they are somewhat otherwise modified, appearing in different Forms, and cloath'd with different Circumstances.

Proper Advice and Remedies against this Passion, will be treated of, Book III. Chap. 31.

CHAP. XXVI.

Hatred.

Hatred is a very odd Passion. It gives us a great deal of unaccountable Vexation, contrary to all the Reason in the World. And yet, What is there more torturing and insupportable, than this Resentment? By It we put our selves perfectly under the Dominion of the Thing we hate; and give it a Power to afflict and torment us. The Sight of it disturbs our Senses, ruffles our Spirits, and makes the whole Body sick and disorder'd: The Remembrance of it raises a Storm in our Minds; and sleeping or waking, fills us with Dis-

P 3 quiet
Of Wisdom.

Book I.

quiet and Impatience. The Idea's of such Objects are always hideous and shocking; and we never entertain them without Indignation and Horror, Spight or Grief; some Retentment not easy to be expressed, which puts us beside ourselves, and rends our very Heart asunder. Thus we feel in our own Persons, all that Torment we with another, and undergo the Punishment we think due to Him. He that hateth is, at this rate, the Patient, and he that is hated, the Agent. Thus it certainly is to all Intents and Purposes, excepting only, that we think fit to express it otherwise; and deceive our selves with Words, and Names of Things; For it is evident to common Sense, that the Hater is in Pain, and the Person hated in perfect Ease; perhaps too, in perfect Ignorance of the Matter. But, after all, let us consider and examine this Point a little. What is it that we hate? Men? or Things? Be it the one or the other, it is plain we do not pitch upon the right Object. For if anything in the World deserves to be hated heartily, it is Hated itself, and such other Passions, which, like this, breed Discord, and raise Troubls in our Minds, and rebel against that Power, which of right ought to command, and bear an absolute Sway in us. For when our Enemies have done all they can, still neither They, nor any Thing else, can do us any real and effectual Injury.

For Particular Directions against this Evil,

See Book III. Chap. 32.
Envy is our Sister to Hatred; as like as Two Twins, in their Fierceness and miserable Effects. This is a wild outrageous Beast indeed, more exquisite in Torture than Ten thousand Racks; and of all, that wretched Mankind feels, best deserves the Title of a Hell upon Earth. This lies perpetually corroding and tearing the Heart-strings, and converts other Mens Happiness into an Occasion of our Misery. And how dreadful, how incessant must that Vexation be, which both Good and Evil conspire to aggravate? Of the many ill Effects this Passion lieth, That is a very considerable one. That, while Envious Men look awry upon the Prosperity of others, and grudge them their Comforts, they unavoidably suffer their Own to perish, and slip thro' their Fingers; and have no Pleasure or true Enjoyment in all that the most bountiful Providence does, or can, bestow upon themselves.

Directions and Remedies, Proper for this Evil, will be prescrib'd in Book III. Chap. 33.
CHAP. XXVIII.

Jealousy.

The Nature and the Effects of Jealousy have a mighty resemblance to that Passion of Envy last describ'd, excepting only that they differ in this one Circumstance: The Good of other Men is the Object of our Envy; but our own Happiness is the Object of Jealousy. Some Good, which we are desirous to ingross to our selves, and which we apprehend belongs to Us alone; for which reason we dread and detest the Communication to any Person beside.

Jealousy is a Disease of the Soul; an Argument of great Weakness; an evil and a foolish Disease, but withal a furious and terrible one: It rages and tyrannizes over the Mind; insinuates it self under the Pretence of extraordinary Friendship and Tenderness: But when it hath gotten Head, and taken Possession, it builds a mortal Hatred upon the Foundation of Kindness. Virtue, and Health, and Beauty, and Desert, and Reputation, which are the Attraavives of our Love and Affection, are likewise the Motives and Incendiaries of this Passion; they kindle and minister fresh Fewel to both these Fires.

This is Wormwood and Gall to us: It depraves and embitters all the Sweets of Life; and commonly mingles it self with our most delightful Enjoyments; and these it renders so fower and unpleasant, that nothing can be more uneasy to us. It turns Love into Hatred, Respect into Disdain, Assurance into Distrust: It breeds a most unhappy Curiosity,
Chap. 29. Of Revenge.

Curiosity; makes us busy and inquisitive to our own Ruin; desirous and impatient to know what nothing but the Ignorance of, can keep us tolerably ease under; and what, when we do know, there is no Cure for, but such as makes the Misfortune worse, and more painful. For whither does all this Information tend, but only to bring the Matter out of Darkness and Doubt, into clear and open Day; to have Demonstration of our own Unhappiness, and to proclaim it to all the World; to make our selves a publick Jest, and to entail Shame and Dishonour upon our Families?

Advice and Remedies against this Passion are to be met with in Book III. Chap. 35.

CHAP. XXIX.

Revenge.

The Desire of Revenge is, in the first place, a cowardly and effeminate Passion; an Argument of a weak and fordid, a narrow and abject Soul; and accordingly Experience teaches us, that Women and Children, and such others as have manifestly the feeblest Minds, are ever the most malicious, and dispos'd to Revenge. Brave and Generous Minds feel little of these Resentments: they despise and scorn it; either because an Injury, when done to them, does not make any great Impression; or that the Person who does it, is not thought considerable enough to give them any Disturbance; but so it is, that they feel themselves above any Commotions of this kind, as the Poet says,
A Wretch beneath the mighty Caesar's notice.

Hail, and Thunder, Hurricanes and Tempests, and Earthquakes, all these disorderly Agitations, and loud Ratlings, which we see, and feel, and hear, are form'd in these lower Regions of the Air; They never discompose, or in any Degree affect the Heavenly Bodies and higher Orbs; All there is quiet and constant, and serene; These frail, and combustible, and grosser Bodies only are they that suffer by them. And thus it is with the Rage and Folly, the Noise and Brawlings, the Impudence and Impotent Malice of Fools: They never shake great Souls; nor carry so far as lofty and generous Minds: An Alexander or a Caesar, an Epaminondas or a Scipio, cannot be mov'd by all that such mean Wretches could do or say: for all truly Brave Men, and these in particular, have been so far from meditating Revenge, that, on the contrary, they were remarkable for doing good to their Enemies.

Secondly, This is a very troublesome and restless Passion, full of Heat, full of Smart and Sting; it boils and bubbles in the Breast, and gnaws the Heart like a Viper; it distracts the Men infected, disturbs their Enjoyments, takes off the Peace and Comfort of their Days, and breaks the Sleep of their Nights.

It is also a Passion full of Injustice; for it tortures an Innocent Person, and adds Grief and Pain to him, that was wounded and afflicted before. It is properly the Party's Business, who committed the Offence, to labour under the Remorse and the Punishment; and all those other "Ill-Con-

* * Indignus Caesaris Irâ.
sequences, which the Desire of Revenge unavoidably draws after it. And yet by this, the Suffering and Guiltlesss Party makes it his Care to load himself with these heavy Burdens, as if the receiving of the Injury were not of it self Affliction sufficient, without such voluntary and studied Aggravations: Thus it happens frequently, (generally indeed) that, while the Innocent and Injur'd is racking himself with the impatient Desires, and the Contrivance of proper Methods for Revenge, the guilty Aggressor enjoys himself in Ease and Pleasure, and perhaps makes the Others Uneasiness a Jest and a Diversion. But This is only the Beginning of Mischiefs and Injustices for the Means of putting such Desires in execution are yet infinitely more to which indeed are of all, of any kinds; Baseness and Treachery, Perjury and Subordination; a secret Stab, or an Ambuscade of Ruffians; in short, the foulest, blackest, and most Villonous Designs: For one peculiar all Effect of this Vice is, that it extinguishes all Natural Justice, breaks through all the Restraints of Honour and Duty, and sticks at no Practice, the never so foul and detestable, to accomplish its Bloody Intentions.

Lastly. The very Execution of these Designs, is not only painful and difficult, but extremely dangerous: For Experience shews us daily, that he who endeavours to revenge himself, does not affect his whole Wish, nor is in every Point successful: Either he meets with a Defeat, and cannot do the Mischief he would; or, at least, he is disappointed as to his own Safety and Satisfaction, and suffers the Mischief he would not. He attempts to put out One of his Enemy's Eyes, and at the same time puts out Both his own. He renders himself obnoxious to Justice, and brings Trouble and Danger to all his Friends; is lost to the
the World, and to his own Quiet; forc'd to hide and flee from Place to Place, and is every where dogg'd close at the Heels by his own guilty Fears.

And after all; the killing an Enemy, and dispatching him out of the way, may be Cruelty; but it is not properly Revenge: For a Man does then only take Satisfaction and Revenge, when he humbles his Enemy, and forces him to Suffering and Submission; not when he puts him past all Suffering, and out of the reach of his Anger; the rendering of which Sensible and Painful, is the only End Revenge can propose to it self. Accordingly we see, no Man is so vain and absurd, to fall foul upon a Stone, or a Brute; because he knows these cannot feel, or cannot consider the Effects of his Rage. In all true Revenge, it is necessary, that the Person who executes it, shou'd receive some Satisfaction in the Pains he inflicts; and that the Person, on whom it is inflicted, shou'd feel the Smart, and be humbled by the Sorrow, and pay so dear for the Injury he hath done, that he may be made to repent it. But a Man that is killed, is out of any condition of Grief or Repentance; he is indeed from thenceforth effectually secure'd from all manner of Suffering: Whereas, on the contrary, the Revenger himself continues in a Capacity of both, and oftentimes feels the Weight of his own Displeasure, by a State of fix'd Sorrow and Fear ever after. Killing then is only a Betraying of our Cowardice. It is the Consequence of our being afraid, that the Person we intend to punish, shou'd Refent to our Prejudice, and take an opportunity of paying us again in our own Coin. We are willing from these Apprehensions to make an End of him at once, and rid our selves from any future Hazard; which is indeed to quit our Point, to lose the End of Revenge
Chap. 30.  Of Cruelty.  

Revenge, and cast a Blemish upon our own Reputation. It is an Artifice, and an act of Caution, rather than of Courage; It is an Intention to make sure Work, and consults our Safety much more than our * Honour.

* Qui occidit longë, non ulciscitur, nec gloriam affequitur.

C H A P.  XXX.  

Cruelty.

Cruelty is a most horrid and detestable Vice, a Quality peculiar to Villains and Brutes; so contrary to Nature, that it is distinguish'd by that scandalous Name of Inhumanity.

It proceeds from, and indeed is the natural Effect of Baseness and Cowardise: For Valour and Generosity never exert their Power, except where they meet with Opposition. They have done their Business, and hold their hand, as soon as they find an Enemy subdu'd, and at their Mercy. This was the true Courage of brave old Romans, * to humble the Obstinate, and spare the Vanquish'd.

But Cowardise, which affects a false Greatness, and pretends to Triumphs, which belong not to it, gluts itself with Blood and Massacres, instead of Generous Conquering: And accordingly, we always find, that Carnage and Slaughter, have only Common Soldiers, and the Plundering part of the Army, for its Executioners. And no surer Sign in

† Romana Virtus—Parcare Subjequis, & debellare Superbos.
the World can be given of Men's being timorous Poultrons, than their being fierce and bloody, and void of Pity and Remorse. This is the very Thing that disposes Tyrants and Usurpers to Cruelty; They live always in fear, and never think themselves tolerably safe, till those, that are in any condition of giving them Disturbance, are utterly extirpated; and therefore they lay about them, and fall foul upon every Body, without distinction; neither Age nor Sex can move Compassion, or seem inconsiderable enough to be spared.

* Lavish of Blood the Coward kills; The Brave Holds his relenting hand, and dares to save.

Sneaking and timorous Dogs bite and tear to Pieces the Skins and Carcasses of wild Beasts, which they run away from, when alive and in the Fields. And what Account can be given, why Civil Wars, and Popular Insurrections shou'd spill more Blood than foreign Engagements? What more probable than This, that the great Ringleaders and Actors in Seditions and Domestick Differences, are the Mobb and Refuse of the People; whereas the Other are begun and fought upon Principles of Honour and Justice, by fair and generous Enemies? When the Emperour Mauritius had receiv'd Information, that one Phocas, a Soldier in his Army, design'd to kill him, he enquir'd into the Temper and Character of the Man: And upon his Son in-Law Philip's acquainting him, that he was a Cowardly Fellow, the Emperour presently concluded, there was Danger indeed, and that such a one was cut out for Barbarity and Murder. Sometimes, 'tis true, Another Cause may be given for this Quali-

* Cuncta fesit, dum cuncta tимер.
Chap. 31. Of Grief.

ty, which is an inward Malignity and Spight; a Soul that rejoices in Mischief, and Reaps upon Blood; such as Caligula seems to have been particularly. But it is to be hoped, few such Instances of Depravity are to be found; for indeed they are not Men, but Monsters in Humane Shape.

C H A P. XXXI.

Grief.

Grief is a Sinking and Despondency of the Mind, when dejected by an Opinion of some very great Evils lying heavy upon us. It is a very dangerous Enemy, destructive to our Quiet and Comfort; and, if good Care be not taken of it in time, wastes and weakens the Soul, deprives us of the Use of our Reason, disables us from discharging our Duties, and looking after her Business; and in time spreads a Ruin upon the Soul, adulterates and deposes the whole Man, binds up his Senses, and lays his Virtues to sleep, when there is most occasion for rowzing and arm-ing them against the Calamity, that subdues and oppresses him. In order to beget in us a becoming Aversion to this Passion, and employing our utmost Strength and Abilities to resist and repel it, we shall do well to consider seriously the perniciosous Effects of it, and discover how foolish, how unbecoming and deformed it is; how extremely inconsistent with the Character of Wise Men, as the Philosophy of the Stoicks most truly represents it. But This, as Matters are commonly order'd is no such easy Undertaking; for it hath learnt to excuse, and vindicate, and set itself off under the
the specious Colours of Nature, and Affection, and Tenderness, and Goodness; nay, the Generality of the World are so far mis-led, that they keep it in Countenance, pay it Honour and Respect, and think it a Duty and a Virtue; as if Wisdom and Conscience never appear'd more beautiful than in a Mourning-Dress.

Now in answer to these vain Pretences in its Favour, we may observe first of all, that This is so far from being agreeable to Nature, as it would fain be thought, that, on the contrary, it is rather a Matter of Formality, and directly contrary to Nature: which it is very easy to demonstrate, if Men will lay aside the Prejudices of Custom, and consider it impartially. As for those publick and solemn Mournings, (I mean not this to the prejudice of a real, decent, and affectionate Concern) but for the Mournings which are practis'd with so much Ceremony and Affection, and were so by the Ancients heretofore, as well as by the Generality of Mankind at this Day; Where, I say, can we find a greater Cheat, a grosser Sham and Banter upon the World? How many industrious Impostures and Hypocrisies? What artificial Contraintries in our Behaviour are sought, and counterfeited, both by the Persons themselves, who are interested in the Occasion of them; and of all the rest that are taken in, and bear a Part in this melancholy Pomp? And, as if all this were not enough, we refine and improve the Deceit, we even hire Men on purpose to put on this Folly, to stand as Mutes, or to make dreadful Lamentations; to move and heighten a Passion which ought to be suppress'd; to give Groans and Sighs for a Price, such as we all know are feign'd and extorted; to shed Tears for the Entertainment of the Spectators, such as fall, only when they are seen to do so, and are immediately dry'd up, as soon as the Com-
Chap. 31. Of Grief.

Company retires. And, pray, Where does Nature teach us any thing like This? What can there be indeed more absurd and vain; what does Nature condemn, what does it detest more than such Insincerity? This is nothing but Opinion and Fashion, the Cause and Cherisher of almost all our Passions; the Tyranny of Custom, and vulgar Error, that instructs Men to indulge their Grief in such a formal manner. From hence it is, that if a Man be not deeply enough affected in his own Person, and cannot furnish a sufficient Proportion of Tears and hanging Looks out of his own Stock, he is thought oblig’d to hire and purchase a Supply from others who make a Trade of it. So that for the satisfying what the World calls Decency, we put our selves to vast Expence; which Nature, if we would take her Judgment, is so far from prescribing, that She most freely acquits us of, nay, condemns us for it. Is not this, in Truth, a publick and study’d Affront upon Reason and Common Sense, a Constraint, and a corrupting of Nature, a prostituting and debauching of the Manhood in us, a mocking the World, and making a Jest of our selves; and that for no other purpose, but meerly to comply with the Notions of the absurd Vulgar, which abound in nothing so much as Falshood and Mistake, and admire nothing so much as Counterfeit and Disguise?

Nor are our Private Sorrows much better: For Private, These, whatever they may seem, are no more Natural than the former. Did Nature inspire or dictate them, they wou’d be common to all Mankind; they wou’d affect all Mankind almost equally; since All partake of the same Nature, and differ only in some few, some small Circumstances. But here we find very different Resentments: The same Objects, which afflic and grieve some, are
Matter of Joy and Satisfaction to others; and what draws Tears and bitter Cries from one Person, and one Country, is receiv’d with great Chearfulness by another. What One does, Another disapproves; and the Friends of Mourners think it their Duty to exhort, to comfort, to chide them, to beg that they would recollect themselves, call in Reason and Religion to their Assistance, be Men again, and dry up their Tears. Observe the greatest part of Them who take Pains to afflict themselves; hear what they say when you have given them this good Counsel; They will make no Difficulty to acknowledge, that it is a Folly and a Weakness, to be guilty of excessive Passions; they will commend and call those happy, who can stand the Shock of Adversity, and have so much Government of Temper, and such Presence of Mind, as to meet an Affliction bravely, and bear it steadily, and set a gallant and masculine Spirit in Array against it. Thus they excuse, but they dare not justify their own Concern; They say, they cannot help it, and by that Apology, lament, if not condemn, themselves; for this implies they Wish, and think it were better, if they could overcome their Grief. And, in Truth, the Thing is very plain in these private Mournings too, that Men do not so much stue their Sorrows to their Sufferings, as to the received Notions of those, among whom they dwell and converse. And if we take a close and nicer View, this will discover to us, that Opinion is at the bottom of all our immoderate Melancholy; That our Torment and Vexation proceeds from the false Representations of Things; and that we grieve, either sooner than we ought, by Anticipation, and Fear, and sulpicious Apprehensions of what will come hereafter; Which, like so many false Perspectives, set the Object nearer our Sight, or else magnify the Bulk
Chap. 31. Of Grief.

Bulk of it to our Eye, and so make us grieve more than we ought, upon a Supposal of the Calamity being much greater than really it is.

But still all this is contrary to Nature: For Grief deforms and defaces all those Excellencies, which are most beautiful and lovely in us. These all are blunted and melted down by this corroding Passion, like the Lustre of a Pearl, dissolv'd in Vinegar. And really we are then a miserable Sight, our Head hanging down, our Eyes fixed upon the Ground, our Tongue speechless, our Limbs stiff and motionless, our Looks wild and confused, our Ears deaf and insensible, our Minds void of all Attention and compos'd Thought. How distant is this from the Beauty, the Dignity, the Majesty of our Original Form and Temper? Are these Men? You may better call them walking Statues, which only sweat forth Moisture at their Eyes; like Niobe, whom the Poets, to represent the Miseries of excessive Grief, have feigned to be transform'd into a weeping Marble.

But it were well, if this Passion, being Unnatural, were the worst of it; I have a yet much more heinous Accusation to charge it with; For it flies in the Face of God himself, and arraigns his Justice, and Wisdom, and Providence. What better Construction can any Man in Reason put upon our rash Complaints, and outrageous Passions, than a Mind discontented with the Great Governor of the Universe, and his Disposals of Us, and our Affairs? To murmur and repine at what is done by Him, is to find Fault with Him who does it; and in an oblique, and little more respectful Way, to charge him with Folly or Hard-dealing. The Law and Condition, which he hath fixed to himself for the Government of the World, is, that all Things in these Sublunary Regions shall be changeable and inconstant, ever in Motion, and
subject to Decays and Death. If then we know this to be their Condition, why do we afflict our selves for that, which is the common Fate of all here below; for that which could not be new, and should not be a Surprize to us; what if we did not, yet we might, and ought to have expected? And if we did not know this, the truest and only reasonable Matter for grieving, is our own most wretched Ignorance. Of a Truth, so evident, so useful, so necessary to be known; a Truth, that Nature hath graven every where, in Characters so large and legible, that it is impossible for us to go abroad, and not meet it, or to turn our Eyes any way at Home, and not read it. Others, our Selves, and Every thing carry this Inscription. Alas! we mistake our Post, and Quality. Man’s Business here is not to give Laws, but to receive and submit to them. The Administration of Affairs is lodged in higher and better Hands. The Order of the Univerfe is establish’d; and We, who are but a very small Part of this vast Body, must follow the Motions of the Whole, and take contentedly what falls to our Share. To fret and vex our selves, is to be concern’d, that Eternal Ordinances are not reversed and dissettled for our Sakes; that we are not made an Exception to all Created Nature; which, besides the intolerable Arrogance and Impiety it is guilty of against God, is no less insupportable Folly with respect to our selves; for it mends not the Matter one whit, but adds Weight to what Providence hath laid upon us already, and makes all our Sufferings double.

For we must add too, that it is exceeding de-

Structive, and of extreme ill Consequence to Men; The Danger whereof is but the more increased, by its hurting us, under a Pretence of doing us Good. It flatters with false Hopes, and a fair Shew
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Shew of Relief; but in reality aggravates the Misfortune; and while it professes to draw the Weapon out of our Side, makes the Wound wider and deeper, and thrusts a Dagger into our Hearts. Besides, these Thrusts are infinitely the more difficult to defend our selves against; because it is a Domestick Enemy that gives them; One that we cannot run away from, One that is fed and cherished within our own Bosoms, and which we our selves have bred up and given Birth to, merely to be a Vexation and a Punishment to us.

The Effects, indeed, of Grief, are universally mischievous; they spread themselves quite over the whole Man; and while they infect, do very much impair every Part of him. As to the External Appearance, it dishonours, and is a Reproach to the Man, by that Deformity, and Change of Countenance, brought upon him by this means. Do but observe, when once Grief enters, how it fills Men with Shame and Confusion, so that they dare no more shew themselves in Publick, nay, so as to shun the Sight and Conversation even of their most intimate Friends, and particular Acquaintance. When once we are under the Dominion of this Passion, the Light it self is offensive, and our great Care is, to seek out some dark Corner, some close Retreat, to crouch, and hide our selves in, far from the Eyes and Observation of every Body. Now what can be the Meaning of all This, but a plain unnatural Confession of its own Indecency, and how much Men ought to be ashamed of what they do at that time? Is not this evidently to condemn it self? And would you not be apt to think, this was some Woman caught in Adultery, that runs away, and hides her Face, and takes such Pains not to be seen or known?

Next to the Person, observe the Habit, what strange, uncouth, effeminate Things, the Mourning
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ing Weeds are, as if our very Clothes were intended to publish to the World, that Grief utterly destroys, and takes away all that is manly and brave about us; and, in its room, gives us all the Softness and Infirmities of Women. Accordingly the Thracians always dress'd Men, when they were in Mourning, in direct Women's Habit; and a certain Author observes, that Grief enervates Men, and wafts their Strength. The old Roman Laws, which were the most Noble and Masculine (like the Spirits of those that made and liv'd under them) strictly prohibited all such Effeminate Lamentations, and long indulg'd Sorrow. They thought very truly, that it was a horrible Absurdity for Men to act in Contradiction to Nature and Reason, and thus Un-man themselves. And all the Allowance they were content to make, was only for the first Gush of Passion, while it was fresh, and tender, or surprising; For there are Tears, that may be permitted to fall from the Eyes of Philosophers themselves. A Man may keep up the Dignity of his Nature, and yet not abandon the Humanity of it: This we are bound to preserve, as well as not to debase the other; and therefore all that those Roman Laws, and these Reflections aim at, is, so to temper and get the Majesty over our Passion, that while the Tears fall from our Eyes, Virtue and Wisdom may not fall from our Hearts, at the same time.

But the outward Fadeings of the Beauty, disfiguring the whole Man, and changing his Mien and Air, and Behaviour, so infinitely to Disadvantage; no, nor yet that corroding Venom, which eats into our very Joints and Marrow, and, as the Wife Man expresses it, drieth up the Bones; these miserable Effects, I say, upon the Body, are not all; It goes deeper yet; decays the Soul, breaks all its Rest, confounds and disturbs its Operations, dis-
Chap. 31. Of Grief.

ables and draws off the Man from any Virtuous or Honourable Designs; palls, and flats his Relish of Goodness, extinguishes the Desire of Reputation, and takes away the Disposition of doing worthily, either for himself, or for any Body else: Nay, it does not only unqualify him for the doing, but for the receiving Good from any other Hand. For even the most prosperous Occurrences are grown insipid, or unpleasant to him; and Every thing turns lowre upon his Mind, as all kinds of Meat do upon distemper'd Stomachs. In short, Grief embitters a Man's whole Life, and poisons all his Actions.

It may be consider'd with respect to the Degrees of it; and a Difference ought to be made between the Greatness and the Extremity of it; as there should also between that which runs into Excess, and grows ungovernable altogether from it self; and that which is pushed on, and aggravated by the Suddennes of an Accident. In such a Case, Surprize and Consternation alarms, seizes, transports the Man; takes away all Motion and Sense, stupifies and turns him into a Stone, like that wretched Mother Niobe,

* Her curdled Blood, ran backward at the Sight,
And pale numb'd Limbs, a shivering Horror took;
She stiffens into Statue with the Fright,
At last her faltering Tongue, long Silence broke.

And in these Cases, great Allowance is to be made for Natural Affection; upon which account that Painter is admitted to have understood his Business well, who, when he was to draw Iphigenia going to be sacrificed, represented the several Po-

* Diriguit visu in medio, calor offa reliquit,
Labitur, & longo vix tandem tempore fatur.
Of Wisdom.

Book I.

Features and Countenances of her Mourning Friends, and more distant Relations, with great Curiosity, and Artifice; but when he came at last to her Father, he cast a Veil over his Face. Thus wisely covering that Sorrow, which no Pencil could sufficiently express. But Grief, as it often exceeds the Power of Art and Representation in the Copy, so sometimes it is too strong for the Original; too grievous to be born, and kills the Man outright. This finds no Vent; But that which is moderate, or indeed, that which is very great, wears off by Tract of Time, by Diversion, and Business, and other Avocations of the Mind; And that which helps This forward, is, that it expresses and eases it self by Tears, and Sobs, and Sighs, and sad Complaints; all which are some Mitigation to the Suffering Party, and much more comfortable than Insensibility and Silence.

* Slight Sorrows find a Vent, and Words command; The Fierce boil inward, dumb and stupid stand.

Directions and Helps against this Evil, are given Book III. Chap. 29.

* Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.
C H A P. XXXII.

Compassion.

We mingle Sighs and Tears with those that are in Affliction; we feel, in some Degree, their Misfortunes, and take Part in their Pains. Whether it be, from some secret Sympathies in Nature, whereby the Sentiments of one Man are conveyed to, and produce the like in another; or whether it be from fad Presages, by which we are apt to fear, that, whatever our Neighbours suffer now, may happen to be our own Case another Day.

Now, This (so far as it is Vicious) is the Passion of a Weak Mind; A Foolish Pity, that proceeds from too much Tenderness, and from an Indisposition in the Soul, whereby it is apt to be vehemently disordered, and fall into great Troubles upon slight Occasions. Hence Women and Children are most affected with it; and so are the Cruel and Spightful too (who, as was said before, are always cowardly and fearful;) for these, tho' they know nothing of that Noble and Generous Compassion, which is a Virtue; yet of this Vicious One, they have their Share. Such (for Instance) as express mighty Concern for Villains and Malefactors, when they endure the Punishment of the Law, and smart for their Faults. Now, the Effects of such a Pity are very Unjust, and so are the Causes of it too; for to spare the Guilty, is to injure, and endanger the Innocent; and all that Tenderness, proceeds only from Superficial Appearances, and want of Thought, which looks no
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no farther than just the present Circumstances of the Suffering Party, without any Regard at all had to the Merits of the Cause, and how Reasonable it is, that such Punishment should be inflicted upon him.

Concerning This, see more Book III. Chap. 30. Where you have likewise the just Distinction, between the Virtuous, and Vicious Compassion; omitted here, to avoid Repetitions.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Fear.

Fear is the Apprehension of some Evil to come, which stands over us, and keeps us perpetually in Awe; it fills us full of Anxious Thought, and very Officiously runs before, to give Notice of the Calamities, which Fortune threatens us with.

We are not speaking at present, concerning that Fear of God, so highly recommended in Holy Scripture; so exceeding Useful and Necessary a Check upon Men's Minds, in Order to a Good Life: Nor is this Chapter to be understood, as if it related at all to that anxious and tender Concern, which proceeds from Affection and Duty; or such as makes a Part of that Obedience and Respect, due from Inferiors, of all Sorts, to their Superiors; but only of that troublesome, and tormenting Passion, which is the Spawn of Sin, and Shame, and a disordered Mind. For these Terrors, entred the World, at the same Instant with Guilt, and Re-proach; and are the wretched Off-Spring, of the Corruption of our Souls, and a secret Familiarity with the Devil. It was upon yielding to his wicked.
Sugentions, that our General Ancestor first discovered these misgiving Horrors upon his Conscience, I was afraid, because I was naked, and I hid my self. Gen. iii. 10.

It is a Passion full of Fraud and Malice; and, indeed, can never hurt, or gain Advantage over us, except when we are cheated, and seduced by it. It makes use of the Time to come, which we can have no manner of Insight into; so throwing us into a Place of Darkness; and making the same Use of Futurity, which Thieves do of the Night; (which is, to compass their Designs undiscover'd, and to scare and terrifie us much more, than the Occasion requires.) When it hath got us there, it puts on a Thousand several Vizors, and represents our Misfortunes under the most frightful and gaitly Forms imaginable: Thus we are cheated again, as Children are with Fancies and Bugbears; and dread those Evils in variety of Shapes, which can have in reality but one Face; Evils which have nothing in their own Nature, capable of doing us any Hurt; and such as would not be Evils to us, if we did not call and believe them so.

It is nothing else, but merely the Apprehension we have of things, which renders those Accidents Evils, that in themselves are no such Matter. And Thus is so Powerful, and so Pernicious, that it turns our very Good into Evil, and from our Prosperity takes Occasion to afflict, and make us Miserable. How many Wretches, do we see every Day, Wretches of their own making? who actually become Unhappy for the very Dread of being so, and have improv'd their Empty Fears, into Solid and Substantial Miseries? How many People have lost their Friends, merely through Distrust, and not daring to make Use of them? And how many have made themselves sick, with the very Terrors and Apprehensions of Sickness? Here is a jea-
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IOUS COXCOMB, that fancies his Wife hath played him Foul, and teazes himself into a Consumpation, till he pines and droops into his Grave, with this tormenting Suspicion. Another anxious Fool is afraid of falling into Poverty, and he racks himself into a Disease; and dies, for Fear of not having enough to live upon. Nay, there are several, who have been kill’d with the very Fear of Death; and that you may not think this so very odd, let me observe to you, that something like it happens every Day in most, if not in all the Objects of this Passion. Our Fear, generally serving to very little Purpose, otherwise than the drawing down upon our Heads, the very thing we pretend to run away from. Undoubtedly no Calamity whatsoever, is near so great, or grievous to be born, as the Fear of it. For other Evils can hurt us only while they have a Real Existence, and are actually upon us; when the Cause is removed, the Effect and the Pain immediately cease. But Fear is not so confin’d; it extends to Things that have no Being, as well as to such as have; nay, to things which neither are, nor perhaps ever will be; and, that we may be assured, there is no End of its Extravagances, it fixes sometimes upon things which we may be very confident never can be. So very ingenious is this Passion to torment us, so malicious and spightful, so merciless a Tyrant; it extracts real and cutting Pains out of Shadows; and refines upon Imaginary Evils, till it consolidates, and makes them weighty ones: And for those which minister some Ground for Fear, it is wonderful busie, and troublesome merely officious; it takes Post, and brings us News, which it were better not to hear; for it creates imaginary, and anticipates all our actual Sufferings, by Opinion and Expectation.
Chap. 33. Of Fear.

Fear does not only fill us with dreadful Impressions, and oftentimes disturb our Repose with false Alarms; but, which is worse, it taints and destroys all our Happiness, breaks in upon our Quiet, and checks all our Delights. No Man can be easy, or take pleasure in the Enjoyment of a Blessing, which he is in perpetual fear of losing. Life itself cannot be a Satisfaction to a Man that lives in dread of Dying: And One of the Ancients hath observed very truly, That no Advantage can minister true Joy to us, which we have not such a Mastery of, as to be prepared to part with it, whenever Providence shall demand it back again.

It is wonderful to observe the Folly and Imprudence of this Passion; for indeed it excels all others in Rashness and Indiscretion. It arises sometimes from want of Courage, it is provoked by a Prospect of Dangers; and yet it frequently doubles our Difficulties, and exposes us to greater Dangers: For it makes us eager and impatient to deliver our selves from them; and thus it casts us into Confusions and Amazements, perplexes our Judgment, blinds our Understanding, and hinders us from discerning, and taking the proper Methods of getting out of the Labyrinths we are in. It distracts us with Terrors, and drives the Mind back again into itself, where the Violence of its Passion interrupts the Debates, and overlooks those very Opportunities of escaping, that offer themselves. Add to this, the great Dejection and Discouragements, which will not let us dare to do what we ought, for our Safety; we lose our Reason, and the Resolution to use it; we flee when no Man pursues, start and tremble at our own Shadow; nay, flee from that which is our best and only Sanctuary, run away from our Friends, and ap-
Of Wisdom.  

Book I.

apprehend Destruction from them which advance to our Relief. * Our very Succours strike new Terror into us. Some have been transported with this Passion, even to the degree of perfect Stupidity; the Senses are put besides themselves, and lose the power of discharging their Duty; our Eyes are broad open, and yet we see not; Men discourse to us, and we hear not a Word they say; we attempt to run, and make our Escape, but stand fixt like Statues, and cannot move a Step.

This Passion, when moderate, adds Wings to our Feet; but when extreme, and in excess, it nails and fastens us down, or entangles and confounds us in our Flight. Thus Fear supplants our Natural Powers, depraves and disables the whole Man, enfeebles Body and Mind, baffles our wisest Designs, and banishes Thought.

|| Amazement bore up my erected Hair;  
Nor cou'd my stammering Tongue express my Fear.

Sometimes it makes Men desperate; and so, that the giving all for lost is for their great Advantage; for it inspires them with Resolutions of felling their Lives as dear as they can, and puts them upon doing Wonders. An Instance whereof we have in that Roman Legion commanded by Sempronius, in their Engagement against Hannibal.

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* Adeo etiam auxilia pavor formidat.  
† Obstupui, steteruntq; comae, vox faucibus haäcit.
† Despair and Rage broke thro' th' extreme Distress; 
Cow'd they have hop'd, their Safety had been lost.

There are also some Fears and Terrors, with which Men have been strangely possessed without any visible ground; as if they were Thunder-struck from above; or God by a particular Providence had determin'd to infatuate and dispirit them, in order to their Destruction. These sudden Amazements are what we commonly call Panick Fears; and we read, that the City of Carthage was once thus seiz'd with Confusion; for such are not always confin'd to single Persons, or small Numbers; but whole Nations and vast Armies have been universally seiz'd, and unaccountably struck with them. And our Blessed Saviour instances in this, as one of the Judgments sent from Heaven upon the wicked Jews. *Men's Hearts Luke xxi.* failing them for Fear.

Particular Directions and Remedies against this Passion, will be given in Book III. Chap. 28.

† Una salus vixis nullam sperare salutem. *Virg. En. 2.*
G H A P. XXXIV.

The Second Way of considering Man; which is, by stating the Comparison between Him, and other Animals.

Hitherto we have considered Man entire, and with regard to Himself alone: The next Step, by which we propose to advance in the Knowledge of him, is by stating a Comparison between Him and other Animals; and this is a very excellent help toward making a right Judgment in the Cause. Now this Comparison is of large extent; it consists of many Branches, requires great Skill, and would prove of mighty Benefit and Consequence, if well and truly made: But the Question is, Who must make it? Shall Man? He is a Party in the Cause, and liable to very just Exceptions; for it is much to be feared, when the Issue is his own Concern, the Verdict will not be honest. And accordingly we see, how partial and unfair he is in all he says of Himself; for he knows no Mean, he proceeds with no Moderation, but is eternally in Extremes. Sometimes he is big, and pleas’d with Himself; looks down upon the lower World with Disdain; and calls himself the Lord of all the Creatures; divides their Morsels among them, and cuts out for each Species, such a Proportion of Faculties, and natural Power, as his Lordship vouchsafes to allow them: At other times, instead of all his Gaiety and Pride, you find him full of black Discontent and then he debases himself as much, murmurs and frets, grum...
Chap. 34. The Second Consideration of Man.

bles and complains, gives Providence hard Words, and calls Nature a cruel Step-mother, that hath made him the Refuse of the World, the most wretched of all her Productions; and dealt to Him the least and lowest Portion of all her Children. Now, in truth, both the one and the other of these Opinions are equally false, unreasonable, and extravagant. But what can we expect better from him? Or how is it to be thought, he should carry himself evenly and fairly, and act justly with other Creatures, when he is, as we shall shortly see, so infinitely out of all measure, in his Notions towards God, his Superior; and Man, who is his Equal? But, besides this Byass upon his Judgment, there is another Difficulty upon his Understanding: For which way shall he get a competent Knowledge of the inward Powers, and unseen Motions of other Animals? So that if he were inclin’d to be Just, and to hear the Evidence impartially, yet he must needs be an improper Judge, to whom the most material Part upon which the Sentence ought to be grounded, cannot be given in Evidence. And such are those inward Operations of Brutes, which we can have no certain or competent Perception of. However, we will try at present to state this Comparison as evenly and calmly as we can possibly.

Now, First, we are to consider, that the Order and Constitution of the Universe is not vastly unequal; There are no great Irregularities, nor large void Spaces in it; nor such Unlikeness and wide Disproportion between the several Parts that go into this Composition, as some People may imagine. The Excellencies of the several Species rise and fall gradually; And those, whom Nature hath placed near, or close to one another, have all of them a mutual Resemblance; tho’
some have more, and some have less of it. And thus we may observe a near Neighbourhood, and close Affinity between Mankind and other Animals. They are a-kin in many Things, and several Properties are alike and common to both. Several Things indeed there are, wherein they differ; but these are not so vastly disproportionate and distant, but that they still are next adjoyning Links, twisted within one another, in the great Chain of the Univerfe. So that Man is neither in all respects superior, nor inferior in all. For that which befalleth the Sons of Men, befalleth Beasts; even one thing befalleth them both; fays the Wisdom of God himself. (Eccles. iii. 19.)

We will begin with those Things which are common to both, and very near the Matter of being alike in both; such as Generation, Nutrition, Motion, Action, Life and Death. For (says the same Divine Wisdom) As the one dieth, so doth the other; so that a Man (in this respect) hath no Pre-eminence above a Beast. And This is a Confutation of those foolish repining People, and all their melancholy Complaints, that represent Man; as the only Creature, whom Nature hath discountenanc’d and disgrac’d, abandon’d and forsaken; turn’d naked into the wide World, and cast upon the bare Ground; without any Covering, without any Natural Weapons to shelter or defend him; bound up, and twaddel’d; and utterly ignorant and unfurnish’d of what is fit for him: Whereas to all Others she hath been much more bountiful; Clothed them with Shells, or Hair, or Wool, or Shag, or Feathers, or Scales; Armed them with Tusks, or Horns, with Bills, or Claws, or Talons, to act offensively or defensively, as occasion requires; qualify’d them, without any Help of Art or Industry, for Swimming, Running, Flying, Singing, Looking out for Food, and Sustaining themselves. But Man, poor neglected
neglected Man, (they tell you) is Taught to Go, Taught to Speak; nay, requires Help and Teaching for the very Feeding and Supporting himself, and attains to nothing without Time and Trouble, and serving an Apprenticeship. In short; He is perfect in no other Instance of Nature's Teaching, except that of Crying: This is all we bring into the World along with us; and a very fit Emblem it is of our Fortune and Condition. Now all these melancholy Complaints, which make disadvantageous Reflections upon the Original Composition of Mankind, and that which is truly the State of Nature; are altogether unjust and false. For first, our Skin is sufficiently fortify'd against all the Injuries of Weather; and so Nakeness is no Argument of our being less Nature's Care, than any other Creature. Several Nations, (as I have observ'd heretofore) never yet so much as knew what Clothes are; and even We that do, can go bare in any Parts, even the tenderest and most sensible; when Inclination, or Custom, or some particular Fashion, dispose us to it. For where of all our Body is the Sense quicker, than in the Face, the Hands, the Stomach? And yet what Lady, even the nicest and tenderest of her Sex, scruples to expose her Neck and Breasts, (when the Mode requires that Dress) even in the Extremity of Winter? Swathes and Rollers may be convenient, but 'tis plain they are not necessary in Children; for the Lacedemonians heretofore made no use of them; nor do the Swisses and Germans that dwell in cold Countries; nor Bascons, nor those Vagabonds and Common Cheats, that go by the Name of Gypsies, use them at this Day. Weeping is by no means peculiar to Mankind; Beasts have likewise their Share in it: Some of them shed Tears; and much the greatest Part of them Cry, and Complain, and Bemoan them-
Of Wisdom.    Book I.

themselves continually, for some time after their coming into the World. As for Weapons, Nature hath not been wanting in her Provision for Us too; and she hath given us besides, greater Opportunities of using them; For the Muscles and Motions of our Limbs are more in Number, and of a more useful Variety; and These too we are capable of receiving greater Service from, without any Instruction at all, than any other Animal whatsoever: Or if some few are better provided in this respect, we have the Advantage of many others. Nor do we need any Teaching in point of Eating; We and They are equally fitted, equally dextrous and ready at it by Nature: Who makes any Question, but a Child would look out sharp for Meat, as soon as he is strong enough to feed himself? And Meat the Earth produces for our Purpose; there wants neither Quantity nor Variety to supply our Necessities, whether we improve it by Art and Labour, or not: Of which several Nations are a Proof, who live in great Plenty, without contributing any Tillage, or Care, or Industry of their own, toward their Subsistence. As for Speaking, allowing that to be the Effect of Art, and not of Nature; yet it is certain too, that if it be not natural, it is not necessary neither. But yet This may be reckon’d among those Things that are given in common to Men and Beasts both: For what other Name but Speaking can we give to that Faculty of expressing themselves, which we see they have upon all Occasions; those Significations of Pain, and Grief, and Joy; the Methods of Summoning one another together, and asking mutual Succours; their Arts of Courtship and Flattery, and making Love? And as We sometimes speak by some particular Gestures, the Motions of our Eyes, or Head, or Hands, or Shoulders; (Arts in
in which Dumb People are exquisitely perfect, and practice even to Astonishment) so do Beasts likewise converse with one another: And even Those of them that have no Voice at all, maintain an Intercourse of Good Offices, and ask and return them as Occasion serves. As Beasts understand Us in some degree, so do We in part understand Them: They flatter and sooth us; they threaten and give us warning; they call, intreat, and express their Want of our Help: We speak to Them, and They to Us after their manner; and if we understand but imperfectly, whose Fault is it? Theirs or Ours? This is what none of us can certainly tell, and somewhat may be said for either Side. They, for ought we know, may think as meanly of Us upon this Account, as We commonly do of them. * But in this how-Note. ever they are a Reproach to us, that in the present Condition of Humane Nature, we do not understand one another. Our almost next Neighbours, remoter Provinces in the very same Country, have Dialects so different, that they do not comprehend each other at all; Whereas They are all perfectly well acquainted with the Idioms,

Note. * "Here we have just Occasion to make a Distinction which I shall show to be necessary, Chap. XXXVII between Defects Natural and Accidental: For of the Latter sort is That of Men's being unintelligible to each other; This Confusion of Languages having been no Part of our Original Condition: For we have indefinable Assurance, that the whole Earth was once of one Speech. So that what was inflicted as a Punishment for a Crime, (as This is expressly affirmed to be, Gen. XI) cannot in any fair Reasoning, make a Branch of the Comparison, between the Nature of Man, and that of Brutes. Nor, indeed, even in this Condition, (thus debased and punished as we stand) will the exquisite Easiness of expressing Our Thoughts, and the wonderful Powers of Humane Speech, Voice, endure to be compared with the wild and inarticulate Sounds of any Brutes whatsoever, the most excellent in their kind."
not only of their own Kind all the World over; but (which is a great deal more) with those of Kinds different from their own. The Horse knows how to distinguish the Barkings of a Dog; that one sort of Tone imports Mischief, and Danger, and a malicious Design; and that another is innocent and safe, and intends him no Hurt at all. Nay, I add, that they do not only maintain a Correspondence among Themselves, but with Us also. In Wars and Engagements, Elephants, Dogs, Horses, understand as well as We: They conform all their Motions to the Word of Command; they Run, or they Stand still; they March, or they Halt; they Pursue, or they Flee; they Charge, or they Retreat, as we would have them; they receive Pay and Subsistence; they have a Part in the Victory, and a Share in the Booty; as we see particularly they had in the late Conquest of the Indies. And thus much may suffice to be observ'd concerning those Things which Nature hath distributed both to Men and Beasts in common; and that with so even a Hand, that there is no great Disparity on either side.

The Particulars wherein these two differ, and have the Advantage of one another, come next under our Observation. Now Some there are, in which Man does manifestly excel, and no Animals whatsoever can pretend to equal, or to be like them; and Others again there are, in which Beasts have the upper-hand of Us. The Divine Wisdom, so ordering the Matter, that the several Parts of the Creation should be so nicely interwoven, so closely connected, that Each should have some Pre-eminence peculiar to it self; and from All together, should result the perfect Harmony, and uninterrupted Order, of One most compact and beautiful Whole. The plain and indisputable Privileges of Man, are the Noble Faculties of his Soul;
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Soul; The Penetration, Sprightliness, and Comprehension of his Mind, exerted in the Fruitfulness of his Invention; the Subtlety and Solidity of his Judgment; the deliberate Determination of his Choice; Speech to communicate his Thoughts freely, to make known his Wants, to ask and to offer Assistance; the Hand, a ready Instrument to execute whatever his own Invention shall suggest, or the Instructions of others shall dictate, or their Performances prescribe for his Imitation; The Majestic Form of his Body; the great Variety of Movements he is qualify'd for; from whence it comes to pass, that his Body, and the several Parts of it, are much more serviceable to Him, than those of any Creatures else can be to Them.

But still Beasts have Their Advantages too, as evident and unquestionable as Ours; and of those some are General, and others Particular: The General are these: Health, which in Them is much more confirm'd, and less interrupted, than it ever is in Men; their Constitutions more robust; their Natural Defects and Imperfections very rarely to be observ'd. Whereas Men are weak and tender, easily diseas'd; blind, and lame, and deaf oftentimes from the Birth. The open Air never does them Injury; They are subject to no Rheums, or dangerous Colds, with which most of our acutest Distempers begin, and many of them have no other Cause; Moderation in their Desires and Actions, which are bounded by Covénience, Innocence, and Security; perfect Ease and Tranquillity; for this must needs attend a Life void of all Fear and Guilt; Full Liberty and Confidence in Matters that are Natural and Lawful, without any Restraints of Shame, or Fear of Discovery; A total Exemption from infinite Vices and Exorbitances; no Superstition to enslave them; no Ambition,
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Ambition, or Avarice, or Envy, to disturb, to torment them; no uneasy Fancies, and affrighting Dreams to afflic and confound them: These are the Portion of all Animals in common.

Of those that are Particular to some sorts only,

I. We may reckon the pure, clear, wholesome, lofty, delightful Dwelling, which the Birds enjoy, by having the Regions of the Air assign'd them.

II. The wonderful Perfection they attain to in some Arts: For what Art or Labour, even of the most celebrated and accomplish'd Masters, cou'd ever pretend to compare with the Swallows, and some other Birds, in Building; or with the Spider in Spinning and Weaving; or with the Nightingale in Musick; or with some other Creatures in Knowledge of Plants and Physick? Some astonishing Effects, and peculiar Properties, that are inimitable, unaccountable, nay, incredible: Such as that of the Fifth call'd Remora, because, tho' small it self in Comparison, yet it stops the largest Ships in their Course: Instances of which History gives us, in the Vessel that rode Admiral of Mark Anthony's and Caligula's Fleet: That of the Cramp-Fish, which benumbs People's Limbs at some distance, and tho' they never touch him: That of the Hedge-bog, which hath a Fore-knowledge of the Winds: And that of the Cameleon and Polyclus, in changing Colours, and taking a fresh Tincture, according to the Things they rest upon.

IV. Their strange Prognostications; of Birds, for Instance, in their leaving one Country, and going into another, according as the Weather, and Seasons of the Year change: That of all Beasts that are Dams, in knowing which of all their Young will prove the best; for when they are driven to Straits, and put upon preserving them from Danger, they constantly save the best first. In all these Respects Man is much inferior to Beasts; and
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and in some he is so far from being equal, or near, that he is in no Degree like them. To all which might be added, That other Advantage, which consists in the length of their Lives; the Term of some Animals, in the ordinary Course of Nature, extending to a Number of Years, Seven or Eight Times as much as that of Man.

The Advantages, which Man lays claim to above Brutes, but which will admit of some Dispute, and perhaps, upon a stricter Examination, would tempt an Impartial Judge, to give it on the other side, are several. First, The Reasonable and Intellectual Faculties of his Mind; the Power of comparing, considering, arguing, collecting; Learning, and Improvement; Judgment and Conduét. Now Two Objections may be offered in Bar to this Claim; the One relating to the Thing it self; the Other to the real Worth, and Benefits of it. First, It is not out of all Dispute, whether the Matter of Fact, set forth in this Claim, be True; that is, whether Men have these Excellencies peculiar to themselves. It hath ever been, and ever will be, a Point in Controversie, whether Brutes have none of these Spiritual Powers; and that Opinion, which holds the Affirmative, and maintains they have, is supported with greatest Authorities, and seems to carry a greater Appearance of Truth. The most Celebrated and Learned Philosophers have declared for it; No less than Aristotle, and Galen, and Porphyry, and Plutarch, Democritus and Anaxagoras. The Reason, upon which they ground that Assertion, is this; That the Brain is the Particular Organ, the part of the Body, employed by the Soul, in the Acts of Ratiocination; and that the Composition of the Brain, is exactly the same in Brutes, as it is in Men; and from hence they conclude, that the Instrument of Reason, is as apt and capable in one of these Creatures, as it is in the other.
other. The Difficulty then will be, whether the Souls be equally capable, of using this Instrument to such Purposes; and for This, they offer Experience; That Brutes conclude Universals from Singulars; as, from the Sight and Form of One Man, to know the same Humane Form in All Men; That they are able to compound, and to divide Idea's, by assenting and refusing; and that they exercise a Power of Choice, and make very subtle Distinctions between Good and Evil, in such Cases as concern the Life, the Liberty, and Preservation of Them selves, and their Young. Nay, they pretend, that any Man, who observes with Attention, may read and discover several Strokes and Footsteps of Reason, more Bold, more Judicious, more Nice, more Ingenious and Cunning, than the common fort of Men are used to give us Proof of. Some of the most memorable Actions, from whence this Conclusion hath been made, I will briefly recite. The Fox designing to pass over a River, when it is frozen, lays his Ear close to the Ice, to hearken if there be any Noise, and whether the Water run underneath; that from thence he may form a Judgment, whether it be Safe to proceed, or Necessary to retire. And this Expedient the Thracians are said to make use of, when they have any frozen Rivers to pass. The Hound, in Doubt which Way his Master, or the Game he is in chase of, went, at a Place where Three Paths meet, takes this Course of making out his Loss; he scents the several Paths, one after another, and when he finds that in Two of these Ways, no Scent hath lain; he never troubles himself to lay his Nose to the Third; but springs forward, and takes That without farther Enquiry. Thales the Philosopher's Mule, when heavy loaden with a Sack of Salt, and being to go over a Brook, stoop'd down to dissolve his Salt, and so make his Burthen lighter; because he
he had found once before, that the Salt was lighter, when it fell into the Water by chance: but when loaded with Wooll, he did the direct contrary, and strove to keep it dry; because the like Experiment had taught him, that Wooll grows heavier by being wetted. Plutarch says, That once on board a Ship, he saw a Dog casting Stones into a great Jar, that so he might make the Oil in it rise higher; which before was too low, and out of his reach: And the like is reported of the Crows in Barbary, when the Water is too low for them, to drink at. Thus Elephants, when one of them is set fast in a Bog, are said to bring great Stones, and pieces of Timber, to help their Fellows out. The Oxen in the King's Gardens at Susa, which have been long practiced to turn a Wheel a Hundred Times Round, (the Depth of the Well requiring just so much, from whence Water is drawn, for the Use of the Gardens) cannot be made to exceed that Number of Rounds; and when left to themselves, never come One turn short. Now what Way are all these Things possible to be done, without Reasoning and Discourse; Composition and Division, which are the Operations proper to a Rational Soul? Must not a Man be thought to want Reason himself, who thinks it hath nothing to do in such Actions? So again; The marvellous Dexterity of drawing Darts and Spears out of wounded Bodies, with very little Pain to the Patient, for which Elephants are Famous. The Dog mentioned by Plutarch, that at a Publick Entertainment, lay upon a Scaffold, and counterfeited himself dead; fainting away by degrees, breathing short, trembling, stretching himself out, and letting them drag him about as quite dead; then by degrees coming to himself again, lifting up his Head, as if he had just been brought to Life: And in a Word, the many Strange, Apish Tricks that
that Jugglers and Strowlers teach their Dogs, and Dancing-Horses. The many Doubles, and cunning Contrivances, that Beasts of several kinds have, to secure themselves from the Attempts we make upon them; The great Forecast, and wise Management of the Ants, in drawing out their Grains of Corn to sweeten in the Air, and dry by the Sun, which would otherwise corrupt, and grow musty: The nibbling off the End of every Grain, which would else be grown, and run to Seed: The Order of the Bees, in their Republick; the Method of their Combs; the vast variety of Offices and Duties appropriated to such and such respectively; and the constant Regularity and Uniformity of all their Proceedings, will not suffer us to think, that these are no more than animated Clock-Work; but seem in many Things to equal, and in some even to reproach the Conduct of Mankind.

In Order to overthrow all this, some have been very Ill-natur'd to these Brutes, and take Sanctuary in Natural Instinct, as a sufficient Solution, and Cause of all these wondrous Effects; And this they describe by an Inclination in Nature, which is under as perpetual Necessity, Slavery, and Constraint; as That by which the Stone falls, or the Flame ascends. Now First, This is so far from Truth, that one would wonder, how it could ever enter into any Man's Head: For the forementioned Acts, plainly infer reckoning and summing up Particulars, comparing of Things together, and reasoning by Composition and Division of Idea's, and by Consequences drawn from thence. But these are such Operations as can never be performed by such a Natural Inclination, and Necessary Instinct, which are only the Refuge of Men, who want something to say. But then it must be observ'd withal, that this Objection returns back again, upon them, that make it; For it
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It is, without doubt, more Noble, more for the Honour of any Creature, and a nearer Resemblance to God himself, to do Well by a happy and unalterable Determination of one's Nature; than to do so by Art and Industry, long Time, and much Learning; To be led by the Unerring Hand of God, than left to our own imprudent Conduct; and to act Regularly, by an Habitual, and Constant, and Necessary Impulse; than by such a Choice and Liberty, as is subject to Hazard and Rashness. Besides, by this Notion of Natural Instinct, they take away from Brutes all manner of Instruction, and Improvement, as well that which they receive from others, as that which they impart to others; but This is abundantly contradicted and confuted by Experience. For it is plain, They learn what they knew not before, and grow more Perfect by Degrees, and Imitation, and Custom; as Magpies, for Instance, Parrots, Jack-Daws, and Dogs; and it is as plain, that they teach one another too, from the Examples of Nightingales and especially of Elephants, who of all Animals are the aptest to learn, and seem to exceed the rest by far, both in Largeness of Capacity, and Quickness of Apprehension.

As for that Power of the Reasoning Soul, which Man values himself so very Highly upon; That of considering Corporeal Things abstrackedly, representing what is abject to himself, and devolving things of what Circumstances he thinks fit, to conceive them after his own Pleasure; (for according to the Jargon of the Schools, * the Object understood, is in the Subject Understanding, according to the manner in which the Understnder represents it to himself,) there is some Appearance, that Beasts do

* Intelle&uuml;um est in Intelligente, ad modum Intelligentis.
all this too. A Horse, that has been us’d to Charge, when he lies asleep, in his Litter, shall shiver, and snort, as if he were in an Action; and plainly forms to himself, the Sounds of Drums and Trumpets, and the Images of an Army, and a Battel. The Grey-Hound, in his Dream, pants and blows, sets up his Stern, shakes his Legs, and conceives a Spiritual Hare before him. Masts, and House-Dogs, growl in their Sleep, and sometimes open, and bark out-right, imagining that some Stranger is coming in. The fairest Conclusion of this first Point seems to me then, to be thus; That the Brutes have Reason; That They compare, discourse, and judge, but in a much lower Degree, and nothing comparable, to that Perfection, in which Man does. They have a much less Share, but they are not Totally excluded. We excel Them vaftly, and so we do one another; and, indeed, the several Kinds of Beasts, excel each other too. Nay, I know not, whether it may not be said, That the difference among Men, is Greatest; and that some Men, excel some other Men in Reasoning, more than some Men excel Beasts.

Aristotle, 'tis true, pronounces of some Men, that they are so extremely Ignorant and Stupid, that they differ in nothing, but Shape, from Brutes. But all this notwithstanding, to argue, that they have equal Share, and stand upon the Level with Mankind; that their Souls are equally Immortal with Ours, or Ours equally Mortal with Theirs, are very Malicious and unfair Inferences. For, besides that Man excels most conspicuously, in the Operations of Reason, there are several other more Noble Faculties and Prerogatives, such as are entirely Spiritual, which justify the Character, of his being the Likeness and Image of God; and render him capable of Immortal Bliss; all which the Brutes partake not of, in any the least Degree. And these are all
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all implied in the Notion of Intelle& which
notes something more Sublime, than mere Ratio-
cination.

The other Argument, upon this Occasion, con-
cerns the Worth and Benefit of this Pre-eminence.
For, Allowing the Matter of Fact allledged, to be
True, that Man hath Reason, and Brutes have it
yet, What does he get by it? Are not the
Noblest Faculties paid very Dear for, and do they
not do him more Hurt than Good? Are not These
the principal Cause and Source of the Miseries
that load him? The Vices, the Passions, the In-
ward Distempers, All that Irresolution, and Trou-
bles, and Delfair, which embitter and caft a Ble-
mish upon our Lives? And these the Beasts have
none of, because they have none of those Pow-
ers, which are the Seat and the Source of them.
Witness the Story of Pyrrho’s Hog, that eat con-
tentedly on Shipboard, in a Storm, at a time when
the Passengers and Seamen, were almost dead with
Fear. “ I confess, as we manage the Matter, the
“ generality of People have but a very indifferent
“Bargain of This. And none who consider Things
“ Superficially, and look at what the World is,
“ not what it might be, are tempted to think
that these more exalted and larger Endowments of
the Soul, have been wholly deny’d, or at leaft
much diminished, and impaired to Beasts, for their
mighty Ease and Benefit; and given to Man in
their full Strength, for his mighty Torment: Since
it is by the Interposition and Assistance of these,
that he teazes and perplexes himself; resents and
sadly keeps alive the Past; is distracted with Anxi-
ety and Amazement for the Future; nay, forms
to his own Mind, and then is scared out of his
Wits, with the gaffly Images of Evils, that are not
yet, nor are ever like to be. Now in other Ani-
mals, the Sense and the Apprehension of Evil have
both
both the same Date; till it comes, they know nothing of it; and when it hath done, they have done with it; and from the Moment of its Cessation, are in perfect Ease, and Tranquillity. And thus you see, how Man is render'd (rather indeed, how by his Mismanagement, he renders himself) the worse for his Advantages; that the Happiness and Privilege of his Nature, is become the Instrument and Occasion of all his Misery. And were it not better to have been born naked, than to be provided with *Weapons, and to sheath them thus, in our own Bowels?

Another Advantage over Brutes, which Man makes Pretensions too, is that of Dominion, and Power to Command them, which he imagines to be vested in him. But, (not to take notice at present, that This is but an improper Plea, since Men also mutually Command, and are Commanded by one another) the Thing in Fact is not true: For where does our Practice and Experience shew this universal Command in Man, and as universal Subjection and Obedience in other Creatures?

* "Did Nature, which furnished us with these Rich and Heavenly Accomplishments, bring us under a Necessity of converting them to our own Sorrow and Ruins; the Gift, indeed, had been Treacherous, and Providence cruelly kind. But since they are not the Appetites, and Passions, and Faculties themselves, but the Excesses and Indulgings of the One, and the Neglect or Abuse of the other, to which these Miseries are owing, let us not complain of our Condition, nor charge God foolishly; but put all that we suffer of this kind, to the Account of our own Follies and Vices. For from hence it is, that Brutes can pretend to enter into the Comparison with us, even in the Esteem of those, whose Wit and Interest it is, to bring us down to their Level. And were not we by cherishing our restless Passions, so industrious to torment our selves, we should not see, as now we daily do, that the Dull and Insensible live most at their Ease, and come off Cheaper with the Sufferings of Humane Life, than Men of Wit, and Parts, and more refin'd Understanding."
Chap. 34. The Second Consideration of Man.

tures? 'Tis plain in the present State of Things, that this is a mere Fancy; and that Men are much more in fear of Beasts, than stood in fear of by them. It is not to be doubted, but this was once the Case; and an ample Commission that was, which the Great Lord of the Universe issued at the Creation, Let him have Dominion over the Fowls Gen.1.26. of the Air, and over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Cattel, and over all the Earth. And admirably fitted he is to execute this Commission, by reason of the Majesty of his Person, an erect and beautiful Form, and the Greatness and Wisdom of his Mind. But alas! the Face of Affairs is changed; the actual Exercise of this Prerogative loft. And all that remains, is only what these Advantages of his Body and Mind give him; and it may much more properly be said, That Man is made fit to Command, and Brutes to Obey, than that He does actually Command, and They Obey.

Another Advantage bordering upon the former, is perfect Liberty. This Man pretends to, and upbraids Brutes with Captivity, Slavery, and Drudgery; but This, I think, is full as unreasonable and foreign as the other. Men themselves lie infinitely more open to Reproaches of that kind: To This let the Inhabitants of Guinea speak; else what mean the Slaves that are made by Kid-napping and Force, and not only their Persons enslav'd, but all their Posterity too? Nay, what mean those willing Slaves, who sell their Liberty for Sums of Money, or who part with it gladly and freely, or thattruck it away for some Conveniency? For was not all this done by the Ancient Gladiators? And is it not now done daily, by Women to their Ladies, and Soldiers to their Commanders? But Beasts know nothing like this; they serve not one another; they neither enslave, nor are enslaved by one another; but are in all respects more...
more free, and at their own Disposal, than Men are.

Man, it is confess'd, makes these his Diversion and his Entertainment; they furnish his Sports and his Table: But if He Hunt, and take, and kill, and eat Them; They do the same by Him, as Opportunities offer: And that, in a manner more brave and great than His; not by Toils, and Nets, and Cunning; but by honest down-right Force. Nay, He is not murder'd and devour'd thus by Beasts only, but (which is infinitely more) by another Man, his Equal, his Companion, his Brother. No Beasts ever assemble themselves in Troops, to destroy, and ravage, and lead Captive another Troop of the same Kind; but Men, to their Eternal Reproach, not only do the Thing, but glory in it, and triumph in the Destruction of their own Species.

The Fourth and great Advantage Men pretend to above Brutes, consists in their Virtue; but if by this Moral Virtue be meant, and if we may be allow'd to judge of Virtue by the commendable Actions and outward Appearances of it; (This Claim will admit of some Dispute too: Tho' Moral Virtue taken formally, and with regard to the Will, Beasts cannot have:) For Gratitude, and Friendship, and Readiness to be serviceable, Fidelity, Magnanimity, and several other good Qualities useful in Society and Conversation, have been observ'd to express themselves after a more lively, more surprizing manner, and with more Constancy, in Brutes, than is usually seen in the Generality of Mankind. Lydmacbus had a Dog call'd Hircaus, which lay perpetually upon the Bed with his dead Master, and wou'd not be got from thence to eat or drink, but continu'd thus watching and fasting, till the Corpse came to be burnt, and then leaped eagerly into the Fire,
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Fire, and burnt himself with it. The same is related of another Dog, that belonged to one Pyrrhus. That of the wife Hesiod detected the Ruffians that murder'd his Master: And another did the like before King Pyrrhus, and his whole Army. Plutarch tells us of another, that hunted about from City to City, and never rested till he had brought the Robber of the Temple at Athens, to Justice for his Sacrilege. The Story of Andros is very well known, who had lived and eat Lib. V. with a Lion for some Years, after curing him of Cap. 14. a painful Wound; and afterwards, when condemn'd at Rome to the Wild Beasts, this Lion would not touch the Slave that had been his Guest, and his Surgeon, but approach'd him with all the Demonstrations of Thankfulness and Love; all which, Appian declares himself to have been an Eye-Witness of at Rome. An Elephant, that in Heat of Passion had kill'd his Keeper, would neither eat nor drink, but pined himself to Death, by way of Penance. But now on the other hand, Is there in the World any Creature that can compare with Man, for Injustice and Ingratitude, Churlishness and Ill-Nature, Treachery and Bastards, Lying and Dissimulation? Besides, allowing Virtue to consist in moderating the Appetite, and curbing one's Pleasures, Beasts are then a great deal more regular than We, and keep themselves more duly within the Bounds of Nature and Convenience. As for those Desires that are superfluous, extravagant, and unnatural, they never have any Inclination of that kind: And consequently are exempted from one great and common Species of Humane Vice, which is, The enlarging our Desires beyond measure, and multiplying, nay, inventing fresh Objects to our Selves; and employing Artifice and Industry to heighten and create new Inclinations. In those
Of Wisdom.  

The Sum then of this Comparison, as you have found it here stated, amounts to thus much; That Man hath no such mighty reason to magnify Himself in the Advantages of his Nature, above That of Brutes: For, allowing Him some Endowments and Accomplishments, which They have not; as the Sprightliness and Force of his Mind, and Intellectual Faculties, and all the other nobler Powers of the Soul; yet the Incumbrances upon these is very great and grievous; the Evils he is involv'd in upon their Account, infinite and insupportable: The Inconstancy and Irresolution, Superstition and Solicitude, sad Remembrances of the past and anxious Concern for the Future; Ambition, and Avarice, and Envy, restless Curiosity, busy Detraction, Lying, and Deceit, a world of unruly Appetites and Passions, Troubles and Discontents. Thus this Mind, with the Thoughts and Value whereof Man is so much exalted, is the Occasion of infinite Misfortunes; and of most of all then, when it exerts it self most: For in all vehement Agitations, it does not only hurt and disturb the Body, and render its Forces and Functions disorder'd, and broken, and quite tired down; but it hinders and confounds its own self: For what is it that throws Men into Folly and Madness, so much as the Acuteness, and Activity, and Strength of the Mind it self? The subtillest Follies, and most exquisite Phrenies, proceed from the quickest, and finest, and most vigorous Agitations of the Mind; as we may observe, that the bitterest Aversions, and most irreconcilable Enmities grow from the tenderest Passions, and most intimate Friendships; and the most virulent and mortal Diseases, from a strong Complexion, and healthful Body. Melancholy Persons are observ'd by Plato, to be best dispose for Learning and Wisdom; but they are equally dispo-
Chap. 34. The Second Consideration of Man. fed for Folly too; much more than Persons of a different Temper. And to a Man of nice and just Observation, it will appear, that when the Soul acts freely, and gives her self a Loose, there is none of her Attitudes and Sallies without a Mixture of Folly; and in good Truth, these Things dwell very close together;

---- Wit to Madness nearly is ally'd,
And thin Partitions do their Bounds divide.

Once more, If we regard the living in Agreement with Nature, and in Conformity with what she dictates and requires from us, Beasts seem to excel us in this respect very much; for they lead a Life of more Freedom, more Ease, and Security, more Moderation and Contentedness, than Men do. And That Man is deservedly reputed Wise, who makes them his Pattern, and his Lesson, and reaps Profit by their Example; by reforming and reducing himself to that Innocence, Simplicity, Liberty, Meekness, and Gentleness of Temper, which Nature had originally implanted both in Us and Them: And, which in Brutes is still very conspicuous, but in Us is decay’d, chang’d, and utterly corrupted by our Indolent Wickedness, and Artificial Depravations; thus debauching and abusing the particular Prerogative we pretend to, and rendering our selves more vile than the Beasts, by means of that very Understanding and Judgment, which sets us so far above them. Hence sure it is, that God intending to shame us into Virtue, sends us to School in Scripture, and bids us grow wiser by the Example of these Creatures. The Crane, the Stork, and the Swallow; the Serpent, and the Dove, the Ant, and the Ox, and the As, and sundry others, are recommended as Teachers to us. And after all, To take down

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our
our Vanity upon this Occasion, we ought to remember, that there is some sort of Correspondence, some mutual Relations and Duties arising from thence; if upon no other account, yet by reason of their being made by the same Hand, belonging to the same Matter, and making a Part of the same Family with ourselves. And this single Reflection ought to prevail with us, to use our Advantages over them modestly, tenderly, and conscientiously; and not treat them with Cruelty and Contempt. For as Justice is a Debt from us to all Men; so Kindness, and Beneficence, and Mercy must needs be due to all Creatures whatsoever, that are in any Condition of receiving Benefit by us.

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Our Author in the midst of his great Care to state this Comparison so, as might be most mortifying to the Vanity of Mankind, hath yet found himself oblig’d to acknowledge, that the Reason of Men is so much brighter, and more noble in its Operations and Effects, than anything discoverable in the Brute Part of the Creation, that I might have let this Chapter pass without any Censure, had it not been for two or three Sentences, which seem obnoxious to very ill Construction; Such as a sort of Men are (in our Age) but too fond of embracing, who, at the same time that they are vain enough to imagine, that neither the Nature, nor the Revelations of God himself can have any thing in them above their Reason; are yet so for did and degenerate, as to be content that Beasts should be thought endu’d with the same Souls, and to be mov’d with the same Principles of Reason with Themselves. An Opinion, which is the rather entertain’d, for the sake of a certain Con sequence
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sequence that recommends it, with regard to a Future State; for it seems they can be satisfy’d with the Portion of Brutes now, provided they may but partake in it hereafter. And what Fa-vour this Notion might find from these Passages, That Brutes and Men both have the same Reason, tho’ not in the same Degree, and that some Men excel others much more than some Men again excel Beasts; I was doubtful, and therefore look’d upon my self con-cerned, (in pursuance of my Proposals at the Be-ginning of this Book,) to offer these following Considerations to my Reader.

First, That in the Operations of the Reasonable Soul, a great deal depends upon the Organs and Disposition of that Body to which it is joyn’d; and (as hath been already explain’d at large) more especially upon the Brain: Now since Anatomists have not been able to observe any very remarka-ble Differences between the Constitution of the Humane Brain, and that of Brutes; we are not to think it strange, if there appear some small Resembances in some particular Actions of Men and Beasts, tho’ these do not proceed from the same Principle of Motion; but owe their Simili-tude to that of the Body and Medium put into those Motions!

Secondly, That the Impressions of External Ob-jects have very strong Effects upon the Imagina-tion and Memory; and these, assisted by Custom, and Imitation, and Example, will perform many wonderful Things, which yet are not the Opera-tions of Reason, properly so called. Of this kind it is easy to observe great number of Instances, in Them, who either by means of their Infancy, have not yet attain’d to the Use of Reason; or Them, who by some Natural Defects never have it at all; or Others, who by some accidental Di-flurbance have lost it; In all which Cases, (not during
during the lucid Intervals only, or when the Powers of the Mind seem a little to be awakened, but even in the most profound Ignorance, or most raging Madness) Those which are frequently distinguished by the Sensitive Faculties of the Soul, put forth sometimes a marvellous Efficacy and Vigour. And that These are moved entirely by Material and Sensible Objects, and act as necessarily as any other Parts of Matter whatsoever, hath been the Opinion of many new Philosophers; some of whom imagine, that all the Operations of this kind are as capable of being resolved by Principles of Mechanism, (those Operations, I mean, of Imagination, and Memory, and Custom) as any other Affections and Motions of common Matter. How just this Conclusion is, I do not pretend to determine; for They themselves seem to confess it insufficient, when they call in to their Assistance another Principle, which is,

Thirdly, That of Infini; By which is meant, a strong Tendency, and natural Impulse (distinguishable in these Creatures) to certain necessary and useful Actions. Something of a Principle implanted in them by their wise Creator, to qualify them for their own Preservation, and the answering the Ends of his good Providence in making them. And this appears so early, as to be plainly antecedent to either Memory or Fancy; and yet is so constant too, and always the same, in the same Circumstances, and Occasions; as neither to depend upon Causes so mutable as the Impressions of outward Objects, nor a Principle so capricious as the Choice of such a Mind perfectly free-feels in its Deliberations. And, as Instruments put together by a skilful Hand, perform many Operations, so astonishing, that a Man unexperienced in the Art, could not possibly imagine such Materials
Chap. 34. The Second Consideration of Man.

terials capable of them; so these Philosophers conceive, that Almighty God, in his Infinite Wisdom, hath so disposed the Sensitive Parts of the Soul, that, as they, by their wonderful Structure, shall be adapted to most amazing Effects, and possessed with some Original Propensions and Impulses, independent from, and antecedent to, the Impressions of Matter, or the Power of Instinct and Custom; which, in the needful and most profitable Actions of Life, serve these Animals for Fundamental Principles, and bear some kind of Affinity to the first common Notions, in the Rational and Intelligent Mind: And uppon these Impulses joyn’d to those other Advantages mention’d before, the whole Economy of Beasts, and even those Actions, which seem most exquisite and admirable in any of them, have, by the Modern Mechanick Philosophers, been generally thought to depend: Concerning which, that almost every System treat in some measure, yet I believe my Reader (whether his Opinion incline to that Account or not) would at least think himself well entertain’d upon this Subject, by the Perusal of our Learned and Ingenious Dr. Willis, in the Sixth and Seventh Chapters of his Book De Anima Brutorum.

Two Things are fit to be added upon this Occasion, with regard to what Monsieur Charon hath deliver’d concerning Infinite. The first is, That in regard we observe these Animals constantly going on in the same beaten Track, and keeping ever close to one Method; and even in those Instances which have the greatest appearance of Comparison and Choice, of Ten thousand that make the same Experiment, or go about the same thing, not one varying from the common and received Way; This seems to be some Governing Principle in Nature, which gives a necessary Determination to them; and very different from that Liberty and Con-
Of Wisdom. Book I.

Consideration, which hath scarce any more convincing and demonstrative Proof of the Will, being absolutely unconstraining in Mankind, than that Multiplicity of Opinions, and strange Variety of Proceedings, observable upon Occasions and Junc-tures, in themselves extremely alike.

The other Remark, proper upon this Occasion, is, that what our Author suggests here, is no Consequence at all: as if too much Honour were done to these Creatures, and such a happy and unalterable Determination, to what is profitable and proper for them, were a Privilege more than Human; a nearer Approach to that unerring Wisdom, and unchangeable Goodness of the Divine Nature, than We our selves can boast of. For there is so very wide a Difference between Liberty and Necessity of acting; the One is so Glorious, so truly Noble; the Other so Mean, so Slavish a Principle, that no Comparison can be made between them. The most Glorious, most Beautiful, most Useful Parts of the Material Creation, are in this respect, infinitely beneath the meanest of the Sons of Men; and all their other Advantages put together, cannot deserve to be laid into the Balance against this Single Dignity, of Free and Spontaneous Action. And tho' the Excellency of the Divine Nature, be indefeasible and unalterable Goodness; yet would not even This be an Excellence, if it were not the Effect of perfect Liberty. It is, indeed, our Misfortune, that our Understandings are imposed upon, our Affections perverted; and so the Choice we have the Use of, often determines us to the wrong Side, and entangles us in Error and Vice. But these Defects and Temptations are so many Clogs and Bars upon our Freedom; and therefore God, who is above any Possibility of such false Determinations, is still so much the more Free.
For Freedom does not consist in a Power of choosing Evil as well as Good (which is a Power, indeed, that never was, nor can be, strictly speaking) but in being Self-moved, and Self-acted; so as to be the Disposer of one's own Will, without any Compulsion or necessary Determination, from a Foreign or External Principle; and only acting, as one is acted upon. If then this Instrinct in Brutes, be a Matter of Force, and necessary Determination, they are in no degree the better or more commendable for it; but under a fatal Constraint, which is so far from resembling the Divine Perfection, that it admits of no Virtue, nor ought to be esteem'd any Excellence, but the direct contrary.

Fourthly, Let us observe, what mighty Difference there is between the Perceptions of Brutes, and those of Men; so great, that in them we find no Footsteps of any but such as are material and single Objects; and what this Author advances as Collections, and Inferences from thence, are not improbably assign'd by Others, to the Force of Imagination, or the Strength of Memory, or to those Natural Impressions, which commonly go by the Name of Instrinct. To the latter of These we find very Learned Men, attributing that uniform Process of Birds, and Bees, and Ants, in their Nutrition, Generation, Production, and the like. To the former, that which Charron terms deducing an Universal from a Singular, and knowing by the having seen one Man, how to distinguish the Humane Form, in any, or all Individuals of the same Species. But, supposing we should allow, that this proceeds from a distinguishing Faculty, and not merely from the refreshing and awaking an Image, that lay dormant in the Memory, 'till revived by this fresh Object; yet what Proportion can even thus much bear, to all those abstracted Ideas by which
which Men distinguish the Natures and Properties of Things? If a Brute, from the Sight of a Man, could collect so much as should serve to discriminate all other Men from Creatures of a different Species; yet what is this in Comparison of that Penetration, which examines into the Abstruse Causes, and Essential Differences of Things, and informs it self distinctly, wherein that very Character of our Nature, which we call Humanity, consists? And what account can there be given of any universal or abstracted Idea's in Beasts? of any of those which we properly call Reasonable Actions? For as to these seeming Demurrers, and little Comparisons, which we find instance in here, and in other Places, it is usul to observe as much, in Children so little, and Naturals so wretchedly stupid, as that there are but very faint, if any Glimpses at all, of Understanding in them. I know, indeed, Monsieur Charron hath provided a Reply to this Argument, by saying, That we cannot have any competent Knowledge of Their Internal Operations. But tho' we do not see all the hidden Movements of their Souls, nor can distinctly lay, whether they are feeble Resolvers, or stupendous Machines; yet we may be very confident, they cannot dive into the Causes and abstracted Idea's of Things; because there do not appear the least Foot-steps, or any of those Noble Effects, of such Knowledge, which Mankind have in all Ages been conspicuous for. For to these abstracted Notions it is, that all the amazing Inventions and Improvements of Arts and Sciences; but especially the Wonders of Mechanism and Motion, by Numbers and Proportions duly adjusted, owe their Birth and daily Growth. And since in the Distinction and Perception of Concrete Bodies, where Sensation is chiefly concern'd, the Brutes are acknowledged to equal, if not exceed Us, in Accuracy; it is not
Chap. 34. The Second Consideration of Man.

to be conceived, that They who excel in a Faculty, which is commensurate to a Sensitive Soul, should be able to give no Marks at all of their being endued with a Capacity of entertaining and feeding upon those Ideas, which are the peculiar Prerogatives and Glories of a Rational One.

Much more might be added upon this Occasion, with regard both to the Objects themselves; and the particular Manner of Conception; and the infinite Disparities of the Humane Intellect, and that Faculty, which is affected in Brutes. But it is Prejudice sufficient against them, that so many very Wise and Inquisitive Persons have found Cause, to do even something more than doubt, whether Brutes be better than a sort of Divine Clock-work; and have any manner of Sense or Perception at all. This, at least, was never ascertained of Man; nor the Powers and Operations of his Reasoning Soul disputed, (as to the Reality of them,) except by such as set up for Universal Scepticism, and are for reducing all to a State of Confusion and Uncertainty. And therefore if, because Brutes seem to act by a Faculty, which we cannot perfectly account for, we should allow, to these Brutes, some few dusky Glimmerings of Reason (which yet there is no absolute Necessity for, because they have something like it) yet no impartial Conisderer, can ever admit, that it will bear a Question, whether They or We have the better of this Point; or that Some Men excel others, more than some again excel Beasts; for there is no Man, how mean and untaught soever, if provided with what we call Common Sense, but finds an Ability in himself, nay, exercises that Ability every Day, (even when he does not know or think of it) of considering, comparing, and determining in such a manner, as no good Arguments have ever yet been offer’d to shew that Beasts either do, or can do. They are justly thought
thought to do somewhat very extraordinary, when by long Custom, and severe Discipline, and daily Example and Instruction, brought to imitate some very common Actions of Men; But what Divine Heights do Men themselves ascend to, when they have proportionable Pains taken with them? And here in Justice the Comparison ought to lie; between the best of each Kind; not the best of One, and the lowest of the Other; the most unapt and neglected of Men, and the most teachable and improved of Brutes: For the Advantages, or the Want of Art, cannot at all affect the Dispute, where the Gifts of Nature are the Matter in Question: And these are distributed with so very uneven a Hand in the Case before us; that He must be either very stupid, or very perverse, who does not see the mighty Disproportion.

As to the other Part of this Discourse, whether Reason be any real Benefit, and we might not have been as well, or better without it; I shall only need to add, that the several Instances produced here, are only such as are sad and very reproachful Truths, in regard of those Abuses of Reason, Men are guilty of; and the wicked, or the mischievous Purposes they pervert it to: But as to the Thing itself, they are no more a Reflection upon it, than the Surfeits and Bestiality of Gluttons, and Sots, are upon the common Refreshments of Life. What is laid upon this Occasion, will do well indeed to be consider'd, by those vicious and indiscreet Men, who apply That as a Spur to their Wickedness, and Passion, which was intended for a Curb to both; And the World ought to be humbled and reformed by a serious Reflection, how accessary Men become to their own Miseries, and how obstinately fond they are of them, when their very Remedies are industriously turned into the worst of Diseases: But all this, notwithstanding Monsieur Charron's
Chap. 34. The Second Consideration of Man.

Charron's Argument here, is abundantly refuted by himself, in the last Words of this whole Treatise, where he vindicates the Honour of Eloquence, from the mischievous Effects, which some ill-designing Men apply it to by this Parallel: "For (says he) even That Reason and Understanding, which is the peculiar Prerogative of Humane Nature, and sets us above Brutes, is most miserably abus'd; turn'd against God, and our Selves; and made the Occasion of our more inexcusable Ruine. But This is only an Accidental Misfortune; far from the Natural Tendency of so Noble a Privilege. And He, who wou'd argue from hence, that Mankind had better want these Faculties, may justly seem to have degenerated into Brute; and to be quite forsaken of all that Reason, which he so wildly and so rashly condemns. So just Ground is there for reading this Treatise, with those Cautions to be laid down upon the XXXVIIth Chapter; and so truly does our Author keep up his Character of an Academick Philosopher."
Of Wisdom.

Book I.

C H A P. XXXV.

The Third Respect, under which we proposed to consider Man, is by taking a short View, and summary Account of his Life.

The True Value, the Continuance, and Description of Humane Life, and the several Parts or Stages of it.

ONE very considerable; One, indeed, of the principal and most necessary Points of Wisdom, is rightly to understand the True Value of Life; and to make so just an Estimate of it, as to keep or to lose it; to cherish and preserve, or to neglect and lay it down; and so to manage ourselves in the whole Conduct of it, as Duty and Decency require. There is not any one Case, in which Men are more apt to be wanting, nor where their Failings are of more dangerous Consequence, for the involving them in new and infinite Difficulties. The Mean, and the Ignorant, the Worldling, and the Man of Pleasure; and, in general, all that do not, or cannot consider, prize Life extravagantly: They look upon it as the Supreme Good, and prefer it so much before all other Things, as not to admit a Comparison between them. If Life were to be sold at a Price; nay, if a short Reprieve only, and lengthening out their Term a little, can be had, they can think nothing too dear, no Conditions too hard to be submitted to; but are satisfied the Purchase ought to be made at any rate. For This, they tell you, is their Happiness, and when That is gone, All is gone; their
Chap. 35. The Third Consideration of Man.

their very Motto is, Nothing more precious than Life. (Vita nihil clarius) They value and love it, not only as the Scene of Action and Enjoyment, and upon the account of the Conveniences and Opportunities it affords, but upon its own supposed Intrinsic Worth, and live merely for the sake of Living. And how can we think it strange, that such Persons should be so very defective in the rest of their Duty, so mis-led with Errors and extravagant Notions, when they make the very first Step wrong, and set out in so gross a Mistake, concerning this great Fundamental Article of Wisdom and Virtue?

There is also a Contempt of Life, that declines as much to Vice in the other Extreme, and represents it as a Burden, or a Trifle; Worth nothing, or worse than nothing: But this Under-valuing is the Effect of Weakness and Ignorance, of Pride and Ingratitude. For we know very well, that when it falls into Wise and Good Hands, it is capable of becoming an Instrument of great and general Use, both to our Selves, and to Others. Now I can by no means be of Their Opinion, taken literally and plainly, who give it out for their Principle, That * the greatest Happiness is, Not to live at all; and the next most desirable Thing is, To live but a very little while. Nor is that Argument they use in Vindication of this Opinion, at all sufficient or satisfactory: What Hurt (say they) could there be in Non-Existence? And what Matter had it been, if I were never created? To This one may reply with reason enough, What do you make of all the Happiness you have enjoy’d? What would become of This, if you had had no Being? And would it not have been some Matter, some

* Optimum non nasci est quam civissimae solaci.
Hurt never to have enjoy'd it? For certainly, tho' the loss of the Good which we have, and know the Worth of, be a more sensible Evil; yet the mere Privation of Good, and never having it at all, is one sort of Evil too; even tho' that Good be such as we shou'd never have missed, nor such as was necessary to us. These Extremes are too wide; they overstrain the Point on both sides, and degenerate into Vice; tho' they are not equally vicious and erroneous neither.

I confess, speaking in the Quality of a Philosopher, and with regard to the present State of Affairs only; I do not think that Wise Ancient much out of the way, who acknowledg'd †Life to be good; but such a Good as no Man would accept of, if it were left to his own free Choice, and he were fairly inform'd before-hand, what Incumbrances lay upon it. It is not at all amis, that we are engaged in it, before we know what it is: We come into the World blind-fold; but that is no reason why Men shou'd afterwards put out their own Eyes, or hood-wink themselves. For the Mischief is, that, when we are got hither, we run into different Ways: Some cheat themselves into so extravagant a Fondness for Life, that they wou'd not part with it again at any rate. Others fret themselves into so ill an Opinion of it, that they grumble eternally, are discontented at every thing, and pretend to be weary, and sick of Living. But Wise Men have jufter Notions of the Matter: They consider that this was a Bargain made without their Knowledge or Consent; (for no Man lives, or dies, as soon, or as late, or in such Manner and Circumstances, as he pleases himself) But still it is a Bargain we are bound to stand to; and if it be a hard one,

† Vitam nemo accipere, si daretur scientibus.
we must try to make the best of it. Sometimes we shall meet with rough Ways; but the whole Passage is not so: And therefore Philosophers agree, that the best Course is, to create no Disturbance, nor struggle and flounder unprofitably, but for Men to suit their Tempers, and comply with their Circumstances as well as they can; to carry it off with Evenness and Moderation, and make a Virtue of Necessity; for That is the Character of Wisdom and good Management: And when they have fixed themselves in this Method, then to live as long as is fit for them, consistent with their Duty and Decency: Not as long as is possible for them, which is the Principle of Foolish and Profligate People. For there is a Season proper for Dying, as well as one for Living; and a Virtuous Honourable Death is a thousand times rather to be chosen, than a Wicked and Infamous Life. Now a Wise and Good Man makes it his Business to live just so long as Life is better than Death, and no longer: For, as we observed before, that They are in the wrong, who esteem the shortest Life best; so is that common Opinion a Mistake too, which raises the Value by Computation of Years, and accounts that Life best which lasts longest.

The Shortness of that Term allow'd us in this World, is a great and a general Complaint: We meet it in every Mouth; not from the Ignorant and Vulgar only, where we cannot expect better, than that They should be willing to live always; but (which may be allow'd a little to surprize us, even Great Souls, and Wise Men, reckon it among their very greatest Unhappinesses. Now to say the very Truth, as Men usually manage the Matter, and indeed as Nature hath in some measure contriv'd it, Life is very short; For the greatest Part of it is employed and diverted
Of Wisdom.  

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verted otherwise; and a very small proportion left for the true Uses and Ends of Living. The Time of our Infancy and Ignorance, the Decays and Infirmities of Old Age, the necessary Intervals of Sleep, the Diseascs of our Bodies and our Minds, and the infinite other void Spaces of it, wherein we are incapable of doing Good, run away with a great deal of our Time: And when the Whole is summ’d up, and these Abatements made, the Remainder is not much. But yet, without troubling our selves with the contrary Opinion, which afferts the Shortness of Life to be greatly for our Advantage, we shall find Reason enough to accuse this Complaint of Injustice; and to think it more the Effect of Inconsideration and Ill-Nature, than of good Arguing, and virtuous Disposition. For what Advantage would a longer Life be to us? Shall we wish for it to no other Purpose, but merely to Live in; to take our Easle, to Eat, and Drink, and Sleep, to look about us, and see more of the World? What need is there of so much Time for this? We have already seen, and known, and tasted what we are capable of, in a very little time; and when we are got to the End of our Curiosity, This is sufficient. What Good will it do us, or wherefore should we wish to act the same Things over and over again, and be always beginning afresh? Who would not be cloy’d with eating upon the same Dish every Day? If this be not nauseous and troublesome, yet to be sure it is superfluous and unnecessary. This is but One Circle, which is perpetually rolling, and brings the same Things uppermost again; sometimes they remove to a little distance, and then they quickly return back upon us: 'Tis but a spinning the same Web; and that which may serve a Child to play with, but can never be a fit Entertainment for grown Men. Shall
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Shall we then wish it for nobler Ends; that we may grow wiser and better, and aspire to higher degrees of Virtue and Perfection; that we may do more Good, and be more useful in our Generations? This, indeed, carries the Appearance of an excellent Disposition; but They that know us will not be imposed upon by it: For Who shall teach, Who shall improve us? Alas! That little which is committed to our Trust, is so ill used, that we cannot have the Confidence to ask for more. We neglect what we have already, and suffer the greatest Part of it to slip thro' our Fingers. We squander it away profusely upon Vanity and Trifles; nay, we abuse and misemploy it upon Wickedness and Vice. And yet after all this Unfaithfulness and Folly, we cry and complain for more, and think our selves ill dealt with, that we have not enough. Enough for what? For the same insignificant and ill Purposes to be sure; for That would be the Consequence of a more liberal Allowance too. But, supposing Men serious in this Matter; and that they would really do as they pretend; yet of what Use would this vast Treasure of Knowledge and Experience prove? For the Soul must change its Dwelling at one time or other; and whenever That dislodges, all our Wisdom goes with it. Since therefore This cannot stay always, why should we take it ill that it stays so little a time? For if it sink into a State of Oblivion, and all must be lost, What mighty Difference is there, whether this be done sooner or later? But if it removes into a better Condition, and be (as it really will be) put into a State of clearer Vision, and more perfect Knowledge, why should we desire to have that Happiness delay'd, and kept back from us?

But you will say, perhaps, This Gift of Life is very unequally distributed; for there are some
Creatures that live three or four times as long as the usual Age of Man. I might answer, That the Accounts we have of this kind are many, if not most of them, fabulous. But waving That, and allowing the Objection; yet it must be confess'd withal, that some, nay, the much greater part of Animals, live not near so long; some never arrive at a Fourth part of our Years, and very few ever come to an equal length with us. Now pray, what Right, what Privilege, what Reason hath Man to challenge a longer Duration here, than the rest of his Fellow-Creatures have a Title to? Where did God ever grant him such a Charter, or how will he be able to make good the Claim? Is it reasonable He should be indulg'd more than They, because he puts out his Time to better Interest, and employs it upon Business more noble and sublime in itself, more worthy and deserving of this Favour, than They are capable of? I greatly fear, this Argument may be thrown back in our Faces, and prove the strongest Plea against us; For sure He ought rather to be cut shorter than the rest, as a Punishment for his Abuse and Mismanagement. And in this He is singular, and stands alone. The whole Creation cannot furnish a Parallel; not any one Instance of this Blessing so grievously perverted; not such another Monster of Wickedness and Unfaithfulness, of Ingratitude and Baseness, of Intemperance and Debauchery, and all manner of disorderly Living. This Charge hath been sufficiently proved upon him already, when we stated the Comparison between Him and the Beasts; and therefore I urge my Point, and ask that Question once more, What Benefit would a longer Life be to him? Nay, I think that with a Second, and add, What an Inconvenience would it be to Himself, and how mischievous to the World? It would make his
own Account the heavier, his Crimes and Arrears the greater, and it wou’d encourage him to yet more Extravagancies than he is guilty of already: For this very Consideration would put him upon bolder and more desperate Attempts. The shortness of his Continuance in the World, as Matters now stand, is some Check to his wild Career, and breaks all his Measures; and the Uncertainty of it abates and damps his Fury: But if these Restraints were removed, and Assurances given of a larger Term, Nothing would be able to stop him; his Projects would be always New, without Number, without End; and he would live as if he were to live for ever. You see how strong these Inclinations are now. He cannot but feel and fear his own Mortality; and yet these Reflections are so over-balanced by a corrupt Principle within, that he cannot forbear holding fast what he hath, and eager Desires and Pursuits of what he hath not, and forming vast and very distant Designs, as if he were really Immortal. * Tis a just Reproof which Seneca gives, To live, as if Life were never to have an End. The Frailty of your Nature is never thought of; or, if it be, ’tis remembered to no purpose; for at the same time that your Fears are infinite, and this proves you Mortal; your Desires are infinite too, as if you look’d upon your selves to be Immortal.

Again; What necessity is there for all those great and goodly Designs, and that mighty Business, which is pretended to merit a longer Life for Mankind, than any other Animal? Does Nature require more back than is given us? No sure.


Men
Men have no just ground of Complaint; but abundant Cause for Indignation and Remorse, for treating themselves no better. The Life allow'd us is enough to answer All the Purposes of it; but the Misery is, that we turn Negligent and Prodigals, and do not husband it so well as we might and ought to do: It is not short of itself, but we make it so, by wasting it unprofitably. We labour under no Wants of this kind, but what our own Prodigality brings upon us; and are scandalously lavish of the Thing we pretend to need most. * We lose it, we sell it, we throw it away; we vilifie it, and complain that it hangs upon our Hands; we are at some Pains to pass it away, as if it were a Matter of no Worth at all; as if our Stomachs were over-loaded, and we sick and cloy'd with too great Abundance. There is not any of us, but is guilty of one or other of these Three Faults; either employing it ill, or not employing it at all, or employing it Insignificantly, and to no purpose. † A great part of our Life (says Seneca) is run off in doing what we should not; much the greatest in doing nothing at all; and almost the whole of it in doing things by the by, and such as are not our proper Business. No Body takes Pains in learning how to Live; but All lay out their Studies and their Time upon any other Subject, rather than This. And yet This, like all other Arts, is not to be attained slightly and easily; a Man cannot be expert in it without long Practice, much Diligence, and very solicitous Application of the Mind. Some put off all Thought of living well, till they can live no longer. They spend the Vi-

* Non inopes vite, sed prodigi.
† Magna vite pars elabatur male agentibus, maxima nihil agentibus, tota aliud agentibus.
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gourd and Flower of their Years in Toil, and Trouble, and Folly; and propose great Enjoyments to themselves hereafter, and wondrous Comforts in their declining Age. How are they sure they shall live to that Age? But if they were, what a wretched Madness is This? 'Tis directly as if a Man should set his Cask to running, and let out all the best and sprightly Liquor, that he may reserve the Dregs for his own Drinking. Age is the Lee and Sediment of Life; All we can do then, is to try if we can sustain and sweeten it a little; but to defer our Satisfactions till then, is to give them quite away, and lose them for altogether. Nay, many never go thus far, but finish their Day without ever beginning their Work; and go off the Stage without considering why they were brought on, or what Part they were to act. * Some (say the Philosopher) begin to live when they should make an End; others cease to live before ever they begin: Among the many Mischiefs that Folly brings upon us, This is the least, That it is always beginning to live. We think of Business, and intend to set about it; but make no Progress at all, nor bring any thing to Perfection.

The World is a Theatre, and our present Life in it, the Beginning and the End of a Play; our Birth draws the Curtain, and our Death shuts it up again: 'Tis a Comedy of Errors; a constant Succession of Accidents and Adventures, a Contreuxure and Chain of several Miseries linked clozely, and interwoven within one another; nothing but Evil on every side; That which passes off, and that which approaches, and comes into its place; and these drive out, and push forward

* Quidam vivere incipient cum definendum: Quidam ante delerent quam inciperent: Inter cetera mala, hoc quoque hebet staetia, semper incipit vivere.

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The Life of Man hath its Inconveniences and Miseries of several sorts. Some of them are in Common, extending to all Persons, and all Times; Others are Peculiar and Successive, and distinguish'd by the different Parts, and Age, and particular Seasons and Accidents of Life: As Childhood, Youth, Maturity, Man's Estate, and Old Age; for Each of these hath its distinct Calamities; some Embasements and Incumbrances, which may be properly call'd its own.

When Youth and Old Age come to be weigh'd one against the other, it hath been usual to give the Advantage to the latter: And most Authors speak of Age with Honour and Respect, as having attain'd to greater degrees of Wisdom, more Maturity of Judgment, more Moderation and Temper: All which good Qualities are marvellously cry'd up, with a Design to put Youth out of Countenance, and to charge upon it the contrary Characters of Vice and Folly, Licentiousness and Extravagance. But with the leave of those, who have thus decided the Controversie, I must take Liberty to declare, that this Verdict is in my Opinion very unjust: For, in good truth, the Defects and the Vices of Age are more in Number, worse in Quality, and less to be resisted or recover'd, than those that are peculiar to Youth. Years deform our Minds as much as our Bodies; bring Wrinkles there as well as in our Faces, and turn our Tempers
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The Vices more peculiar to Youth are, Rashness and Heat; Forwardness, and an unguarded Conversation; Debauchery, and all manner of Sensual Excess. And these are in some Degree natural to that State; the Effects of Warmth and Vigour, and the Boilings of a Florid Blood: All which, as they need and ought to be corrected, so they have something to say in their own Excuse. But what Apology shall we make for the ill Qualities that attend Old Age? The lightest and least of which are vain Arrogance and Pride; a troublesome and peremptory way of Conversing, and an engrossing all the Talk to themselves; sroward and unflocicable Humours, Superstition and Whimsie; Love of Riches when past the use of them; for-did Avarice, and fear of Death; which generally is not (as some have favourably interpreted the Case) the effect of a cold Blood, and low Spirits, and of Courage damp'd by these Natural Causes; but it proceeds from long Custom, and Acquaintance, and a foolish Fondness for the World; by which the Old Gentleman hath corrupted his Judgment, and hath a greater Tenderness for it, than young Men, who enjoy more, and know less of it. Besides these, there are Envy, and Ill-Nature, and Injustice; but the most exquisite and ridiculous Folly of all, is, that Affectation of a severe, and grave, and wise Character; and hoping to gain Respect and Deference, by an Austerer Look, and Scornful Behaviour; which indeed does not provoke Laughter, and become it self a Jest, while it pretends to extort Observance and Fear: For the Young Fellows combine together against this formal Austerity, which they see put on only for a Disguise; and with a design to amuse and affright them into Reverence, where real Merit, which would engage it, is wanting. In short, The Vices of Old Age are so numerous on
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on the One Hand, and the Infirmities of it on the Other, and Both together conspire to render it so despicable, that the best and most saving Game it can play, is to secure Men's Affections, and to win them by Methods of Kindness, and Affability, and Good-Nature. For Churlishness, and an Imperious Humour, and whatever aims at Fear and Dominion, are not by any means Weapons fit for These Persons to manage. The affecting so very much Ave, does by no means become them; and if the thing could really be compassed (which it rarely, or never is) yet they should much rather choose to render themselves Agreeable; and think the Love, and Respect, and Honour of young Persons, more to be desired, than the keeping them in Constraint and Fear, and Tyrannizing over all that converse with them.
THE

Fourth Consideration

CONCERNS

Man, with regard to his Manners, Humour, and Condition, &c.

A general Draught of Man.

THE Ancient Sages, and as many as have apply'd themselves to the study of Humane Nature, when they represent Man to us, have this remarkable Agreement among them, That in all their Draughts and Descriptions, their principal Lines are the same. For they All conspire to paint him, as a Creature made up of these Four Things; Vanity, Weakness, Inconstancy, and Misery. They style him They Prey of Time; The Sport and Gungaw of Fortune; The Image of Inconstancy; The Pattern, nay rather the Prodigy of Weakness; the Balance of Envy and Misery; a Dream; a Phantom; Dust and Ashes; a Vapour; a Morning-Dew; a Flower that presently faileth; in the Morning Green and growing up, in the Evening cut down, dry'd up, and withered; a Wind; Grass; a Bubble; a Shadow; a Leaf born away by the Wind; a Sponge...
Chap. 35. The Third Consideration of Man.

Full of Excrements in his Beginning; a Bundle of Infirmities and Miseries in the Middle State; Rottenness and a Nuisance, and Food for Worms, in his Latter End. In a Word, The most Despicable, the most Calamitous Part of the whole Creation. Job, who was as well skill'd, and as much experienc'd in this Subject, as any Man ever was, hath drawn him at full length, in his true Colours and Proportions: And Solomon after him hath done the same in his Books. Pliny's Piece of him is in Little, but extremely like the Original, when he calls him * The most wretched, and yet the proudest and most insolent Creature in the whole World. Under the Former of these Attributes, (That of Wretched) he comprehends all the Characters already mention'd, and the Descriptions other Writers have given of him. The Second (That of Proudest) concerns another Head of very great Consideration; and in these Two Words he seems to have comprized all that can be said upon the Matter. These Two Qualities, I confess, seem utterly inconsistent, and destructive of each other. For what in Appearance more distant, what more contradictory, than Emptiness and Presumption, than Misery and Pride? So strange, so monstrous a Composition is Man, in which these wide Extremes are Ingredients.

Now the very different Parts whereof Man consists, Body and Spirit, make it exceeding hard to give a tolerable Description of him entire, and altogether. Some charge all that can be spoken in Disparagement of Man, upon the Body, and represent him a most excellent Creature, complete and superior to any other, in regard of

*Solum ut certum sit nihil esse certi, nec miserius quicquam homine aut superbius.
his Mind. But this Method is so far from just, that, on the contrary, All that is truly ill, not in Man only, but in the whole World, is the Product and Contrivance of the Mind. And much the greatest Part of the Vanity, Inconstancy, Misery, and Presumption, with which Humane Nature is debased, resides in this Part of us; which gave Democritus occasion to call the Mind an unknown World of Miseries; and Plutarch proves it by a Tract written on purpose, and upon this very Subject. This General Consideration then, which regards Man in his own Nature, and in the Grofs, shall consist of these Five Particulars: Vanity, Weakness, Inconstancy, Misery, and Presumption; Which are indeed the most Natural, the most Ins separable and Universal Qualities, of any that belong to him; tho' the Two last seem more intimately to concern, and touch him most to the quick. I add too, that there are some Things reducible to several of these Five Heads; and it is not easy to determine which of them they most properly belong to, particularly the Topsicks of Weakness and Misery, between which there is great Affinity and Resemblance.

* Utsum graviores morbi animi quam corporis. *Plat. Lib.
OF all the Qualities that belong to Humane Nature, Vanity is the most Essential. The very Peculiar of Man, and Predominate over the rest. For, whether we regard Moral Evil, or Misfortune, or Inconstancy, or Irresolution, or any other ill Property, (of which, God knows, this Soil always bears a blentful Crop) yet it abounds in nothing so much as in Worthlesness, and Emptines; Senseless Folly, and Ridiculous Vanity. Upon this Account Democritus was certainly more in the right, when he laugh’d at all Mankind, and treated them with Scorn and Contempt, than Heraclitus was, who wept and afflicted himself; and so express’d some sort of Esteem for Men, as if he thought them worth his Trouble and Concern. And Diogenes took a better Course in reproaching and disdaining them, than Timon did, who profess’d to hate Mankind, and fled away from all Conversation. Pindar hath given a live-lier Image of This, than any Author besides, in that bold Stroke, where he hath joyned the Two vaineft Things in the World together, to finish his Idea, calling Man the Dream of a Shadow. This Consideration hath driven some Wise Men to so very great a Contempt of Humane Nature, that when a Difficult, Bold, and Noble Undertaking was mention’d to them, they would frequently reply; That all the World was not worth a Man’s giving himself any Trouble for it, so said Statilius
to Brutus, when they discoursed the Conspiracy against Caesar) That a Wise Man ought not to do any Thing upon any Account but his own. And that it was by no means fit, that Wise Men and Wisdom should suffer any Disquiet, or be expos'd to any Hazard, for the Sake of Fools and Sots.

This Vanity hath great variety of Ways to express it self by. As, First of all, In our Thoughts, and secret Conferences with our Selves, which are very often even worse than vain, frivolous and ridiculous. And yet in these trffling Imaginations we spend a great deal of Time, and are not sensible of it. We enter upon them, continue in them, and come out of them again, without ever being conscious of our Motions: Which makes the Vanity double, and argues great Inadvertency, and Disregard of our selves. Here is one walking in his Dining-Room full of Care to manage his Feet so, that each Turn may be compass'd with such a Number of Steps, and that such Parts of the Boards only may be trod upon: A Second forms, with great Seriousness, long Harangues to himself, composes a Scene of Action, what he would say, and how he would maintain his Port, if he were a King, or a Pope, or some other Thing, which he is so far from, that he knows it is impossible he ever should be such. And thus he feeds upon Wind, nay, upon somewhat yet less substantial, upon a Thing that never had, nor ever will have, any sort of Existence. Another is taken up in Contrivance for the Management of his Person, the Affecting a particular Motion of his Body, an Air of his Face, a Singularity of Address, odd Sentences, and uncommon Pronunciations; and This he is infinitely delighted with, as a Thing extremely graceful and engaging, and what other People must needs admire, and be taken with too. Then how prodigiously vain and foolish are we in our Wishes
Chap. 36. Of Vanity.

Wishes and Desires; from whence spring our ridiculous Opinions, and our yet more ridiculous Hopes and Expectations? And This again, not only at such times as we surfeit with Leisure, and have no other Business to employ our Thoughts; but it very often interrupts our serious and most important Affairs, and breaks our Thread in the very Heat of Action. So natural is Vanity to us, and so prevalent over us, that it spirits us away, and plucks us forcibly from Truth and Solidity, and real Substance; to lose us in Air, and Emptiness, and Nothing.

But, of all Vanities, the most refined in Folly, is that anxious Care of what shall happen hereafter, when we are gone, and cannot feel it. We stretch our Desires and Affections beyond our Persons and Subsistence; and are much concerned for Things to be done to us, when we shall be in no Capacity of receiving them. How importunately do we covet Praise and Applause after Death? And how egregious a Folly is this? What can be vainer? This is not Ambition, as Men may be apt to imagine; for that desires a sensible Honour, such as a Man can enjoy, and reap some Benefit from. So far as our Good Name indeed is capable of doing Service to our Children, or Relations, or Friends, that stay behind, I own there is Use of it; and am content Men should desire it in Proportion to this Convenience. But to propose That, as our own Happiness, which can never reach, or in any degree affect our selves, is meer Vanity. Such another Folly is Theirs, who perplex their Lives with Fears of their Wives marrying Second Husbands; and passionately desire they would continue single; nay, are content to purchase the Gratification of this Whim, at a dear rate, by leaving in their Wills a great Part of their Estates to their Widows, upon this Condition. What an insupportable Folly? and,
as it sometimes falls out, what horrible Injustice is this? How directly the Reverse of those Heroick Spirits in Former Ages, who, upon their Death-Beds, advis'd their Wives to marry again, as soon as Decency and Prudence would permit; and to render themselves useful by bringing Children to the Publick? Some again, conjure their Friends to wear such a Ring, or a Lock of Hair, or some other Relick, as a constant Remembrance of them, when they are dead; or leave Directions for some particular Thing to be done about their own Bodies; What can we make of all this? Hath it not a very untoward Aspect? Methinks, it looks, as if Men could be content to part with Life; but could not even then submit to part with Vanity at any rate.

4. Another Vanity is this, That the Generality of Mankind live for Other People only, and not for Themselves. We are not half so much concern'd what we really and truly are in our own Persons and Dispositions, as what the World takes us for, and how we stand in Character and Reputation abroad. And thus we frequently cheat our selves, and cast away the true Happiness and Advantages of Life, and do a thousand inconvenient Things; tho' at the same time we torture our selves to be agreeable to the Standers-by, and to put on what we know is most in Vogue. And this is plainly so, not only in our Estates, and our Bodies; The Table, the Equipage, the Furniture, the Dress, the Figure, all adapted to the present Mode, and what the World expects from Persons in our Circumstances; But, which is a great deal worse, and more deplorable; in the Advantages of the Mind the Observation holds too. For even These are thought of no Use or Worth, unless they draw the Eyes and Approbation of other People. And Virtue itself is neglected and disesteem'd, if it be not pub-
Of Vanity.

lickly acknowledged and commended: As if the Testimonies of ones own Breast were no Satisfaction; As if those Things which were given for our proper Use and Benefit, had lost all their Efficacy, and changed their Nature, when Others do not see, and share in them, as well as our Selves.

Nor is our Vanity confin’d to simple Thoughts, and Desires, and calm Discourse; but it often rises higher, puts both Body and Mind into violent Agitations and Pains. Men often tease and torment themselves more, for Matters of little or no Consequence, than for those which are of nearest Concern, and upon which their All depends. Our Soul is frequently thrown into violent Disorders, by little Whimsies, a meer Fancy, a Dream, a Shadow, an empty Amusement, without Substance, without Ground; and works it self up to all the Excesses of Anger and Revenge, Joy and Grief, and Confusion; and all This with building Castles in the Air. The Ceremony of taking leave, the Idea of some particular Gestures in a parting Friend, strikes us deeper, and gives us more real Trouble, than all the Reasoning in the World, upon Matters of greatest Moment, is able to do. The Sound of a Name repeated, some certain Words and melancholy Accents pronounc’d pathetically; nay, dumb Sighs, and vehement Exclamations, go to our very Hearts. Tricks which all your former Haranguers, Enthusiasts, Buffoons, and Others, whose Trade it is to move the Passions, know, and practise in great Perfection. And this airy Blast sometimes surprizes the most cautious, and transports the most resolved, unless they set a more than common Guard upon themselves. So strong an Influence hath Vanity, and We so mighty a Tendency to it. Nay, as if it were not Reproach sufficient
to be agitated and tossed about with Toys and Trifles, even Falshoold and Cheat hath the same Effect, and (which is strange) even when we know it is nothing but Falshoold and Cheat. Such Delight do we take, such Industry do we use, to bubble our selves with our Eyes open, and to feed upon Fable and Nothing. * How dextrous we are to deceive our selves, we need no other Instances than those that cry heartily, and fall into violent Passions upon hearing dismal Stories, and seeing deep Tragedies, at the same time that they know the moving Parts of these to have been invented and composed for Entertainment and Diversion, at the Discretion of the Romancer, or the Poet: Nay, some of them mere Fables; so far from Truth now, that they never were true in any Circumstance at all. Shall I mention one Vanity more? That of a Wretch possed, fond and dying for Love of an ugly old Hag; One, whose Age and Deformity he knows, and knows that he hates and despises him too; and, notwithstanding all this, is bewitched with a painted Face, and Colours well laid; the Affectation of a Coquette, or some other Imposture, which he sees and confesses to be an Imposture; and all the while runs mad, and owns no other Charm, but what he perfectly sees thro' the Fallacy of.

But to shew you what Footing Vanity hath got, and how close it sticks to Humane Nature; we will now pass from private Deportment and Dispositions, to Publick Conversation; by which This will plainly appear, to be no particular and personal Defect, but the Vice of the whole Species in common. And here, what Vanity, what Lofs of Time

* Ad fallendum nosmet ipsos ingeniosissimi sumus.
may we observe in the Impertinencies of Visits, Howd'you's, Forms of Address, mutual Entertainments; in the Offices of Civility, set Speeches, and Ceremonious Behaviour; in Proffers of Service, in Promises, and Praises? How many fulsome Strains of Complement, what Infinite Hypocrisie, Falshood and Deceit? How open and barefac'd, so that the Person that utters it, and he to whom it is directed, and every one that stands by, sees and knows, and is satisfied it is false? Thus Conversation is now become little else, than a Tryal of Skill for Diffimulation; and looks like a common Confederacy, where Men have combin'd together to lye, and bubble, and abuse, and make a Jest of one another. Nay, good Manners require, that at the same time a Man tells you an impudent Lye, you should return him your Thanks, for what you know he intends not a word of; and He again, who is satisfied you believe not a Syllable of what he says, receives those Acknowledgments of yours with a set Face, and an Air of Confidence; and thus you stand cringing, and fawning, and dodging for the last Word; each striving to begin, and fearing to leave off, and shrugging, when both are heartily weary, and would fain be well quit of one another. What Inconveniences are we content to endure for these Formalities? We expose our Selves to the Air, to Heat, to Cold; disturb the Peace of our Lives, and are in perpetual Pain for these courtly Follies; We neglect our Business of Weight and Consequence, and attend upon Wind and Smoke. We are vain at the Expence of our Ease, nay, of our Health, of our very Life. And what can prove Mankind more enslav'd to Vanity than This, That Levity and Accident tramples Substance under Foot, and Air carries away solid Body, whither it will? Especially, when a Man
that behaves himself otherwise, must be look’d upon as a Sot, and a Fool, one that knows nothing of the World, nor what becomes him to do in it: Thus to play this Farce dextrously, is the greatest Mark of Wit; and the most affected Harlequin in it, is the finest Gentleman; but not to be Vain is contemptible Stupidity, and he that declines playing the Fool, betrays his own want of Sense and good Breeding. Nay, when there is no need of all this Form and Complaisance, Vanity hangs about us still: Witness the freer Discourses of the most familiar Acquaintance, and intimate Friends. How many trifling Impertinences, Falshoods, Banters, (I omit the wicked and mischievous Part, because that falls not under this Head) How many arrogant and vain Boastings go to the making up this sort of Conversation too? Men are so industrious to take, to seek, to make occasions of Talking of themselves, or of somewhat that belongs to them; They do it with so sensible, and yet so nauseous a Pleasure; if they think they have said or done a good thing, or that somewhat they are possess’d of is better than ordinary, They are so uneasy till they have publish’d and enlarg’d upon it; as if all their Wit and Worth were lost, unless other People were made sensible of it too: They catch at the very first Convenience, cry it up to the greatest Degree imaginable; nay, they perfectly bring it in by Head and Shoulders, and interrupt all other Discourse to start this: And when any Body else is Talking, we presently thrust our selves in, and take an Advantage of shewing our Parts; so eager are we that People shou’d understand what we are, and have a regard for us; and not for Us only, but for every thing that we have a regard for,
Chap. 36. Of Vanity.

As a yet greater Demonstration, how absolute a
Sovereignty Vanity hath obtain'd over Humane Na-
ture, we need but recollect the most considerable
Revolutions that ever happen'd in the World, and
the Occasions of them: For thus it will soon ap-
pear, that the most general and most formidable
Convulsions of Cities and Kingdoms, and whole
Empires; the Seditious, and Revolts, and Fates of
Armies; the bloodieft Battels, the barbaroufief
Murders, the sharpeft Disputes, and most implac-
able Quarrels, have proceeded from very trifling, ri-
diculous, and insignificant Causes. Witness the long
War between Troy and Greece, the Piques of Sylva
and Marius, and all the Confusions that follow'd
from thence, in the Civil Wars of Caesar and Pom-
pay, and Augustus and Antony. The Poets have re-
presented this well enough, by pretending an Ap-
ple to have been the Boutefeu; the Original of all
that Blood and Devaftation in Asia and Greece.
And indeed the fift Springs, upon which these vast
Events move, are commonly Things of no confe-
quence; but That which begins very small, swells
to a vast Bulk afterwards; and the blowing it up
thus, is an irrefragable Proof of the Vanity and
Folly of Mankind. Nay, many times an occa-
ional Thing goes further with us than the principal
Caufe; and some paltry little Circumstances make
more sensible Impressions, and gall us more than
the main Matter to which they retain; as Caesar's
Robe put Rome into greater Passion and Concern,
than his Death it self, and the Two and twenty
Stabs in his Body had done before.

The Last, and indeed the most exquisite Vanity,
is our seeking with so much Industry and Passion,
and pleasing our selves so highly, nay, placing our
very Happiness in Advantages, which have neither
real Worth, nor Neceffity to recommend Them:

But
But as they are trifling and frivolous in themselves, so they are such as we may be very happy, and live very comfortably and conveniently without. Whereas on the other hand, those that are necessary, and essential to our true Happiness, find little or no part of the Regard due to them; and every Body is indifferent whether he hath Them or not. Thus the Condition of Man is all Air and Speculation; His whole Happiness imaginary; Opinion and Dream is all he pursues; and in this he stands Alone, and cannot match himself in the whole World. *God* hath all *Good* in Essence and Reality, and *Evil* in Notion and Understanding only. *Man*, on the contrary, hath only fantastical *Good*, but his *Evils* are weighty and substantial. *Beasts* are not satisfy’d with Opinion, nor do They feed upon Fancy, but require somewhat that is present, and sensible, and real, to content them. *Vanity* is reserv’d to *Man* for his Portion, the Inheritance and peculiar Right of his Nature. *He* runs, he buffles, he fights, he dies, he flies, he pursues; he grasps at a Shadow, he worships the Wind; he sweats and toils all Day, and in the Evening, when his Gains come to be computed, a *More* is all the Wages he receives for his Work.
We are now advancing to the Second Head, under which Humane Nature is to be considered; and This cannot be any Surprize, after what hath been said already. For how should so much Vanity be otherwise than Feeble and Frail? Accordingly, this Frailty is frankly confessed by all People, and several Instances of it reckoned up, which are too Plain not to be discerned: But then it is not observed in its due Proportion, nor in all Cases where it really hath a Part; as in those, for Instance, which seem to have more of Strength, and a less Mixture of Weakness; such as Desire; The Use and Enjoyment of what a Man is possest of; In his Good and his Evil; in short, such as Man takes a Pride in, and values himself upon. And yet, even These supposed Glories and Excellencies of his Nature, are undeniable Arguments of his Weakness. This may possibly seem a Paradox at first Sight; but a few particular Reflections, will give us a clearer and more distinct View of the Thing.

First, As for Desires; It is manifest a Man cannot fix upon any Thing, not even in Wifh and Imagination, so as to fit down with That, and rest himself contented. We have it not in our Power, to Chuse what is necessary, and fit for us; nor to say, in Particular, what This would be. And if Providence in Wifdom and Kindness, bestow what we desire, and what really is fit, upon us, yet it does not satisifie. We are Eternally gaping at some-
what Future and Unknown; and find, that what is present never fills, never contents; but what we have not, is ever esteemed above it. Could we suppose a Man so far indulged, that a Blank should be put into his Hands, to write his own Terms; yet even that Fortune of his own Carving, would not be so to his Palate, but that in a short time he would retract it; some Alterations and Amendments, something to be added or taken away: In short, he desires he knows not what. How well forever the Particulars may please, yet when the Account comes to be summed up, nothing contents him; for, to say the Truth, he is uneasie, and discontented with his own self.

His Weakness is still greater, and more conspicuous, in the Use and Enjoyment of what he hath, than in the Desire of what he hath not; and that in several Respects. First, in that he cannot manage, nor reap the Benefit of Things as they really are, and in their Native Purity; but there is a Necessity of disguising, and adulterating them, that they may be accommodated to our Purpose. Elements, Metals, and other Things in their Primitive Simplicity are perfectly useless to us; Pleasures and Delights, are never to be enjoyed without a Mixture of Pain and Inconvenience.

* For still some bitter Thought destroys
Our fancied Mirth, and Poisons all our Joys. Creech.

Extremity of Pleasure, carries with it an Air of Melancholy and Complaint; and the highest Gratifications of Sense, are Weakness, and Painings: And that which gives true and perfect Content-

* Medio de fonte leporum.
Chap. 37. Of Weakness.

ment hath much more Solidity, and a severe Satisfaction, than of Gaiety and Transport in it.

† Even Happiness, itself, if it do not moderate itself, oppresses and destroys itself. Which gave occasion to one of the Ancients to say, That God told us all the good Things we receive from him; meaning, that none of them are Pure and Unmingled; and we cannot be said to have That gratis, for which we pay the Price of that Evil and Uneasiness which attends it. The Case is directly the same with Grief too, for This is never without some sort of Pleasure annexed to it. || Pleasure and Pain, tho' in their Natures the most unlike that can be, are yet so contrived, by Nature, as to be constant Companions, and go Hand in Hand——

Even Tears are shed for Pleasure and Relief,
And Humorous Man turns Epicure in Grief.

Thus all Things in this World are mingled and tempered with their Contraries; and it is not amiss to observe, what Masters in Painting teach us, That the very same Motions and Muscles of the Face, are employed both in Laughing and Crying. And common Experience shews us, that excessive Laughter brings Tears. There is no good Quality in us, without some Tincture of Vice, as shall be shewn in its proper Place hereafter; nor is there any Evil, without some abatement of Good *. Every Misfortune is capable of being turned to Advantage; there is no Good without Evil, no Evil without Good in Man; every Thing is a Mixture, and nothing comes to our Hands sincere and

† Ipsa felicitas se nihil temperat, premir.
|| Labor voluptasque diffimillima natura, societate quadam naturali inter se sunt juncta; est quaedam flere voluptas.
* Nullum fine authoremento malum est.

unmin-
Of Wisdom.

Book I.

unmingled. Secondly, All that happens to us, is mismanaged, and taken by the wrong Handle; Our Palates are humoursom and uncertain, and know not how to relish Things as they ought; and from This variety of Tastes, it is, That the endless Disputes, and Irreconcilable Opinions, concerning the Chief Good, have proceeded. The very best Things, oftentimes, decay and die upon our Hands; are corrupted by our Weakness, or our Wickedness; or are loft and come to nothing, for want of Ability to make the Best of them; nay, sometimes they do not only turn to No Account, but to a very Ill One; and what is Good in it self, proves to Us, a mighty Evil, and manifeft Disadvantage.

But the Weakness of Humane Nature is most copiously display'd, with regard to Good and Evil, to Virtue and Vice. My Meaning is, That a Man with all his Industry and Endeavours, cannot be entirely Good, nor entirely Wicked. He is Master of nothing, in short. Upon this occasion we will consider Three Points. The first is, That it is not possible to exercise every kind of Virtue; The Reason is, that some of them are incompatible, and can never dwell together; the same Person, and the same Circumstances, are not capable of them. As for Instance, The Chastity of a Virgin, and that of a Widow; the Virtues of a Single, and those of a Married Life; These Latter in each Kind, Widowhood and Marriage, being Conditions of much more Encumbrance, and Trouble, more Difficulty, and therefore more Virtue, than the quiet, and undisturbed State of Celibacy and Virginity; though Those on the other hand, have the Advantage in Purity, and Grace, and Freedom from Business and Care. The Constancy and Greatness of Mind, which exerts it self in Poverty and Want, in Affliction and Pain, is very
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ry different from that which preserves a Man's Temper in Prosperity and Plenty; and the Patience and Thankfulness of the Receiving Beggar, from the Liberality of the Giver. And as this holds in Virtues, so does it much more in Vices, several of which are not only very far distant, but diametrically opposite to each other.

It is no less observable, Secondly, That many times our Matters are so order'd, as not to permit the Performance of such Actions as relate to One Virtue, without encroaching upon some Other, and doing what is inconsistent with, or offensive to that very Virtue we are practising; because Things often interfere and obstruct us, so that we cannot satisfy One Duty, but at the Expense of Another. This is like what our Proverb calls Robbing Peter to pay Paul; and yet thus it is; not from any Deficiency in Virtue itself, but from the Impotence and Insufficiency of Humane Nature, which is too short, too narrow, to give or receive any certain, constant, universal Rule of acting virtuously; and Man cannot so contrive his Methods, and provide himself with Helps, and Occasions of doing Good, but that they will frequently cross and interrupt one another. Thus Charity and Justice are sometimes impracticable at once. If I engage against my Relation, or my Friend, in a Battle, Justice requires me to take his Life, and treat him as an Adversary; Charity and Affection bid me spare and preserve him as a Friend. Suppose a Man mortally wounded, and that he hath nothing to expect, but the languishing out the miserable Remains of Life in extreme Torture; it were certainly an Act of Charity to put this wretched Creature out of his Pain, by killing him out-right, as the Person who kill'd Saul alledged for himself; and yet this is such a Mercy as Justice would call one to an Account for; and

David X
David punished it accordingly. Nay, the being found near such a Person in a lonely Place, when Search is made for the Murderer, tho' one be there with Intentions of Kindness, is exceeding dangerous; and the least that can come of it, is, the being made to undergo the Course of the Law; and brought upon Trial for a Misfortune which one had no Hand in. And this last Instance shews, how Justice does not only offend against Charity, but also how it entangles and obstructs itself, according to that most true Observation. * The Extremity of Rights is the Extremity of Wrong.

6. The Third Cafe, and indeed, the most remarkable of all, is, The Necessity Men are sometimes under of using Evil Means to deliver themselves from some greater Evil; or for the compassing some Good End. So that Things in themselves not Good, nay, much otherwise, are sometimes legitimated, and have Credit and Authority given to them, for the Sake of the Purposes they serve: As if Men might, nay, as if they must, be Wicked in some degree, in Order to becoming Good in a greater. And this not only Policy and Justice, but Religion too, furnishes Examples of.

7. In Politicks, How many indirect Practices are allow'd, and daily made use of? And this not merely upon Permission and Connivence, but even by express Direction and Approbation of the Laws. † Crimes are establish'd by Publick Edicts, as we shall have Occasion to observe more at large in another Place. When a State is full and overgrown, like a replete Body, whose Humours are either too noxious, or too many to be endured; the Method of discharging this Oppression, is, to fend off its Superfluities of Men, or those among

* Summum Jus summa Injuria.
† Ex Senatus consultis & plebis citis seclera exercentur.
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them, who are of the hottest and warlike Dispositions, to be knock'd on the Head abroad. Thus a Vein is breath'd; but the Ease it gives, is at the infinite Expence and Trouble of some other Country. And this we know hath been the Practice of Franks and Lombards, Goths, and Vandales, Turks and Tartars. So again, a Foreign War is often begun and maintain'd abroad, on purpose to keep busy Spirits employ'd, and to prevent Insurrections and Civil Dissentions at Home. Lycurgus, as a Leccion of Temperance, used to make Slaves drunk; that Men of Quality, from Their Extravagances, might learn to detest this Vice. The Romans, to harden their People, and make Dangers and Death familiar and contemptible, instituted those Inhumane Sights of their Gladiators, and entertain'd them with Blood and Slaughter every Day. This at first, indeed, was confin'd to condemn'd Malefactors only; then it came to innocent Slaves; and at last Free-Men, and People of Condition, practis'd, and valu'd themselves upon it. The Stews in some great Cities, are of the same kind; and so are the Usury, the Divorces of the Law of Moses, and among other People and Persuasions; Whose only Recommendation is this, That they are allowed for a present Necessity, and to put a Stop to greater Mischiefs.

So likewise in Justice, which cannot subsist nor be put in Practice, without some Mixture of In-III.Justice.

Justice. Nor is this the Case of Commutative Justice only, This were no strange Matter; for here it is in some sort necessary; Men could not live by their Trades, nor maintain Commerce with one another, without some reciprocal Injuries and Offences; every Man must sell a Thing for more than it is strictly worth; and therefore some Laws have allow'd Men to cheat, provided it be not above half
half the Price of the Goods: But Distributive Justice, which consists in dealing Rewards and Punishments, does the like; so she herself confesses, *Extreme Right is extreme Wrong. And All eminent exemplary Cases have some Allay of Injustice in them; wherein, however, the Hardships which Private Sufferer, are well paid with the Advantages that accrue to the Public from them. Plato allows, in several Places, that Publick Ministers should draw Criminals to a full Discovery, by false Hopes and Promises of Pardon and Favour, which they never intend to make good. Which is to make a way to Justice thro' Impudence, and Cozenage, and Falshood. And what shall we say of that cursed Invention of Racks, which are a Trial of Patience indeed, but none at all of Truth? For you shall never be able to get the Truth out of Them that can, not out of Them that cannot, endure them. Why should we think Extremity of Pain can more dispose a Man to tell what is, than to tell what is not? If an Innocent Man be supposed endued with Patience enough to bear the Torture, why should the Concern for saving his Life inspire a guilty Person with the same degree of Resolution? I know it is commonly reply'd in Excuse of this Barbarity, That the Pain astonishes and enfeebles the Guilty, and extorts a Confession of his Treachery from him; whereas it hath the quite contrary Effects of confirming and fortifying the Innocent. But the contrary of this happens so often, that to speak the Truth, This is an ensnaring and a pitiful Method; a poor and base way of Dealing, full of Doubt and Uncertainty. For what would not a

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* Summum Jus summa Injuria. Et Omne magnum Exemplum habet aliquid ex iniquo, quod contra singulos Utilitate publica rependitur.
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Man say or do to get quit of such Mifery? * Pain extorts Lies from the most Innocent; so that a Judge, which examines upon the Rack, to prevent the Death of Innocent Persons, first racks the Innocent, and then murders him. Many a thousand People have loaded themselves with false Accusations. But were it not so, what intolerable Injustice and Cruelty is it to torture and break a Man to pieces, for a Fault which as yet there is no Proof of? To avoid killing him without Cause, they do ten times worse than kill him. If he be innocent, and bear it out, What Justice can there be in putting him to any Pain at all? You’ll say, By bearing the Rack he is absolv’d; I thank you very kindly. But This, however, tho’ an Evil, is the leaff Humane Infirmity could contrive; and yet this is not practised every where neither. I confess, to Me, the Custom of determining Controversies, and clearing Men’s Innocence by Combat, seems to have lefs of Injustice and Barbarity in it. And yet This, tho’ formerly much in requist, is long since very unjustly condemn’d and exploded. For Chritianity allows no such bloody Methods, nor warrants any Dependence upon them, for a Discovery of the Truth.

But if Man be so weak (as we have seen) in regard of Virtue, and in his Practical Capacity; he is much more so in his Intellectual, and in relation to Truth. ’Tis prodigious, that Man should be so form’d by Nature, as to desire Truth eagerly, and grudge no Pains to attain it; and yet so at the fame time, as not to bear it when it offers it self to his View. The Flashes of it blind him, the Thunder of it stuns him; it is too bright, and too loud to be born. This is not Truth’s Fault however, which is exceeding beautiful, exceeding love-

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* Etenim Innocentes mentiri cogit Dolor.

X 3
ly, exceeding good and beneficial to Mankind; and what was said of Virtue and Wisdom, is at least as properly applicable to Truth; * That could we behold all its Charms, the whole World would be infinitely in love with it. But the Deceit is on Man’s side; his Faculties cannot bear so strong a Light; its Beams dazzle, nay, hurt his Senses. In Affairs merely Humane, he that sets it before us is esteem’d our Enemy. Truth and plain-dealing are disobliger Things. And what Perverseness is this? that what we love and seek so passionately, we should be so loth, so angry to find? Truth is not only amiable, but knowable too, yet not perfectly so by Us; for at present it seems Man is only strong in Desire, but weak in his Enjoyment of it; and not able to receive what he desires. The Two chief Means made use of to bring him to the Knowledge of the Truth, are Reason and Experience. But both these are insufficient, and so very weak, (tho’ of the two, Experience seems the more so) that no certain Conclusions can be drawn from them. Reason hath so many Tricks and Turnings, is so flexible in its Arguments, and so disguis’d in its Forms, that any thing may be made plausible from it; (as will be observ’d in another Place) Experience is no less fallible, because Events are constantly unlike one another. Nothing in Nature is so universal as Disparity; nothing so rare, so difficult, so impossible indeed, as Likeness: And nothing argues greater Weakness, and want of Judgment, than the not being able to discern and distinguish the Difference. This, however, is to be understood of such a Likeness and such a Diversity as is perfect, and holds in every Circumstance: For indeed both Similitude and Dissimilitude are every where in some respect and degree. No Two Things are in

* Quæsì si quilibet cerneret, mirabilia sui amores excitaret. Cic. de f. 1.
every regard like; none in all respects unlike one another. So exceedingly ingenious hath Nature approv'd her self in the Mixture and Composition of the World.

But, after all, What can make more full Discoveries of Humane Infirmity, than Religion it self hath done? Its main Intention and End is to lower Man in his own Esteem; to shew, and make him duly sensible, how wicked, how weak, how mere a Nothing he is; and, in this humble Sense, to drive him to God for Succour and Support, who is, indeed, his Happiness, his Refuge and Strength; nay, his All. The first Method taken to inculcate these mean Notions of our Selves, is by instructing, reminding, upbraiding us; setting before us the reproachful Titles of Dust and Ashes, Earth, Flesh and Blood, Gras, and the like.

After that, it insinuates this Truth after a most noble, and excellent, and stupendous manner; introducing God, humbling, debasing himself, and becoming weak for the sake of Man; speaking, expostulating, entreatning, promising, swearing, growing angry, threatening; and, in a Word, entering into Treaty and Terms, and managing him by all the endearing Arts of Persuasion, in the same tender, kind, condescending Methods, with which a fond Father wins and gains upon his Children, by stooping to their little Follies, and imitating their Infant-Imperfections. So very great it seems, so insuperable was the Weakness of Humane Nature, that no Access could be attain'd, no Correspondence held with the Divinity, till God himself was pleas'd to make the first Approaches; and by descending to our Capacities, and our Level, to draw us nearer to himself. While He continu'd in his Native Majesty, the Distance was too vast; and therefore the only way to bring Us up to Heaven, was for God to come down upon Earth.
But still this does not by any means infer, that God took Pleasure in these things, as of any real Intrinsick Worth and Good in themselves; For even before Grace and Truth set this Matter in its clearest Light by the Gospel, the Prophets were not sparing to declare the Contrary; and Those among the Jews of more enlightened Understandings, saw this perfectly well, and acknowledged it, even while the Practice of offering them continu’d. Thus David; Thou desir’st no Sacrifice, else would I give it thee, but thou delightest not in Burnt-Offerings. Burnt-Offering and Sacrifice for Sin hast thou not requir’d. And again, speaking in the Person of God himself, I will take no Bullock out of thy House, nor He-Goat out of thy Folds. They call’d upon Men for Oblations of another kind, more Noble and Spiritual; more becoming Them to bring, and more worthy and fit for a Holy Deity to receive. The Sacrifice of God is a Contrite Spirit, and the Offering of a pure Heart: Mine Ears hast thou opened, that I should do thy Will; yea thy Law is within my Heart. Offer unto God the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving; I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice. And many other Passages to the same Purpose. And at last, to clear this Matter, and put it beyond a Doubt, the Son of God himself, who was Truth, and the Teacher of it, and who condescended to come into the World, that he might disabuse Mankind, and rescue them from their Ignorance and Errors, hath utterly abolish’d this way of serving God: which he wou’d never have done, had there been any Essential Goodness in it, which cou’d have recommended it for its own sake to God his Father. But when He was come to be the End of the Law, and the Universal Propitiation, the Use of Sacrifices was at an End too; and then it is, They that worship God must worship him in Spirit and in Truth; for the Father
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see into the Mysterious End of them; which the
Generality of the Jews themselves never did; and
much less cou’d it be expected that the Pagan
World shou’d penetrate into it.

It is true, indeed, Almighty God, in great Grace
and Compassion to those more early and ignorant
Ages of the World, which knew no better; did
very favourably accept Good Men, when they ap-
proached him with this sort of Devotion; and the
Apostle takes particular Notice of his having Re-
spect to Abel and his Offering; as the History of the Heb. xi.
Old Testament does, of his testifying that Accep-
tance by visible Signs, in the Case of Noah, Abra-
ham, and Others. There being this Motive to his
Mercy, that what was done of that kind proceed-
ed from an Intention to serve and honour him;
and that the Understandings of Men were gross
and heavy; they were in their Minority, and un-
der a Schoolmaster, (as St. Paul expresseth it of the
Jewish People) but at the same time honest and
well-meaning: And it is not improbable, that
this Opinion, so universal at That time, might re-
present Sacrifices to them, as a Dictate of the Law
of Nature, and the only proper Method of Divine
Worship.

There was, it is confessed, another Considera-
tion, which rendred Sacrifices very valuable and
well-pleasing to God; whereby they were made
use of, as Figures and Representations of that One
truly meritorious Sacrifice, to be offer’d upon the
Altar of the Cross afterwards. But this is a My-
stery peculiar to the Jewish and Christian Religion.
And as it is a Common, so is it an Excellent and
Adorable Instance of the Divine Wisdom, to con-
vert what is of Human Institution, Natural Usage,
or of a Corporeal Nature, to High and Holy Pur-
poses, and make such things as the Ceremonial Law
consisted of, turn to a Spiritual Account.

But
Of Wisdom. Book I.

But still this does not by any means infer, that God took Pleasure in these things, as of any real Intrinsick Worth and Good in themselves; For even before Grace and Truth set this Matter in its clearest Light by the Gospel, the Prophets were not sparing to declare the Contrary; and Those among the Jews of more enlightened Understandings, saw this perfectly well, and acknowledged it, even while the Practice of offering them continu’d. Thus David; Thou desirest no Sacrifice, else would I give it thee, but thou delightest not in Burnt-Offerings. Burnt-Offering and Sacrifice for Sin hast thou not requir’d. And again, speaking in the Person of God himself, I will take no Bullock out of thy House, nor He-Goat out of thy Folds. They call’d upon Men for Oblations of another kind, more Noble and Spiritual; more becoming Them to bring, and more worthy and fit for a Holy Deity to receive. The Sacrifice of God is a Contrite Spirit, and the Offering of a pure Heart: Mine Ears hast thou opened, that I should do thy Will; yea thy Law is within my Heart. Offer unto God the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving; I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice. And many other Passages to the same Purpose. And at last, to clear this Matter, and put it beyond a Doubt, the Son of God himself, who was Truth, and the Teacher of it, and who condescended to come into the World, that he might disabuse Mankind, and rescue them from their Ignorance and Errors, hath utterly abolish’d this way of serving God: which he would never have done, had there been any Essential Goodness in it, which could have recommended it for its own sake to God his Father. But when He was come to be the End of the Law, and the Universal Propitiation, the Use of Sacrifices was at an End too; and then it is, They that worship God must worship him in Spirit and in Truth; for the Fa
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The Blessed Sacraments, when Administred to us in Elements so common, and of such mean esteem, as Bread and Wine, and Water; and not only so, but in the very Act of Administration, bearing Resemblance to the most Vulgar and Despicable Actions of Life, as Wishing, Eating and Drinking, are plain Memento’s of our continual Weaknesses, and Wants, our Miseries and Pollutions. And as the marvellous Efficacy magnifies the Almighty Power and Goodness of God, so the Need we have of them, should humble us, with mortifying Reflections upon our own feeble Condition.

Thus again, Repentance is prescribed, as the necessary, the only Remedy for our Spiritual Diseases; and ’tis plain, This, considered in it self, is an Act full of Shame and Reproach; it upbraids us with our Faults and Follies; afflicts our Souls with Grief and sad Remorse; and shews us to our Selves in the worst, and most deformed Figures, that can be: But, however Evil and Uncomely this may seem in it self, yet it is Necessary for reconciling us to God, and That is enough to reconcile Us to it. Another Instance may be taken
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taken from Oaths, which are, indeed, Religious Acts, when lawfully practised, by Reason of the Name of God, solemnly invoked in them: But yet, it is evident, that the common Use and Administration of these, is a scurvı́ Symptom, a most shameful Argument, how little Mankind are to be trusted; What Monsters of Falhood, and Treachery, of Error and Ignorance, we are! How vilely suspicious and distrustful the Person requiring them is, and how liable to Jealousie, the Person from whom they are demanded; and what a mean Opinion those Law-givers, who ordered them, had, of Mens Honesty and Truth; when one's bare Word will not give Satisfaction, and (as our Saviour says) whatsoever is more than this, cometh of Evil. Thus you see, not only how Weak and Sickly our Condition is; but likewise what sort of Remedies, Religion hath found it Necessary to apply for our Cure. Since it may be said, in some Sense, with Regard to these Matters, That God hath chosen the weak things of this World. He did not appoint such as were Noblest and most Excellent in their own Nature, but condescended to consider the Circumstances of the Patients, and hath accommodated his Applications to Our Capacities. So that the Goodness these Things have, is not so much inherent in their own Nature, as it is Relative, and derived from the Uses they serve, and the Ends to which they are directed. They are Good, as Medicines are, because they check Evil, and prevent that which is Worse. They kill the Cause and Occasion of themselves; for, they sprung from Sin, and their Business is to extirpate, and restrain Sin. They are Good, as publick Executions are in Common Wealths; as Sneezing, and Vomiting, and other such violent Evacuations, in our Bodies, whereby the noxious Humours, which oppress Nature, are discharged; such as are at once the
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Sign and the Remedy of a Distemper. In short, it is well for us that we have them; but it had been abundantly better for us, if we had never had any Occasion to make use of them; and That Occasion we never should have had, if Man had continued as God made him, and preserved his Original Wisdom and Integrity. And accordingly we may take Notice, that These are Things fitted to this frail and mortal State only; and not any of Those more Noble Parts of Religion, which shall be the Eternal Exercise of our Souls hereafter, when we are released from this Bondage of Flesh and Corruption. When our Imperfections and our Sins cease, These cease with them; whereas our Praiseth, our Love of God, and other Duties of Intrinsic Goodness, are of Eternal Use and Obligation; so far from dying with our Sins and Bodies, that they will be the more Constant, the more Delightful Employment, of our Sinless and Exalted State; and make a considerable Part of the Heavenly, and Divine Life.

The former Remarks have shewn Man's Imbecillity in Goodness and Truth; what follows may perhaps surprize you more, because it undertakes to represent him no less impotent in Evil too. For They who do their utmost Endeavour to be Wicked, cannot be entirely so, but are always forced to leave somewhat unfinished. There is constantly some Secret Remorse, some Consideration of Honour, or Fear, that checks, and pulls them back; slackens and enervates the Will, and keeps them from part of the Villany they intended. And this Restraint hath been the Ruine of many a One, who hath proposed to save himself, by venturing no farther. Which sort of Folly, and the Miscarriages that have been owing to it, gave Occasion to that Proverb, That a Man must never play the Fool by halves.

This
This Rule is Judicious enough, but deserves a little Illustration, because, as it hath a Good, so is it likewise capable of a very Bad Sense. To understand it, as if a Man ought to abandon all Conscience, and might in any Circumstances do Well and Wisely to be Wicked without Reserve, is a very perverted Interpretation, and would render it a most pernicious Maxim. In this Respect, that contrary Proverb is most true, that The shortest Follies are the Best. But it is True too, that in some Cases Mildness and Moderation are of Dangerous Consequence; as particularly, when we have a desperate and formidable Enemy to deal with, and (as we commonly say) Hold a Wolf by the Ears. A Man then hath no safe Middle-Way left; no Course to take, but either the winning him over entirely by Courtesie, or absolutely to subdue, and put him out of a Capacity, to do us farther Mischief. This was the constant Method of the Romans, and a very prudent One no doubt it is. Thus Camillus remonstrated to the Senate in the Case of the Latines, after several Revolts, suing for Terms of Reconciliation; That they must either be admitted into Friendship, or not suffered to be a People any longer; and * That there was no other Way left to secure a lasting Peace, but either Extremity of Rigour, or a Generous Pardon. In such an Exigence of Affairs, to do Things by Halves, is to ruine All; as the Samnites found by woful Experience, who for want of following the Advice of a † Wise Old Senator, who when they had hemm'd in the Romans, and had them at their Mercy, gave his

† Vide Tit. Liv. Lib. IX. Cap. 3.
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Opinion, either for obliging them by Honourable Treatment, or for cutting them all off; paid very dear. That of Courteze, is the Nobler Conquest, and ought to be a Man's First Choice; The Second is only for Cares of Extremity, and such Enemies as Kindness will do no Good upon. Now, from all these Instances, the Infirmity of Humane Nature appears very evidently, both with Regard to Good and Evil. A Man can neither perform, nor avoid either entirely, and without reserve; and what he does, or so much as he declines of it, is neither the One nor the Other, absolutely and without mixture. There is some Alleviation, some Abatement in both Extremes, and thus Man hath it not in his Power to be exquisitely Good or exquisitely Wicked, but finds himself checked and confined, on either Hand.

Let us proceed to observe some other Effects, and plain Indications of Humane Infirmity. It is a Littleness of Soul, which makes Men, that they neither dare, nor can reprove others, when they have done amiss, nor can bear being reproved Themselves, when they deserve it. And this farther Remark is likewise True, That Men, as they have, or want Courage, for One of These, so do they constantly, for the Other of them too. Now, This is a very Foolish Niceness, to deprive our Selves, or our Friend, of so Beneficial and Necessary a Kindness, merely for a flight Scratch, which at the most does but pinch our Ears, and make them tingle a little. And near of Kin to This, is that other Folly, of not daring to deny what we are sensible is not fit for us to grant, and not being able to receive a Repulse, with any manner of Temper.

When Men are falsely suspected, and wrongfully accused, they are liable to a Two-fold Nicety, and each of These is chargeable with Weakness. (In such times.)
such Accusations, I mean, as common Report lays,
and not Those which fall upon them in the Me-
thods of Law and Justice) One of these Extremes,
is the being too easily moved, and over-industrious
to excuse, or to justify Themselves, and this some-
times most Impertinently, and Officiously.

* ——— False Reports disgrace
And trouble, Whom? The Vicious and the Base. Creech.

A Man cannot wrong his Innocence more, than
thus, to stake his Conscience upon every slight
Provocation, and refer his Honesty to the Arbitra-
tion of all Companies he comes into. † When
Things are plain of themselves, a set Argument does but
perplex and confound them. Socrates, upon his Tryal,
would not submit to be vindicated, either by Him-
sclf or by any Other; and rather chose to die Si-
ently, than accept the Assistance of that Eminent
Pleader Lysias, in his Defence.

But the other Weakness is just opposite to This;
when a Man of Courage gives himself no Trou-
ble, nor takes the least Pains about his own Justi-
fication; tho' the Charge upon him have gain'd
Ground, and prepossess many; when he despises
the Accusation, and the Persons that lay it, as
not worth his Answer or Notice; and thinks it
would be a Disparagement and a Reflection to en-
gage with them. This indeed hath been the Prac-
tice of some great and generous Spirits; of Scipio
especially, who several times weathered his Point
thus, with marvellous Constancy and Firmness of
Soul. But a great many Persons disapprove this
Method, and take offence at it; for they think it

* ——— Mendax infamia terret
† Perspicuitas argumentatione elevatur.

proceeds
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proceeds from Haughtiness and Disdain, too great a Value of Themselves, and want of due Regard for other People. That the depending too much upon one's own Innocence, and not submitting to remove Jealousies, is ill Treatment: Or else, this obstinate Silence and Contempt, they interpret Conscience of Guilt, Distrust of Justice, and Want of Ability to justify one's self effectually. Miserable Condition of Mankind in the mean while! that when they are suspected and accused, have no possible way of giving entire Satisfaction; but whether they speak, or whether they sit still and hold their Peace; whether they do, or do not take care to defend their Names from Reproach, are sure to incur the Imputation of Weakness and Cowardice. We think it a Mark of Courage, and advise Men not to be solicitous in making Excuses; and when they take our Advice, we are such Fools to resent it, and complain that they do not think Us worth excusing themselves to.

Another Evidence of Weakness is the enslaving our selves to any particular Manner, and affecting to be distinguished by some uncommon way of Living. This is a vile Effeminacy, a Niceness most unbecoming a Man of Honour; it renders us ridiculous and disagreeable in Conversation; and is highly injurious to our Selves; by softening our Minds, and making us tender and delicate, and unfit to struggle with any Accident, which may constrain us to change our Course of Life. Besides, it is a Reproach, not to dare to do, or endure, what the rest of the Company do. Such People are fit for no Place but an Alcove, or a Dressing-Room. The best Fashion, when all is done, is to be negligent, and complying, and hardy, if need be; to dare, and be able to do any thing; but to use this Power in such Things only,
only, as are innocent and good. A Man does well to know and observe Rules; but not to enslave himself to them.

Another vulgar Folly there is, and a very general one, which comes under this Head of Weakness. 'Tis the running after Foreign Examples in Authors; being fond of Quotations, allowing no Testimony to have Weight or Credit, except it be in Print; nor any Thing to be true, but what is Old, and in Books. According to this Rule, the Presses may give Reputation to the greatest Follies; whereas, in truth, every Day presents us with fresh Instances of Things in no degree inferior to those more celebrated ones of Antiquity. And if we had but the Wit and the Judgment to make good Reflections upon these; to cull and collect carefully such as are for our Purpose; to examine them curiously, and discover all their Beauties, the Improvement would be wonderful; and every Age would be equal to any of the past, the Transactions whereof we so zealously study and admire; and, to be plain, we study and admire them for no other Reason so much, as that they have Antiquity and Authors to recommend them.

This again is an Evidence of Weakness, That Men are capable of nothing, except in moderate Proportions; Extremes of any kind are what they cannot bear. If they are very small, and make a despicable Figure, we despise and disdain them, as not worth our Consideration: If they be exceeding great and glorious, we are afraid of them, admire, and take Offence at them. The Former of these Remarks concerns Men of great Quality, and great Judgment: The Second is more generally true of meaner Attainments and Circumstances in the World.
Chap. 37. Of Weakness.

This appears very plain too, in our Hearing and Sight, when we are struck all on the sudden with some unexpected and surprizing Accident, which seizes our Spirits before we know where we are. The Amazements of this kind are sometimes so great, as to deprive us of our Speech, of our Senses; so Virgil describes the thing;

*n Her curdled Blood runs backward at the Sight,
And pale numb'd Limbs a sudden Trembling shook;
She stiffs into Statue with the Fright,
Swoons, and at last long Silence hardly broke.

nay, sometimes Life it self hath gone too. And this, whether the Event were prosperous, as that Roman Lady, who dy'd for Joy to see her Son safe return'd out of a beaten Army; and the Examples of Sophocles, and Dionysius the Tyrant, testify; or whether it be unhappy, as Diodorus dy'd upon the Spot, for Shame that he was baffled in a Dispute.

One Instance more I will add, which discovers it self two ways, in direct Opposition to one another. Some Persons are vanquish'd into Mercy by Tears, and Submissions, and earnest Entreaties; and are offended at Firmness and Courage, as if this were Sullenness, and Obstinacy, and Pride. Others Acknowledgements, and Prayers, and Complaints make no manner of Impression upon; but Constancy and Resolution wins them. The Former of these proceeds, no doubt, from Weakness; and accordingly, we find it more incident and common to mean, and effeminate, and vulgar Souls. But the Second it is not so easy to give an account of; and yet this Temper is incident to

*Diriguit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit.
Labitur, & longo vix tandem tempore saturas. Virg. Aen. III.

Y 2 Men
Men of all Conditions. One would think it an Argument of a brave and generous Spirit, to be wrought upon by Virtue, and a generous Manly Behaviour; and so, no doubt, it is, if This be done out of a due Veneration for Virtue, as Scanderby receiv'd a Soldier into Favour, for the gallant and obstinate Defence he made against him; and as Pompey, the whole City of the Mammertines, out of the regard he had to Zeno, who was one of their Body: And as the Emperor Conrade forgave the Duke of Bavaria, and the rest of them that were besieged with him, for the Bravery of the Women, who convey'd them away upon their Heads. But if this Yielding proceed from the Surprize and Confusion, occasion'd by the over-bearing Power of some Superior Virtue, (as the People of Thebes, who were quite dispirited, when they heard Epaminondas, in his Defence, reckon up his good Services, and noble Exploits, and reproach their base Ingratitude with a becoming Indignation; and Alexander, when he despised the noble Resolution of Batis, who was taken with the City of Gaza, of which he was Commander) then there is another Account to be given of it. The Former of these was Weakness; the Second, neither the Effect of Courage nor Weakness, but of Anger and Rage; which in Alexander was never subject to any Check, nor ever knew any Moderation.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This Author had said in the Preface to his Book, that his Design was to write after the manner of the Academick Philosophers; who made it their Business, to represent each side of the Question in its utmost Beauty and Strength, without delivering any decisive Opinion in the Case, or being bound to stand by either Branch of the Controversy.
troversy. An Attentive Reader will easily observe, That Monsieur Charron hath thus far maintain’d the Character he propos’d for his Pattern, as to make the most of the Arguments that offer’d for his present Purpose, without precluding himself from putting quite another Face upon the Matter, when his Subject requireth that it should be taken by another Handle. Thus you will find him varying concerning the Attaining of Knowledge by Sense, and whether This be the only possible way of Information; by comparing Chapter X. and Chapter XIII. And in the very Subject of this Chapter and Section; how distant is the Reflection he makes here, from those others which He and other Philosophers propose to us elsewhere; upon the Noble Excellence of Virtue, the Largeness of its Scope and Extent; its Independence upon Fortune and Casualties; and the mighty Convenience of furnishing something commendable and proper for our Exercise, and so making us happy in every possible Condition of Humane Life?

This Variety then of Thought is a good Warning to avoid what our Author so frequently condemns; Too easy a Credulity, and taking his Notions upon Trust: For we find even those Notions not always the same, but accommodated to his present Subject and Design: And That Design well attended to, and taken along with us, will be a very good Guide to our understanding him aright. For Instance; He had laid it down in the beginning of this Treatise, as a Fundamental Principle, That the Ignorance of a Man’s Self is the great and most governing Error of his Life; of an Influence so universally pernicious, that all his Vices and Misfortunes are owing to it. But then This was such an Ignorance as disposed Men to over-value and neglect themselves, by covering, and quite overlooking the Defects and Disadvantages of Humane Nature;
Nature; and so kept the Patient incurable, because insensible of his Disease. In order to remedy this Evil it is, that Monfieur Charron undertakes to shew Men to Themselves; and 'tis evident his Design requires that he should shew the worst of them; and paint only those Features and Lines strong, which may discover their Deformity, and tend to humble and to mortify them first; and then to awaken that Care, which can never be vigorously employ'd, till they are first convinc'd of the Weakness and Danger of those Circumstances that want it.

A Philosopher now under these Circumstances, is thus far like a Law-giver, that it will be Prudence in him to suppose and provide against the worst; and therefore, as I wou'd not extenuate the Art or Wisdom of my Author, nor do Injury to his Argument; so neither can I be just to the Dignity of our Nature, and grateful to the Wife and Good Creator of it, unless I give my Reader these short, and (as I conceive) necessary Directions in perusing this First Part of the Book.

First, That what is here truly said of some, or most Men, (and was fit to be said in general Terms, because the worst Men have most need of such Treatises, and so are most concern'd in them) must not be so universally apply'd, or understood, as to be taken for a common Standard, and universal Representation of all Mankind, without Exception.

Secondly, That in those Vices and Defects, which are general, we should make a Distinction between such as are essential to Humane Nature, and inseparable from its Original Constitution; and such as are the Effects of Custom and Corruption, of either Adam's, or our own Sin.

Thirdly; That what we charge as a Defect, be really so, and owing to the Cause we ascribe it to,
Chap. 37. Of Weakness.

to. These are necessary Cautions for the sake of doing common Justice, as well as preventing Mistakes in our Selves. It were unreasonable to take our Measures of all Mankind in respect of their Bodies, from the Sick or Lame; and from the Fools or the Sots, every whit as extravagant for their Souls. It were a charging God foolishly, to ascribe those Impotences and Evils to Him, which have been the Consequences of our Disobedience against Him. And it is a most unthankful Aspersión upon the Beauty and Wisdom of his Providence, to charge That upon a Defect in Nature, which is really no other than a natural Result of the different Fortunes and Conditions of Men: Which is exactly the Case here before us: For wherein is the excellent Wisdom of that Providence more clearly seen, than in that useful Variety of Circumstances, which Men are placed in? And what can more vindicate the Justice and Goodness of God from any reasonable Exception, than this, That there are particular Virtues appropriated to every sort of Persons and Accidents; and that no Circumstance of Life is possible, or supposable, but it may be adorned and recommended by Virtues, which are reasonable and distinguishing for that very Condition? This Variety of Virtues then is far from a Natural Weakness; it is not owing to Nature, but to Fortune and Providence; and is so far from a Disparagement, that it is rather an Ornament and Advantage to the World. Indeed, if Nature have any thing to do in it, it is the Nature of Virtue it self; for even Almighty God, who is Goodness in Perfection, yet does not exercise both Justice and Mercy (for Instance) at once, to the same Person, and in the same Respect: And how is Man the worse for not doing Things inconsistent and incompatible, and what even Almighty God himself does not do? The same
may be said of the Defects of Justice, taken Notice of afterwards; at least, in some degree: Those being the unavoidable Consequences of Multitudes incorporated into Civil Societies, and so many Interests nicely interwoven with one another: All which I thought it my Duty to hint at, thereby to prevent any mean, repining, or ungrateful Thoughts, which such Reflections as These, when lavishly spoken, or unwarily received, might be apt to raise in Men's Minds, to the Disquiet of their own Hearts, and the Dishonour of the Maker and Governour, not only of the Humane, but of Universal Nature.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

III. Inconstancy.

Man is a Creature wonderfully various and mutable; and the great Difficulty of coming to any Judgment concerning Him, which should be certain, fix'd, and universal, proceeds from hence, That our Lives are not all of a Piece, but made up of disagreeing and different Parcels. Most part of our Actions do not arise from steady Thought, but are sudden Starts and Sallies, the Effects of Accident and Impulse, and look like Shreds of several Stuffs patch'd up and sewed together. First Irresolution, and then Fickleness and Change of Measures when we have resolved, are the commonest and most apparent Vices of Humane Nature. And our Actions, 'tis plain, do so strangely cross and contradict one another, that it is not easy to believe so many Contrarities should all be deriv'd from the same Original. We change and
Chap. 38. Of Inconstancy.

and are not sensible of it: We run eagerly after every Whimsie of our own Appetites, and are born away by the Stream of Accidents and Passions; 'Tis no more Reason, but Inclination that governs us: * But sure it is, nothing can ever be regular and steady, which is not directed and order'd by Reason and Method. Thus our very Minds and Tempers vary too; the Climate, the Weather, and the Motions of Time and Seasons, make considerable Alterations and Differences in us.

† In each Man's Breast This Weathercock, the Mind, Moves with the Sun, and shifts with every Wind.

Our whole Life is nothing else, but one unequal, irregular, and many-figur'd Motion; nothing strict, nothing steady; We are perpetually moving and turning; and the very change of our Posture is so frequent, as to be an Uneasiness and Trouble to us. || No Man continues to wish and design the same thing two Days together. Now the Man is for Marrying; by and by a Mistress is prefer'd before a Wife: Now he is Ambitious and Aspiring, and looks Big; presently the meanest Servant is not more humble, more condescending than He. This Hour he squanders his Money away; the next he turns Miser, and scrapes all he can. Sometimes he is frugal and serious; sometimes profuse, airy, and gay. Thus we shift our Characters each Moment, and all a Thousand several Parts.

* At nil potest esse æquabile, quod non à certà ratione pro-
sficicetur.
† Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse
  Jupiter aeatfera lustravit lampade terras.
|| Nemo non quotidie consilium mutat & versat, modo ux-
rem vult, modo amicam; modo regnare vult, modo non est
eo officiofior servus: nunc pecuniam spargit, nunc rapit; mo-
do frugi videtur & gravis, modo prodigus & vanus; mutamus
fubinde personam.

The
The Mind is with it self at strife,
And disagrees in all the Course of Life;
For what it hated now, it freights desires,
What now it threw away, it most admires. Creese.

So little is any of us the same; and so much harder is it to found and know Man perfectly, than any other Creature whatsoever: For he is full of Doubles and Trickings; the closest, cunningest, and most Counterfeit part of the Creation. He hath a Thousand little Closets and false Doors, where he hides, and comes out again; sometimes a Man, sometimes a Monster; a Thousand Breathing-holes, at which he blows sometimes Hot, sometimes Cold, and almost blinds you with Cloud and Smoak. Every Agitation is but a fresh Folly; and the Course of his Life One continu'd Error. He is born in the Morning, and dies at Night; is sometimes in Chains, and sometimes at large; sometimes a God, and sometimes an Insect: He Laughs and Cries for the same thing; is satisfy'd and dissatisfy'd, ever wishing, and never knowing what he would be at. Sometimes transported, and ready to leap out of his Skin for Joy; and present ly again so melancholy and dejected, that nothing can content, nothing quiet him, or make him think Life tolerable.

Quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
CHAP. XXXIX.

Misery.

We are now to draw the largest and most distinguishing Line of the whole Piece. Man Misery proper to
hath been, already, described Vain and Feeble, Frail and Inconstant, with regard to Goodness and Happiness, and Ease; but he is strong and lusty, constant and hardened, and tough in Misery. He is in a manner Misery alive, and in Humane Shape; and no one Word is equally expressive of his Condition. For all Misery centers in him, and dwells in no other part of the World besides. To be Miserable is the Property of our Nature; Man alone is so, and every Man is so, as will appear by and by. For a true Representation of this Matter, it were convenient to run over all the Parts of his Life; to describe his Essence, his Coming into the World, his Stay in it, and his Departure out of it. This were an endless Undertaking, and I pretend not to it; nor need I indeed, because so many have handled the Subject before me. What I intend at present, is only to instance in some Particulars, not commonly taken Notice of, nor reputed Unhappiness; at least, such as Men do not thoroughly consider, nor are sufficiently sensible of, tho' they be in reality very grievous, if we make a true Judgment of them.

Take this then for the First Proof of Man's Misery, That his First Appearances in the World are Mean and Despicable; but his Going out of it, his Death and Destruction, are esteem'd Glorious and full of Honour. By which One would be tem-
pted to think this a monstrous Creature, in the Production whereof there is so much Shame, and so much Reputation in the Unmaking him again. What relates to the former of These, Modesty draws a Veil over; but the latter is proclaimed and receiv'd with Triumph; the Instruments are prepared with great Expence; we wear them constantly about, us, and look upon Them as Ornaments to our Persons. We are born in Chambers privately, but die before many Spectators, in Fields and Camps, in the Sight of the Sun, and with Sound of Trumpet, and are proud of Butchering one another. Nature hath provided but one Way of coming into the World, but a great many Passages out; and, as if even thus Nature had done too little, Invention and Industry have added their Assistance, and make Men every Day more Ingenious in new Arts of Killing. Laws and Customs have not assigned any Recompence for Mens Skill in multiplying, or in preserving Mankind; but all our Ensigns of Honour, are for the destroying it. Arms of Families, Advancements, Riches Commands, Triumphs, and Trophies are decreed to Them that are mighty to oppress, to grieve, to murder Mankind. The Two great Heroes of all Story, Alexander and Caesar, were each of them (according to Pliny's Computation) the death of more than a Million of Men, and yet neither of these added One to the Number. And heretofore, Men were slaughtered in Publick Theatres, merely for Pleasure and Pastime. *Man, a Creature Venerable and Sacred, is slain for Sport and Diversion; Death in Man is Entertainment sufficient. Innocent Persons are brought upon the Stage, to be sacrificed for the


Peoples Pleasure. In some Nations it is Usual to curse the Day of their Birth, and bless That of their Death. And the wisest Man that ever lived, hath taught us, that the Latter of These is much Better of the Two. Now, no other Creature is so discontented with itself; nor are the Particulars here mention'd, True of Beasts, or any Part of the Creation besides.

The Second Evidence of his Misery, may be taken from the Retrenchment of Pleasures; those poor and low Pleasures of which he is capable (for the Head of Weakness may have satisfy'd us, that the Pure and Exquisite are too resind for him) the Care taken to abate of the Number, and to check the relish of them. If this be not done upon a Religious Account, how monstrous a Folly is it? Thus far Man is oblig'd to become his own Enemy; to rob and betray Himself; so that even his Pleasures are Burdens, and he contributes to his own Uneasiness. And this some are so superstitiously severe in, that they avoid Health, and Good Humour, and Mirth, as Evils.

* Ob wretched Men! whose Pleasures are their Crime.

We are exceedingly ingenious to our Disadvantage; and the Force of our Wit feeds upon nothing more, than the contriving new Arts of Uneasiness to our Selves. Thus it is plainly in a much worse Instance than the former: For the Mind of Man does not only spoil Good, and deny its own Appetites, and check even lawful Delights; but it is eternally busie in framing and forging Pains and Evils. Thus Things which have in reality nothing of Evil in Them,

* O miser, quorum gaudia crimen habent. * Gallus, Elog. i. and
Of Wisdom.

Book I.

and such as Beasts stand in no Fear at all of, our Minds draw in the blackest Colours, and most hideous Shapes; and then tremble, and start, and run away, from Monsters of their own making. Thus we esteem it a mighty Unhappiness, not to be Honourable, and Rich, and Great; and look upon Cuckoldom, want of Children, and Death, as insupportable Evils. Whereas, to speak freely, I know no Temporal Afflication which is really Evil, and felt to be so, but Pain only. And the Reason, why some wise Men have been known to fear those other Things, was not upon the account of the Things themselves, but of the Pain which may happen to be an inseparable Attendant upon them. For This sometimes is a Forerunner of Death; and sometimes it follows upon Poverty and Disgrace. But if you consider these Matters, (abstracting the Pain) all the rest is mere Imagination; a Thing that hath no Being, but in our own Brains; which are eternally cutting themselves out new Work, and forming Evils that are not, to add to Those that are; thus enlarging our Misery, and finding it fresh Employment, instead of quieting and cutting it short. For the Beasts feel nothing of all this; and therefore it is plain they are Evils, not of Nature’s, but of Fancy’s making.

As for Pain, which seems the only real Evil, Man is perfectly fitted for That, and born to it. The Mexicans welcome their Children into the World, with this Salutation; Child, thou art come into this World to suffer; take it patiently, and hold in Peace. And Three Arguments there are, which may convince us, that Pain is in a manner Natural to Man; and a State of Indolence or Pleasure, foreign to his Constitution. The First is, that every Part about a Man is susceptible of Pain, and but very few capable of Pleasure. The Second,

That Those which are capable of Pleasure, can receive but one or two Sorts of it; but all the Parts receive great Variety of Pains, and Those of the most different kinds too; Extremity of Heat and Cold, Pricking, Bursting, Bruising, Scratching, Flaying, Beating, Scalding, Fainting, Swooning, Extention, Oppression, Relaxation of the Parts; and others without Number, that want a Name, besides Those of the Soul; so that a Man is much more able to suffer, than to express his Sufferings. To this must be added, that a Man cannot continue long in Pleasures: All his Delights are a short Blaze; should they last long, they would destroy Themselves, and become painful and insupportable. But his Pains are of a great length, and not confin'd to certain Seasons, as Pleasures are. Thus Pain hath a more absolute Dominion over us; its Territories are larger; its Reign more lasting, more general, more uncontroll'd, and, in a Word, more Natural, than that of Pleasure is, or can possibly be.

To these Three Remarks may be added as many more; as First, Pain and Sorrow is much more common, and comes oftener upon us; Pleasure is hard to be met with, and seldom returns. Then, Pain comes of its own accord, without any seeking or Endeavour of ours to procure it; but Pleasure never approaches voluntarily; we are fain to court it, to buy it dear, and oftentimes pay more for it than it is worth. Pleasure is never Entire, but hath always some Abatement, some Alloy of Uneasiness, somewhat attending it that we cannot like, and had much rather were otherwise; but Pain and Dissatisfaction are often without any manner of Mixture or Mitigation. And after all this, the worst part of the Bargain, and that which most clearly proves our Misery, is, That Extremity of Pleasure does not affect us so sensibly
bly as a very small Degree of Pain or Sickness. *Humane Nature is more accommodated to the Sense of Evil, than of Good. Perfect Health and Ease makes no manner of Impression; but the least Indisposition makes a very great one. †The Prick of a Pin, tho' the Skin be scarce razed, puts the whole Body into Disorder; and yet That whole Body, when in a state of perfect Ease, hath no particular Sensation, or Motion of Joy resulting from it.

As if all this were still too little, and neither Real and Substantial Evils, nor False, and of our own forming, could complete our Misery; we stretch, and lengthen both the One and the Other of these; give them new Life, and sustain them longer than they could possibly subsist without our cherishing; as if we were perfectly in love with Uneasiness. This we do several ways; as First, by calling to remembrance that which is past, and foreshalling that which is to come. This Method can never fail, because the Two great Privileges our Nature boasts of, are Memory and Foresight; and these Advantages and Prerogatives of our Species, we so pervert, as to render them the Instruments of our Unhappiness. || The Past and the Future both put us upon the Rack; many of our Advantages do us an Injury; Memory calls back our Terrors; and Forethought antedates them: No Man bears the present Burden, and no more. Now what can express a more importunate desire of Misery, than the not staying till the Calamity comes, but going out to meet, and find, to seek, and to invite it, to hasten

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* Segnius homines bona quàm mala sentiunt.
† Pungit — In cute vix summà violatum plagula Corpus, Quando valere nihil quenquam movet
|| Futuro tormentum & præterito, multa bona nostra nobis nocent; timoris tormentum memoria reducit, providentia anticipat; nemo praeventibus tantum miser est.

its Approaches towards us? This is like the Men that kill themselves for fear of Dying, which is, out of Curiosity, or Weakness, to pull down upon us what we most apprehend. And thus we do not only wait for our greatest Evils, and real Inconveniences, with a foolish Impatience, but oftentimes terrify and torment our selves with the Expectation of those, which perhaps would never reach us at all. These Persons take great Pains to be miserable before their Time; nay, to be doubly so, by the Sense of the Calamity, when upon them, and by long Premeditation at a Distance; which is a thousand times worse than the Calamity itself. *The Fatigue of Sense is much less in enduring, than the Torture of the Mind in expecting. The real Existence of Misery is, it seems, too short and transitory, and therefore the Mind must give it Birth, and lengthen out its Life, and entertain it self with it before-hand. † He that afflicts himself before he needs, is sure to be afflicted more than he needs. Beasts are secure from such Wretchedness and Folly, and are in this respect much beholding to Nature, for not having given them the tormenting Faculties of Wit, and Memory, and Foresight, like ours. Caesar used to say, that the best Death was that which was least thought on. And there is no doubt, but the Pomp and Expectation of Death is frequently more painful and terrible than the Thing itself. It is not here any Part of my Design, to discourage or reflect upon that Premeditation which Philosophy and Religion require of us: For This is the very Tempering that hardens the Soul, and makes it Proof against all Accidents and Assaults; and a Place shall be reserved for recommending this particularly. But what I would ex-

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* Minus afficit sensus fatigatio quam cogitatio.
† Plus doler quam necessis est, qui ante doler quam necessis est.
plode, is that Apprehension of Evils to come, which is always Poor-spirited, and sometimes Groundless, and ever Fruitless; which troubles, and sullies the Soul with Black Thoughts, deforms its Beauty, disturbs its Quiet, and embitters all its Joy. And sure it is much better to be absolutely surpriz'd, than thus forewarn'd: Rather than think thus of Future Evils, never think at all. But, setting aside this Antedating of Evil; the very Anxiety, and Care, and perpetual Hankering after Future Contingences of any kind, the Solicitude of our Hopes, the Eagerness of our Desires, the Misgivings of our Fears, are a very great Misery. For besides, that What is future, is equally out of our Power with What is past, (and so these Thoughts are vain) we are certain to receive Detriment by that which can do us no Service. (*the State of a Mind always in Pain for what will happen hereafter, is certainly most deplorable*) It robs us of all sedate Thoughts; destroys all that comfortable Sense, and quiet Enjoyment, we might have of present Advantages; and makes it impossible for Men to sit down easy and satisfy'd under any Dispensations of the kindest and most bountiful Providence to them.

Nay, Man stops not here; but, as if he were concern'd to furnish new Matter for that Misery, which comes up but too thick of its own accord; he cultivates and increases it, by a restless Curiosity, and studious Pursuit of fresh Objects, which may create or cherish his Unhappiness. With what Eagerness and Pleasure does he thrust himself into Business; and how inquisitive and impatient is he to discover That, which, if it would present itself to his View without any Trouble of his,

* Calamitosus est animus futuri anxius.
he ought rather to turn away, and hide his Eyes from? And this busy Temper is owing either to a Natural Restlessness, disposing us to be miserable; or from a vain Affectation to be Judicious, and Wife, and always employ’d; that is, in plain English, to make our selves Fools and Wretches: As we needs must be, when our Industry to perplex our selves is so great, that when we have no Business of our own to disquiet us, we go abroad in quest of Troubles, and officiously concern our selves with the Affairs of other People. In a Word, Man is under exceeding great and perpetual Agitation of Mind, not only from such Thoughts and Cares as are unnecessary, and turn to no account; but such as are thorny, troublesome, and injurious to him: The Present gives him Pain; the Past, Regret; the Future, Perplexity; and, by his Behaviour under all this, one would think him afraid of nothing so much, as the not being sufficiently miserable, after all his Endeavours to render himself so. And may we not justly use this Exclamation; O wretched Mortals! how many Evils do you continually endure, which might with great Ease have been avoided! how many more indeed are those of your own, and how few, in Comparison, those of God’s and Nature’s making! But thus, alas, it is! Man delights himself in Misery, and is obstinate in seeking and cleaving to it. He chews the Cud upon each Misfortune, and takes great Pains that none should be forgotten, but renews their Images daily and hourly. Nothing is so frequent, so familiar, as Complaints; and where Occasions are but light and trivial, he cherishes and heigthenes the resentment, calls himself the most unhappy Man in the World, and takes it ill not to be thought so; *Such Pleasure does he find in indulging his Grief. And

* Est quaedam dolendi voluptas.
fure the being so very ambitious to enhance our Misery, and to get the Character of those who excel all others in it, is a much greater Misery, than never feeling or knowing our Unhappiness at all. * And yet this is that querulous Creature Man, that sits with great Eagerness brooding upon his own Miseries.

Thus you see him abundantly miserable, by Nature and by Choice; in Reality and in Imagination; by Constrain, and with Industry and Pleasure. He hath too much of it in despit of all Endeavours to the contrary; and yet his great Fear is, that he should not have Misery enough. He is always in Chace of some fresh Unhappiness, and in Pain till he hath overtaken it. But now we will take him in another Prospect, affected with a Sense, and weary of some particular Evil; for even this does not happen always; and many Miseries are endure'd without any uneasie Resentments at all) And when his Mind is thus far awaken'd, let us next obserue, how he endeavours to disengage himself, and what Remedies are to be apply'd in order to a Cure. And These are such, in truth, as rather fret and anger the Sore, than heal it; for by quitting one Evil, he only exchanges it for another, and oftentimes for a worse. But still the very Change is pleasing, or at least, it sooths and allays the Pain a little. He fancies one Evil may be cured by another; and this Imagination is owing to a vulgar Error, that seems to have bewitch'd Mankind; which makes them always suspect Things that are easy and cheap; and esteem nothing truly valuable and advantageous, but what costs us dear, and is attended with much Labour and Difficulty. And This again rises higher, (for it is not more strange

* Homo animal querulum, cupidè suis incumbens miseriis.

than true, and nothing can more fully prove, that Man is exceeding miserable) That, let the Evils we lie under, be what they will, some other Evil is necessary for expelling and subduing them; and whether the Body or the Mind be the Part affected, the Cause in this respect is much the same. For the Diseases both of the one and the other, are never to be healed and taken off, but by Torture and Pain, and great Trouble: Those of the Mind by Penance, Watchings, and Fastings; hard Usage, and coarse Fare; Confinements and Mortifications; which, notwithstanding the Voluntariness and Devotion of them, must of necessity be afflicting and pungent; because the whole Effect of them would be loft, if we could suppose them in any degree subservient to Ease and Pleasure. Those of the Body require nauseous Medicines, Incisions, Causticks, and severe Dietings; as They whose Unhappiness it is to be oblig'd to a Course of Physick, know by woful Experience. They are got between the Mill-stones (as they say) ground and bruised on one side by the Disease, and on the other by a Regimen as bad as the Disease. Thus Ignorance is cured by long laborious Study; Poverty by Sweat and Toil; and Care and Trouble are as natural in all the Provisions for Body and Mind both, as it is for Birds to fly.

The several Miseries hitherto insinuated on, are such as the Body suffers in; or, if not peculiar to that alone, yet at least such as it bears a part in with the Mind; and the highest they go, is only to the meanest of our Faculties, Imagination and Fancy. But Those, which next fall under our Consideration, are of the most refin'd and Spiritual Nature, such as are more truly deserving of that Name; full of Error; full of Malignity; their Activity greater, their Influence more general, more pernicious, and more properly our own; and yet at the same
Of Wisdom.  

Book I.

same time less acknowledg'd, less perceiv'd by us. And this enhances, nay, doubles Man's Mifery; that of moderate Evils he hath a quick and tender Sense, but those which are greatest, he knows not, feels not at all. Nor can he bear to be inform'd of them. No Body dares mention them to him; none will do the ingrateful good Office of touching this sore Place; so harden'd, so obstinate, so loft is he in his Mifery. All therefore that can be allow'd us in the Case, is to handle them with all imaginable Gentlenes, and just glance upon them by the by; or rather, indeed, to point them out at a distance, and give him some little Hints to exercise his own Thoughts upon, since of his own accord he is by no means disposed to take any Notice of them. And First, in respect of the Understanding; is it not a most prodigious, and most lamentable Consideration, that Humane Nature should be so universally taint-ed with Error and Blindness? Most Vulgar Opinions (and commonly the more general, in a more eminent manner) are erroneous and false; not exempting even those that are receiv'd with the greatest Reverence and Applause. Nor are these So Sacred Notions false only; but, which is worse, very many of them mischievous to Humane Society, and the Publick Good. And tho' some Wise Men (and they alas! but very few) think more correctly of these Matters, than the Generality of the World, and have a truer Notion of them; yet even These Men sometimes suffer themselves to be carry'd down with the Stream; if not always, and in every Point, yet now and then, and upon some Occasions. A Man must be very firm and well fixed, to stem the Tide; very hardy, and of a sound Constitution, whom an Infection so epidemical cannot fasten upon. For, indeed, Opinions that have got Footing every where, and are entertain'd with

with general Applause, such as scarce any Body
dares to contradict, are like a sweeping Flood, that
bears down all before it.

* Good Heaven! what Errors darken Humane Sight!
And wrap our Souls in gross substantial Night!

† Blind wretched Man! in what dark Paths of Strife,
We walk this little Journey of our Life! Creech.

To instance in all the Foolish Opinions, with
which the Generality of Mankind are intoxicated,
were much too tedious an Undertaking. But some
few shall be just mention’d here, and reserv’d to
their proper Places, for a more full Enlargement
upon them; and such are These that follow.

1. The forming a Judgment of Counsels and
Designs, and pronouncing them Prudent, and Sea-
sonable, and Good; or the direct contrary; ac-
cording as they succeed well or ill. Whereas the
Issues of all these Things are in no degree at our
own Disposal, but depend entirely upon a higher
Hand; One, who, as his own Infinite Wisdom sees
fit, prospers the most unlikely Methods, and de-
fears the wisest Measures, and most promising
Attempts.

2. The condemning, and utterly exploding all
foreign and strange Things, Manners, Opinions, Laws,
Customs, Observances, and looking upon them as bar-
barous and wicked, without ever examining into
the Matter, or knowing of what Nature and Con-
sequence they are: And all this, for no other rea-

* Proh superi! quantum mortalia pectora caææ
Noctis habent?
† O miseras hominum metites & pectora caææ,
Qualibus in tenebris vite, quantisque periclis.
Degitur hoc ævi quoddunque est? Lucret. Lib. 2.

son
son, but that they are new to Us, and practised
only in remote Countries, and different from the
Vogue and Usage of our own. As if We were
the common Standard for all the World to take
Measures by; and nothing could possibly be com-
mendable or convenient, but what hath been re-
ceiv'd, and is, in request, in that little Spot of
Ground, where our particular Lot hath fallen.

3. Somewhat distant from This, is the esteeming
and extolling Things, because they are New, or
Scarce, or Strange, or Difficult; which are the Four
powerful Charms, that attract, and get so absolute
Ascendent over Vulgar Souls: And very often it
happens, that the Things prized highly upon these
Accounts, are mere Vanities and Trifles, and have
neither intrinsic Goodness, nor Usefulness, nor
any other Consideration to recommend them. For
what can be more justly despicable, than That
Prince, who is said to value himself extremely,
upon an Art he had, of standing at a distance, and
throwing Grains of Millet through the Eye of a
Needle?

4. All those Superstitious Opinions, and unac-
countable Whimsies, which degrade and enslave the
Minds of Children and Women, and all the weak
and ignorant Part of Mankind.

5. The esteeming Men more or less, according
to their Worldly Advantages; and proportioning
not our Regards only, but our Opinions too, to
their Riches, Honours, and Preferments; as if
the Value of a Horse were to be taken from his
Trappings; and the Buyer, to know his good
Qualities, and adjust his Price, should look no
farther than the glittering Bridle and embroider'd
Saddle.

6. The rating Things not according to their real,
natural, and intrinsic Worth, which oftentimes
is conceal'd; but according to the outward Face

and Shew; the Pomp and Figure, the Noise they make, and the Reputation they have in the World.

7. The thinking, that a Man is sufficiently revenged of his Enemy, when he kills him; whereas This is to put him under Shelter, and out of the Reach of all manner of Evil, and to expose one's own self to it. 'Tis to take away from him all power of Feeling, or being hurt by the Revenge we intend; and that very Act, which designs him the greatest Mischief, sets him at perfect Ease. This is a Folly that may be reduc'd to the former Head of Weakness, and is a Branch of That, as well as of Misery.

8. The reckoning it a most insupportable Injury and Unhappiness, and that a Man becomes an Object of Contempt, for being a Cuckold. For how can we possibly wrong our Judgment more, than by thinking meanly of a Man, and that he is justly ridiculous and despicable, for the Fault of another; which he is so far from having any hand in, that 'tis plain he never approved it? The Cave is much the same in our having a worse Opinion of any Man, for being a Bastard.

9. The disesteeming what is present, and our own, and such as we are in secure and peaceable possession of; and being infinitely fond of the very same Things when we have them not, and merely because they belong to some Body else. As if Presence and Possession abated the real Worth of a Thing; and the not having it were a Recommendation sufficient to raise the Price of it in our Accounts.

* Poor
* Poor Envious We, despise
   Virtue when present; when it flies,
   Stand and gaze after it with longing Eyes. Creech.

Hence came the Proverb of No Prophet being receiv'd
with Honour in his own Country. Thus to lower the
Value of any Thing, there needs no more than to
be the Owner and Enjoicer of it: Thus Husbands
look upon their own Wives, and Fathers upon
their Children, with Indifference and Disdain. If
you would put an End to your Love, (say the Men of
the Town.) Marry your Mistress, and the Business is don
effectually. Thus every Other Man's Servant is bet-
ter, his Horse fleeter, his House more convenient
than our Own. 'Tis pretty odd, I confess, to pre-
fer Things purely imaginary, before Those that are
real and substantial; and yet this is the Case of
that unreasonable Valuation we put upon Things
that are absent, and at a distance, and other Peo-
oples; upon Things before we have them, and after
we have lost them. The Reason of so unequal a
Proceeding in these two Cases last mention'd,
seems to be this; That the Value we set upon things
before we have them, is not proportion'd to their
real intrinsick Worth, but to the false Idea's our
own Imaginations form, or the vain Boasts other
People make of them; both which are always big-
ger and more beautiful than the Life: But Posses-
sion and Experience discover the Truth, and then
we learn to rate them after the Excellence they
actually have, and the Benefit that can be made
out of them. Again; The Things we have lost are
look'd upon with Melancholy, and much Regret,
because then we consider them entire, and in the

* Vir tum incolorem odimus.
Grefe
Gros, whereas the Use and Enjoyment we had of them was not so, but by Piece-meals, and by little at a time. In which Men are commonly much more unkind to Themselves, than they need to be: For they defer their own Happiness, reserve it for a farther Day, and always promise themselves Time and Opportunities enough for enjoying it hereafter; so that even what they have, they are so stingy in the use of, that they are scarce sensible of what they posses; and it is in a manner all one as if they had it not. And This seems to be the true account, why the Passion and Concern for our Losses and our Wants, is more vehement and visible, than the Pleasures and Satisfactions taken in what we posses. And in this no doubt we must allow a great Mixture of Weakness as well as Misery. We are not sufficient for full and perfect Enjoyment, and only capable of Desiring intenfely and in perfection. There is indeed a vicious Temper of the Mind, directly opposite to That I have been speaking of; which is, That Degree of Self-sufficiency and Satisfaction, that whatever We are, or have, appears to us incomparably better than all the World besides. We can be pleas'd, nay, we can be in common Charity with nothing but our Own; and whatever is so, nothing can be superior, nothing equal, nothing like or comparable to it. I dare not say this Quality argues Men any Wiser than the other; but all the World, I believe, will admit, that it makes them Easier, and contributes much more to their Happiness and Content.

10. The shewing one's self forward and zealous upon all occasions, to resent Things warmly, and engage in Disputes with Peremptoriness and Passion, as often as there is any fair and plausible Pretence given, of appearing to be a Man affectionately concern'd for Justice, or Religion; for promoting the Publick Good, or gaining the Love of the People.
"For as these are Things which ought to be very precious, and no good Man must neglect them in their Seasons; so it requires Discretion to chuse those Seasons, and to manage and temper an honest Zeal. Every Man that is well-disposed, is not qualified for the Undertaking; and every Time and Company is not fit for him that is qualified to undertake it in.

11. The putting on excessive Melancholy, or suffering our selves to be really afflicted, and mourn to a great degree, upon the Death of a Friend, or any other Calamity that befalls him: And to imagine, that a Moderate degree of Passion upon such Occasions, argues want of Affection and sincere Friendship. This is not only Misery, but an exceeding Vanity too, and as common as it is vain.

12. The bearing a very great Regard to those Actions, which require a great deal of bus lute and stir in the doing, and make a Noise in the World; and to slight and undervalue all that are done in a still, sedate, and obscure manner: As if no Effects could ever follow upon such a dull, heavy way of proceeding; but all Men were asleep, and did nothing, that do it not with Hurry and Clutter. In short; All those vain Preferences, which Men give to Art above Nature, are like wise of this kind; for One of These, works with Labour and Observation; the Other easily, quiet, and unseen. And thus whatever is swell’d, and blown up by Industry and Invention; that which cracks about our Ears, and strikes strongly upon our Sensës, (and all this is Artificial) we respect and value highly; infinitely above That which is mild, and gentle, and simple, and uniform, and common; for such are the Products of Nature. The former of These awakens us into Attention; the latter advances silently, and leaves, or lays us asleep.

13. The

13. The putting unfair and perverse Interpretations upon the good Actions of Others; and when the Thing is well in itself, attributing it to base, or trifling, or wicked Causes or Occasions. So did They, whom Plutarch is angry with, for pretending, that the Death of Cato the Younger proceeded from no other Principle, than his Fear of Caesar; And some Others yet more senselessly, charg’d it upon Ambition. This is a most infallible Symptom of a sick Judgment; a Disease that proceeds, either from Wickedness at home, and a general Corruption of the Will and Manners, disposing Men to pervert every Thing to the worst Sense; or else from Uneasiness and Envy against Persons that are better than Themselves; or else from a Mis-giving Quality within, which reduces all their Belief to the Compass and Size of their own Abilities; so measuring others by their own Standard; believing every one as bad as they know Themselves to be; and absolutely incapable of doing Things better, or proposing nobler Ends in their Actions, than their own usually are. Or perhaps, as probable an Account of this as any of the former, may be a Natural Weakness and Littleness of Soul, which, like tender Eyes, cannot bear to look at so strong and clear a Light, as that which Virtue sheds, when Pure, and in its native Beauties. Nor is it amiss here to take notice of a Practice, exceeding common; which is, Men’s affecting to shew the Nicety of their Judgment, and the Smartness of their Wit, in finding Faults, suppressimg, extenuating, disguising Circumstances, setting Things in their worst Light, and eclipsing the Glory of the bravest Actions. In all which, one would wonder they should suppose any Thing worth valuing themselves upon; since it is manifest, all Dexterity of this kind is a much greater Demonstration of their Ill-
few Strokes and Illustrations, and so naturaliz'd, and made all our Own? And what can we make of this, but a work of Memory; the Excellency of a School-Boy, and That which requires very little Brains or Trouble, as to all that part which we pick up from Authors, and find ready cut to our Hands; And the Work of Imagination, for those little Graces and Garnitures, which make up the much less part, added by our Selves? This oftentimes is mere Vanity; no one Stroke of a Judicious Man, no one eminently Good Quality discernible in it; and accordingly the Authors themselves, under whose Names good Things are published, are often known to be Persons of weak Parts, and very indifferent Judgment; loose in their Principles, and debauch'd in their Morals. And how much better than all this is it, to hear a good honest Farmer, or a common Shopkeeper, talking in their own Gibberish, plain downright Truths, in a dry rough way, without Trick or Drefs to adorn and fet them off; and giving good useful Advice, which is the Natural Product of found Sense, and an unsophisticated Judg-

Thus much for our Understanding. The Will in no degree inferior in Misery, but hath at least as many Sources; and the Instances of it are more deplorable, than any under the former Head. These are indeed innumerable; some few of them are such as follow.

1. The being more desirous to be thought Virtuous and Good, than really to be so; and when one does good Actions, doing them more for the sake of Others, than our Own; making Reputation a more powerful Motive and Principle of Virtue, than Conscience; coveting and taking greater Satisfaction in the Commendation and Applause of the World,

World, than in the secret Consciousness and Comfort of having done our Duty.

2. The being much more forward and eager to revenge an Injury or Affront, than to acknowledge a Favour, and return a Kindness. Insomuch that to own an Obligation is a perfect Trouble and Mortification, a lessening one's self; but the taking Satisfaction reputed a Pleasure, a Pride, an Advantage. And what can be a greater Reproach to our Nature, what more betray the Baseness and Malignity of it, than the verifying that Observation; * Thanks are a Toil and a Burden; but a Retaliation of Injuries is esteem'd an Addition, and a Gain?

3. The being more violent and fierce in the Passion of Hatred, than in that of Love; more disposed to, more vehement in Detraction and Calumnies, than in our Commendations and good Characters of Men and Actions; to feed upon Evil rather than Good; and entertain ill Reports, and an odious Representation of our Neighbour, with more sensible Relish than his Praifes; To enlarge more willingly upon these, allow them a greater Share in our Conversation, to employ one's Wit, and Arts of Expression upon this Subject rather than the contrary. As the Generality of Historians, Orators, and Poets do, who are cold and flat in relating Men's Virtues, but sharp and poignant, eloquent, and moving in the Description of their Vices. And thus we find, that the Expressions, and Figures of Rhetorick, which serve to expose and blacken Men and Things, are mighty different, much more full and copious, more emphatical and significative, than those which are employ'd in Recommendation and Praise.

* Gratia oneri est, Ultio in questu habetur.
4. The declining Evil, and adding one's self to Good, upon false and improper Ends; when this is not the result of Virtuous Motions and Inclinations from within, nor the Dictate of Natural Reason, nor the Love of Virtue, nor the Sense of Duty; but some Consideration altogether foreign, and wide of the Matter. Some mean and sordid Prospect of Gain and Interest; the Itch of Vain-glory, the Hope of Advancement, the Fear of Reproach, Compliance with Custom, Obsequiousness to the Company; and, in a Word, not doing Good for the sake of doing it, and because it becomes us, and binds our Conscience; but upon some occasional Motive, and external Circumstance, that happen'd to fall in with us at that time. And at this rate, the greatest Part of Mankind are only good by chance. Which gives the true Reason of their being so extremely various, and unequal, and fickle, and inconsistent with Themselves; for so must all Things needs be, that are govern'd by Impulse and Accident; and nothing but true and well-weigh'd Principles, grounded upon Duty and Reason, can produce a steady, constant, and uniform Virtue.

5. The lessening our Affection for the Person we have wrong'd, and that for no other Reason, but merely because we have done them an Injury. Is not this very odd? What Account can be given of it? We cannot pretend that this Coldness always proceeds from Apprehensions of Revenge; for perhaps the injur'd Party hath no such Thoughts, and is as kindly dispos'd to Us as ever: But the Reason seems to be, that the very Sight and Remembrance of him accuses us to our selves, and our Conscience takes these Occasions to fly in our Faces, and reproach our Baseness and Indiscretion. So that if the Person offending does not abate of his Kindness, this is a good Argument that he did not

not offend wilfully, and is not conscious to himself of any thing that can give him a just Dissatisfaction at his own Proceedings. For, commonly speaking, every one that offends knowingly, and, with a malicious Design, changes in his Affection afterwards, and either turns an Enemy, or at least very cold and indifferent; according to that usual Proverb, * He that does the Wrong never forgives.

6. An Observation not much unlike the former, may be made, concerning Persons who have highly oblig'd us: The Sight of such is often an Uneasiness; it upbraids us with a Debt, and awakens ungrateful Remembrances of our Want, either of Disposition, or of Power to requite them. Nay, sometimes Men are so abominably wicked, as even to rejoice at the Death of a Benefactor, because it eases them of this sort of Pain, according to the Remark of an Old Author; Some, the more they have been oblig'd, the worse they hate: A small Debt makes a Man your Friend, but a great one will be sure to make him your Enemy.

7. The taking Delight in Mischief; being glad at the Pains, and Dangers, and Difficulties of other People; and conceiving a secret Indignation and Displeasure at their Prosperity and Promotion, Nor do I mean here any such Envy or Uneasiness as proceeds from Passion and particular Resentment; for this is chargeable upon the Vices of single Persons only. But the Thing I aim at is the common Temper, and natural Condition of Mankind in general, which, without any Pique, or Spleen, or Provocation, disposes even Good Men † to receive a sort of Satisfaction from the Risques of Men in Seas and Storms; to be an-

* Chi offende mai non pardonna.
† Suave Mari magno, &c. Lib. 2. A a 2 gry
grity at any Preference of our Friends before us, either in Point of Merit or Fortune; to laugh at any little Misfortune that happens to them*; All this argues the Seeds of Ill-Nature to be thick sown, and to have taken deep Root in us.

"The First of these Instances, which, of all the rest, seems most hard-hearted, Lucretius gives a much more innocent account of, and acquisit of the severe Imputation laid upon it here, in the beginning of his Second Book. And, indeed, what is said there upon that one Instance, is applicable to all here mention'd, which are owing to the Love of our Selves, and comparing our own Case with that of other People.

'Tis pleasant when the Seas are rough, to stand, And view another's Danger, safe at Land; Not 'cause he's troubled; but 'tis sweet to see Those Cares and Fears, from which our Selves are free. Mr. Creech.

"And sure there is a great difference between Malignity and Self-Love; between Tenderness for our own Safety, and a Malicious Joy in Calamities and Dangers.

In a Word; To give you a true Representation of the Greatness of our Misery, I only add, That the World abounds with Three sorts of Men, which out-do all the rest, both in Number and Reputation; and these are the Superstitions, the Formal, and the Pedantsick; These, tho' they are concern'd in different Matters, move by different Springs, and act upon different Stages, (for the Three principal Topics are Religion, Common Conversation, and Learning; and each of these is the Field appropriated to each of these Persons; Re-

Religion to the Superstitious; Common Conversation, and the Dealings of Humane Life, to the Formal; and Learning to the Pedants.) But these, I say, tho' engaged in Matters so distant, are yet all cast in the same Mould, and agree in their general Qualities and Characters; That they are all weak and mean Souls, extremely defective either in Natural or Acquir'd Abilities, incapable or ignorant; Men of dangerous Opinions, sick Judgments, nay, sick of a Disease that scarce ever admits of a Recovery. For all the Pains and Trouble you give your Self to instruct these Men better, is but so much Time and Labour lost upon them: They are so much in the wrong, and so highly conceited, that none who differ from them can be in the right, that no Good is ever to be done. If you will take their Judgments, none are comparable to themselves for Virtue or for Wisdom. Obstinacy and Self-sufficiency, which every where hath too great an Ascendent, reigns Absolute here, and is in its proper Kingdom. Whoever hath once drunk in the Infection of these Evils, there are little or no Hopes left of ever making him a sound Man again. For what is there more exquisitely foolish, what more stiff and inflexible than these fellows? They are secur'd by a double Barrier from the Conquests of Reason and Persuasion; First, by their Weakness, and Natural Incapacity, which disables them from seeing the Strength of Arguments and Reproofs; and then by a false Confidence in their own Excellencies above the rest of the World, which makes them despise all Others, as their Inferiors, unable to advise, and unfit to reform Those, who are already so much wiser and better than They.

As for the Superstitious, they are highly injurious to God, and dangerous Enemies to True Religion. They disguise themselves with a Mask of Piety.
Of Wisdom.  Book I.

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igion to the Superstitious; Common Conversation, and the Dealings of Humane Life, to the Formal; and Learning to the Pedants.) But these, I say, tho' engag'd in Matters so distant, are yet all cast in the same Mould, and agree in their general Qualities and Characters; That they are all weak and mean Souls, extremely defective either in Natural or Acquir'd Abilities, incapable or ignorant; Men of dangerous Opinions, sick Judgments, nay, sick of a Disease that scarce ever admits of a Recovery. For all the Pains and Trouble you give your self to instruct these Men better, is but so much Time and Labour lost upon them: They are so much in the wrong, and so highly conceited, that none who differ from them can be in the right, that no Good is ever to be done. If you will take their Judgments, none are comparable to themselves for Virtue or for Wisdom. Obstinacy and Self-sufficiency, which every where hath too great an Ascendant, reigns Absolute here, and is in its proper Kingdom. Whoever hath once drunk in the Infection of these Evils, there are little or no Hopes left of ever making him a sound Man again. For what is there more exquisitely foolish, what more stiff and inflexible than these Fellows? They are secure'd by a double Barrier from the Conquests of Reason and Persuasion; First, by their Weakness, and Natural Incapacity, which disables them from seeing the Strength of Arguments and Reproofs; and then by a false Confidence in their own Excellencies above the rest of the World, which makes them despise all Others, as their Inferiors, unable to advise, and unfit to reform Those, who are already so much wiser and better than They.

As for the Superstitious, they are highly injurious to God, and dangerous Enemies to True Religion. They disguise themselves with a Mask of Piety.
gry at any Preference of our Friends before us, 
ethe in Point of Merit or Fortune; to laugh at 
any little Misfortune that happens to them *; 
All this argues the Seeds of Ill-Nature to be 
therick fown, and to have taken deep Root in 
us.

" The First of these Instances, which, of all the 
rest, seems most hard-hearted, Lucretius gives a 
much more innocent account of, and acquis it 
of the severe Imputation laid upon it here, in 
the beginning of his Second Book. And, indeed, 
what is said there upon that one Instance, is 
applicable to all here mention'd, which are 
owing to the Love of our Selves, and com-
paring our own Case with that of other Peo-
ple.

'Tis pleasant when the Seas are rough, to stand, 
And view another's Danger, safe at Land; 
Not 'cause he's troubled; but 'tis sweet to see 
Those Cares and Fears, from which our Selves are free. 
Mr. Creech.

" And sure there is a great difference between Ma-
lignity and Self-Love; between Tenderness for 
our own Safety, and a Malicious Joy in Cala-
mities and Dangers.

In a Word; To give you a true Representation 
of the Greatness of our Misery, I only add, That 
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As for the Superstitious, they are highly injurious to God, and dangerous Enemies to True Religion. They disguise themselves with a Mask of Piety.
Of Wisdom. Book I.

Piety, and Zeal, and Reverence, and Love for God; and this left they carry so far, as to tease and torment themselves with Austerities and Sufferings, that were never requir’d at their Hands. And what is to be done with such infatuated Wretches as these, who imagine that those voluntary Afflictions are highly meritorious; that the Almighty is indebted to them, and much oblig’d by Works which he never commanded; and that all the rest ought to be releas’d in Consideration of these? Tell them, they take Things by the wrong Handle; that they stretch, and pervert, and mis-understand the Scriptures, and lay Burdens upon themselves more and heavier than God ever laid. Their Answer is, that They intend well; (and that Intention they doubt not will save them) that what they do is from a Principle of Piety and Devotion, and cannot want Merit or Acceptance upon that Account. Besides, there is something of Interest in all this, which you can never prevail with them to part with; for what Gain is to be proposed in Prospect, what Satisfaction to be receiv’d in Present, which can make them amend, for the mighty Expectations and Raptures of that fond Notion, that by this means God becomes Their Debtor, and they Merit at His Hands.

Formalists. The Formalists are a sort of People entirely devoted to Form, and Shew, and Out-side; and These think themselves at liberty to indulge their Passions, and gratify any, though never so unlawful, Desires, without Check and Controul, provided they do not offend against the Letter of the Law, nor omit any of those External Observances, which are required in their Behaviour, and look’d upon as the Rules of Living. Here you shall see an old griping Jew, that hath brought God knows how many Families to Beggary and Ruine; but he hath done no hurt in all this; For he never ask’d for

more than his Own, at least, what he thought so; and if upon these Demands, Arrests, and Suits, and Prisons have ensu’d, yet he only suffer’d the Law to take its Course; and who can blame this honest Man for coming by his Right in the way of Justice? But O Good God! how many good Things are neglected, and how many wicked and barbarous Things done, under the Pretence of Forms, and the Protection of the Laws! Nothing can be truer, than that Extremity of Right is Extremity of Wrong. He that makes this the Rule of all his Proceedings, and allows himself to take the Advantage of the Law upon every Occasion, is so far from an honest Man, that he is one of the most dangerous Knaves. Such Reason was there for that Saying us’d to this Purpose, God deliver us from the Formalists.

By Pedants, I mean a sort of prating Fellows, who first tumble over Books with great Pains and Study, and afterwards let fly in all Companies, and vend all they have pick’d up in their Reading, with as much Impertinence and Ostentation; and all this too, to turn a Penny, and promote their Interests or their Credit by it. There are not in the World a Pack of more little Mercenary Wretches, more unfit for Business, and yet at the same time more forward, and presuming, and conceited of Themselves. Hence perhaps it is, that in all Countries, and all Languages, Pedant and Scholar are Terms of Ridicule and Reproach. To do a Thing awkwardly, is to do it like a Scholar. To behave one’s self like a Clown, and be ignorant of the World, is to be a mere Scholar. Such Scholars, I mean, as these, I am now treating of; for these Reflections do not concern Learned Men in general, but such superficial Pretenders to it, as are only walking and living Nomenclatures; that have a Memory stuff’d full of other Men’s Knowledge,
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ledge, but none at all of their Own. Their Judgment, their Will, and their Consciences are not one whit improved by it; They are never the wiser, nor more prudent; never the more dextrous in Business, nor the more honest and virtuous, for all the Schemes and Institutions they have run thro'. They can repeat these, but they have not digested them; are Masters of the Speculative Part, but know nothing of the Application and Practice. So that all the Fruit of their Study is but to make them the more acquir'd, more egregious Fools; more full of Themselves, and more noisy and insupportable in all Companies. They swell their Memory, but sink their Wit, and adulterate their Understandings. And in such Persons as these, that Misery is most conspicuous, which we lately plac'd the last of that fort, with which the Intellectual Faculty of the Mind seems principally affected.

CHAP. XL.

V. Presumption.

We are now come to the last and most hideous Line of the whole Picture; which makes up the other Branch of Pliny's Description; For this is indeed the Deformity of our Nature, the Bane of our Minds, the Source of the worst and most erroneous Opinions, both Publick and Private; and yet, as bad as it is, 'tis a Vice natural to, and born with, every Man. Now we shall do well to consider this Presumption in its several Respects, above, below, upon the level, within, and without us. As the Object is God, and the
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Celestial Bodies, Terrestrial Bodies, and Beasts; Man our Equal, and our own Selves: And the whole Matter will turn at last upon these Two Points, The setting too high an Estimate upon our Own, and too low upon other Things; every Man in this Sense deserving the Character given by our Blessed Saviour, of the Pharisees, They trusted in Themselves, and despised Others. A Word or two now upon each of the fore-mentioned Particulars.

And First, with regard to Almighty God, (it is a horrible and melancholy Truth, but true it is, that,) all Superstition and false Worship, the affected Excesses, and the wilful Defects in our Religious Services, are entirely owing to the want of a sufficient Esteem and Reverence for God; the not being sensible what sort of Being He is, and entertaining such Opinions and Ideas of the Divine Nature, as are not sufficiently lofty, and pure, and refined. Now by saying sufficiently so, I would not be understood, that our Apprehensions should bear any proportion to the Essential Greatness of his Majesty; for God is Infinite, and admits of no proportion at all. Consequently there is no possibility in Nature, that our Conceptions should ever soar up to such a height and Sufficient as This; and therefore I mean that Sufficient only to be wanting, which Nature hath made us capable of, and Duty requires from us. We do not raise nor direct our Minds, nor plant our Thoughts strong, or high enough, when we form Notions of the Divinity: Alas! why do I say, not high and strong enough? when it is but too evident, and our Actions speak it out, that we entertain very feeble, and mean, and low Apprehensions of him. And we serve him indeed accordingly; we offer him Things most unworthy of him, and deal with him more basely and disrespectful, than we pretend, or dare, to do, with several of his Creatures.

We
We discourse, not of his Works only, (which yet command some Regard because they are His) but we talk of his Essence and Majesty, determine his Will, interpret his Judgments, pass Sentence upon the Dispensations of his Providence, and all this more peremptorily, more santly, than any Man ofgood Manners would take upon him to do, with the Counsels and Proceedings of his Prince. And yet every one thinks he may make bold with his God in Cases, where to use the same Freedoms with any Person of Honour, would be condemn-ed for insufferable Rudeness and Contempt. A great many Men would reject such Service and Homage, and think themselves highly injured and affronted, if we should talk so meanly of them, and make use of their Name upon such trifling Occasions, and in so contemptuous a manner as we do that of God. We undertake to manage him, go about to flatter and care for, to bend and bring him over, to bribe and to compound with him; nay, I might tremble to say it, some think even to brave and dare him, to snarl and grum-ble, to take things ill, and be exceeding angry at him. Cæsar bad his Pilot hoist Sails boldly, and fear nothing tho' Winds and Seas, and Stars and Fate were against him, but buoy himself up with this Confidence, in opposition to all Difficulties, That He who bad Cæsar aboard, could not miscarry. Augustus, after having been Tempest-beaten at Sea, took upon him to set Neptune at Defiance, and by way of Revenge, ordered his Image to be taken away from among the rest of the Gods, and ex-cluded the solemn Procussion at the Ludi Circensii. Xerxes scourged the Seas, and sent a Challenge to Mount Athos. The Thracians, when it Thunders and Lightens, shoot Arrows up against Heaven, with all their Might, that by this means they may bring the Gods to Reason. And there goes a Story
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Story of a certain Christian King, in a neighbouring Country, whom when God had severely chastized, he swore he would be revenged on him; and to make his Words good, commanded, That for Ten Years next ensuing, no Person within his Dominions should dare to put up any Prayers to God, or make mention of his Name any other way.

* Nought is too hard for Man.
Grown Giants in Impiety.
Our Impious Folly dares the Sky.
We dare assault Jove’s glorious Throne,
Nor (still averse to his Command)
Will we permit his lifted Hand
To lay his Thunder down.    Creech.

But not to insist longer upon such prodigious Extravagances, Does not the general Temper and Practice of Mankind justifie that Character given by Pliny; That no Creature is more miserable, and yet none more proud than Man? For, on the one hand, he forms to himself vast Conceits of the particular Love, and Regard, and tender Care God hath for him; thinks himself the chief, the only Favourite of Heaven; and yet this Darling serves him after a most unbecoming manner, and worse than the poorest and most despicable of all his Creatures. How then shall we reconcile these Extremes? How can a Life so wretched, a Homage so poor and base, meet and dwell together in the same Person, with such glorious Notions of Himself, and a Preference so vastly great above all the Creation be-

* Audax Iapeti genus
Nil mortalibus arduum.
Celum ipsum petimus fuititia, neque
Per nostrum patimur scelus
sides? Is not this to be an Angel and a Swine at once? And indeed Men, who entertain these Opinions, and dishonour God, by living in a Disagreement with them (as the generality of Mankind do) must be content to bear the Reproach of a great Philosopher to some Vicious and Hypocritical Christians; That they were the bravest Fellows in the World at talking, but the pitifullest and most contemptible Wretches in their Loves and Actions.

We are apt to think our Selves of Moment, and great Consequence to God, to the World, and to Nature in general. That all these are in great Pain and Anxiety upon our Account; That they only watch for our Safety and Preservation; and this makes us look upon Calamitous Accidents with Surprize; but especially, to be perfectly afterth'd at Death, as if it were a most strange Thing how that should break in upon us, notwithstanding so many Guards that keep Centry about our Persons, and are all (as we imagine) concern'd to secure us from it. For this, among other Reasons, few People ever persuade themselves that any Hour is their last; but almost every Body, suffers himself to be cheated with false Hopes, at the very Instant of expiring. And what is all this but Presumption? We think our selves too significant; and fondly fancy, that this whole Universe must bear a part in our Death; that some great and general Revolution will happen upon it; that all things decay in proportion with our own Bodies, and fail one another in the same Degrees they fail us; That there is no avoiding it, but they must all undergo the same fatal Shock, the same Dissolution that we do. And in this Universal Delusion, Mankind live, like People upon the Water, who, when their own Vessel moves, seem to draw Houses, and Towns, and Heaven, and Earth along with them. No Body considers that he is single, and but
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but One; a very small and inconsiderable Part of the Creation: One out of many Millions, whom few have any Interest in, and perhaps fewer yet are the worse for loosing; and the Matter is so far from every Body's going along with him, that scarce any Body will so much as miss him when he is gone; no more than a Grain of Sand diminishes the Sea-shore, or the falling of a Star, changes the Face of the Sky.

Then again; Man pleases himself, that the Heaven, the Stars, and all that Glorious Movement over our Heads, and indeed the whole Frame and Order of this Material World, was thus created and constituted merely for his Sake: As if that Description of the Heathen were his due. That *so many Gods were perpetually ambitious, and contending about his single Person. And this is a very extravagant Imagination indeed. He is lodged here in the last and lowest Story of the World, at a great distance from the Atherial Roof; a Place, that in comparison of the purer Regions above us, may be call'd the Sink of the World, where all the Lees and Dregs settle, with Creatures of the meanest Condition, and liable to receive all those Evacuations of Rain and Vapours, which fall down upon his Head; nay, from These he receives his very Subsistence; he lies open to Accidents, that beset and oppress him on every Side; and yet this poor Wretch looks upon himself as the Master and Commander in Chief of the Universe. 'Tis true indeed, Almighty God hath given him a Dominion over some of his Fellow Creatures; and it is likewise true, that the rest over which he hath not the same Dominion, are contriv'd for his Mighty Benefit and Convenience; but it will not follow

* Tot circa unus caput tumultuantes Deos.
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Impiety at all in it, but pretends to consult the Glory of God, by exciting Men to a greater Admiration of his Infinite Power, and Wisdom, and Goodness, exerted in so much a greater Variety of Creatures, than what we are or can be acquainted with, I thought it not amiss to insert it here; though, as I said, 'tis a Notion only; and what, as we cannot have an absolute Certainty for, so we have none against it. If Reason give any Countenance to this Speculation, Revelation no where forbids it. For Moses, who made it his Business to describe the World we inhabit, had no Reason to mention Others, in which we have no Concern; and his not mentioning Them, was agreeable to the Design of his History; but does not exclude the Reality or Possibility of any such other Systems, as were foreign to his Purpose, and so in no Degree necessary to be taken Notice of. The Reader, if he be desirous of farther Satisfaction in this Point, may please to consult the Eighth of Dr. Bentley's Excellent Sermons against Atheism. p. 4, &c.

As for the Things here below upon the Earth, that is, Beasts and all Living Creatures, Man looks upon them with Scorn and Contempt, as if they were of no Consideration at all. Forgetting, that they are form'd by the Hands of the same Almighty Artificer, and are reckoned among the Riches and Possessions of the same Lord; That the same Earth is our Common Mother, and that They and He, are of the same Family; and consequently ought not to be slighted and disdained, as if they were worthy no part of his Concern, nor bore any Relation at all to Him. Hence it is, that these Poor Creatures are so much abused; and treated with an Insolence and Cruelty, that flies back upon Their and Our Common Master; for it is
an Affront, and an Impiety, to deal thus by any
Thing of His making, such as he does not only
own, but express a Tenderness for; thinks them
worthy his own Care, and hath appointed cer-
tain Laws for their Benefit and Preservation; such
as, tho’ inferior to Us in the most valuable Parts,
yet he seems in some Things to have given the
Advantage to; nay, such as, in several Instances,
shame and reproach our Follies, and are therefore
recommended in Scripture, as Masters for Man to
be sent to School to. But this hath been already
mentioned in another Chapter.

It is indeed a Doctrine commonly receiv’d, that
the World was made for Man, and Man for God; which
in some Sense is certainly true, and what I have
said is no Derogation from it. For, besides that In-
struction, which all the Creatures in general con-
tribute to, whether those above or below us;
Those useful Hints and Reflections they minister
concerning Almighty God, our Selves, and Our
Duty: Some sort of Use, with regard to Profit,
or Serviceableness, or Delight, may be drawn from
every one of them in particular. From that Part
above us, which we have a less distinct Knowledge
of, and which is not at all in our Disposal; This
Firmament so nobly vaulted, so richly deck’d with
Light, and all those rolling Fires above us; The
Advantage Man receives from them, is that of
Contemplation only. His Soul by these is raised
and transported to admire and to love, to fear and
to honour, and to pay most profound Reverence
to the Almighty Master and Maker of so Glorious
a Frame. In this respect it was no ill Remark of
Anaxagoras, that Man was created to contemplate Hea-
ven; and some of the Old Philosophers according-
ly gave him the Title of ἐγεννησόν. From the
Creatures in this lower World, he reaps Advan-
tage and Afflurance, receives great Supplies, and

Ser-
Service properly so called. But for Men to persuade themselves, that God, in making all these Things, had no other End in his Thoughts and Designs, but purely to consult the Convenience of Mankind: This is too great a Stretch upon the Doctrine mention'd just now, and an Arrogance which I think may very deservedly be charged with all that Folly and Presumption I have laid upon it.

The last, but principal Instance of this Presumption, hath Man for its Object; and this must be consider'd with regard to Himself, or to his Fellows; Within, as to the forming of his Judgment and private Opinions; or Without, as those Sentiments are imparted by conversing with other People. And, upon this Occasion, we will insist upon Three Things, as so many Topicks in close Connexion and Consequence upon one another; by which Mankind betray at once their great Weakness and great Presumption; and, in both, great Folly. The first of these consists in Believing and Disbelieving. (I meddle not here with Religion, or Divine Faith, but desire my Reader to recollect what was said in the Preface,) Where Two contrary Vices are observable, which are exceeding common in Humane Life. One of these, and the more general of the two, is Levity and Credulity; that is, a Disposition to receive Things, and be persuaded too easily, upon the slightest Inducements; so that to gain our Assent, any the least Circumstance of Probability, or Pretence of Authority, is sufficient. This is the Effect of Easiness and Simplicity in the worst Sense of the Word; a Softness and Weakness of Mind, such as we observe in mean Parts and Education, the Ignorant and Effeminate, the Superstitious and Fanciful, Men of great Zeal, and little Judgment, which are all like Wax, always in a readiness to receive any new Im-
of Presumption.

Impression, and suffer Themselves to be led about by the Ears with every idle Story. Hence it is, that we see the greatest Part of the World carry’d about with every Blast of Opinion, and possest with Notions, before either Age or Maturity of Judgment render them capable ofchoosing; and accordingly These Opinions are not the result of Consideration and Choice, but the Prepossessions of Time and Custom; the Rudiments of their Infancy, the Mode of their Country, or, it may be, mere Chance, have taken fast hold of them; so fast, that they are inseparably wedded to, absolutely subdu’d and enslav’d by them; and no Arguments are able to loosen these Prejudices, and set their Minds at liberty from them. * Some violent Gust of Wind drives them upon an Opinion, and there they cling, as if they were to save themselves from a Storm, by keeping close to that Rock. Thus, indeed, the World is manag’d; We take Things upon Trust, and depend upon other People. † Each Man is willing to save himself the trouble of Examining; and had rather believe than judge: A Mistake that hath passed thro’ many Hands successively, turns and tumbles us about at Pleasure: And all this from a Custom of assenting too easily, which is exceeding dangerous and unfaithful. Now this Credulity, so common in the World, tho’ it be really a very great Instance of Weakness, yet is it not without a large Mixture of Presumption too: For, to receive and flick by Opinions, and maintain them for certain Truths, without knowing anything at all of the Matter, this is too much in all Conscience; and therefore some little Enquiry is

* Veluti tempestare delati ad quamcunque disciplinam, tanquam ad farum adhaerentium.
† Unusquisque; mavult credere quam judicare, verfat nos & precipitare traditus per manius error; Ipsa consuetudo assentienti- di periculosa & lubrica.
made into the Causes, and Reasons, and Consequences, tho' none at all is made concerning the Truth of the Thing. We commonly ask, What account can be given of This? or, What can be the manner of bringing that about? all along taking the Matter of Fact for granted, and that Things really are as they are represented; when there is nothing at all in it. We write Tracts, manage Arguments, engage in Disputes, enquire curiously after Causes and Effects of a Thousand Things, which never had any Foundation in Nature; and the whole Argument on both sides is false. One contends it is This way, another That way, and, in truth, it neither is, nor ever was, Any way at all. How many Jeffs and Banters, pretended Miracles, sham Visions, and counterfeit Revelations, have crafty People imposed upon Ours, and some late Ages of the World? And why should a Man believe such Pretensions to Events, neither Humane nor Natural, when they may be confounded and disproved by Natural and Humane Methods; when Reason can say nothing for them, and Revelation is so far from giving them Countenance, that it says a great deal against them? Truth and Falshood have Faces and Features alike; Their Mien, their Relish, their Motions resemble one another, and the same Eye judgeth of them both. *Truth and Falshood (says one) border so close upon one another, that a Wise Man should not trust himself upon the Brink of them, but move warily, for fear of sliding into the Wrong. No Man ought to be believed concerning Matters above the Power and Understanding of a Man; except he come with Authority from above, and bring such Credentials along with him, as are supernatural, and exceed the Operations of Humane Strength; and such no Te-

* Ita sunt finitima falsa veris, ut in præcipitem locum non debeat fe sapiens committere.
Chap. 40. Of Presumption.

Srimony can be, but the Divine. But it is to God alone that this Prerogative of Right belongs, To be believed in whatever he says, for this single Reason, because He says it.

The other Vice opposite to This, is a stupid and obstinate Rashness, which condemns at all Adventures, and rejects every Thing for false, which Men either do not understand, or are loath to believe; and therefore will by no means have that true, which Interest or Inclination makes them wish may not be so. This is a Property more especially visible in such as abound in their own Sense, and think Themselves more capable and more judicious than their Neighbours; such as Pedantick Pretenders to Learning, Men addicted to Dispute, and Those that are violent in any Party, whether of Church or State. They fancy some little Sharpness in their Wit, and that They see further into Things than the Generality of People do; and This, with a Byass of their own within, makes them forward and fierce; They take upon them to determine every Thing with an Air of Authority, and expect, that their Sentence should be receiv'd for Law. This Vice is yet worse and greater than the former; for it is the Extremity of Folly and Madness, to think we know the utmost Bounds of Possibilities; the secret Springs, and full Extent of Nature; that We can comprehend the Operations of God, and pronounce what He is able, and what He will please to do; to measure all Truth and Falsity by our own Capacities and Understandings; and yet This ought to be the Measure of True and False, to justify the Confidence and the Fierceness, which these sort of Men express in all their Disputes and Definitions of Things: For this is the Eternal Jargon they run you down with, That's Nonsense, That's False, That's Impossible and Absurd. And yet how many Things are there, which for a time have been thought
thought extremely ridiculous, and rejected as impossible, and afterwards have brought such Evidence of their Truth, that we have been forc’d to acknowledge and yield to them; nay, and after These have been establish’d, we have, by Them, been led to the entertaining of Others yet more surprizing and odd than the former? And, on the other hand, how many that have been receiv’d for Gospel, have in time loft all their Veneration and Credit, and been discover’d to be mere Errors, and Impostures, and idle Fancies?

The Second Instance of this kind, which, indeed, is an usual and a natural Consequence of the former, is the being positive and stiff in afferring or denying, approving or condemning, according as we have been led to entertain or reject Opinions, without sufficient Grounds for our Belief or Mistrust. This differs from the former only in degree, excepting that it adds Peremptoriness and Obstinaity to it, and so the Presumption is worse and more apparent. That Easiness and Credulity hardens in time, and by degrees degenerates into a Self-Conceit and Positiveness, which no Arguments can conquer, no Persuasions move or correct. Nay, sometimes the Humour is carry’d on so far, that Men are more eager in afferring what they do not know, than what they do. * Men persuade themselves more firmly of the Things they least understand, and assent with greater readiness to Points dark and mysterious, that they may be thought to comprehend what really they do not, and from a natural eagerness of the Mind, that catches at every Thing greedily. It is counted a Reflection, to be out at any Point that is started; or to yield a Dispute, in which a Man is once engag’d; and therefore Men discourse with Resolution and Obstinacy, and great

* Majorem fidem homines adhibent iis quae non intelligunt; cupiditate humani ingenii lubentius obscura creduntur.
Chap. 40. Of Presumption.

Assurance, and come ready fix'd and determin'd to maintain their Ground at any rate, how little forer they have to offer in Defence of it. Now this exceeding Positiveness, and abounding in one's own Sense, are commonly Signs of Brutality and Ignorance, attended with Arrogance and Folly.

The Third, which is a natural Product of those Two, and the very Top and Extremity of Presumption, is, The persuading others, recommending and propagating our own Opinion; and this, not in a mild and gentle Method of fair Reasoning; but with Authority, and in a Dogmatical way; to impose it, as if they were oblige'd in Duty to believe us, and ought not to ask Questions, or doubt of any Thing we say. Now what insupportable Tyranny and Usurpation is This? He that hath receiv'd an Opinion, reckons it a Work of Charity to win others over, and convince as many as he can of it too; and for the better effecting this Charitable Design, he gives it all the Strength and Advantage he can; represents every thing in its best Light, and adds from his own Invention, as much more, as he thinks may be for his Purpose, to make amends for any Defect or Opposition, which he suspects may be met with, from the Apprehension of the Person he proposes the Matter to. And, generally speaking, there is not any thing for which Men are more tenderly concern'd, than for the putting about their Opinions, and gaining as many Profelytes as they can. * No Man is content to be mistaken alone, but every one draws in others into the same Error with himself. Nay, so zealous are Men in this Particular, that where ordinary Means of Persuasion are found insufficient, the Defect is supply'd by Violence and Terror, Sword, and Fire, and Faggot.

* Nemo sibi tantum errat, sed aliis erroris Causa & Author est.

B b 4

This
Of Wisdom. Book I.

This is properly the Vice of Dogmatical and Ambitious People; such as aim at absolute Dominion, and would fain be governing and prescribing to all the World. And, for the facilitating this Design, and to captivate Men's Understandings, they make use of Two Artifices. The First is, To lay down some general Propositions, which are term'd Fundamental Principles; and such as must be presupposed and granted on all Hands; and from These, they tell you, you must be so far from departing, that you are not allow'd so much as to dispute, or admit the least Doubt, whether they be true or not. Upon these they raise what Superstructure they please, and so bring the World over to their side; which hath been a very successful Cheat, in propagating many gross Errors, and giving Authority to Things absolutely false. And, indeed, the Fraud lies chiefly in Those Principles, which ought to be Truth's Self-evident, and clear to every considering Man; but Some have been advanced for such, which upon strict Examination will be found, not only as disputable, but as weak, as false, as any of the Conclusions endeavour'd to be drawn from them; and the Propositions contrary to These, carry at least the same Face of Probability, and have as much to say for themselves.

Some Eminent Persons, we know, of late, have taken upon them quite to alter and overthrow the establish'd, and so long uncontested, Principles and Rules of the Antients, in Astrology, Physick, Geometry, and concerning the Nature and Motion of the Winds. Now all the Propositions and Notions of Men are equal to be sure, and ought to have the same Authority with us, excepting only so far as Reason gives one the Advantage above another. Truth does not depend upon the Credit or Testimony of Man; nor are there any Propositions that command an absolute Assent, and whose Authority is uncon-
uncontestable, but what God hath been pleased to reveal; the rest are mere Vanity and Pretence, that challenge Assent so imperiously from us. Now these Gentlemen require us to take their Word, and swallow All they set before us, without chewing; not any Tryal or Examination is allow'd you, which is the greatest Injustice and Tyranny in the World. God (as was observed before) hath this Right incommunicable to any beside Himself, to command our Assent in all he says, upon this score merely, because he says it. Where, by God's saying it, is included the Message of all those that are sent, and attested by him, and not any immediate Revelation intended, and nothing else; for in opposition to such Messengers, so commissioned and approv'd it is, that our Lord says, He that speaketh of himself is a Liar.

The Other Method, by which many have been drawn into Errors, is by counterfeiting this Seal from Heaven, pretending some new Miracle, or particular Inspiration, or strange Apparition, or the like; a Trick, which History tells us, hath been often play'd with great Dexterity and Success, by Princes, and Law-givers, and Generals of Armies. The first Persuasion taken from the Party concern'd, soon gets possession of the weaker sort; but this is so nice, so feeble, and so frail, that the least Mistake, or Mismanagement would spoil and break all to pieces again: And wonderful it is to reflect, what famous Impressions have been owing to poor and frivolous Beginnings. But when this Impression comes abroad into the World, it grows to a prodigious Bulk, and stretches it self so, by the help of Time and Numbers, as to take in Men of better Sense, and more discerning Judgments. For it is to no purpose then to kick against a general Belief; a Man hath nothing left to do, but to come in, and make One. The strongest Evidence, and most
The Fifth and Last Respect under which Man was to be considered; consisting of the Differences between Some and Others; and of the Comparisons arising from hence.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Difference and Inequality of Men in general.

There is not any One Thing in all this lower World, wherein so great Variety is observable, as in Mankind; not any general Head or Species of Beings, whose Individuals differ in so many, and so distant Particulars from one another. If Pliny, and Herodotus, and Plutarch may be credited; There are Men in some Places, whose Form and Figure bears but very little resemblance to this of Ours; and several Mongrels and Medleys between the Man and the Beast. Some Countries are inhabited by Men without any Head, whose Eyes and Mouth are placed in their Breasts; some by Hermaphrodites; some, where they go upon all Four; some, where they have but One Eye, and That in the middle of their Forehead; and a Head shaped more
Chap. 41. Of the Difference of Men.

more like a Dog, than such as we see Men usu-
ally have. Some Places, where the lower Part is
all Fish, and they live in the Water; where
their Women bring Children at Five Years old,
and live no longer than Eight; where their Skull
and Forehead is so hard, that no Iron can break
or enter it, but rebounds back again; where they
are transformed into Wolves, and Sheep, and Oxen,
and at last return to the Humane Form again;
where they have no Mouth, and all the Nourish-
ment they are sustaine by, is from the Smell of
certain Scents. And, to go no farther, This very
last Age hath discovered, and many now living
have seen and felt Men, that have no Beards at
all; that live without the use of Fire, or Corn, or
Wine; and Countries, where what We abomi-
nate as the most odious Deformity, is look'd upon
and valu'd as the most exquisite Beauty; (as hath
been hinted before.) As for the Diversity of Cu-
stoms and Manners, That will be the Business of
another Head. What hath been related here may
possibly seem incredible; but if it do, our Point
will be prov'd without it. For go no farther than
our own Knowledge, and what infinite Differences
are there in Faces? insomuch that Two are no
where to be found, exactly and in all Particulars
alike. 'Tis true, sometimes there happen Mistakes
of one Person for another, because of a very great
Likeness between them; but then These always
happen, when One of the Parties is not by. For
when we meet them Both together, the Error va-
nishes; and we easily discern a Difference, which
serves for a sufficient Mark of Distinction to us,
Tho' perhaps it is such a one, as we cannot readily
tell what to call it.

The Souls of Men are yet more various, and full
of distinguishing Characters, than their Bodies;
For there is in this respect, not only a greater Dif-
ference
ference between Man and Man, than any that can be discover'd between Beast and Beast: But (which is but a bad Business, and not much for our Honour) the distance is more between some Men and Others, than it seems to be between some Men and Beasts. For one of the most excellent and apprehensive Animals, seems to make much nearer approaches to the Understanding and Sagacity of Men of the lowest Form, than Those Men to some of the most capable and accomplish'd Persons. Now this mighty Difference between Men proceeds from inward and unseen Causes; from the Mind, which consists of such variety of Parts; and it is brought about by such intricate Springs and Principles of Motion, that the Contemplation of them would be infinite, and the Degrees depending upon them without number.

Now the last Part of our Undertaking for attaining to a right Knowledge of Man, must consist of the Distinctions and Differences observable in Him: And These are of several sorts, according to the different Parts of which Humane Nature is compounded, and the different Methods and Capacities in which Men may be consider'd, and compar'd with one another. At present we will instance in Five, which seem to be the Principal; and of so large Extent, that all the rest may be reduc'd to them. For, generally speaking, all that is in Man is either Body or Spirit, Natural or Acquired, Publick or Private, Apparent or Secret; and accordingly this Fifth and Last Consideration shall branch it self into Five Particulars, which shall be so many Capital Distinctions between Man and Man.

The First of these is Natural, Essential, and Universal; in which the whole Man, both Body and Mind, are concern'd.

The Second is principally Natural and Essential; but in some measure Artificial and acquir'd too;
Chap. 42. Of the Difference of Men.

too; and this concerns the Strength and Capacity of the Mind.

The Third is Accidental, and depends upon Men's Conditions and their Duties respectively; the Ground of all which is taken from the Circumstance of Superiour or Inferiour.

The Fourth is likewise Accidental, and relates to Men's particular Professions, and different ways of Living.

The Fifth and Last considers them with regard to the Advantages and Disadvantages, by which either Nature or Fortune hath distinguished them.

C H A P. XLII.

The First Difference whereby Men are distinguished, which is Natural, and Essential, and derived from the several Climates of the World.

The First, most remarkable, and universal Distinction between some Men and Others, is That which regards the whole Person, the Mind and Body both, and all the Parts whereof Man consists. And This is deriv'd from the different Situation of Countries, and Divisions of the World; In proportion to which there necessarily follows a Difference in the Aspects and Influences of the Heavens, the Distance of the Sun, the Temperament of the Air, and the Nature of the Soil: And from hence Men receive different Complexions, and Statures, and Countenances; nay, different Manners and Dispositions; and different Faculties.
cultures of the Soul too. * The Climate does not only contribute very much to the Strength of the Body, but also to the Vigour of the Mind. At Athens the Air is thin and fine, from whence the Athenians are generally sharp, and of quick Parts; At Thebes it is thick and foggy, and this makes the Inhabitants and Natives of that Country, stupid and dull, gross and robust. This Consideration mov'd Plato to thank God, that he was a Native of Athens and not of Thebes.

† Prolific Rays shed by the Partial Sun,
Are not confin'd to Seeds and Plants alone;
Souls too the differing Genial Influence know,
And relish of the Soil in which they grow.

As the Nature of the Fruits, and of other Animals is very different, according to the Regions where they spring, and are bred; so Men likewise owe their Temper to their Country; and upon this account bring into the World with them Dispositions Greater or Less, to War, Courage, Justice, Temperance, Docility, Religion, Chastity, Wit, Goodness, Obedience, Beauty, Health, and Strength. Upon this account Cyrus would not permit the Persians to quit their own Country, which was rough and rocky, for another that was champaign and smooth; and the Reason he gave was, That soft and pleasant Soils produce Effeminate People; and Fruitfulness in the Ground caueth Blearness in the Minds of the Inhabitants.

According to this Ground-work we may erect general Schemes of the World, by parcelling out

* Plaga Coeli non so'um ad robust Corpurum, sed & animorum facit. Athenis tenue ccelum, ex quo eiram acutiores Articis: craffum Thebis, ideo pingues Thebani & valentes.
† Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse Jupiter auctiferà lustravit lampade terras.
the Countries of it into Three large Divisions, and
the Natives into as many Dispositions. The Three
general Divisions to be made on this Occasion, shall
comprehend the Two Extremities of North and
South, and the Middle Region between them both.
Each Part or Division shall consist of Sixty Degrees.
The First shall be plac'd under the Line, and take
in Thirty Degrees on each side of it; that is, All
that Part of the Globe contain'd within the Two
Tropicks, and some small Matter more. In which
Part lie those that are commonly call'd the Hot and
Southern Countries, and that which Astronomers
and Geographers distinguish by the Title of the Tor-
rid Zone; Africa and Aethiopia in the middle between
East and West; Arabia, Calicut, the Molucques, and
Java Eastward; Peru and the great Seas Westward.
The Second or Middle Division goes Thirty De-
grees beyond the former on each side, reckoning
from the Tropicks towards the Poles; and these are
the Moderate Climates, or Temperate Zones. This
includes all Europe and the Mediterranean Sea, be-
tween East and West; the greater and lesser Asia
Eastward; and China, Japan, and America to the
Westward. The Third extends it self Thirty De-
grees farther yet, which lie nearest to each Pole;
These are the Frigid Zones, the Frozen Regions,
and they that are call'd the Northern Nations, as
Tartary, Muscovy, Estotilan, Magellan, and all that
Tract which, because not hitherto fully discover'd,
go by the Name of Terra Incognita.

According to this general Partition of the World,
the Qualities and Dispositions of the People are
proportionably different: And that, whether we re-
gard the Body, the Mind, Religion, or Manners;
as this little Table here subjoy'n'd will more di-

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The Northerly People are Tall and Big, Phlegmatick, Sanguine, White or light Tawny, their Voices strong, their Skin soft and Hairy, great Eaters and Drinkers, strong and robust.

The Temperate and Middle Regions are in a Mean, and of a Nature between these two Extremes, Moderate and in a State of Neutrality, (as it were) in all these respects. Partaking in some measure of both Qualities, but most inclining to the Dispositions of that Division upon which they border nearest.

Southern People are Low of Stature, Small built, inclining to Melancholy, of cold and dry Constitutions, Black and Tawny, disposed to Solitude, their Voices small and weak, their Skin hard, little Hair, frizzled and shaggy, abstemious and weak.

Ingenious, Apt, Wife, Prudent, Subtle, Poshire in their Opinions, Obstinate, Unpersuadable.

Given to Superstition, Studious, and Contemplative.

Averse to War, Cowardly, lascivious, Jealous, Cruel and Inhumane.

Heavy, Dull, Stupid, Foolish, credulous, easy to be imposed upon, inconstant in their Humors and Opinions.

III. Their Minds.

Not much addicted to Religion, cold and negligent in Devotion.

IV. Their Religion.

Warlike, Valiant, Hardy, Laborious, Chaste, not apt to be Jealous, Cruel, Inhumane.

For As to their Bodies.

II. Their Minds.

I. As to their Bodies.

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It is no difficult Matter to evince the Truth of these Characters, and assign very probable Reasons, why the Persons here mentioned should thus differ from each other. As to those Differences, which relate to the Body; we have Evidence of Sense for them, and our Eyes supply the Place of a Thousand Arguments. If there be some excepted Cases from the general Rules, they may very easily be accounted for, (tho’ indeed these Exceptions are but very few,) The mingling and promiscuous Marriages of several Nations; the Winds, the Waters, and particular Situation of the Places where they dwell, may each of them contribute to it, and all together may make a considerable Alteration. Thus a very high and mountainous Country may vary remarkably from a flat under the same Latitude; nay, this different Site may cause some Variation in the very same Country or City. Plutarch observes, that the Humours of those who were born and dwelt in the upper Town at Athens, were very distant from those of the lower Town, and by the Sea-side about the Piraeus Port. A high Mountain on the North-side of a Valley, will render the Plain to the Southward of it, to all Intents and Purposes, a Southern Climate; and by the same Reason, a Mountain to the Southward, which intercepts the Sun, will give the Valley beyond it the Effects of a Northern Climate.

As for those Differences, which relate to the Mind; We know very well, that Mechanical Improvements, and most Laborious and Handicraft Arts come out of the North, where the People are remarkable for indefatigable Industry and Toil. But Learning and Speculative Sciences move with the Sun, and come from the South to Us. Caesar, and the Ancients, give the Egyptians the Character of a most Ingenious, and exceeding Subtle People; and the Scripture takes Notice, as one Commenda-
tion and great Accomplishment of Moses, that he had been instructed, and was well skilled in all the Wisdom of the Egyptians. From thence first Philosophy let forward into Europe; for the Greeks were beholding to Egypt for the Fundamentals and Elements of Wisdom. Greatness and State seem to have begun there, by reason of the Vigour and Subtilty of their Parts. The Guards of Princes, even of Them, whose Dwellings and Dominions are in the South, are usually composed of Northerly Men; as being look’d upon to have more Strength of Body, and less of Mind; fit for Fight and Defence, but not qualify’d for subtle Plots and secret Designs, nor disposed to Treachery and Malice. What was said of Hannibal, is true of these Southern Nations. They are of a Disposition that will serve for Great Vices, and Great Virtues, and may be eminent in either: That which is chiefly commendable in the Northern, is Good-Nature, and Plainness, and undesigned Honesty. The intermediate Sciences, such as are mix’d, partly Speculative, and partly Practical; Politicks (for Instance) and Laws, and Eloquence, and the like, are owing to the Middle Regions between those Extremes, and most conspicuous and improved there. For it is observable, that the Greatest and most Flourishing Empires and States, have been seated in this Part of the World.

As to our Third Particular: Most Part of the Religions practis’d in the World, came from the South; and what Mankind generally observe at this Day, is either what begun there, or Additions and Improvements upon it. Egypt, and Arabia, and Chaldea, have been their Teachers and Patterns; and Africa is observ’d to have more Superstition in it, than all the World besides. Witness, the Frequency of their Vows, and the incredible Magnificence of their Temples. As for the Northern Nations, Cæ-
Chap. 42. Of the Difference of Men.

Far takes Notice, That they have but very little
Regard to Religion, but employ and delight them-
selves chiefly in War and Hunting.

For the Manners and Dispositions of Men in gene-
ral; look upon the First in regard to War, and it
is most evident, that Numerous Armies, Military
Arts and Discipline, Engines, and Instruments, and
Inventions of this kind, are originally deriv'd from
the North. The Nations which set out from thence,
Scythians, and Goths, and Vandals, and Huns, and
Tartars, and Turks, and Germans; These have fought,
and subdu'd all other Nations, and ravag'd the
whole World. The Devastations they made, and
the Barbarities they exercised, gave Occasion to
that Proverb, That all Evil came out of the North.
Duels, and Set Combats, are deriv'd from Them.
Solinus says, the Northern Nations worship the
Blade of a Sword, stuck down into the Earth.
Other People have not been able to conquer them;
Not even the Romans, who vanquished the rest of
the World, but were Themselves overcome and de-
stroy'd by Them. It is remarkable, that the South
Wind makes them weak and faint, and that in
Proportion as they advance nearer the South, they
degenerate and grow feeble; and so just contra-
ry, The Southern Nations, when they move North-
ward, improve their Constitutions, and feel Thems-
elves grow much more hardy and strong. Up-
on the Account of this Courage and Warlike Spi-
rit it is, that the Northern People cannot endure
to be insulted and tyranniz'd over; They are
Enemies to Arbitrary Power, and Absolute Do-
mension; are great Lovers of Liberty; and submit
most willingly where the Governments are Ele-
dive. As for Chastity and Jealousy; In the North
One Man hath but One Wife, (as Tacitus observes)
and he thinks One Wife sufficient too; They are
by no means inclin'd to Jealousy, (says Munster.)
as one may guess by Men and their Wives bathing together in a Company of Strangers. Polygamy is practised all over the whole Southern Tract. All Africa, (says Solinus) is devoted to the Worship of Venus. Southern Men have a strange Propension to Jealousy, and even die with the Rage of it; and therefore they get Eunuchs for their Security, and set Them as a Guard upon their Women. Thus the Grand Seignior does in his Seraglio, where he keeps vast Numbers of Ladies, (like a Stable of Mares) to breed upon.

In Cruelty both Extremes resemble one another; but tho' the Effect be the same, the Cause is not so; as will be explain'd presently, when we come to consider the Causes of these Differences. The most barbarous Methods of Punishment, such as Breaking upon the Wheel, and Impaling Men alive, came from the North. The Merciless Cruelties of the Muscovites and Tartars, are abundantly notorious; The Germans (Tacitus tells us) never punish Malefactors by Legal Process, but fall upon them, and cut them to Pieces like Enemies. The Southern Nations too slay their Criminals alive; and their Desire of Revenge is so eager and impatient, that sometimes they run stark-mad, if they cannot find Means to satisfy it. Between these most distant Regions, the Nations are full of Kindness, and Good-Nature. The Romans usually inflicted no greater Punishment, than that of Banishing their most grievous Offenders. The Greeks mingled a stupefying Draught of Hemlock, and other Poisonous Drugs, yet so that it should be sweet upon the Palate; and This they gave their condemn'd Persons to drink and die with. And Cicero says, That Humanity and Courtefy seem to be the Portion and peculiar Qualities of the Lesser Asia, and to have been from thence diffused over the rest of the World.

Now
Chap. 42. Of the Difference of Men.

Now, the True Cause, from whence all these Differences, both in the Persons and the Dispositions of Men, proceed; is no other than the inward natural Heat, being distributed among the People of these several Climates, so very unequally as it is: For each Country differs from the other, according as these Proportions differ. The Northern Nations have it in a very great degree, by reason of the great Coldness of their Air, which keeps this Heat, and shuts it up close; as we find Cellars in Rocks and deep Wells hottest in Winter; and, to go no farther from Home, so are our own Breast and Stomach, because of the Strength and Abundance of inward Heat at that Time. Now, This must needs be much weaker in Southern People, because the exceeding Vehemence of the Scorching Heat without, and the Force of the Sun-beam scatters, and draws it outwards. As our Stomachs and Places under Ground are coolest in Summer, and we feel our inward Burnings abated by Sweating. From this Difference, I say, and unequal Degrees of Natural Heat, arise the several Differences already mentioned; not such only as the Body is concern’d in, for These are visible and obvious; but Those that make a Change in the Minds of Men too: For the Southerly People being colder in their Constitutions, are from hence disposed to Melancholy; and this makes them Staid and Solid, Constant, Contemplative, Ingenious, Wise, Religious, and Devout. For Wisdom and Dovcllity is most eminently visible in Beasts of a cold Temperament; as Elephants particularly, which are more Melancholick than any other Animals, and are manifestly the most Apprehensive and apt of any, all which I impute to the Coldness of their Blood. From the same Superfluity and Predominance of Melancholy in their Temper, the Southern People seem to be more
Lascivious and Lustful than others, this being a sharp and fretting Humour, and apt to provoke such Inclinations; as we see it in Hares particularly. From the same sharp fretting Melancholy, they are Barbarous and Cruel; for That whets the Passions, and urges them to Blood and Revenge. Now the Northern People, in whose Constitution Phlegm is most predominant, and who abound in Blood and Spirits; are just opposite to the Former, and have the direct contrary Qualities, excepting that they agree in that single Point of Cruelty. But This in these Parts of the World proceeds chiefly from a very different Reason; and that seems to be Want of Judgment; so that, like Beasts, They are strong in their Passions, and weak in those Faculties, that should controul, and keep them in. The Countries of the Middle Division, abound in Blood and Choler, and so are delivered from the Ill Effects of both Extremes, Phlegm and Melancholy; and accordingly these are Moderate in their Passions, Good-humour’d, Cheerful, Nimble, and Apt, and Active.

It were possible to represent the different Temper and Spirit of these Three Sorts of People, after a yet more nice and perfect manner, by making the Application and Comparison to extend to all kind of Things whatsoever; A short Scheme whereof this little Table will present you with; and by That you will perceive, what are the particular Qualities, Influences, Improvements, and Actions of each of them. For, according to what hath been already observ’d upon this Head, we must assign to the

Qualities
### Chap. 42. Of the Difference of Men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualities of the Soul</th>
<th>Northern.</th>
<th>Middle Climate.</th>
<th>Southern.</th>
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These
These are the peculiar Excellencies, and most remarkable Distinctions, which may be attributed to this general Division of North and South. The Nations that lie Westward, and the People that dwell upon the Mountains, approach, and have a great Affinity to the Northern Climates; because of the Cold, to which those Situations are more expos'd; which is also the Case of Them who live at a great distance from the Sea. They are Warlike and Fierce, Lovers of Liberty, and have more Honesty and Simplicity in their Tempers. And to again, the Eastern Countries resemble the Southern, as do also Those that dwell in the Campaign and great Valleys, and the Borderers upon the Sea. They are more Tender and Effeminate, by reason of the Fruitfulness of their Soil; for Fertility inclines Men to Softness and Pleasure. And your Islanders are commonly Subtle, and Cunning, and Deceitful; by reason of that Commerce and Correspondence they hold with Men and Nations of different Tempers abroad.

From this whole Discourse we may conclude in general, that the Privilege of the Northern Climates lies chiefly in the Qualifications of the Body; Strength, and a Robust Constitution is their peculiar Excellence and Portion. The Southern have the Advantage in the Mind; Subtlety, and Penetration, and Quickness of Parts, is Their Talent. The Middle Regions have somewhat of Both, and partake of all these Excellencies; but of Each in less Degrees and moderate Proportions. From hence likewise we may understand, that the Manners and Original Dispositions of Men, simply consider'd, are not Vices or Virtues in their own Nature, but Necessary and Natural Effects. And the absolute renouncing or devesting our selves of These; nay, the perfect Reformation of them, is something more than difficult; it is in some Cases out
Chap. 43. The Second Distinction of Men.

out of our Power. But the sweetning, and moderating, and reducing these Natural Extremes to Temper, and a due Medium; the watching over them carefully, and restraining their Motions, This is properly our Duty, and the Business of Wisdom and Virtue.

C H A P. XLIII.

The Second Distinction, and nicer Difference, which regards the Souls of Men, or the Internal Qualifications and Capacities of their Minds.

This Second Distinction, which concerns the Minds of Men, and their inward Accomplishments, is by no means so manifest as the former: It is not obvious to Sense at all, nor does it fall within the compass of every one's Notice and Observation. The Causes of it are likewise compounded; for it depends partly upon Nature, and partly upon Industry and Art; and so extends to our acquir'd Excellencies, as well as to Those that are born and bred with us. According to this Distinction, there are (as was observ'd before) Three sorts of Men, which divide them into Three Classes or Degrees of Souls.

In the First and lowest of these Ranks we may place those weak and mean Souls, which are almost of a Level with Body and Matter; of slender and narrow Capacities; almost perfectly passive, and such as Nature seems to have made on purpose to Endure and Obey; to live under Subjection and Management, and tamely to follow their
Of Wisdom. 

their Leaders; In a Word, such as are but just Men, and no more.

In the Second and middle Row, are Those of a tolerable Judgment and Understanding, and such as make some Pretensions to Wit and Learning, Management and Address: These Men know Something, but they are not sufficiently acquainted with Themselves; They are content to take up with Opinions commonly receiv’d, and stick fast to their first Impressions, without troubling Themselves, or indeed being judicious enough, to enquire into the Truth, and Bottom of Things; nay, were they capable of finding their deep and most abstruse Causes, they think this an unlawful Curiosity, and to make the Submission of their Judgments a Principle of Duty and Conscience. They look no farther than that little Spot of Ground where they stand Themselves, and take it for granted, that Matters are, or ought to be, all the World over, exactly the same with what they see them at home; and all that differ from them in Customs or Opinion, they look upon with Pity or Dismay; and allow no better Names to, than Ignorant and Unciviliz’d, Wild and Barbarous. They live in perfect Slavery to local Laws, and the Vogue of that Village or City where they have dwelt ever since they were hatch’d; and this they do, not only in a quiet Compliance, and orderly Obedience to them, (which it is the Duty of every Man, even the ablest and most judicious, to do) but they conform their Sense, and their Soul to them; and are verily persuaded, that what is believ’d and practis’d in their own Town, is the infallible Standard of Truth; the Only, or the Best Rule of Virtue; and that all Men’s Notions of Right and Wrong, ought to be measur’d by Theirs. These sorts of Men belong to the School and Distinct of Aristotle; They are Positive and Peremptory, abounding
abounding in their own Sense, and impatient of
Contradiction: They look more at Convenience
than Truth; and consider what will make most
for the Benefit of the World, and turn to best Ac-
count, rather than make it their Business to find
Things as they really are, and recommend what
is Best in it self. This Class consists of infinite
Subdivisions, great Variety of Attainments and
Degrees; the uppermost and most capable among
them are such as fit at Helm, and govern the
World; those that hold Empires and Kingdoms in
their Hand, and either give Commands, or coun-
sel those that do.

In the Third and Highest Order, are the Men
blest with a lively, clear, and penetrating Wit; a
sound, solid, and stable Judgment; that do not
content Themselves with bare Hear-say, nor set up
their Reft in general and receiv'd Opinions; that
suffer not their Minds to be prepos'd and won
over by the publick Vogue, nor are at all kept in
Awe, or afraid to oppose and dissent from the
common Cry, as being very well satis'd, how
many Cheats there are abroad in the World; and
that some Things, no better than Fals-hood and Jeft,
at the bottom, have been entertain'd, approv'd,
extoll'd, nay even reverenc'd and ador'd. For such
were the greatest part of the old Philosophy and
Physick, such the Divinations, and Oracles, and
all the Idolatry and Trumpery of the Pagan Wor-
ship; which prevail'd, even in the most refin'd
Countries, for many Generations together, and kept
Mankind in slavery to most wicked and miserable
Delusions. These Men therefore are for bringing
every Thing to the Light, fathoming it to the Bot-
tom, entring into mature and impartial Deliber-
ation, without Passion or Prejudice; searching into
its abstrusest Causes, its most secret Motives and
Springs, and tracing them up to their first Head.

They
They had much rather continue under the Uneasiness of Doubt and Dissatisfaction, and suspend their Assent for a while, than run themselves into an Error, and take up false Confidences, and strong Persuasions of Things, which they have no sufficient Ground to believe or affirm: For That is the effect of Laziness or Littleness of Soul; grudging the Pains, or wanting the Courage to examine fairly; of Easiness and Credulity, of an unsettled Judgment, or a rash and hasty Determination. These alas! are but very Few; and may be reckoned Retainers to Socrates and Plato: They are grave and sober, modest and reserv’d; they have a greater respect to Truth, and the Reality of Things, than the Usefulness and Convenience of them; and had much rather inform Themselves and Others rightly, than entertain or propagate a Mistake, which might tend to their Service and Advantage. Now if These have good Moral Dispositions withal; if all the Accomplishments already mention’d, be crown’d with Integrity, and Probity, and Virtuous Living, They are then Wise indeed, The very Persons whose Character we are now enquiring after, and such as this whole Treatise is intended to make Men. But we must not expect the World should pay them all that Deference which is their due. For they disoblige Mankind by forsaking the common Road, dissenting from their receiv’d Notions and Rules; making new and troublesome Discoveries, and not swallowing all that is brought to them without Chewing. This makes the Vulgar look upon them with a very jealous Eye, as dangerous Persons; and to distinguish them by the Titles of Eunuch Men, Virtuosi, and Philosophers, in a particular and abusive Sense of the Word.
Chap. 43. The Second Description of Men.

Now the First of these Classes is abundantly more numerous than the Second; and so likewise the Second proportionably than the Third. Those of the First, and those of the Last Order, the lowest and the sublimest Souls, never trouble the World at all, nor make any Clutter or Disturbance. The One are unqualify’d and unable, they are beneath, and want Strength to do it: The other are as much above it, too Wise, and too Great, to descend to any Troubles of that kind. They have a sufficiency and firmness in their own Mind, and are not concern’d for Things not worth their Care. Those of the Middle Rank make all the Buffle and Noise; the Disputes, and Distractions, and Publick Commotions are all owing to Them. Their Condition and Temper disposes them to it, which is positive and conceited, full of Vanity and Presumption; always in action, and never suffering any Thing else to be at rest. Those of the Lowest Degree, are the very Dregs and Settling of Mankind, the Sink and Refuse of the World; which, like the Lees, falls to the Bottom of its own accord; and may be compared to the Element of Earth, which hath nothing to do, but to receive all that comes, and bear all that is cast upon it from Above. The Second Stage is like the Region of the Air, where all those Meteors are form’d, which crack about out Ears, and produce the Changes of Seasons and Weather, and all the Alterations that affect this lower World; and when they have terrify’d us with dreadful Noises and Expectations, at last dissolve, and fall down upon the Earth. Those of the Higheft Quality are like the Firmament, those Ethereal and Higher Regions, not far distant from Heaven itself, which are always clear and serene, peaceable and pure.

This
This Difference between Some Men and Others, is in some degree owing to Nature, and the Original Disposition; the first Composition and Temperament of the Brain; which makes a mighty difference according to the predominance of Moist and Hot, and the several Proportions, in which each of these Qualities are mixt: For the Minds of Men, and their Understandings, will vary wonderfully, and they will be Judicious, Smart, Valiant; or Weak, Dull, and Cowards, according to the laying of these Foundations at first. But then the Building upon that Groundwork is the Business of Instruction and Discipline; Experience, and getting acquainted with the World. So that these Distinctions are partly Artificial and Acquir’d too, and a Man’s own Industry and Observation is of great Use, to disabuse his Mind, and bring it to a Manly Sense of Things. I add upon this Occasion, that we shall deceive our Selves extremely, if we suppose any of these Classes confin’d to particular Professions or Denominations of Men; for there are some of all sorts in all Circumstances and Characters; High and Low, Learned and Ignorant, Good and Bad; some of the meanest Souls in the Gown, and some of the laft and most exalted Spirits in high Shoes; some of slender Capacities, but entirely Virtuous; and some of wonderful Natural Endowments, who are Monsters of Vice. So that indeed, as the Differences themselves admit of great Variety, That of the several Degrees under each Division, and the Dispositions of the Persons so distinguish’d, is infinite and unconceivable.

There is also another Distinction sometimes made between Men, with regard to the Abilities and Internal Accomplishments of the Mind: For some are able to make their own Way, bear out a Passage where there was no Path, no Light before; and
Chap. 43. Of the Second Distinction of Men.

and are so become their own Masters in Virtue and Wisdom. These are happy Men indeed; Men of the largest Size; and there are but few to whom Nature hath been so partially bountiful. Others have need of Assistance; and of these again there are Two sorts. Some only want Information; if you do but light them, and shew them, it is sufficient; They will follow readily of themselves. But Others require more Help; a Torch and a Guide is not enough for Them; They have need to be supported, and taken by the Hand: A kind Friend to draw and pull them forward, and a Spur sometimes to quicken them in their Pace. As for Those, whom Nature hath furnish'd so ill, that they are incapable of Instruction and Amendment, (which is the Case of some in the Lowest Class;) or Them who have corrupted Nature; and are grown restiff and intractable; which is but too visible in many of the Second Class,) I mention them not; for They (like Beasts that will neither lead nor drive) can only be left to their own Ruine; desperate, fool-hardy Wretches, of whom no Account at all is to be made, nor any Good to be expected.
C H A P. XLIV.

The Third Distinction and Difference between Men, which is Accidental, and relates to their Degrees, Conditions, Offices, and Relations.

THIS Accidental Distinction, which regards the State of Life wherein Men are placed, the Offices they execute, and the Relations they mutually bear to one another, is grounded upon the Two great Principles, and Fundamental Supports of all Humane Society, which are, Commanding and Obeying, Power and Subjection, a Superior and an Inferior Station. * For were it not for Government and Obedience, all this goodly Fabrick would fall to Pieces. This Distinction I shall first endeavour to represent to you in the gross, by the following Table.

* Imperio & Obsequio omnia constant.
Chap. 43. Of the Third Distinction of Men.

The First and general Division.

1. Private, which extends to

Families and Household Government, and here the mutual Relations are contracted Four Ways; and the Authority is of Four Sorts.

2. Corporations and Colleges and Civil Communities, such as are call'd the lesser Communities, which relates to the several Members of that particular Body.

All Power and Subjection is either

1. Supreme, which is of Three Sorts, according to the Three known Constitutions.

2. Subordinate, which lies between Persons that are both Superiors and Inferiors; when considered in different Respects, and as Places and Persons may alter the Case; and this is a Power of

1. Conjugal, between the Husband and Wife; This Relation is the Source and Root of all Humane Society.

2. Paternal, between Parents and Children; This is truly and properly Natural.

3. Herile, 1. Of Lords & their Slaves.

4. That of Patrons and their Dependants, which is now out of Date, and scarce any where in use.

5. Of Masters over their Servants.

6. Of Lords & their Slaves.

7. Of Masters over their Servants.

Dd 2  This
This Publick Power, whether the Supreme, or the Subordinate, admits of several Subdivisions, very necessary to be attended to. The Supreme, which, as I observ'd, is of Three Sorts, according to the different Constitutions, and Methods of Government, executes and exerts itself in as many different Ways, and each of these according to the different Temper and Management, hath been distinguished by the Titles of Kingly, Arbitrary, and Tyrannical. Kingly, is when the Supreme Power (be it lodged in one, or in more Hands) is set strictly obedient to the Laws of Nature, and preserves and protects its Subjects, in their Natural Liberty, and Civil Rights. All Power, in general, belongs to Kings, particular Properties to Private Men. The King is Universal Lord, and hath a Right Paramount; Others have the Right of Lordship and Possession. Arbitrary Government is, when the Sovereign is Lord of Men's Persons and Estates by Right of Conquest; and the Subjects are Govern'd without any regard to Claims, or Laws, or Rights, but in an absolute Way, as Lords use their Slaves. This is rather Bondage and Captivity; Submission is too gentle a Name for it; where Lives are cut off, and Estates seiz'd, and rack'd, and taken away, at Pleasure. Tyrannical Government is, where the Sovereign despiseth and disregards all the Laws of Nature, and Original Rights of Mankind; and so does not only make use of, but abuses the Persons and Possessions of the Subjects; and this differs from the former Arbitrary Way, much after the same manner that a Robber differs from a Fair Enemy in the Field.

Now, Of these Three different Constitutions, the Monarchical; but of the Three Tempers or Ways of Governing, the Arbitrary hath been observ'd to be the most Ancient, and best Calculated of any, for Grandeur, Continuance, and Splendor. Thus it
Chap. 44. Of the Third Distinction of Men.

It was with the Assyrian, Persian, Egyptian, and, at present, that of Ethiopia, (the most Ancient of any) Muscovy, Tartary, Turkey, and Peru. But the best and most natural Estate is, that manner of Government which we call Kingly, according to our late Distinction of it. The Famous Aristocracies were that of the Lacedaemonians heretofore, and that of the Venetians and States of Holland at this Day. The Democracies were Rome, Athens, Carthage; but the Government of all these, as to its Temper and Method of Administration, was what we call Kingly.

The Publick Power, which is Subaltern, or Subordinate, is lodg'd in particular Lords, and these are of several Sorts and Degrees, according to their respective Tenures and Capacities. But the most considerable are Five.

1. Lords Tributary, who only owe Tribute, and nothing else.
2. Feudatary Lords, who hold their Lands in Fee.
3. Simple Vassals, who owe Fealty and Homage for their Fee: These Three may be Sovereign themselves too.
4. Liege Vassals, that besides Fealty and Homage owe Personal Suit and Service, and so cannot be truly Sovereign.
5. Natural Subjects, whether Vassals in Fee or in Cens, or in any other Tenure and Capacity; These owe Subjection and Obedience, and cannot be exempted from the Power of their Sovereign Lord, and yet are Lords themselves.

The Publick Subordinate Power, which consists in Offices under, and Proper Officers employ'd by, the Supreme Power, is of several Sorts; but may be reduc'd to Five Degrees, with regard to the Distinctions of Honour and Power, which belong to, or may direct us in the Consideration of them.
Of Wisdom. Book I.

1. The First and lowest Sort is that of Publick Executioners; such as give the last Stroke, and finish upon Criminals, what the Courts of Justice have awarded and begun. These, however necessary, have yet somewhat so shocking in their Employment, that it hath generally been look'd upon as Odious and Scandalous, and the Persons in that Office, not suffer'd, in many Places, to dwell within the City.

2. The Second are Men that are neither Honourable nor Dishonourable upon the Account of their Post, such as Sergeants, Trumpeters, and the like.

3. The Third Sort have Honour and Respect, indeed, by Virtue of their Office, but no Authority by way of Cognizance, or Power; such are Notaries, Receivers, Secretaries, and the like.

4. The Fourth have not an empty Honour only, but Power and Cognizance, and yet not any Jurisdiction, properly so call'd; such are the King's Counsel, for Example; who may examine Publicly, but can determine or give final Issue to nothing.

5. The Last have Jurisdiction, properly so call'd, and, by Virtue of this, they have all the rest. And These only, in Strictness of Speech, are Magistrates; which may be distinguish'd several Ways, particularly into these Five Sorts, each of which is Two-fold.

1. Mayors, Senators, Judges.
   Colonels, &c. Generals, Judges.

2. In Politicks or Civil Government.
   In Military Matters.

3. In Questions and Cases of Property and Right.
   In Criminal Cases, or Tryals of Offenders.

4. Offices Titular, Fix'd, and Hereditary.
   Offices in Particular Commission.

5. Officers
5. Officers Perpetual, of which Nature it is fit, that there should be fewest, and Those only of the least Consequence. Officers Temporal, or Removable, such as all of the Highest Importance ought to be.

Of the Conditions and Degrees of Men particularly, according to the foregoing Table.

ADVERTISEMENT.

It is necessary to observe upon this Occasion, that the several Divisions of this Table, and the Distinction of those Powers, and their respective Dependencies upon, and under, them, (beginning at those which are Private and Domestick) are mention'd here with no other Design, than to give a distinct View of the several States and Conditions of Men; it being the Intention of this Present Book, only to know Man in all his Capacities. And therefore a great Part of what might be expected upon the Head of Power and Subjection, the Reader must be content to wait for, till we come to the Third and last Part of this Treatise: Where, under the Head of Justice, these several Chapters and Capacities will come under our Consideration again; and the several Duties and Virtues required upon their Account will be specified and explained. But, before we enter upon any of them in particular, it may not be amiss to premise somewhat briefly, concerning Command and Obedience in general. These being the reciprocal Exercises of the Relations here mention'd. The Two Foundations and Principal Causes of all that Variety of Circumstances, in which Mankind have been already described.
C H A P. XLV.

Of Command and Obedience.

These, as I said, are the Ground-work, upon which all Humane Society is built; And the many different Conditions, Professions, and Relations, that go to making it up, do all arise from, and depend upon, Them. These Two are Relative Terms; they mutually regard, produce, preserve and support each other; and are equally necessary in all Companies and Communities of Men; but are, notwithstanding, liable to Envy and Opposition, Misper-pretation and Complaint; All which are the natural and constant Effects, even of That, without which we are not able to subsist. The discontented Populace would reduce their Sovereign to the Condition of a Car-Man; The Ambition of Monarchs would represent him greater than a God. In Command is imply'd Dignity, Difficulty (These Two commonly go together) Goodness, Ability, and all the Characters and Qualities of Grandeur.

The Command it self, that is, The Sufficiency, the Courage, the Authority, and other Qualifications of it, are deriv'd from above, and the Gift of God. *Empire and Dominion are bestowed by the Divine Appointment, and there is no Power but of God (says the Apostle to the same Purpose.) From whence it was that Plato said, God did not place some Men over others, that is, not Mere Men, and such as were of the Common Sort and Vul...

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* Imperium non nisi divino datatur. Rom. xiii. 1.
Chap. 45. Of Command and Obedience.

gar Qualifications; but the Persons whom he set apart, and exalted for Government, were such as exceeded others; were more finished, eminent for some singular Virtue, and distinguishing Gift of Heaven; in short, were somewhat more than Men, and such as former Ages gave the Title of Heroes to.

Obedience is a Matter of Benefit and Advantage; of Ease and Necessity; the Obeying well, is of the Two, more conducive to the Publick Peace, and Safety, than the Commanding wisely; and the Consequences of withstanding and refusing the Commands of our Superiors, or the complying with them Imperfectly and Negligently, are much more Dangerous and Deleterious, than Ill and Improper Commands Themselves are, or want of Skill to Govern. Just as in the Case of a Married Life, the Husband and Wife are equally obliged to Constancy of Affection and Fidelity to the Bed; and the Words in which they solemnly engage for This, are the very Same for both Parties; the same Ceremonies and Formalities to signify and confirm it; but yet the Consequences are by no means equal, but the Mischiefs of Disloyalty are incomparably More, and Greater in an Adulterous Wife, than an Adulterous Husband: So likewise Commanding and Obeying are equally Duties, and necessary in all manner of Societies which unite Men to one another; but yet the Disobedience of the Subject draws much greater Inconveniences after it, than the Unskilfulness or the real Faults of the Governor. Several States and Kingdoms have held out a long Course, and been reasonably Prosperous and Flourishing, under, not only Ignorant, but very wicked Princes and Magistrates, by the mere Force of the Unity, and Compliance, and ready Obedience of the Subjects. Which agrees well with the Answer made by a Wise Man to that Question, "How
"How it came to pass, that the Republick of
Sparta was so remarkably Flourishing? And
whether it proceeded from the Wisdom and
good Conduct of their Governours? Nay, (said
he) I impute it not to their Princes Command-
ing well, but to the Subjects Obeying well.
But when the People break their Yoak, or throw
it off, and refuse Obedience, there is no Remedy
but such a State must be ruin'd, and fall to the
Ground.

C H A P. XLVI.

Of Marriage.

Notwithstanding the State of Marriage be an-
tecedent to any other, of the greatest Antiquity, and the highest Importance; The very
Foundation and Fountain of all Humane Society,
(for Families first, and then Commonwealths spring
out of it; according to that Observation of Cicero,
The First Union and nearest Relation is between Man and
Wife; This is the Beginning of Cities, the Nursery and
first Plantation of all Publick Communities) yet it hath
had the Ill-Fortune to be disesteem'd and run
down by several Persons of considerable Wit and
Character, who have traduc'd it, as a Condition
beneath Men of Understanding, and drawn up
several formal Objections against it, in particular
These that follow.

* Prima Societas in Conjugio est, quod principium Urbis et
First of all, They tell you, the Covenants and Obligations they enter into by it, are unreasonable and unjust; we may call it a Band of Union; but it is no better than the Chains and Fetters of a Captive. For what Confinement can be more insupportable, than That by which a Man stakes himself down; and becomes a Slave as long as he lives, to Care and Trouble, and the Humours of another Person? For this is the Consequence, if the Couple are unsuccessful, and unsuitable in their Temper; That there is no Remedy, but a Man must stand by his Bargain, be it never so bad, and continue wretched without any other possible Cure but Death. Now what can be more contrary to Equity and Justice, than that the Folly of one half Hour should payson the whole Term of all his Years to come? That a Mistake in one's Choice, or perhaps a Trick, by which he was trapann’d into this Condition, but, to be sure, an act of Obedience many times to the Commands of a Parent, or Compliance with the Advice of a Friend; a submitting one's Own Judgment and Inclination to the PLEASURE and Disposal of Others: What Reason (say They) is there that any of these Things should engage a Man to perpetual Misery and Torment? Were not the other Noose about the Neck the wiser Choice of the Two? and to end one's Days and Troubles immediately by leaping headlong from some Rock into the Sea, than thus to launch out into an Eternity of Pains; to have a Hell upon Earth; and always live and lie by a Storm of Jealousy and Ill-nature, of Rage and Madness, of Obstinacy, and Affectation, and intractable Perverseness, and other vile Qualities in which the Sex abounds? Hence it was the Saying of one Author, "That whoever first invented the Marriage-Knot, had contrived a very fair and colourable, but withal, a most effectual Expedi-
ent for taking a severe Revenge upon Mankind: 
A Snare or Net to catch Fools and Brutes in, 
and then put them to a long and lingering 
Death. And of another, "That for a wise Man 
to marry a Fool, or a Woman of Sense a Cox-
comb, was like tying the Living to the Dead; 
that so by the Extremity of Cold from the Car-
tass, the Body might chill and languish, till at 
last it expire; which is of all Capital Punish-
ments the most barbarous, that ever Tyrants 
have been able to invent.

The Second Accusation imports, That Marriage 
corrupts and adulterates Generous and Great 
Minds, by softening and abating, nay utterly enfee-
bling and dissolving their Life and Vigour, by the 
little Dalliances, and Flatterings, and Wheedles of a 
Person, of whom one is fond; by Tenderness for 
one's Children, Care and Management of Dome-
tick Affairs, and Sollicitude to provide for, and 
raise one's Family in the World. What lamentable 
Instances of this Effeminacy are Samson, and Solo-
mon, and Mark Anthony? whose Falls stand in Sto-
ry, like so many noble Ruines, to put us in mind 
of that Enemy, with some Indignation, that un-
dermin'd and demolish'd what Nature had made 
so strong. If then there must be Marrying, it's 
fit (say they) that This should be left to Fel-
lows that have more Body than Soul; let Them go 
on securely, being so well qualify'd, and having 
so little to hazard; and the Cares and Burden 
of the World are indeed propereft for Them; for 
such mean and low Considerations are Employ-
ments just of a Size with Their Capacities. But 
as for Those, whom Nature hath been so liberal 
to in another kind, and given them good Sense, 
and noble Souls, capable of greater and better 
Things, Is it not pity to shackle and bind Them 
down to the World and the Flesh, as you do 
Beasts
sts to the Manger? Nay, even among Beasts, these Distinctions are made too; for Those among them that are most esteem'd for Service and Courage, (as among Dogs and Horses particularly) are kept up at a distance, and forbidden all Approaches of the other Sex; Others of less Value seeming to breed upon very well. Accordingly among mankind, Those that are devoted to the most venerable and Holy Professions, the Service of the altar, and a Recluse Life, both Men and Women; whose Stations oblige them to be the most cellent Part of the World, the Flower and Orment of Christian Religion, Clergy and Monarchs are forbidden by the Church of Rome ever to Marry at all. And the Reason most certainly, This, that Marriage obstructs Wisdom and Virtue, calls off the Mind, and gives it too strong a Diversion, clips its Wings, and checks its noblest Flights. For the Contemplation of High, and Heavenly, and Divine Objects, is by no means consistent with the Clutter, and Hurry, and fordid Cares of Family-concerns: Upon which account it is that the Apostle, who commands continency even in Marriage, hath preferr'd absolute Elibacy before it. Marriage perhaps may have the Advantage in Point of Profit and Convenience, at the Honour and the Virtue (they tell you) is confessedly on the other side.

Besides; It confounds Men's Measures, and defeats noble and pious Intentions and Undertakings. 

Augustin gives an Account to this purpose, That he and some other Friends of his, some whereof were married Men, having formed a Design of retiring from the Town, and all Conversation with the World, into some Solitude, that so they might have nothing to employ their Thoughts but the Study of Wisdom and Virtue; their whole Scheme was immediately interrupted, and utterly quashed,
by the Interposition of their Wives. And another wise Man hath given us his Opinion, "That if Men could prevail with Themselves to give over all Conversation with Women, Angels would certainly visit and keep them Company.

Once more; Marriage is a great Hindrance to Men's Improvement; particularly it keeps them at home, and cuts them off from the Opportunities of Travelling, and conversing with Foreign Countries: which is really a great Accomplishment, and a mighty Convenience, to learn Wisdom one's self, and to teach it to others, and to communicate what we have seen and known, to those who want the same Opportunities. In short; Marriage does not only cramp up, and depress great Parts, and great Souls, but it deprives the World of many noble Designs, Works of Munificence, and Charity, and Publick Good; it renders a Man incapable of serving his Country, and attempting such Things, as He can give no entertainment to the Thoughts of, in the Embraces of a tender Wife, and his Little ones round about him. For These need and require the Care and Preservation of Himself; and serve for an Excuse; at least they cool his Courage, to Actions that are Brave, if at the same time they seem Desperate, or are manifestly Dangerous. And is it not a noble Sight now, to see a Man that is fit to be at the Helm, trifling away his Time at home, playing and telling Stories with his Wife and Children in the Chimney-corner? Is it not Ten Thousand Pities, that One who is capable of Governing and Directing a World, should be entirely bury'd in Secrecy, lost to the Publick, and taken up with the Concerns of a single Family? Upon this Consideration it was, that a Great Man, when his Friends moved a Match to him, made answer, That he was born to Command Men; and we
Of Marriage.

one pretty little Toy of a Woman; to Advise and give Rules to Kings and Princes, and not to Boys and Girles.

To that Part of these Objections, which carry any serious Argument, (for a great deal of them is Raillery only) we may answer as follows; That Humane Nature must be consider’d, as it really is; A State not capable of Absolute Perfection; nor was such a Life here ever intended for us, as we should have nothing in it to be found fault with, nothing that should cross, or give us cause to wish it otherwise. Our very Remedies must make us a little sick, even when they are promoting our Health and Recovery; and every Convenience carries its Abatement, and is clogg’d and incumbr’d with some Inconvenience inseparable from it. These are Evils, allow it, but they are Necessary Evils. And if the Case be not well in all Points, yet this is the best of it; for there is no other way possible to be devised for the preserving and propagating Mankind, but what would make the Matter infinitely worse, and be liable to More and Greater Evils. Some indeed, (as Plato in particular) would fain have rooted out these Thorns, and refin’d upon the Point, by inventing other Methods for the Continuance of the Species; but after all their Hammering and Polishing, Those Conceits at last prov’d mere Castles in the Air; Things perfectly impracticable, and such as if once receiv’d could never have lasted; and besides, it appear’d evidently, that tho’ they had been practis’d and approv’d, yet even These were loaded too with a great many Inconveniences, and fore Difficulties. The Truth is, Men create their Own Uneasiness, and make all the Hardship to Themselves; Their Vices and Intemperances, the Violence and the Contrariety of their Passions, are their Tormentors; and then they blame the State in
in which they feel and suffer those Torments. But That is clear, and free from Guilt, and so is every Thing but Man himself, who turns every Thing against Himself, and knows not how to use any Condition as he ought, and to the best Advantage. But Those that are Philosophers indeed, will go a great deal farther; They will tell you, These very Difficulties recommend Marriage the more, as rendring it a School of Virtue, an Apprenticeship to learn it, a daily and Domestick Exercise to perfect and render it familiar to us. And Socrates, that great Oracle of Wisdom, when People reproached him with the peevish and imperious Humour of his Wife, declar'd that it was an Advantage to him; for by that means he learnt at home to behave himself with Constancy and Patience in all Accidents and Companies abroad; and to make all the Uneasinesses of Fortune go down very glibly. But This, tho' it want not a great deal of good Sense at the Bottom, and may be very useful to Men of good Dispositions, and Capacity enough to serve themselves of it, is yet such an Argument as I do not expect many Converts from. Admitting then, that They who continue single do best consult their Own private Ease and Satisfaction: Admit it better and more prudent thus to reserve one's self for Piety and Devotion, and eminent Degrees of Virtue, by preventing all those Avocations and Interruptions, which the Cares of a Married Life unavoidably expose us to. (And it is in this Sense, and for these Purposes only, that St. Paul prefers a State of Celibacy, which those that make use of, and pretend to be directed by his Authority, would do well to consider) Yet after all, with what Face can any Christian speak in disparagement of Marriage, who remembers at all, what the Faith he makes profession of, hath taught him to believe in Honour of it?
Chap. 46. Of Marriage.

It? For, when all is done, these are unanswerable, and they ought to be esteem'd very Sacred Arguments, such as should command our highest Veneration and Respect, That it is of God's own Institution, That it was his first Ordinance, That he appointed it in Paradise, in a State of Innocence and Perfection, when Humane Nature was in all its Glory. These are Four weighty Considerations, and ought to recommend, at least, to deliver it from diminishing Reflections, when they are not capable of a sober Reply. After this we find, that the Son of God himself was pleas'd to honour and approve it with his Presence, to work his first Miracle in favour of it, and the Persons engag'd in it; nay, that he hath condescended to make use of This, as a Figure of that most Sacred and Inviolable Union betwixt Him and his Church; and upon that Account, given it the Privilege of being stily'd Ephes. vi.

Mystery, a Great and Divine Mystery.

It must be acknowledg'd, indeed, that Marriage is by no means an indifferent Thing: It admits of no Middle State, but is apt to run into Extremes, and is generally the greatest Happiness, or the greatest Calamity of Humane Life; a State of much Tranquillity, or of insupportable Trouble; a Paradise or a Hell. If well and wisely undertaken, it is full of Sweetness and Pleasure; if ill and unsuccessfully, it is a grievous Burden, a bitter, and fatal, and most painful Yoke. For this Covenant and Coming together, does above any other Instance make good the Truth of that Proverb, That *Men are either Gods or Brutes to one another.

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Of Wisdom. Book I.

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Marriage is a Work compos'd of a great many Parts, and a great many Qualities must meet together, to render it Beautiful and Uniform. Abundance of Considerations are necessary in order to it, more than respect merely the Persons of those to be concern'd in it. For tho' it be commonly said, Men marry for themselves alone, yet there ought to be great regard had to Posterity; the Family we go into, the Alliances we make, the Circumstances and Condition of the People are of great weight. And these and other Respects must be carefully attended to: But above all, the Temper and the Virtues, which ought to be the principal Objects and Motives of our Affection. The want of proceeding in this manner, is the very reason why we see so few happy Matches. And the extreme Scarcity of such, is a sign that Marriage is highly valuable: For it is a Fate common to all great Posts, that they are difficult, and very seldom discharg'd as they ought to be. Kingly Power and Government is beset with Cares and Difficulties, and very few that aspire to it, are strictly Virtuous and Successful in the Administration. But the true Ground of failing so frequently in this Point, is to be fetch'd from the Licentiousness and Debauchery, the Unruly Passions and Exorbitant Humours of Mankind, and not from any thing in the State and Institution itself. From hence it is, that we find experimentally, Such as are of good and quiet, and virtuous Dispositions, plain and mean Persons taste more of the Comforts, and enjoy themselves more in it, than others of higher Quality and Attainments. Sensual Desires, and the Delights of the World, have taken less hold of such; they are less nice and curious, and have not so much leisure to tease and torment themselves. Men that are debauch'd, and love to live at large, corrupt in their Manners, troublesome in their Conversation,
tion, whimsical, and particular in their Humours, are not cut out for this Condition of Life, nor can ever expect to be tolerably easy under it.

Marriage is a Wise and Prudent Bargain, a Holy and Inviable League, an Honourable Agreement. If this Knot be well ty’d, there is not in the whole World any thing more beautiful, more lovely, more desirable: It is a sweet and noble Society, full of Constancy and mutual Trust; full of infinite Good Offices and reciprocal Obligations; most excellent in their own Nature, most useful to the Parties themselves, and of general Service and Benefit to Mankind. This is a Conversation, Amorous, not of Love and Sensual Delight, but of chaste Affection and entire Friendship. For Love in these Two Senses is a very different Thing, and the One as distant from the Other, as the feverish and diseased Heat of a Sick Man is from the natural Warmth of a good Temper and healthful Constitution. Marriage challenges to it Self Affection and Advantages, Justice and Honour, Constancy and Pleasure. Call its Fruitions flat and insipid if you please, but yet they are solid and substantial, agreeable and universal: They must needs be so indeed, because they are lawful and innocent; free from the Censure of Others, and the Reproaches of one’s Own Mind. What the World calls Love, aims at nothing but Delight; it hath perhaps somewhat of Sprightliness, and is of a quicker and more poignant Relish; but this cannot hold long, and we plainly see it cannot, by so few Matches succeeding well, where Beauty and Amorous Desires were at the bottom of them: There must be something more solid to make us happy. A Building that is to stand for our whole Lives, ought to be set upon firmer Foundations; and these Engagements are serious Matters, such
Of Wisdom.

Book I.

as deserve, and it is Pity but they should have our utmost Discretion employ’d upon them. That hot Love bubbles and boils in our Breasts for a while, but it is worth nothing, and cannot continue; and therefore it very often happens, that these Affairs are very fortunately manage’d by a Third Hand.

This Description is only Summary, and in general Terms. But, that the Case may be more perfectly and particularly understood, it is fit we take Notice, that there are Two Things Essential and absolutely Necessary to this State of Life, which, however contrary and inconsistent they may at First Sight appear, are yet in Reality no such Matter. These are Equality and Inequality; the Former concerns them as Friends, and Companions, and upon the Level; the Other, as a Superior and an Inferior. The Equality consists in that entire Freedom, and unreserved Communication, whereby they ought to have all Things in common; their Souls, Inclinations, Wills, Bodies, Goods, are mutually from thenceforward made over; and neither of them hath any longer a peculiar and distinct Propriety exclusive of the other. This, in some Places is carry’d a great deal farther, and extends to Life and Death too; insomuch, that as soon as the Husband is dead, the Wife is oblig’d to follow him without Delay. There are some Countries, where the Publick and National Laws require them to do so; and they are oftentimes so zealous in their Obedience, that where Polygamy is indulged, if a Man leaves several Wives behind him, they try for it publickly, and enter up their Claims, which of them shall obtain the Honour and Privilege of sleeping with their Spouse (that is the Expression they often use it by) and upon this Occasion, each urges in her own behalf, that she was the best beloved Wife, or had the last Kils of him, or brought
Chap. 46.  Of Marriage.

brought him Children, or the like, so to gain the Preference to themselves.

Th' Ambitious Rivals eagerly pursue.
Death, as their Crown to Love and Virtue due;
Prefer their Claims, and glory in Success,
Their Lords first Nuptials are courted less:
Approach his Pile with Pomp, in Triumph burn,
And mingle Ashes in one Common Urn.

In other Places, where no Laws enjoyn'd any such Thing, it hath been resolvd and practis'd, by mutual Stipulation and voluntary Agreement, made privately between the Parties themselves, which was the Case of Mark Antony and Cleopatra. But omitting this, which, in truth, is a wicked, barbarous and unreasonable Custom, The Equality which is, and ought to be, between Man and Wife, extends it self to the Administration of Affairs, and Inspection over the Family in common; from whence the Wife hath very justly the Title of Lady or Mistress of the House and Servants; as well as the Husband that of Master and Lord over them. And this joint Authority of Thems over their own Private Family is a Picture in Little of that Form of Publick Government, which is term'd an Aristocracy.

That Distinction of Superiority and Inferiourity, which makes the Inequality, consists in this. That the Husband hath a Power and Authority over his Wife, and the Wife is plac'd in Subjection, to her Husband. The Laws and Governments of all Nations throughout the World agree in this Preeminence;

Et certamen habent lethi, quæ viva sequatur
Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse morti:
Arden Vitricæ, & flamæ peectora præsent,
Impunentq; suis Ora perusta viris.
but the Nature and the Degrees of it are not everywhere the same: For These differ in Proportion, as the Laws and Customs of the Place differ. Thus far the Consent is Universal; That the Woman, how noble forever her Birth and Family, how great forever her Fortunes, or any other Personal Advantages, is not upon any Consideration exempted from Subjection to her Husband. This Superiority and Inferiority may well be general, and be the Opinion of All, when it is so plainly the Condition of All. For, in truth, it is the Work of Nature, and founded upon that Strength, and Sufficiency, and Majesty of the One Sex, and the Weakness, and Softness, and Incapacities of the Other, which prove it not equally qualify'd, nor ever design'd for Government. But there are many other Arguments besides, which Divinities fetch from Scripture upon this Occasion, and prove the Point indeed substantially by Them. For Revelation here hath back'd and enforced the Dictates of Reason, by telling us expressly, that Man was made first, that he was made by God alone, and entirely by Him, without any Creature of a like Form contributing any thing towards his Being. That he was created on purpose for the Pleasure and Glory of God, his Head; That he was made after the Divine Image and Likeness; a Copy of the Great Original above, and perfect in his Kind: For Nature always begins with something in its just Perfection: Whereas Woman was created in the Second Place; and not so properly Created as Form'd, made after Man; taken out of his Substance; * Fashioned according to that Pattern, and to His Image, and only the Co-

* See 1 Corinth. xi. 7, 8. The Man is the Image and Similitude of God; but the Woman is the Similitude of the Man. So εἰσαγο\(\)γερ ought to be render'd in the Sense of deho\(\)similis i\(\)sum, not Glory, as we read it, which is foreign to the rest of the Words, and the whole Scope of that Argument.
Chap. 46. Of Marriage.

py of a Copy; made occasionally, and for particular Uses, to be a Help, and a Second to the Man; who is himself the Principal and Head, and therefore She is upon all these Accounts imperfect. Thus we may argue from the Order of Nature; But the Thing is confirmed yet more by the Relation given us of the Corruption and Fall of Man. For the Woman was first in the Transgression; and sinned of her own Head; Man came in afterwards, and by her Instigation. The Woman therefore, who was last in Good, in order of Nature, and Occasional only; but foremost in Evil, and the Occasion of That to Man, is most justly put in Subjection to Him, who was before Her in the Good, and after in the Evil.

This Conjugal Superiority and Power hath been very differently restrain'd or enlarg'd. In some Places, where the Paternal Authority hath been so, This hath likewise extended to Capital Punishment, and made the Husband Judge and Disposer of Life and Death. Thus it was with the Romans Dionys.

9.

Particularly: For the Laws of Romulus gave a Man Power to kill his Wife in Four Cases, (viz.) Adultery, Putting False Children upon him, False Keys, and Drinking of Wine. Thus Polybius tells us, that the Greeks; and Caesar says, that the Old Gauls gave Husbands a Power of Life and Death. In Other Parts, and in these already mention'd, since those Times, their Power hath been brought into a narrower Compass. But almost every where it is taken for granted, that the Authority of the Husband, and the Subjection of the Wife, implies thus much: A right to direct and control the Actions, to confirm or, disannul the Resolutions and Vows of the Wife; to correct her, when she does amiss; by Reproofs and Confinement; for (Blows are below a Man of Honour to give, and not fit for a Woman to receive), and the Wife is obliged to conform to
the Condition, to follow the Quality, the Country, the Family, the Dwelling, and the Degree of her Husband; to bear him Company wherefo-
ever he goes, in Journeys and Voyages, in Banishment and in Prison, in Flight and Necessity; and, if he be reduc'd to that hard Fortune, to wander about, and to beg with him. Some celebrated Examples of this kind in Story are, Sulphita, who attended her Husband Lentulus, when he was pro-
scribed, and an Exile in Sicily. Erisbrea, who went along with her Husband Phalaris into Banishment. Ipsearte, the Wife of Messidorates King of Pontus, who kept her Husband Company, when he turn'd Vagabond, after his Defeat by Pompey. Some add, that they are bound to follow them into the Wars, and Foreign Countries, when they are sent abroad upon Expeditions, or go under any Publick Character. The Wife cannot sue, or be sued, in Matters of Right and Property; all Actions lie against the Husband, and are to be commenced in His Name; and if anything of this kind be any where done, it must be with the Leave and Authority of her Husband, or by particular Appointment of the Judge, if the Husband shall decline or refuse it; neither can she, without express Permission from the Magistrate, appeal from, or be a Party in any Cause against her Husband.

Marriage is not every where alike, nor under the same Limitations; the Laws and Rules concerning it are very different. In some Countries there is a greater Latitude, and more Liberties indulg'd, in Others less. The Christian Religion, which is by much the strictest of any, hath made it very close and stratified. I leaves nothing at large, and in our own Choice, but the first Entrance into this Engagement. When once that is over, a Man's Will is made over too, and convey'd away; for the Covenant is subject to no Dissolution; and we
we must abide by it, whether we are contented with our Terms, or not. Other Nations and Religions, have contrived to make it more Ease, and Free, and Fruitful, by allowing and practising Polygamy and Divorce; a Liberty of taking Wives and dismissing them again; and they speak hardly of Christianity for abridging Men in these Two Particulars, as if it did great Prejudice to Affectation and Multiplication by these Restraints, which are the Two great Ends of Marriage: For Friendship, they pretend, is an Enemy to all manner of Compulsion and Necessity; and cannot consist with it; but is much more improved, and better maintain'd, by leaving Men free, and at large to dispose of Themselves. And Multiplication is promoted by the Female Sex, as Nature shews us abundantly in that one Instance of Wolves, who are so extremely Fruitful in the Production of their Whelps, even to the Number of Twelve, or Thirteen at a time; and in this exceed other Animals of Service and common Use very much, so many of which are kill'd every Day; and so few Wolves; and yet there are notwithstanding fewer of the Breed, Breeders, because fewer She-Wolves, than of any other Species. For, as I said, the true Reason is, because in all those Numerous Litters, there is commonly but one Bitch-Wolf, which for the most Part signifies little, and bears very rarely; the Generation being hindred by the vast Numbers and promiscuous Mixtures of the Males; and so, the much greater part of them die, without ever propagating their Kind at all, for want of a sufficient Proportion of Females, to do it by successfully. It is also manifest, what Advantages of this Nature Polygamy produces, by the vast Increase of those Countries where it is allowed; The Jews, Mahometans, and other Barbarous Nations, (as all their Histories inform us) very usually bringing Armies into the
the Field, of Three or Four Hundred Thousand fighting Men. Now the Christian Religion, on the contrary, allows but One to One, and obliges the Parties to continue thus together; though Either, nay sometimes Both, of them be Barren; which yet perhaps, if allowed to change, might leave a numerous Posterity behind them. But, supposing the very best of the Case, all their Increase must depend upon the Production of One single Woman. And lastly, they reflect upon Christianity, as the occasion of infinite Excesses, Debaucheries, and Adulteries, by this too severe Con-straint.

But the true and sufficient Answer to all these Objections is, That the Christian Religion does not consider Marriage upon such Respects as are purely Humane, and tend to the Gratification of Natural Appetites, or promote the Temporal Good of Men: It takes quite another Prospect of the Thing, and hath Reasons peculiar to it itself, sublime, and noble, and infinitely greater, (as hath been hinted already.) Besides, common Experience demonstrates, that in much the greatest part of Marry’d Persons, what they complain of as Confinement and Constraint, does by no means cool and destroy, but promote and heighten the Affection, and render it more dear and strong, by keeping it more entire and unbroken. Especially in Men of honest Principles, and good Dispositions, which easily accommodate their Humours, and make it their Care and Study to comply with the Tempers of the Person to whom they are thus inseparably united. And as for the Debaucheries and Flyings out alleged against us, the only Cause of Them is the Dillufuteness of Men’s Manners, which a greater Liberty, though never so great, will never be able to correct, or put a Stop to. And accordingly we find, that Adulteries were every
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This as rise in the midst of Polygamy and Divorce; Witness the whole Nation of the Jews in general, and the Example of David in particular, so became guilty of this Crime, notwithstanding the Multitude he had of Wives and Concubines of his own. On the contrary, These Vices were not allowed for a long while together in other Countries where neither Polygamy nor Divorce were ever permitted; as in Sparta, for Instance, and at some, for a considerable time after the Founding of that City. It is therefore most foolish and unwise, to asperse Religion, and charge that with the Vices of Men, which allows and teaches nothing but exquisite Purity and strict Continence.

This Liberty, taken in Polygamy, (which hath so great an Appearance of Nature to alledge in its behalf) hath yet been very differently managed, according to the several Nations, and the Laws of those Communities, where it was allowed and practised. In some Places, All that are Wives to the same Man, live alike, and in common. Their Degree and Quality, the Respect and Authority is equal, and so is the Condition and Title of their Children too. In other Places there is one particular Wife, who is the Principal, and a sort of Mistress above the rest; the Right of Inheritance is limited to the Children by Her; they engross all the Honours, and Possessions, and Pre-eminences of the Husband after his Death: As for the Others, they are lodg'd and maintain'd apart, created very differently from the former: In some Places they are reputed Lawful Wives; in some, they are only called Concubines; and their Children have no Pretension to Titles or Estates; but are provided for by such annual Pensions, or other precarious ways of Subsisting, as the Master of the Family thinks fit to allow them.
As various have the Practice and the Customs of Men been with regard to Divorce! For with some, as particularly the Hebrews, and Greeks, and Armenians, they never oblige themselves to allege the particular Caufe of Separation; nor are they allow'd to take a Wife to them a Second time, which they have once divorced; So far from it, that they are permitted to Marry again to others. But now in the Mahometan Law, Separation must be appointed by a Judge, and after Legal Process, (except it be done by the free Consent of both Parties) and the Crimes alleged against the Woman must be some of so high a Nature, as strike directly at the Root of this Institution, and are destructive and inconsistent with the State of Marriage, or some of the principal Ends of it; such as Adultery, Barrenness, Incongruity of Humours, Attempts upon the Life of the other Party; and, after such Separation made, it is lawful for them to be reconcil'd, and cohabit again, as oft as they think fit. The Former of these Methods seems much more prudent and convenient, that so there may be a closer Restraint both upon the Pride and Insolence of Wives, when they lie at Mercy; and may be cast off at Pleasure; and also upon the Humoursome and Peevish Husbands, who will be more apt to check and moderate their Resentments, when there is no Return, nothing to be got by repenting, after once Matters have flown so high, as to provoke and effect a Separation. The Second, which proceeds in a Method of Justice, brings the Parties upon the Publick Stage, exposes their Faults and Follies to the World, cuts them out from Second Marriages; and discovers a great many things, which were much better kept concealed. And, in case the Allegation be not fully prov'd, and so they continue obliged to cohabit still, after all this mutual Complaining and Disgrace, What a Temptation is here to Poylonying or Murder,
Chap. 46. Of Marriage.

der, to get rid that way of a Partner of the Bed, which in Course of Law cannot be remov'd? And many of these Villanies, no doubt, have been committed, of which the World never had the least Knowledge or Suspicion. As at Rome particularly, before Divorce came in use, a Woman who was apprehended for Poisoning her Husband, impeach-ed other Wives, whom she knew to have been guilty of the same Fact; and They again others, till at last Threescore and Ten were all Attainted and Executed for the same Fault, of whom People had not the least Jealousie, till this Discovery was made. But that which seems the worst of all in the Laws relating to a Married Life, is, that Adultery is scarce any where punish'd with Death; and all that can be done in that Case, is only Divorce, and ceasing to cohabit; Which was an Ordinance introduc'd by Justinian, One whom his Wife had in perfect Subjection: And no wonder if She made use of that Dominion, (as she really did) to get such Laws enacted, as made most for the Advantage of her own Sex. Now this leaves Men in perpetual danger of Adultery, tempts them to malicious Desires of one another's Death; the Offender that does the Injury is not made a sufficient Example, and the Innocent Person that receives the Wrong, hath no Reparation made for it.

Of the Duty of Married Persons, See Book III. Chap. 12.
CHAP. XLVII.

Of Parents and Children.

There are several sorts, and several degrees of Authority and Power among Men; some Publick, and others Private; but not any of them more agreeable to Nature, not any more absolute and extensive, than that of a Father over his Children, (I choose to instance in the Father rather than the Mother, because she being herself in a State of Subjection to her Husband, cannot so properly be said to have her Children under her Jurisdiction.) But even this Paternal Authority hath not been at all Times, and in all Parts of the World equal and alike. In some Ages and Places, and indeed of old almost everywhere, it was universal, and without restraint: The Life and Death, Estates and Goods, the Liberty and Honour, the Actions and Behaviour of Children was entirely at Their Will; They sued and were sued for them; They disposed of them in Marriage; the Labours of the Children redounded to the Parents Profit; nay, They themselves were a kind of Commodity; for among the Romans we find this Article, in that which was call'd Romulus his Law; * The Right of Parents over Children shall be entire and unlimited; they shall have Power to abdicate and banish, to sell, and to put them to death. Only it is to be observ'd, That all Children under Three Years old, were excepted out of this Condition, because they

* Parentum in Liberos omne Jus esto, relegandi, vendendi, occidenti.
Chap. 47. Of Parents and Children.

could not be capable of offending in Word or Deed, nor to give any just Provocation for such hard Usage. This Law was afterwards confirm'd and renew'd, by the Law of the Twelve Tables; which allow'd Parents to sell their Children Three times: And the Persians, as Aristotle tells us, the Ancient Gauls, as Caesar and Prosper agree; the Muscovites and Tartars, might do it Four times. There want not some probable Reasons to persuade us, that this Power had some Foundation, or Countenance at least, in the Law of Nature; and that Instance of Abraham undertaking to slay his Son, hath been made use of, as an Argument to this purpose: For had this been a Thing against his Duty, and such as the Authority of a Father could in no case extend to, he would not (they tell you) ever have consented to it; nor have believed, that this Command had proceeded from God, but rather have imputed it to some Delusion upon his own Mind, if it had been no way reconcilable with Nature, the Laws of which, God had established in the Beginning, and could not be thought so to contradict Himself, as by any particular Order, to appoint a thing altogether inconsistent with his own General Institution before. And accordingly it is observable, that Isaac never went about to make any Resistance, nor pleaded his own Innocency in Bar to what his Father went about to do; as knowing that he only exerted the rightful Power he had over him. What Force there is in this Argument, I shall not take upon me to determine. It is sufficient for my present Purpose to observe, That allowing all this, yet it does not in any degree take off from the Commendation due to Abraham's Faith; for he does not pretend to Sacrifice his Son by Virtue of any such Inherent Right over him, nor upon any Provocation, or Misdemeanour, which Isaac had given him occasion.
on to resent or punish; but purely in obedience to the Command of Almighty God. The Case does not seem to differ much under the Law of Moses; allowing only for some Circumstances, as to the manner of exercising this Authority, which will be taken notice of by and by. Of This, and no less Extent the Paternal Power seems to have been formerly in the greatest Part of the World, and so to have continued till the Time of the Roman Emperors. Among the Greeks indeed, and the Egyptians, it does not seem to have been altogether so absolute; but even There, if a Father happened to kill his Son unjustly, and without Provocation, the Punishment inflicted for such Barbarity was no other than being shut up with the dead Body for Three Days together.

Now the Reasons, and the Effects of so great and unlimited a Power being allow'd to Fathers over their Children, (which no doubt was a great Advantage for the Advancement of Virtue, the Improvement of Manners and Education, the restraining, preventing, and chastising Extravagance and Vice, and of great good Consequence to the Publick too) seem to have been such as These.

I. First, The containing Children in their Duty, beginning and preserving a due Awe and Reverence in their Minds. Then a Regard to several Vices and Enormities, which, though very grievous in Themselves, would yet pass unpunish'd; to the great Prejudice of the Publick, if they could be taken cognizance of, and animadverted upon by no other Ways and Persons, but Legal Process, and the Sentence of the Magistrate; for abundance of These must needs escape such Censure, partly because they would be Domestick and Private, and partly because there would be no Body to inform and prosecute. The Parents Themselves were not likely
Chap. 47. Of the Third Distinction of Men.

likely to be so officious; the nearness of the Relation would render it odious, and the Interest of their own Family would restrain them from publishing their own Shame. Or, if they could be suppos'd to bring all they knew of this kind upon the open Stage, yet we know there are many Vices, and Insolences, and Disorders, which the Laws and Justice of Nations are not provided with Punishments for. To all which we may add, that there are many Family-Quarrels between Fathers and Children, Brothers and Sisters, upon the account of dividing Estates and Goods, or several other Things, which, tho' fit to be canvass'd and corrected within a Man's own Walls, would by no means do well to be rip'd up, and expos'd to the World; and for these, as the Paternal Authority is necessary, so it is sufficient to compose and quiet all Parties, and put an End to Differences, that concern single Families only. And it was reasonable for the Law to suppos'e, that no Father would make ill use of this Power; that Men might very safely be entrusted with it, because of that very tender Affection which Nature inspires all Parents with, such as seems altogether inconsistent with Cruelty, toward their own Offspring: And this we see the Effect of daily, in the frequent Intercessions made by Fathers, for the releasing or mitigating those Publick Punishments, which they cannot but be sensible are most justly inflicted; there being no greater Torment to any Parent, than to see his Children under Pain or Disgrace. And where these absolute Prerogatives were allow'd, we meet with very few Instances of the exerting their Power, and going to the Extremity of it, without Offences very heinous indeed; so that, in truth, if we regard the Practice, and compare that with the Power itself, we shall have reason to look upon it as a useful Terror, a

F f Bugbear
Bugbear to keep Children in awe, and fright them into Obedience, rather than any Stretch of Rigour, that was actual, and in good earnest.

Now this Paternal Authority was gradually lost, and fell to the Ground as it were of it self, (for the Decay of it is, in truth, to be attributed to Dilute, more than to any Law expressly repealing it, or enacting the contrary) and it began most remarkably to decline, when the Roman Emperors came to the Government: For from the Time of Augustus, or quickly after, it sunk alpace, and lost all its Vigour. And upon this Decay Children grew so stubborn and insolent against their Parents, that Seneca in his Address to Nero, says, their Own Eyes had seen more Parricides punish’d in Five Years then last past, than there had been for the Space of Seven hundred Years before, that is, from the First Foundation of Rome till that Time. Till then, if a Father at any time killed his Children, he was called to no Account, nor had any Punishment inflicted upon him for the Fact; as we may gather evidently by the Examples of Fulvius the Senator, who slew his Son for being engag’d in Catiline’s Conspiracy; and several other Senators, who proceeded against their Sons, and condemn’d them to Death, by virtue of their own Domestick Power, such as Cassius Tраtius; or sentenc’d them to perpetual Banishment, as Manlius Torquatus did his Son Syllanus. There were indeed some Laws afterwards, which appointed, that the Father should bring Informations against the Children that offended, and deliver them over to Publick Justice: And the Judge, in such Cases, was oblig’d to pronounce Sentence as the Father should direct; in which there are some Footsteps of Antiquity. And these Laws, in abridging the Power of the Fathers, proceeded very tenderly, and
and did not take it away entirely and openly, but with great Moderation, and by halves only. These later Ordinances have some Affinity to the Law of Moses, which order’d the stubborn and rebellious Son to be stoned, upon the Complaint of the Parents, without requiring any farther Proof of the Charge than their single Deposition; and provided the Presence and Concurrence of the Magistrate, not so much for Examination and Trial of the Cause, as to prevent the Privacy and Passion, which might attend Domestick Punishments, and so to render the thing more Publick, and the Vengeance more exemplary and full of Terror to others. And thus, even according to the Mosaisck Institution, the Paternal Authority was more arbitrary and extensive, than it came to be since the Time of the Roman Emperors. But if we descend a little lower, and observe its Decrease under Constantine the Great, then under Theodosius, and at last under Justinian, we shall find it almost totally extinct. Hence it came to pass, that Children took upon them to decline, and peremptorily deny Obedience to their Parents; to refuse them a Part in their Possessions; nay, not to allow them so much as convenient Maintenance and Relief in their Necessities. Hence they had Confidence to enter Actions against them, and implead them in Courts of Judicature; and an indecent, a most scandalous Thing, in truth, it is, to observe how frequent such Suits have been. Some have been so wicked, or so mistaken, as to excuse Themselves from Duty upon Pretence of Religion; and dedicate That to God, which their Parents had a Right to; as we find our Blessed Saviour reproaches the Jews for doing; and the Manner he mentions it in, shews plainly, that this impious kind of Devotion was a Practice customary among them before his Time. Since that some have acted after their
Examples, even in the Profession of Christianity; and many have held it lawful to kill a Father in one's own Defence, or in case he became a Publick Enemy to the State. But sure, if such Relations deserve Death, it ought to be inflicted by some other Hand; and heretofore it was receiv'd as a general Maxim, and admits of scarce any Exception, * That no Wickedness could be committed by a Father, the Heinousness whereof would justify Parricide; to kill a Father is wicked, and no Wickedness can be reasonable.

Now the Generality of the World do not seem duly sensible of how mischievous Consequence to Mankind, this Abatement and Abolition of the Paternal Authority hath prov'd. The Governments, under which it was kept up, and vigorously exercis'd, have flourish'd, and contain'd their Subjects in strict Duty. If upon any Occasion it had been found by Experience too sharp and exorbitant, prudent Care might have been taken to regulate and bring it under convenient Restraints. But utterly to disannul and destroy it, is by no means agreeable to Decency or Virtue, and least of all to the Advantage of the Publick. For when once the Reins are let loose, and Countenance is given to Disobedience in Private Families, it quickly grows to a general Spirit of Faction, and Disorder, and Ungovernable Insolence; and the casting off the Yoke of the Natural Parents, is a bold and dangerous Step toward Rebellion against the Civil. The Effect whereof hath been abundantly seen in the many Inconveniences which Governments have suffer'd upon the Relaxation or utter rescinding of this Authority; whereby in the Event they only

* Nullum ratione fcelus admitti potest à patre, quod parricidio sit vindicandum; & nullum fcelus rationem habet.
chap. 48. of lords and their slaves, &c. 437
clip'd their own wings, and encourag'd enemies
and insurrections against themselves, as was said
just now.

the reciprocal duties of parents and children will be treated of book iii.
chap. 14.

chap. xlviii.

of lords and their slaves; masters
and servants.

the making use of slaves, and the power of
lords or masters over them, tho' it hath been
a thing receiv'd and practis'd in all places and all
ages of the world, (excepting that it was conside-
really abated for about four hundred years, but
now it hath since reviv'd and obtain'd again:) yet
i cannot forbear looking upon it as a monstrous
custom, and highly reproachful to humane na-
ture. since brutes have nothing of this kind among
them; nor do they either compel their fellows
by violence and fraud, or voluntarily submit them-
sons to captivity. this seems rather than to have
been dispens'd with, than approv'd by the law of
moses. but even this indulgence, accommodated to
the necessities of that people, and the hardness
of their hearts, was not so rigorous as the practice
of other places; for neither was the power so
absolute, nor the slavery perpetual; but the one
confin'd to rules, and the other terminated with
the seventh or sabbatical year. christianity find-
ing the usage universal, did not see fit to break
in upon this constitution, but left its proselytes at
liberty in this particular, as it did in a permission

r. the use of
slaves universal, but
unnatural.

f f 3 of
of serving and dwelling under Heathen and Idolatrous Princes and Masters. For This, and many other Things, could not be abolish’d and set aside at once; but by giving some little Discountenance to them, Time hath worn them off gently, and by degrees.

2. Slaves may be distinguish’d into Four several Kinds. 1. Such as are Natural, or born of Parents in that Condition. 2. Such as are Slaves upon Force, made so by Conquest, and the Rights of War. 3. Adjudged Slaves, such as are made and awarded to be such, either by way of Punishment for some Crime, or for the Satisfaction of some Debt, which gives the Creditors a Right to their Persons, and of employing them to their own Benefit and Service. This Slavery was limited among the Jews only to a certain Season, Seven Years at the most; the Sabbatical Year put an End to it all; but in other Countries it continu’d till the Debt was discharged. 4. Voluntary Slaves, or such as are of their own making, as those who throw Dice for it, or who sell their Liberty for a Sum of Money, as it hath been the Custom to do in Germany; and is still in some Parts even of the Christian World; or else such as freely surrender up themselves to the Service of another, and devote their Persons to perpetual Slavery: And thus we read in the Law the Antient Jews did, whose Ears were appointed to be bored with an Awl, to the Door of the House, in Token of perpetual Servitude; and that they rather chose this Condition of Life, than to go free, when it was in their Power. This last sort of voluntary and chozen Captivity is, I confess, to Me, the most astonishing of all the rest; and tho’ all manner of Slavery seems to be an Incroachment and Violence upon Nature, yet sure no kind of it can be so unnatural, as that which a Man covets and brings upon Himself.
Chap. 48. Of Lords and their Slaves, &c. 439

That Thing which makes Men Slaves upon Constraint, is Avarice; and that which makes Men choose to be Slaves, is Cowardice, and base Degeneracy of Spirit; for Lords made Men Slaves, because, when they had them in their Power and Possession, there was more Profit to be got by keeping, than there could be by killing them. And it is observable, that heretofore one of the most valuable sorts of Wealth, and that which the Owners took greatest Pride in, consisted in the Multitude, and the Quality of Slaves. In this respect it was that Crassus grew rich above all other Romans; for besides those that continually waited upon him, he had Five Hundred Slaves kept constantly at hard Work, and all the Gain of their several Arts and Labours, was daily brought, and converted to his Advantage. And this, tho' very great, was not all the Profit neither; for after that they had made a vast Account of their Drudgery, and kept them a great while thus in Work and Service, their very Persons were a Marketable Commodity, and some farther Gain was made in the Sale of Them to other Masters.

It would really amaze one, to read and consider well the Cruelties that have been exercis'd upon Slaves; and those not only such as the Tyranny of an inhumane Lord might put him upon, but such as even the Publick Laws have permitted and approv'd. They us'd to Chain and Yoke them together, and so make them Till the Ground like Oxen; and they do so to this Day in Barbary; lodge them in Ditches, or Bogs, or Pits, and deep Caves; and when they were worn and wafted with Age and Toil, and so could bring in no more Gain by their Service, the poor impotent Wretches were either sold at a low Price, or drown'd, and thrown into Ponds to feed their Lord's Fith. They killed them, not only for the slightest
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fligheftest and most insignificant Offence, as the breaking of a Glass, or the like; but upon the leaft Suspícions, and most unaccountable Jealou-
sies: Nay, sometimes merely to give Themselves Diversion; as Flaminius did, who yet was a Per-
som of more than ordinary Character, and repute-
da a very Good Man in his Time. It is notori-
ous, that they were for'c'd to enter the Lifts, and
combat and kill one another upon the Publick
Theatres, for the Entertainment of the People.
If the Master of the House were murdered under
his own Roof, let who would be the Doer of it,
yet all the Slaves, tho' perfectly innocent of the
Thing, were sure to go to Pot. And accordingly
we find, that when Pedanius, a Roman, was kil-
led, notwithstanding they had certain Intelligence
of the Murderer, yet by express Decree of the
Senate, Four Hundred poor Wretches, that were
his Slaves, were put to Death, for no other reason,
but their being so.

Nor is it much lefs surprizing on the other hand,
to take notice of the Rebellions, Insurrecțions, and
Barbarities of Slaves, when they have made Head
against their Lords, and gotten them into their
Power. And That, not only in Cases of Treach-
ery and Surprize; as we read of one Tragical
Night in the City of Tyre; but sometimes in open
Field, in regular Forces, and form'd Battles, by Sea
and Land; all which gave Occasion for the ufe of
that Proverb, That a Man hath as many Enemies as
be hath Slaves.

Now in proportion as the Christian Religion
firt, and afterwards the Mahometan got ground
and increas'd, the Number of Slaves decreas'd,
and the Terms of Servitude grew more easie and
gentle. For the Christians first, and afterwards the
Mahometans, who affected to follow the Christi-
ans Examples, made it a constant Practice and
Rule,
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Rule, to give all those Persons their Freedom, who became Profelytes to their Religion. And this prov'd a very great Invitation, and powerful Inducement, to convert and win Men over. Insomuch that about the Year Twelve Hundred, there was scarce any such thing as a Slave left in the World; except in such Places only where neither of these Two Persuasions had gain'd any Footing or Credit.

But then it is very remarkable withal, that in the same Proportions, as the Number of Slaves fell away and abated, that of Poor People, and Beggars, and Vagabonds multiply'd upon us. And the Reason is very obvious; for Those Persons, who during the State of Slavery, wrought for their Patrons, and were maintain'd at Their Expence, when they were dismiss'd Their Families, lost their Table, at the same time they receiv'd their Liberty; and when they were thus turn'd loose into the World, to shift for Themselves, it was not easy for them to find Means of supporting their Families, which, by reason of the great Fruitfulness of People in low Condition generally, were very numerous in Children; and thus they grew overstock'd themselves, and filled the World with Poor.

Want and extreme Necessity presently began to pinch these kind of People, and compelled them to return back again to Servitude in their own Defence. Thus they were content to enslave Themselves, to truck and barter away their Liberty, to set their Labours to Sale, and let out their Persons for Hire; meerly that they might secure to Themselves convenient Sustenance, and a quiet Retreat; and lighten the Burden which the Increase of Children brought upon them. Besides this pressing Occasion, and the Servitude chosen upon it, the World hath pretty much relapsed into the Using of
of Slaves again, by means of those continual Wars which both Christians and Mahometans are eternally engag'd in; both against each other, and against the Pagans in the East and Western Countries particularly. And though the Example of the few be so far allow'd, as a good Precedent, that they have no Slaves of their own Brethren and Countrymen, yet of Strangers and Foreigners they have; and These are still kept in Slavery, and under Constraint, notwithstanding they do come over to the Profession of their Master's Religion.

9. The Power and Authority of common Masters over their Servants is not at all domineering or extravagant, nor such as can in any degree be prejudicial to the Natural Liberty of Them who live under it. The utmost they can pretend to, is the chastizing and correcting them when they do amiss; and in This they are oblig'd to proceed with Discretion, and not suffer their Severities to be unreasonable, and out of all Measure. But over those who are hired in as Workmen and Daymen, this Authority is still less; There is only a Covenant for Labour, and Wages in Exchange; but no Power, nor any Right of Correction, or Corporal Punishment lies against These from their Masters.

The Duty of Masters and Servants is treated of Book III. Chap. 15.
CHAP. XLIX.


After the Account already given of Private Power, the next Thing that falls under our Consideration, is the Publick, or that of the State. Now, the State, that is to say, Government, or a Determinate Order, and Establishment, for Commanding and Obeying, is the very Pillar and Support of Humane Affairs, the Cement that knits and keeps them Fast and Strong; the Soul that gives them Life and Motion, the Band of all Society which can never subsist without it; the Vital Spirit of this Body Politick, that enables Men, so many thousands of Men, to breath as One, and compact all Nature together.

Now, notwithstanding the absolute Necessity and unspeakable Convenience This is of, for sustaining the Universe, yet is it, really, a very slippery and unsafe thing, extremely difficult to manage, and liable to infinite Changes and Dangers. The Governing of Men, and their Affairs, is a very hard Undertaking, a heavy Burden, and exposed to great variety of Chances. It often declines and languishes; nay, sometimes falls to the Ground, by secret Misfortunes, and unseen Causes. And though its rising to a just Height, is Gradual and Slow, a Work of much Time, and great Pains and Prudence; yet the Ruins and Decays of it are frequently sudden.

* Arduum & subiectum fortunae cuncta regendi onus.
and surprizing; and the Constitutions, which took up Ages to finish and build up, are broken and thrown down in a Moment. It is likewise exposed to the Hatred and Envy of all Degrees and Conditions. The High and the low watch it curiously, and are jealous of all its Proceedings, and set Themselves at Work perpetually, to endanger and undermine it. This Uneasiness, and Suspicion, and general Enmity, proceeds partly from the corrupt Manners and Dispositions of the Persons in whom the Supreme Power is vested, and partly from the Nature of the Power itself, of which you may take this following Description.

Sovereignty, is properly a Perpetual and Absolute Power, subject to no Limitation, either of Time, or of Terms and Conditions. It consists in a Right of constituting and giving Laws to all in General, and to each Person under its Dominion in Particular; and that, without consulting or asking the Consent of such as are to be govern’d by them; and likewise in being above all Restraints, or having Laws imposed upon it itself from any other Person whatsoever. "For to Impose, and Com­mand a Duty, argues Superiority, and That which is Sovereign, can have no Superior. And as another expresses it. "It infers a Right Paramount of making Reservations and Exceptions from the usual Forms, (as the King in Courts of Equity corrects the Common Law:) For Sovereignty, in its highest and strictest Importance, implies the Contrary to Subjection, or the being bound by Humane Laws, either of others, or its own Appointment, so as not to repeal or alter them, as there shall be Occasion. For it is contrary to Nature, for all Men to give Law to Themselves, and to be absolutely commanded by Themselves, in Things that depend
depended upon their own Will. * No Obligation can
continue firm, none can lie there, where the Person that
engages, hath nothing but his own Will to bind him:
And therefore Sovereign Power, properly so call’d,
cannot have its Hands ty’d up by any other, whether
Living or Dead; neither its Own, nor its Pre-
deceessor’s Decrees, nor the received Laws of the
Country can be Unalterable or Irreversible. This
Power hath been compared by some to Fire, to the
Sea, to a wild Beast, which it is very hard to
stame, or make treatable; it will not endure Con-
tradiction, it will not be molested, or if it be, it is
a Dangerous Enemy, a just and severe Avenger
of them that have the Hardines to provoke it.
† Power (says one) is a Thing that seldom bears to
be admonish’d or instruicted, and is generally very impa-
tient of Contradiction or Reproof.

The Marks and Characters, which are proper
to it, and by which it is distinguish’d from other
Sorts of Power, are, the giving Judgment, and
pronouncing Definitive Sentences, whereby all con-
tending Parties shall be concluded, and from whence
there lies no Appeal. A full Authority to make
Peace and War, Creating, and Depriving Magis-
trates, and Officers; granting Indulgences, and
dispensing with the Rigour of the Laws upon par-
ticular Hardships, and extraordinary Emergencies;
levying of Taxes; coining and adjusting the Value
of Money, ordering what shall be current in its
Dominions, and at what Prices; Receiving of Ho-
mage and Acknowledgments from its Subjects, and
Embassies from Foreigners; Requiring Oaths of Fi-
delity from the Persons under its Protection, and
administreing them in Controversies and Tryals of

* Nulla Obligatio consistere potest, quæ à voluntate promit-
tentis statum capit.
† Potestas res est, quæ moneri doceriique non vult, & castiga-
tionem aegrit fert.
Right and Wrong. But all is reduc'd at last, and comprehended under the Legislative Power, the enacting such Laws as it shall think fit, and by Them binding the Consciences of Those who live within its Dominions. Some indeed have added Others, which are so small and trivial in Comparison, that they are scarce worth naming after the Former; such as the Admiralty, Rights of the Sea, Title to Wracks upon the Coast, Confiscation of Goods in Cafes of Treason, Power to change the Language, the Ensigns of Government, and Title of Majesty.

Greatness and Sovereignty is infinitely coveted by almost All. But wherefore is it? Surely for no other Reason so much, as that the Outside is Gay and Glorious, Beautiful and Glittering; but the Inside is hid from common Observation. Every Body sees the Plenty, the Pomp, and the Advantages of a Crown, but few or none at a distance are acquainted with the Weight, the Cares, the Troubles, and the Dangers of it. It is True indeed, The Command is a Noble and a Divine Post; but it is as True, that it is an Anxious, a Cumbrous, and a Difficult One. Upon the same Account it is, that the Persons in that Dignity and Elevation are esteem'd and reverence'd much above the Rest of Common Men. And very Just it is they should be so, for this Opinion is of great Use to extort that Respect and Obedience from the People, upon the due Payment whereof, all the Peace and Quiet of Societies depend. But if we take these great Persons apart from their Publick Character, and consider them as Men, we shall find them just of the same Size, and cast in the same Mold with other common Men: nay, too often, of worse Dispositions, and not so liberally dealt with by Nature, as many of their Inferiours. We are apt to think that every Thing a Prince does, must...
needs proceed upon great and weighty Reasons, because all they do is in the Event of great and general Importance to Mankind; but in truth the Matter is much otherwise, and They think, and resolve, and act, just like One of Us; For Nature hath given Them the same Faculties, and moves them by the same Springs. The Provocation, which would set Two private Neighbours to Scolding and Quarrelling, makes a Publick War between Two States; and what One of Us would whip his Child or his Page for, incenses a Monarch to chastise a Province, that hath offended him. Their Wills are as liable to Levity as Ours, but their Power and the Effect of what they will, is incomparably greater. But still Nature is the same in the Fly, as in the Elephant, and both are actuated by the same Appetites and Passions. Nay, let me take leave to add, that, besides those Passions, and Defects, and Natural Qualifications, and Abatements, which they share in common with the least and meanest of their Servants and Adorers; there are some Vices and Inconveniences in a manner peculiar to Them alone; such as the Eminence of their Condition, and the vast Extent of their Power inspires them with a more than ordinary Tendency, with vehement and almost unavoidable Propensions to.

The Manners and Temper of Great Persons have been commonly observed by the Wisest and most Discerning Persons to be, Invincible Pride, and Self-conceit. * An abounding in their own Sense, which is one of Stiff, and Inflexible, incapable of Truth, and disdainful Great Per-better Advice. Licentiousness and Violence; † which Sons.

*Durus & veri insolens: Ad recta flecti regius non vult tumor.
†Id esse regni maximum pignus putant, si quicquid aliis non licet, solis licet.

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Of Wisdom. Book I.

looks upon a Liberty of doing what no Body else may do, as the particular Distinction, and most Glorious Privilege of their Character. So that their Favourite Motto is, *My Will is a Law. Suspicion and Jealousie, for they are †Naturally tender and fearful of their Power; nay, fearful sometimes even of their own Children and nearest Relations; || The next in Succession is always look’d upon with an Evil and Jealous Eye, by the Person in present Possession of the Throne; so that any the least Genius of Government, or interesting themselves in Publick Affairs, is very unacceptable in the Sons of Prima; And hence it is that they are so often in Fear and mighty Confertations, for it is usual and natural to Kings, to live under continual Apprehensions.

The Advantages, which Kings and Sovereign Princes have above Tho’s of meanner Condition, seem indeed to be marvellous Great, and Glorious; but when nicely consider’d, they are in Truth but very Thin and Slight, and little more than mere Imagination. But, were they much above what really they are, it is certain they are dearly bought at the Expence of the many Weary, Solid and Substantial Troubles and Inconveniences that constantly attend them. The Name and the Title of Sovereign, the Splendor and Formalities of a Court, and all the Pomp and Parade that draws our Eyes and Observation, carry a Beautiful and Desirable Appearance, such as raises our Wonder, and kindles our Wishes and Desires; but the Burden and the Inside of all this Shining Pageantry, is Hard and Knotty, Laborious and Painful. There is Honour in Abundance, but very little

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* Quicquid libet, licet.
† Suape Naturae Potentiae anxii.
|| Suspectus semper invitus, dominatibus quisquis proximus destinatur, adeo ut deplinceant etiam civilia Filiorum ingenia.
* Ingenia Regum prona ad formidinem.
Chap. 49. Of Publick Government, &c.

Joy or Ease; It is a Publick and an Honourable Servitude, an Illustrious Misery, a Wealthy Captivity. The Chains are of Gold, but still they are Chains. And it is worth our While to observe the Behaviour and the Reflections of Augustus, Marcus Aurelius, Pertinax, Diocletian, upon this Occasion; and the wretched End of most of the Twelve Caesars, and many Others of their Successors in the Empire. But, now in regard these seem Words of Course only, such as very few will give any Credit to, because they suffer Themselves to be imposed upon by a gay and deceitful Face of Power, I shall think it worth while to clear this Matter, by giving a distinct and particular Account of some Inconveniences and Miseries, with which the Condition of Sovereign Princes is constantly incumberd.

First, The mighty Difficulty of acting their Part well, and acquitting Themselves of so weighty a Charge. For if it be so very hard a Thing, as we find by sad Experience it is, to govern ones self well, what infinite Hardship must we in reason suppose there is, in governing a Multitude of People? It is certainly much more Easy and Pleasant to follow, than to lead; to have no more to do, than only to keep a plain beaten Road, than to beat out a Path for Others; to obey, than to direct and command; to answer for one's single self, than to be responsible for ones self and a great many more besides.

* And thus 'tis better than proud Scepters sway,
To live a quiet Subject, and obey. Creech.

To all This we may add, That it is highly Necessary for the Person, whose Duty it is to Command, to be more Excellent and Exemplary, than Them who are commanded by him; as that

* Ut farius multo jam sit parere quietum
Quam regere imperio res velle—Lucret. lib. V.
Great Commander Cyrus, very truly observed. And this Difficulty we cannot be better made sensible of, by any Argument, than Matter of Fact; which proves to us Experimentally, how very few Persons, History makes mention of in this Character, who have in all Points been, what they ought to be. Tacitus says, that of all the Roman Emperors till that Time, Vespasian was the only true good Man; and another ancient Author hath taken the Confidence to affirm, that the Names of all the good Princes that ever were, might be engraven within the Compass of a Ring.

The Second Difficulty may be fixed very reasonably upon their Pleasures and Delights, of which Men usually think, (but they think very much amiss) that They have a greater Share, and more perfect Enjoyment, than the rest of Mankind. For in truth their Condition, in this Respect, is infinitely Worse than that of Private Men. The Lustre and Eminence of great Persons gives them great Inconvenience in the Fruition, of what it furnishes them with Power and Opportunities for. They are too much exposed to Publick View, move openly and in check, and are perpetually watch'd, controul'd, and censur'd, even to their very Thoughts, which the World will always take a Liberty of guessing at, and censuring, tho' they are no competent Judges, nor can possibly have any Knowledge of the Matter. Besides this Restraint, there is likewise some Disadvantage in the very Easiness they feel of doing whatever their Inclination leads them to, and every Thing bending, and yielding to their Pleasure; for This takes away all that Relish and pleasing Sharpness, which is necessary to render a Thing Delightful; and Nothing is, or can be so to us, which hath no Mixture or Difficulty to recommend and heighten it. A Man that never gives himself time to be Dry, will never
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never be sensible what Pleasure there is in quenching one’s Thirst; and all Drinking will be flat and insipid to him. Fullest and Plenty is one of the most troublesome Things in the World, and, instead of helping forward, does but provoke us to nauseate our Happiness.

* Gros' ease Love does like gros’ Diet, pall;
In squaasie Stomaehs Honey turns to Gall. Dryden.

The greatest Interruption to our Enjoyments, and the most distasteful Thing that can happen to us, is Abundance: To be cloy’d is to lose All. And therefore we may say, that Princes are not capable of such a thing as Action; for this cannot be lively and vigorous without some Degree of Difficulty and Restistance: Other Men may be said to live, and move, and act, who meet with Obstruction and Opposition; but They who meet with none, may more truly be said to dream, or walk in their Sleep, or to glide along insensibly thro’ the whole Course of their Lives.

The Third Particular, in which they find Themselves aggrieved above others, is in their Marriage. The Matches made by Persons of inferior quality are infinitely more free and easie; the effect of Choice, the result of Affection, more void of Contrainst, and full of Satisfaction. One great Reason, no doubt, of this Difference is, that Common Men have greater Choice, and may find great Variety and Numbers equal with Themselves, to take a Wife out of; but Kings and Princes are but few; and therefore if They resolve to marry suitably to Themselves, there can be no great picking

* Pinguis amor nimiumque potens in tedia nobis
Vertitur, & Stomacho dulcis ut efxa nocet.

and choosing in the Case. But the other Reason is, and indeed the more considerable of the Two, That private Persons have nothing farther to aim at beyond their own particular Concerns; They consult their own Comfort and Convenience; but Princes are often confin’d and ty’d up by publick Considerations. Their Marriages are vast Intrigues of State, and design’d to be instrumental in securing the Happiness and Peace of the World in general. Great Persons do not Marry for Themselves, but for the common Good of Nations and Kingdoms. And this is what they ought to be more in love with, and tender of, than of their Wife and Children. Upon this Account they are frequently obliged to hearken to Proposals where there is neither Affection nor Delight to invite them; they often engage themselves to Persons, whom they are so far from being taken with, that sometimes they never know nor see them, till it is out of their Power to retreat. There is no such thing as Love or Liking between the Parties; but the short of the Matter is, Such a great Prince marries such a great Princess, which, if he had been in another Capacity, he would never have chosen or consented to. But the Publick was concern’d, and is serv’d by it; and he is content to enslave Himself for his whole Life, because that Alliance was necessary to be contracted, for the strengthening his Interest, and the security of his Kingdoms; and the mutual Benefit and Ease which Nations may receive by such a convenient Union.

I may reckon this for a Fourth Disadvantage, that They can have no part in those Tryals and little Emulations, which other Men are continually exercised in towards one another, by the Jealousie they express of their Honour, or signalizing their Valour, their Wit, or their Bodily Strength; which after all, is one of the most sensible Pleasures Men enjoy
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enjoy in Conversation with one another. The Reason is obvious; because every Man thinks himself bound in good Manners to yield to Them, to have a Decency, and not suffer them to be outdone; and had rather balk their Own Honour, and abate of what they could do upon these Occasions, than give Offence to a Prince, whom they know Ambitious of being thought the Conqueror of all that contend with him. Now the Bottom and Truth of all this Matter is, that upon pretence of Deference and Respect, such Great Men are abus’d, and treated with great Scorn, and secret Contempt; which gave occasion to a wise Man to say, that the Children of Princes were in a very ill way of Education, for they learnt nothing as they should do, except the Art of Riding a Manag’d Horse; because in all other Cafes Men yield, and adjudge the Prize to them; But this Beast, who is not capable of Flattery, nor hath learnt the Arts of Courtship and Complaisance, makes no difference between the Prince and his Groom, and throws either of them without distinction. Several great Men have therefore refused the Applauses of Spectators, and scorn’d their formal Commendations, saying, I should take this kindly, and be proud of it, if it came from Persons that durst say otherwise, and who would take that generous Freedom of finding Fault with Me, when I gave them a just occasion of doing so.

The Fifth Inconvenience is, Their being debarr’d the Liberty of going Abroad, and the mighty Advantages of seeing the World. For they are perfectly Imprison’d within their own Country, and generally cooped up within the Precincts of their Court; and there they are hedg’d in, as it were, with their own Creatures; expos’d to the View of Spectators, and the Censure of Impertinent Tattlers and Busie-bodies, that watch and dog them every where, even in their most serious Actions.

Gg 3 Which
Which made King Alphonso say, that in this Respect the very Asses had more Liberty, and were in a better Condition, than Kings.

The Sixth Topick of their Miseries is, the being shut out from all sincere Friendship, and mutual Society, which is the very sweetest and most valuable Advantage of Humane Life; but such a one as can never be enjoy'd, except among Equals, or such at least between whom there is no very great Inequality. Now the Elevation of a Prince is so high, and the Distance at which his Subjects stand below him so very great, that it makes any intimate, and free Correspondence impracticable. All the Services, and Compliments, and humble Formalities paid them, come from such Hands as must do what they do, and dare not do otherwise. They are by no means the effect of Friendship, but of servile Submission, and Interest, and Design. All their zealous Professions are not for His sake, but their Own; to ingratiate and to raise Themselves; or else they are a Matter of Custom and Show only. Which we see plainly they often are, from the vilest and most wicked Kings being serv'd, and reverenc'd, and address't to, in the very same manner with the best, and most truly deserving those Honours; and even Them whom the People hate and curse, with those whom they cordially love and adore. But still, whether a Prince be the One or the Other of these, no Body can make any Conjecture at all from outward Forms and Appearances; The Pomp, the Ceremony, the Compliment, and the whole Face and Behaviour of a Court, is always alike: Which Julian the Emperor was so sensible of, that when some of his Courtiers commended his Justice, he made Answer, "That he indeed should have some Temptation to grow proud upon their Praisés, but that he consider'd whom they came from; and they who
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"who gave him good Words then, durst not take
apon them to Chide him when he happen'd to
deserve it.

The Seventh Particular, in which they exceed
the Miseries of common Men; and That which
perhaps is of all others the worst in it self, and
most destructive to the publick Safety, is, That
they are not at liberty to use their own Discretion
in the choice of Servants and Officers of Honour
and Truft; nor have Opportunities of attaining to
a true and perfect Knowledge of Things. They
are never suffer'd to know All; nor are they ever
thoroughly acquainted what Condition their Affairs
are really in; some better Face put upon the good
part, and some part conceal’d or colour’d over,
which is unfortunate or ill-manag’d, and would be
unacceptable, if rightly represented. As little are
they let in to the true Characters of Men, and
consequenty, who are fit to be employ’d and
trusted. And what can be more miserable than
such a State of Ignorance as This; when They,
whose Concern it is to know best, are far from
understanding truly, either what is to be done, or
who are most proper to do it? Alas! they are en-
compaffed, and blockaded up, as it were, by Peo-
ples of the first Quality, whom there is no getting
loose from: Either such as are their own Relations,
or who, upon the Account of their Families, and
Honours, and Places, or by long Custom and Pre-
scription, are so fix’d in Authority, and have so
great a Concern in the Management of Affairs,
that it is not advisable or safe to give them Diff-
guist. They must be carefs’d, and preferr’d, and
have no ground of Jealousie or Discontent given
them: If Offices of the highest Consequence are
to be dispos’d of, These Persons must not be over-
look’d; if, when they are thus employ’d, they prove
incapable or unfit, the Retreat is difficult; All the

Nobility
Nobility of their Alliance resent their Slight, or their Disgrace; and the mending an Improper Choice, or the making a Proper One, is sometimes in hazard of bringing All into Confusion. Now these Persons, who make it their Business to keep their Prince constantly muffled up, and never let him see the World, take good care that nothing shall appear to him as it really is; and that all such as are truly better and more useful Men than Themselves, shall never gain free Access to him, nor have their Abilities known. O! 'tis a wretched thing to see nothing but with other People's Eyes; and to hear nothing but with other Men's Ears; as Princes, whose Eminence will not admit of Freedom, and Plain-dealing, and promiscuous Conversation, are under a necessity of doing. But that which makes the Misery complete, and the very worst that can be, is, that, commonly speaking, Princes and Great Persons are by a strange sort of Fatality, destin'd to, and in the possession of Three sorts of Men, who are the very Bane and Pest of Mankind, (viz.) Flatterers, Projectors for raising Money, and Informers. And these under a specious, but counterfeit Pretence, either of Zeal and Affection for their Prince, (as the Two former do) or of Integrity, and Virtue, and Reformation, (as the last) instead of improving or amending either, utterly deprave and ruin both Prince and People.

The Eighth Misery is, That they are less Masters of their own Wills, than any other Persons. For in all their Proceedings, there are infinite Considerations and Respects, which they are bound to observe, and these captivate and constrain their Designs, and Inclinations, and Desires. * The greater

* In maxima fortunā minima licentia.
Chap. 49. Of Publick Government, &c. 457

any Man's Station and Capacity is, the less he is at his own Disposal. This one would think should prevail for fair Quarter at least, and favourable Allowances for what they do; but instead of being pitied or lamented for this Hardship, they are the most barbarously treated, the most severely censured, and traduced, of any Men living. For every bold Fellow sets up for a Politician, and undertakes to guess at their Meanings, to penetrate into their very Hearts and Thoughts. * To pry too curiously into the secret Intentions of a Prince, is unlawful; or, if it were not, yet it is but doubtful, and a Guess at best, what we cannot compass, and therefore ought not to attempt. The Cabinets of Princes are Sacred, and their Breasts ought to be much more so. These busy Men cannot discern them, and yet they are eternally arraigning and sentencing; They have a quite different Prospect of Things; and see them under another Face, from what they appear to Those at the Helm; or if they saw them both alike, yet both are not equally capable of understanding the Intricacies of them. Intrigues of State are Things above a Vulgar Capacity; but notwithstanding, every Man expects his Prince should do what He thinks most convenient, and blames his Conduct if he do otherwise; there is no Favour, no Patience to be obtained for any thing contrary to each Man's private Sentiments, tho' it be in itself never so fit, never so necessary, never so impossible to have been managed otherwise. In a Word, every Shop, every Coffee-house sits in Judgment upon their Governours; and without hearing or knowing the Merits of the Cause, proceed to severe and saucy Condemnations of Them.

* Abditos Principis sensus, & si quid occultius parat exquiere, illicitum, ances, nec ideo affequare.

Lastly,
Lastly, it happens very often, that princes come to a very untimely and unfortunate end; not only such of them as by usurpation and tyranny provoke men to bring it upon them, for this is not much to be wondered at, and such have no more than their due; but, (which is a miserable case indeed) those who are most rightful in their title, and most regular, and just, and gentle in the administration of their government. How frequent instances of this kind does the Roman History present us with; in those emperors that followed after the civil wars of Pompey and Caesar? And not to go so far back, we know that Henry III. of France was assassinated by a little insignificant friar in the midst of an army of forty thousand men; and infinite other examples of poisonings, murders, and villanous conspiracies are to be found in all ages.

* Kings post down to the shades in blood; few say for common deaths, and nature's slow decay.

A man would be almost tempted to imagine, that as storms and tempests seem to wreak their spight most upon the towering pride of the loftiest buildings, so there are some malicious spirits, that envy, and make it their business to humble and ruining, and trample down the majesty and greatness of those, who stand most exalted here below.

† And hence we fancy unseen powers in things whose force and will such strange confusion brings, and spurns and overthrows our greatest kings. Cæcæ.
Chap. 56. Of Magistrates.

To sum up all in a Word. The Condition of Sovereign Princes is above all Others incumbered with Difficulties, and exposed to Dangers. Their Life, provided it be Innocent and Virtuous, is infinitely aborious, and full of Cares; If it be Wicked, it is then the Plague and Scourge of the World; hated and cursed by all Mankind; and whether it be the One or the Other, it is beset with inexpressible Hazards; for the greater any Governour is, the less he can be secure; the less he can trust to Himself; and yet the more need he hath to be secure, and not to trust Others, but Himself. And this may satisfy us, how it comes to pass, that the being betray'd and abus'd, is a thing very natural and easie to happen, a common, and almost inseparable Consequence of Government and Sovereign Power.

Of the Duty of Princes, see Book III. Chap. 16.

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CHAP. L.

Of Magistrates.

There are great Differences, and several Degrees of Magistrates, with regard both to the Honour, and the Power that belongs to them: For These are the two considerable Points to be observ'd in distinguishing them, and they are entirely independent upon one another; They may be, and often are each of them Single and alone. Sometimes Thofe Persons who are in the most honourable Posts, have yet no great Matter of Authority or Power lodg'd in their Hands; as the King's Coun-
Council, Privy-Counsellors in some Governments, and Secretaries of State: Some have but One of these two Qualifications; others have Both; and all have them in different Degrees; but those are properly, and in strict speaking, Magistrates, in whom both Honour and Power meet together.

2. Magistrates are in a middle Station, and stand between the Prince and private Men; subordinate to the One, but superior to the Other; They carry Justice home, and hand it down from above; but of this they being only the Ministers and Instruments, can have no manner of Power inherent in Themselfs, when the Prince Himself, who is the Fountain of Law and Justice, is present. As Rivers lose their Name and their Force, when they have emptied and incorporated their Waters into the Sea, and as Stars disappear at the Approach of the Sun; so all the Authority of Magistrates in the Presence of the Sovereign, whose Deputies and Vicegerents they are, is either totally suspended, or upon sufferance only. And the Case is the same if we descend a little lower, and compare the Commissions of Subalterns, and inferior Officers, with Those in a higher and more general Jurisdiction. Those that are in the same Commission are all upon the Level; there is no Power or Superiority There over one another; all that they can do, is to consult together, and be assisting to each other by concurrence; or else to obstruct and restrain each other, by opposing what is doing, and preventing its being done.

3. All Magistrates judge, condemn, and command, either according to the Form and express Letter of the Law; (and then the Decisions they give, and the Sentences they pronounce, are nothing else but a putting the Law in execution) or else they proceed upon Rules of Equity, and reasonable Consideration, (and then this is called the Duty of the Magistrate.)

Magi-
Chap. 51. Of Lawgivers and Teachers.

Magistrates cannot alter their own Decrees, nor correct the Judgment they have given, without express Permission of the Sovereign, upon Penalty of being adjudged Falsifiers of the Publick Records. They may indeed revoke their own Orders, or they may suspend the Execution of them for some time, as they shall see Occasion. But when once a Cause is brought to an Issue, and Sentence given upon a full and fair Hearing, they have no Power to retract that Judgment, nor to mend or try it over again, without fresh Matter require it.

Of the Duty of Magistrates. See Book III. Chap. 17.

CHAP. LI.

Lawgivers and Teachers.

It is a Practice very usual with some Philosophers and Teachers, to prescribe such Laws and Rules, as are above the Proportions of Virtue, and what the Condition of Humane Nature will suffer very few, if any at all, to come up to. They draw the Images much bigger and more beautiful than the Life; or else set us such Patterns of Difficult and Augusta Virtue, as are impossible for us to equal, and so discourage many; and render the Attempt itself Dangerous, and of ill Consequence to some. These are merely the Painter’s Fancy, like Plato’s Republick, Sir Thomas More’s Utopia, Ciceron’s Orator, or Horace his Poet. Noble Characters indeed, and a Collection of acknowledged Excellencies in Speculation; but such as the World wants living Instances of. The Best and most perfect Law-giver, who in marvelous Condem-
Of Wisdom.

Book 1.

Ascension was pleased himself to be sensible of our Infirmities, hath shewed great Tenderness and Compassion for them, and wisely consider'd what Humane Nature would bear. He hath suited all Things so well to the Capacities of Man-kind, that those Words of His are True, even in this Respect also, My Yoke is easy, and my Burden is light.

Now, where these Powers are not duly consulted, the Laws are first of all Unjust; for some Proportion ought to be observ'd between the Command, and the Obedience; the Duty imposed, and the Ability to discharge it. I do not say, These Commands should not exceed what is usually done, but what is possible to be done; for what Vanity and Folly is it to oblige People to be always in a Fault, and to cut out more Work, than can ever be finished? Accordingly we may frequently observe, that these rigid Stretchers of Laws, are the First that expose them to publick Scorn, by their own Neglect; and, like the Pharisees of old, lay heavy Burdens upon others, which they themselves will not so much as touch with one of their Fingers. These Examples are but too obvious in all Professions; This is the Way of the World. Men direct one Thing, and practise another; and That, not always through Defect or Corruption of Manners, but sometimes even out of Judgment and Principle too.

Another Fault too frequent is, That many Persons are exceeding Scrupulous and Nice in Matters which are merely Circumstantial, or free and indifferent in their own Nature; even above what they express themselves in some of the most necessary and Substantial Branches of their Duty, such as the Laws of God, or the Light of Nature have bound upon them. This is much such another Extravagance, as lending to other People, while
while we neglect to pay our own Debts. A Physical Ostentation, which our Heavenly Master severely exposes the Jewish Elders for, and is at the Bottom no better than Hypocrisy; a mocking of God, and miserable deluding of their own souls.

Seneca indeed hath said something concerning the Impracticableness of some Duties, which, if rightly observ’d, is of good Use; but then it must not be over-strain’d, nor applied to all Occasions indifferently. *When ever (says he) you have Reason to distrust the due performance of the Precepts or Laws you establish, it is necessary to require something more than will just serve the Turn, to the intent, That which is sufficient may be sure not to be neglected. For all Hyperboles and Excesses of this kind are useful to this purpose, that Men, by having something expressed which is not true, may be brought to just Ideas of that which is true.

With this Quotation our Author ends his Chapter in the older Edition, which I thought convenient to add here; and not only so, but in regard I am sensible, what perverse Use Licentious Men may make of the former Objection to the Prejudice of Religion, and in particular Vindication of their own Neglects and Vicious Lives; and also what Occasions of Scruple and Disquiet it may minister to some well-meaning Persons, when they compare their own Defects with the Perfection of the Divine Laws; I beg the Reader’s Leave to insert at large, what a Learned and Excellent Writer of our own hath delivered to this purpose.

* Quoties parum fiduciae est, in his, in quibus imperas, amplius exigendum est quam fars est, ut præfertur quantum satis est. In-hoc omnis Hyperbole excedit, ut ad Verum Mundacio veniat.
And this I hope, if well consider'd, may both confute the Licentious, and quiet the Doubting and Dissatisfied in the Point before us.

"Laws (says he) must not be depressed to our Imperfection, nor Rules bent to our Obliquity; but we must ascend towards the Perfection of Them, and strive to conform our Practice to Their Exactness. If what is prescribed, be according to the Reason of Things, Just and Fit, it is enough, although our Practice will not reach it. For what remaineth may be supply'd by Repentance, and Humility, in him that should obey; by Mercy and Pardon in him that doth command.

"In the Prescription of Duty it is just, that what may be required (even in Rigour) should be precisely determined, though in Execution of Justice, or Dispensation of Recompence, Consideration may be had of our Weakness: Whereby both the Authority of our Governor, may be maintain'd, and his Clemency glorify'd.

"It is of great Use, that by comparing the Law with our Practice, and in the Perfection of the One, discerning the Defect of the Other; we may be humbled, may be sensible of our Impotency, may thence be forced to seek the Helps of Grace, and the Benefit of Mercy.

"Were the Rule never so low, our Practice would come below it; it is therefore expedient that it should be high; that at least we may rise higher in Performance than otherwise we should do. For the higher we aim, the nearer we shall go to the due Pitch; as He that aimeth at Heaven, although he cannot reach it, will yet shoot higher, than He that aimeth only at the House Top.

"The
The Height of Duty doth prevent Sloth and Decay in Virtue, keeping us in wholesome Exercise, and in continual Improvement, while we are always climbing towards the Top, and training unto farther Attainment. The sincere Profecution of which Course, as it will be more Profitable to Us, so it will be no less Acceptable to God, than if we could thoroughly fulfill the Law; For in Judgment God will only reckon upon the Sincerity and Earnestness of our Endeavour; so that if we have done our Best, it will be taken, as if we had done All. Our Labour will not be lost in the Lord; for the Degrees of performance will be considered, and he that hath done his Duty in part, shall be proportionably recompened; according to that of St. Paul, Every Man shall receive his own reward according to his own Work. Hence sometimes we are enjoyned to be perfect as our Heavenly Father is perfect; and to be Holy as God is Holy; whilst to go on to Perfection, and to press toward the Mark; which Precepts, in Effect do import the same Thing; but the latter implieth the former, although in Attainment impossible, yet in Attempt very profitable. And surely he is likely to write best, who proposeth to himself the fairest Copy for his Imitation.

In fine, if we do act what is possible, or as we can, do conform to the Rule of Duty, we may be sure, that no Impossibility of any Sublime Law can prejudice us.

I say of any Law, for—many, perhaps every one Evangelical Law are alike repugnant to corrupt Nature, and seem to surmount our Ability. Thus far that Reverend Person, whose Argument I know not whether I ought to ask pardon for representing so largely; but I was willing to give
give it entire, for the greater Satisfaction of Them
who think themselves concern'd to consider it:
And likewise, that it might be of more Use, when
apply'd, (as very appliable it is) to other Laws
and Precepts, wherein Religion is not immediately
concerned. In short, a Law-Giver and a Judge
are two very different Characters, and such as re-
quire very different Methods, and Principles; for
it is one Thing to Establish, and another to Exec-
cute the Law. And the want of observing this
Distinction occasions all the Complaints and De-
clamatory Strains we hear, against Moral and Re-
vealed Religion, as if they imposed Things merely
Romantick, and Imaginary. To all which I add
too, that though we none of us can attain to Per-
fection, yet most of us might go much greater
Lengths towards it, than we do. And that This
is often made an unnecessary Pretence, a Cloak
to our Folly, or Sloth, or indulged Vices; which,
when they have all of them been wilful and af-
fected, we palliate and excuse, by taking Sanctuary
very improperly, in the Infirmities of Humane
Nature, the Imperfections and Failings of the best
Men, and the Impossibility and Impracticableness
of the Duties imposed upon us.
Of the Common People.

By the Common People, here, we are not to understand all that have no part in the Government, and whose only business is to obey; but I mean the rout and vulgar crowd, the dregs and rubbish of the common-wealth; men of a mean, slavish, and mechanical spirit and condition, let them cover, or call, or set themselves off how they will. Now, this is a many-headed monster; such as cannot be described in a little compass; inconstant and changeable, restless and rolling, like the waves of the sea; they are ruffled and calmed, they approve and disapprove the self-same thing, in a moment of time: Nothing in the world can be more easy, than to manage and turn this bawble which way and into what form you please; they laugh or cry, are angry or pleas'd, or in any other passion, just as one would have them; they love not war for the sake of its end, nor peace for the sake of the quiet it brings, but they are fond both of the one and the other; because each is new, and always makes some change. Confusion puts them upon desiring order; and when they are composed, they hate order and regularity then, as much as they did confusion before. They are perpetually running from one extreme to another; fond of contraries; all seasons and times are lost to them, except what is not; for

\[H h 2\]
they feed only upon the Future. † These (says one) are the Qualities, This the constant Custom and Practice of the Common People, to hate and decry the Present, to be eager and desirous of the Future; extravagantly to commend and extol Things and Times that are past.

They are credulous and busy, apt to entertain and pick up all manner of News, but especially such as is ill and disastrous; and whatever they hear reported, they take it for granted must needs be true; Let a Man but come provided with some fresh Story, and give it out that it is so, and he shall whistle them together as thick as Swarms of Bees at the tinkling of a Brass Pan.

They are Injudicious, Unreasonable, Indiscreet; All their Wisdom and Judgment is perfect Chance, Cross or Pile, Even or Odd; They speak their Mind, and determine with great Positiveness and Fierceness; and are always stiff and peremptory in it. And all this while it is not any Opinion of their own, but that of other People; for they take all upon Trust, follow the Vogue and common Cry, are born away by Custom and Numbers, and run like Sheep; because they are led, and others have gone before them; not because the Thought is reasonable, or the Thing true in itself. * There is no such thing as Judgment or Truth to be met with among the Vulgar; for they discern nothing. They are persuaded frequently by common Opinion, but very seldom by the Truth of the Thing.

They are envious and malicious, Enemies to good Men, Detectors of Virtue; They look upon

† Hi vulgi mores odisse, praesentia, ventura cupere, pravissim celebrare

* Plebi non Judicium, non Veritas. Ex Opinione multa, et Veritate paucis judicat.
Chap. 52. Of the Common People.

the Wealth and Prosperity, the Successes and Advancements of others, with a jealous and an evil Eye. They always take the weakeft and the worst Side; give countenance to Knaves, and hate Persons of Honour and Quality, without knowing any manner of Reason for it, except that One, that they are higher and better than Themselves, more esteem'd, and well spoken of.

They are treacherous, false, and disloyal; they magnifie every Report, enlarge and aggravate what is true, and make every thing Ten times more and greater than it really is: You never know where nor when to have them: The Promise or Fidelity of the Mobb, is like the Thought of a Child, born and gone in an Instant; They change, not only as their Interest changes, but are blown and carry'd about to every Quarter, with the next Blaft of idle Report, or vain Surmise; and every Hour of the Day makes a new Alteration in their Opinions and Affections.

They are eternally * disposed to Mutiny and Faction, Troublesome, and fond of Change; mortal Enemies to Peace, and Order, and Concord; but especially, when they get any Body to Head or Lead them on, for then they are inolent and insupportable. Like the Sea, which is smooth and calm by Nature, but when put into Agitation by the Winds, it swells, and curls, and foams, and roars; just so the Madness of the People is blown up, and bears down all with the impetuous Torrent. And again, Take off their Ring-leaders, and they fall flat before you, are all in Disorder and Confusion, and quite dead with Fear, and Terroure, and Aftonishment;

† Ingenio mobili, seditionis, discordiosum, cupidum rerum novarum, quieti & otio adversum.
Of Wisdom. Book I.

7. They countenance and support busie troublesome Fellows, and admire those most who are ever blaming, and disturbing the Administration of Affairs. Modesty passes with Them for Cowardice, and prudent Caution for Stupidity and Heaviness. On the contrary, Fierceness and blind Fury is commended and ador'd, under the specious, but false Titles of Courage and Bravery. Those that have hot Heads, and itching Hands, are preferr'd by Them infinitely before Men of sound Judgment, that weigh things nicely, and never proceed but upon mature Deliberations. And flashy prating Coxcombs take more with them, than plain, reserved Persons, of solid and sober Sense.

8. They have no regard at all for the publick Good, nor for Virtue or Decency, but all their Thoughts center in private and Personal Advantage; they look no higher nor farther than Themselves, and take up unaccountable Piques at Those that oppose their Profit. All their Diligence is mercenary, all their Zeal is sordid; nothing is so vile, but Profit will reconcile them to it. *Every Man hath a private Spar within, and the Honour or Benefit of the Publick is of no Regard or Concern with them.*

9. They are perpetually growling and repining at the Government; ready to burst with Discontent, and venting their supposed Grievances in all manner of insolent and base Language; aspersing Those that are set over them, and loading them with the most virulent Reproaches. Men of low Condition and small Fortunes comfort Themselves this

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*Sine rectora præceps, pavidus, focors; nil auctura Plebs Principibus amotis.*

† *Privata cuique stimulatio, vile decus publicum.*
Chap. 52. Of the Common People.

way: It is almost the only Pleasure they find to speak ill of the Rich, and the Great; and This, not because they have any just Provocation, or Reason so to do, but purely out of Envy and Ill-nature, which never sufferers them to rest satisfied with their Governours, and the present Posture of Affairs.

But they are all Talk and Froth; without Matter, without Reason; their Minds never advance, nor stir one step; their Tongues are always in action, and never lie still. They are a sort of Monster, made up of nothing but Tongue; in all, and know Nothing; prying into every thing, and yet blind, and see nothing; any thing pleases and makes them laugh, and any thing discomfits and makes them cry. They are always in readiness for Mutiny and Rebellion, Bluff, and Swagger, and threaten; but these forward Men in Design and Discourse, take care to sleep in a whole Skin, and are the backwaresh in Fight, and upon the Approach of Danger. For their Property is, to be always struggling to shake off their Yoke, and much better at trying for Liberty, than keeping it when they have it. ↑ The Temper of the Scare. Mobile, (say the Roman Historians very truly.) so Tacit. Scurviness and Insolence; their Tongues are fierce and talkative, their Courage when it comes to tryal, Tameness and mere Nothing; and all the Bravery they put on, ends in empty Boasts and Bullying.

They never know when to give over, but are always running into Extremes; absolute Strangers to Moderation and Decency. Either you have them cringing, and fawning, and descending to the vilest and basest Submission of Slaves; or else insolent, and tyrannical, and domineering, beyond

*Procacia plebis Ingenia, Impigrae Lingue, Ignavi Animi.*
all Measure, beyond all Patience. They cannot endure the Rein when gently manag’d; nor be content to enjoy a reasonable Liberty, and such Indulgences and Terms as are fit for them; but are eternally either flying out, or falling under their Rider: Too confident, or too distrustful of their own Strength; too bold, or too tame; transport’d with Hope, or quite dispirited with Fear. They always bring Matters to this Issue, that if you do not make Them stand in awe of You, they will make You stand in awe of Them. When once you have humbled and terrify’d Them soundly, you may give them a Bit and a Knock, put out their Eyes, trample upon their Necks; nothing is so reproachful, but they will bear it. But if you do not hew them the Rod, and make them sensible who is their Driver, they grow proud, and daring, and turbulent. There is no such thing as Ingenuity, or a Sense of good Usage to be expected from them; and hence comes that Proverb, commonly apply’d to those churlish Wretches, that grow upon Them, who treat them gently, and would win them by Favour and Kindness. Stroke Him and he’ll spurn You; spurn Him and he’ll stroke You. * The Vulgar know no Mean; they affright unless they fear; and when they are in fear, they may be safely despised. † They are troublesome bold, when out of Apprehension of a stronger Hand; the humblest Servant, or the haughtiest Masters: But for Liberty and Moderation, they pretend to value them most, but know bow to practise and enjoy them least.

* Nil in vulgo modicum, terrere nisi paveant, ubi pertinue-rint impune contemni.
† Audaci turbidum nisi vim metuat; aut servit humiliter, aut superbè dominatur; libertatem, qua media, nec spernere, nec habere.

They
Chap. 52. Of the Common People.

They are scandalous more especially for Ingratitude to their best and most generous Benefactors. The Thanks and Recompence which those Great Men have generally met with, that expended their Blood, and Treasure, and Labours in the Service of the Publiek, and have deserved most at their Hands, are Banishment, or Disgrace; an open Accusation, or a general Calumny; a Conspiracy, or an untimely Death. Histories both Sacred and Profane furnish infinite Instances, and are more full of no One thing, than celebrated Examples of this kind. Moses, and all the Prophets; Socrates, Aristides, Phocion, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Themistocles, and many other venerable Names in Antiquity, are lasting indelible Monuments of this base Disposition. Nay, Truth is self told the Jews, that not any of Them who made it their Business to promote the Happiness and Salvation of that People, had escaped the Malice and Violence of Them or their Forefathers. But quite contrary, those that oppress, and keep them under, they cherish and make much of; fear and admire all they do; when the loss of Power and Freedom hath depress'd their Minds, and made them servile too.

In short; The Mob is a savage Beast; all its Thoughts are Vanity, its Opinions and Assertions erroneous and false; the Good is commonly rejected and condemned, the Evil approved and applauded by them. The Commendations they give are Infamous, and their Projects and Undertakings, Folly. For Seneca hath told us long since, that *Matters are not so well with Mankind, as that most Voices should be on the best side. For the common Crowd is a shrewd Argument that what is so liked is very bad.* In short, the Rabble is the Mother of Ignorance,

* Non tam bene cum rebus humanis geritur, ut meliora pluribus placeant; Argumentum pessimi turba effit.

Injustice,
Of Wisdom. Book I.

Injustice, Inconstancy, and Adorer of Vanity; and the studying to please them can never turn to true Account. They give indeed for their Motto, *The Voice of the People is the Voice of God*: But we may say very truly, *The Voice of the People is the Voice of Foolish and Mistaken Men*. And one of the first Principles of Wisdom, is to wash one's Hands, and get quite dispossess of all popular and general Opinions, and to proceed clearly, and without any manner of Byas or Prejudice, in our Enquiries after Truth and Virtue. This will be quickly illustrated in our Second Book; toward which we are now drawing on apace.
The Fourth Distinction of Men, taken from their different Professions, Circumstances, and Manner of Living.

PRE FACE.

We are now about to take another Difference between Some Men and Others, into Consideration; which depends upon their different Professions, Conditions, and Ways of Life. Some follow a Life of Business and Company; Others avoid This, and make their Escape out of the World, by running into Solitude. Some are fond of Arms and a Camp; Others hate and abhor them: Some have their Substance in Common; Others have their own distinct Properties. Some are fond of Offices and Employments, and would fain live in Publick, and be conspicuous in the World; Others decline These when they might have them, and affect to live privately and unobserved. Some are absolute Courtiers to every Body, and upon all Occasions; Others regard and make Court to nothing but Themselves. Some prefer the Diversions of the Town, and Others the Pleasures of the Country. It is not ease, nor is it indeed at all necessary and pertinent to our present Purpose, that I should take upon me to determine which of all these Men is most to be commended for the Wisdom of his Choice; for every one of these Ways of Living hath its Advantages and
and Disadvantages; some particular Good, and some Evil, that attends, and is not to be separated from it: That which would be much more worth our Consideration and Pains, is to inform each of These in his Duty; for the main Point of all is, that this Choice be wisely made, and so as may suit best with every one’s Temper and Abilities; and then after he hath chosen, that the Man be instructed how to make himself the most easy under it, and to make the best Improvement of it that the Case will bear. This must be our Business hereafter; but at present we will say just one single Word of each of these Conditions, and compare them a little with one another. Only permit in the first place, that I make some short Observations upon That Life which is common to Men in all Capacities, and which may be distinguished into Three Sorts or Degrees.

CHAP. LIII.

The Three Sorts or Degrees of Life, as it is common to the Generality of Men, distinguished and compared together.

It is easy to observe three distinct Sorts, and as it were Degrees of Life, common to Men in general. One Private, in which every Man is unavoidably concern’d; for by this I mean only what passes with each Man’s Self, within, and in regard to his Own Breast. The Second is Domestic, in one’s Own House and Family, with regard to what passes at Home, and in our ordinary Course of Affairs. The Third is Publick, and respects what is exposed to the common View of the World. In the First of these there is no manner of Restraint; in
the Second no Pains or Study to recommend his Behaviour, as being not accountable for our own Management to Them that live under our own Roof and Government; but all the Reserve, d Artifice, and Diffimulation is in a manner appropriated to the last of These. Now it is much more difficult to be regular and exact in the first of these Degrees, than in either of the other; and the samples of Persons that are, or have been so, have in infinitely fewer; and so in proportion the less stands with the Second too, in comparison of the Third sort. The Reason is obvious and evident. or where there is no Body to judge, or control, or puntermand; nay, where there is not so much as Spectator to observe our Actions; where we have no Apprehension of Punishment for doing amiss, no Expectation of Reward for doing well, we are much more remiss and careless in our Behaviour. Reason and Conscience are here the only Guides we have to follow; and although These may become Check, yet that is not comparable to the Restraints we feel, when placed in open View, and made the common Mark of All, who must needs see, and will take a Freedom of censuring our Actions. Applause and Glory, fear of Scandal and Reproach, or some other Passion of the like Nature, are much more powerful Motives; these carry and manage us after a very different manner. (And indeed the greatest part of Mankind are more govern'd by Passions of this Nature, than by any strict Sense of Duty, and regard to Virtue) These put us upon our Guard, and teach us Prudence upon force. And from the Influence of These it is, that many People have the Reputation of Holy and Excellent Persons; and behave Themselves as such in the Eye of the World; who yet in reality, and at the bottom, are mere Hypocrites, stark nought, and rotten at the Core, and have not one commendable Quality.
Quality belonging to them. What passes before Men is all Farce and Counterfeit; we put it on for Convenience, and are concern'd to appear thus to the Spectators; but the Truth of us is conceal'd, and the Man can have no true Judgment made of him, but from what he does in private and alone. We must see him in his constant and every-day's Dress, and strip him of those Ornaments that set him off when he comes abroad: We must know his Temper and his usual Department, for all the rest is Fiction and Constrain.

* All the World are Actors, and play their Parts to please the Audience. And it was well observ'd by a Wise Man, That none are good, except such as are to inwardly, and by Themselves: And that Virtue is always the same; as cautious, as prudent upon the account of Conscience, as it is in Obedience to the publick Laws and Customs of the World; as fearful of offending one's own Self, and as careful to avoid the Condemnation of one's own Breed, when no Eye sees us, as it is of the Observation and Reproaches of all Mankind. Publick Actions, such as Exploits in War, delivering an Opinion in Senate or Council, discharging an Embassy, governing a Nation, or the like, are bright and loud; every Body sees, every Body hears of them; and therefore These are perform'd with all possible Diligence and Circumspection; but such Private and Domestick ones, as Chiding, Laughing, Selling and Buying, Borrowing and Paying, and Conversing with our own Families, and most intimate Acquaintance, are silent and dark; they make no Noise, fear no Discovery, and are therefore thought worthy very little; or not any Attention or Consideration at all. Nay, we are sometimes scarce h

* Universus mundus exercet histrianism.
Chap. 53. The Three Sorts of Life compar'd.

much as sensible of them when we do them. And if in These, Men be so unthinking, a little Reflection will soon convince us, that they are infinitely more so, in Those yet more secret and merely internal; such as Loving, Hating, Desiring, of which none is or can be conscious, but their own Minds.

There is one Thing more, fit to be observed upon this Occasion, and a very sad and wicked Thing it is (viz.) That Men, being depraved by a kind of Hypocrisy, natural to them, have taught Themselves and Others to make a greater Conscience, and be infinitely more scrupulous and concern'd, for their outward Behaviour; (which consists in Shew, and Form, and is perfectly free and at their own Disposal, of no Consequence in the World, but all over Set-Countenance and Ceremony, Things of no real Difficulty, and as little Substance and Effect) than they are for inward Miscarriages, or private Actions; (such as are buried in Secrecy, and make no Figure, but yet are highly Expedient and Necessary, very Valuable in Themselves, and therefore very Difficult.)

For upon these Last, the Reforming of our Souls, the Moderating of our Passions, and the Regulating our whole Life and Conversation depends. And yet the Former are not only preferred before them in our Care and Concern, but the Matter is so ordered, that even They who find themselves well disposed, will by constant Study and Solicitude to discharge those outward Actions punctually, degenerate into Formality of Course, and by insensible Degrees grow Cold, and Negligent, in their Regard for the others.

Now, of all these Sorts, it is plain, that the Men (as Hermits for Instance) who live in perfect Solitude, and have but One of these Three, That of the Internal and most private Life only to take
Of Wisdom. Book I.

take Care of, are upon better Terms, and have an
easier Task to discharge, than Those that have
Two; and so likewise he that hath the Domestick
Care added to the former, and so lies under a Du-
ty in Two Capacities, is exposed to less Difficulty
than the Persons of a Publick Life and Character,
upon whom the Care of all the Three Degrees is
incumbent.

C H A P. LIV.

A Life of Company and Business, compar'd
with one of Retirement and Solitude.

They that upon all Occasions recommend and
cry up a Solitary Life, are so far certainly in
the Right, that it is an Excellent Means of Eafe
and Quiet; a sure Retreat from the Hurry and
Troubles of the World; a very proper and ef-
ficacious Defence against the Vices and Extrava-
gances of a profligate Age; which are commonly
propagated by Infection and Example; and are
very likely to Spread and Reign, where much the
greater Part of those we converse with, are already
tainted with the Disease. For not One in a Thou-
sand is Vertuous and Good; the Number of Fools
is Infinite, and the thicker the Crowd, the greater
the Danger. Thus far, I say, they have Reason
on their Side; for ill Company is certainly one
of the most fatal and ensnaring Things in the
World; and that, not only in Regard of the Cor-
rupition, but of the Punishment and Vengeance it
exposes Men to. Accordingly we may observe how
very careful Men that went to Sea, used to be, that
no Blasphemer or profane Person should embark in
the
the same Vessels, no profligate, wicked Wretch to endanger their Safety, or render their Voyage Dif-
"afrorous or Unsuccessful. One single Jonas you see, whom God was angry with, had like to have lost all 
the Ship’s Crew: And Bias, when some wicked 
Wretches call’d upon their Gods in a Storm, made 
them this ingenious Reproof by way of Rallery, 
Hold your Peace, that they may not discover such vile 
Wretches as you are on board. Albuquerque, who was 
Viceroy of the Indies under Emanuel, King of Por-
tugal, when in extreme Danger, laid hold on a 
young Boy, and clung fast to him, that so his In-
ocence might be a Shelter and Sanctuary to him, 
against the Wrath of God. So beneficial hath Virtue 
been esteemed, and so destructive Vice, not only 
to the Guilty, or the Vicious Persons themselves, 
but to all that are concerned with them, or come 
within the Reach of their Influence.

But yet to esteem a Life thus retired and at a 
Distance from Evil, absolutely the Best, and most 
Excellent; to think it better qualify’d than any 
other, for the Exercise and Perfection of Virtue; 
to call it more Difficult and Unpleas’d, more La-
borious and Painful than any other, as some who 
extol a voluntary renouncing the World, would 
fain persuade us to believe, is a mighty Error in 
themselves, or a gross Cheat upon other People. 
For, quite contrary, it is the most effectual Expe-
dient of throwing off the Cares and troublesome 
Incumbrances of Life, and rendering it light and 
easie; and to say the very Best of it, is but a ve-
ry mean and moderate Attainment, an imperfect 
Beginning, or rather a mere Disposition to be Vir-
tuous. It is, not to meddle with Business, to aban-
don Difficulties and Troubles; But how is this 
done? It is not by engaging with, and bravely 
overcoming them, but by cowardly running away, 
declining the Combate, and hiding one’s self from 

I i them.
them. It is to play least in Sight, and be buried alive, for fear we should not live well when we are seen. No Doubt is to be made, but a Prince, a Magistrate, or Parochial Priest, are more perfect, more valuable, when Good in their kind, than Monks and Hermits: For in truth, such Societies and Seminaries were only design’d to prepare Men for Dignities and Business; to qualify them for Society and the World. And Colleges and Cloisters do not give, but only lead Men to Usefulness and Perfection. He that maintains his Post in the World, and satisfies the Duty which the several Relations and Capacities he stands in require from him; that converses with Wife, and Children, and Servants, and Neighbours, and Friends; that manages his own Estate, and engages in Business fit for his Condition; He, I say, that undertakes to act so many different Parts, and to answer the several Characters as becomes him, hath incomparably more Work upon his Hands, and is infinitely more Valuable, if he perform it, than the Recluse, who is determined to one single thing, and hath only the Duty to himself to take care of. For Company and Variety of Conversation is infinitely more hazardous, than Solitude; and Plenty much harder to manage than Want. In a State of Abstinence, and Freedom from Business, a Man hath but one Pass to guard; in the Use and Management of several Things, many Considerations must be attended to, many Duties discharged, and he lies open to Attacks from several Quarters at once. And there is no Doubt in the World to be made, but a Man may much more easily conquer Himself to disclaim and refuse Riches, and Honours, great Offices and gainful Preferments, than he can govern himself in the Use, or come off with Virtue and just Commendation in the Discharge of them. It is no very difficult Matter to live without a Wife, but
but to live with a Wife, and behave oneself in all Respects, as a Husband ought to do; to order and educate Children, and bear due Regard, and make fit Provisions for a Family, and all its Dependencies; is a Task Men seldom give themselves the trouble to consider. But they that do, and make a right Judgment of it, will be very far from extolling Celibacy, as some do, or think it an Argument of higher Virtue, or a State of greater Difficulty than Marriage.

2. Nor are Men less mistaken, when they suppose that Solitude is a safe Shelter from all manner of Vice; and that He, who takes Sanctuary in it, and sequesters himself from the World, rides in Harbour, and is out of the Reach of Tempests and Temptations; for these find a way to pursue, and overtake us even there. This is indeed a Convenient Retreat from the Corruptions of ill Company; from the Clutter and Crowd of Cares and Business, and the Mischiefs that threaten and come upon us from Without; but there are other Enemies and Dangers from Within, which we always carry about us, and cannot run away from, Spiritual and Internal Difficulties, Domestick and pecuniary Evils; and the Scripture takes express Notice, that the Wilderness was the Place, where our Saviour was Assaulted, and Tempted by the Devil. Retirement is a dangerous Weapon in the Hands of Young Men; such as are Hot and Impudent, Rash and Unskilful; and there is great Reason to fear, that, what Crates said to a Young Man whom he found walking all alone, is generally true of such Persons; and that such, when they are by Themselves, are in very bad Company. This is the Place where Fools lay their wicked Projects; here they find Leisure and Opportunities for contriving their own Ruine; here they cherish and indulge unlawful Desires; file, and polish, and refine upon their own Passions, without Observation,
without Controul. A Man had need be very Wise, to know how to make the best Use of Privacy; watchful and well forty’d, before he is fit to be trusted with Himself; for many times ones Own Hands, are the very Worst he can be put into. It is an excellent Petition, which the Spaniards use, even to a Proverb, * O Lord, I beseech thee, preserve me from My Self. Very few indeed, have discretion enough to be left to Themselves, and nothing is so bad, but Secrecy and Solitude, are powerful Temptations to comply with it. But for Men to take up their Heels, and skulk in a Corner, upon any Private and Personal Consideration, though it be a lawful and commendable one in it self, which yet is the best, and not always the Truth of the Case (for very often Cowardice, and Weakness of Spirit, Peevishness and Pets, or some other discontented or vicious Passion is at the Bottom of all this pompous and pretended Contempt of the World) is to turn Deserter, and not dare to stand to our Arms. There is a mighty Difference between forsaking the World, and falling out with it; between conquering, and not hazarding our Persons in the Engagement. And when Men are in a Capacity of becoming beneficial to Others, and may be Instruments of Great and General Good, to excuse Themselves from serving the Publick, and abandon all Society when they might adorn and be useful in it, is to betray their Trust, to bury their Talent in a Napkin; to hide the Candle, which God hath lighted, under a Bushel, when the setting it on a Candle-Stick, might enlighten others, and do great Service to all that are in the House. It requires then much Deliberation, and many uncommon Circumstances, to give Men a

* Guara mi, Dios de mi.
Nemo est ex imprudentibus, qui sibi relinquui debeat. Solitudo omnia persuadat.
Chap. 55. Of a Life in Common and Distinct. 485

Right thus to dispose of Themselves. And they who presume to do it merely out of private Considerations, and make the Publick no part of their Concern, are so far from deserving to be applauded for their Virtue and Renunciation, that they are guilty of a great Fault, and liable to very just and severe Censure.

C H A P. LV.

A Life in Common, compared with That of distinct Properties.

Some Persons have been of Opinion, that a Life, where all Things are in Common, and there is no such Distinction as Mine or Thine, hath the greatest Tendency to Perfection, and is best accommodated for the cherishing and maintaining of Charity and Concord, and Union among Men. But Experience shews us daily, that whatever Conveniencies it may really have of this kind, yet are they not so great, nor so effectual to the Purposes before-mention’d, as those Persons have imagined. For in the first Place, whatever Appearance there may be outwardly of Kindness and good Agreement, yet there is no such Thing as an entire and hearty Affection, nor the same tender Regards for That which is in Common, as a Man finds where he alone is concern’d. To this purpose it is, that we have two Proverbs, The College Horse is always ill saddled, and Every Body’s Business, is No Body’s Business. Men consider, that Others are equally concern’d in the Care, and in the Damage; that the Loss is not immediately their own, and that each Member of the Society stands in that respect equal-
Of Wisdom. 

Book I.

ily related to them, and that begets a Coldness and Indifferency among them. But, which is a great deal worse, this State does naturally produce Quarrels and Discontents, Murmuring and mutual Hatred; every Community is but too full a Demonstration of it, and the very Holiest and Best that ever was, the Primitive Church itself, could not, you see, be exempted from the Misfortune. For, though the Institution design all Things should be equal, yet unless you could make the Desires of the Persons so too, they will always be full of Complaints, and Jealous, that some are preferred, and others neglected; like the Grecians and their Widows in the Daily Distributions. The Nature of Love, is like that of Great Rivers; which, while they continue united in one Stream are Navigable, and carry Vessels of Vast Burden; but if you cut them into fresh Channels, and divide the Water, they are no longer Serviceable in that kind; and thus, when Men's Affections are divided, and parted, as it were among a great many Objects, not any one of those Persons or Things is of very tender Concern; for all the Force and Vigour of the Passion is scattered and broke to Pieces. Now, in a Life of Community, there are several Degrees; To live, that is, to eat and drink together at a common Table, is very decent and well, (Thus we find it practised in some of the best and most ancient Commonweals, as Lacedemon and Crete particularly) such publick Meals are very useful for the teaching Men to be modest and reserved, and keeping up Discipline, Society, and Good Order; and they do also minister occasion for great variety of very useful and improving Discourse. But to think of pulling up the Fences and Inclosures, and lay all in Common, is a wild Imagination. Plato was once of this Opinion, but he thought better of it afterwards. And indeed the Project would
Chap. 56. Of a Town and a Country Life.

would be so far from reconciling and uniting All, that the certain Consequence of it would be to overturn and confound All.

C H A P. LVI.

A Town and a Country Life compared together.

This is a Comparison very easie for any Man who is a true Lover of Wisdom, to make; for almost all the Advantages lie on one side. The Pleasures and Conveniences both of Body and Mind, Liberty, Contemplation, Innocence, Health, and Delight. In the Country a Man's Mind is free and easie; discharg'd, and at his own Disposal: But in the City the Persons of Friends and Acquaintance, one's own and other People's Business, foolish Quarrels, ceremonious Visits, impertinent Discourse, and a Thousand other Fopperies and Diversions steal away the greatest part of our Time, and leave no Leisure for better and more necessary Employment. What infinite Perplexities, Avocations, Distractions of the Mind, and, which is worst of all, what abominable Debaucheries, and Depravation of Manners does such a Life expose Men to? Great Towns are but a larger sort of Prisons to the Soul, like Cages to Birds, or Pounds to Beasts. This Celestial Fire within us will not endure to be shut up, it requires Air to brighten and make it burn clear; which made Columella say, that a Country Life is Cousin-German to Wisdom: for a Man's Thoughts cannot be idle; and when they are set loose from the World, they will range and expatiate freely in noble and profitable Meditations. But how shall a

Man
Man hope to command his Thoughts, or pretend to call them his Own, in the midst of all the Clutter, and Business, the Amusements, nay the Confusions of the Town? A Country Life is infinitely more plain, and innocent, and disposed to Purity and Virtue. In Cities Vice assembles in Troops; the very Commonness of it makes it unobserv'd; it hardens and reconciles us to the Practice, Example, and Custom; and the meeting with it at every Turn, makes the thing familiar; and thus the Disease seizes us strongly and presently, and we are gone all on the sudden, by living in the midst of the Infection. Whereas in the Country, those Things are seen or heard with Abhorrence and Amazement, which the Town sees and does every Day without Remorse or Concern. As for Pleasure and Health, the clear Air, the Warmth and Brightness of the Sun, not polluted with the Sultry Gleams, and loathsome Stenches of the Town; the Springs and Waters, the Flowers and Groves, and, in short, All Nature is free, and easie, and gay; The Earth unlocks her Treasures, refreshes us with her Fruits, feasts every Sense, and gives us such Entertainment, as Cities know nothing of, in the stifling press of Houses; so that to live there, is to shut one's self up, and be banish'd from the World. Besides all this, a Country Retirement is more active and fit for Exercise; and this creates an Appetite, preserves and restores Health and Vigour, hardens the Body, and makes it lusty and strong. The greatest Commendation of the Town is, Convenience for Business and Profit. It is indeed the Seat of Trade and private Gain, and therefore fit to be the Darling of Merchants and Artificers: And it is the Place accommodated to Publick Administrations; but this latter but a very small part of Mankind are call'd to, or capable of. And History tells us, that heretofore excellent Persons were
Chap. 57. Of a Military Life.

were fetch'd out of the Country, to undertake Affairs of the greatest Importance; and as soon as they had finish'd these, they retir'd again with wonderful Delight, and made the Town not a Matter of Choice, but Necessity and Constraint: This was the short Scene of Labour and Business to them; but the Country was the Seat of their Pleasure, and more constant Residence.

C H A P. LVII.

Of a Military Life.

The Profession and Employment of a Soldier, if we respect the Cause and Original Design of it, is very worthy and honourable; for it pretendst to protect the Safety, and promote the Grandeur of one's native Country; to preserve it in Peace, and guard it from the Insults of Enemies abroad, and turbulent Spirits at home; than which nothing can be more just, nothing more universally beneficial. It is also noble and great in the Execution of this Design: For Courage, which is its proper Quality and Character, is the bravest, most generous, most Heroick of all Virtues; And of all Humane Actions and Exploits, Those of War are the most celebrated and pompous; insomuch that the Titles and Ensigns of Honour, borrow their Names from, and are assign'd as Rewards to Them. It hath also many Pleasures peculiar to it; the Conversation of Men of the first Quality, in heat of Youth, and full of Fire and Activity; the being familiarly acquainted with strange Accidents, and wonderful entertaining Sights; freedom of Behaviour, and Converse without Trick or Art; a Masculine
culine and hardy way of living, above Ceremony or Form; Variety of Attempts and Successes: The moving Harmony of warlike Musick, which entertains the Ears, charms all the Senses, warms the Soul, and inspires it with Valour; the Gracefulness of Motion and Discipline, that transport and delight us with a pleasing Horrour; that Storm of Shouts and Alarms, which the louder it grows, the more ravishing and animating it is; and the roaring Ordinance of so many Thousand Men that fall on with incredible Fury and Eagerness.

But when all these, and as many more Excellencies as its most zealous Patrons can attribute to this Calling, have been allow'd, every reasonable Man must acknowledge on the other hand, that the Plundering, Undoing, Murdering one another, and especially the making these a Matter of Art, and Study; a Science and a Commendation, seems highly unnatural, and the effect of Barbarity and Madness. Nothing is a stronger Evidence against Mankind, of their Weakness, and Imperfection, and foul Degeneracy; for it sets us below the very Brutes themselves, in the most savage of which the Original Impressions of Nature are not defac'd to this scandalous Degree. What an infinite Folly, what an execrable Rage is it, to create all this Disturbance, and turn the World upside-down, to encounter and run thro' so many Hazards by Sea and Land, for a Prize so very doubtful and full of Chance, as the Event of a Battle? Why should we make Campaigns abroad, and turn Volunteers to foreign Princes, to run with so much Eagerness and Appetite after Death, (which may be found, nay, which of its own accord meets us at home, and offers itself every where) and that without proposing to our selves so much as decent Burial? To fall on, and kill Men that we have no Spite, no Resentment against; nay, Men that are abso-
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But Strangers, and whom we never saw in all our Lives? Why this mighty Heat and Fury, to one that hath done thee no hurt, given thee no pro-

ocation? What a Madness is it to venture Loss of Limbs and Blood, Wounds and Bruises, which when they do not take Life quite away, make it sub-

ject to Remedies and Pains a Thousand times more grievous and insupportable than Death? Had you Obligations of Duty and Conscience, it were another Matter; but to do this for Breeding and Fame; to sacrifice and destroy one's self for a Man that you never saw, who hath no manner of Tenderness or Concern for you; and only strives to mount upon the dead or maim'd Body, that he may stand a little higher, and enlarge his own Prospect; Nothing but very weighty Reasons, and the necessary Defence of all that is dear to us, can make such an Undertaking prudent and commendable: And in such Cases all personal Considerations ought to be despised as much as otherwise they are fit to be valued. And I hope too, the Reader takes notice all along, that I speak of those who choose the Trade for Mercenary Ends, or out of false Notions of Gallantry; and not with any Intention to discourage the Duty of Subjects to their Prince, whose just Quarrels they ought always to account their Own.
The Fifth and Last Difference between Some Men and Others; taken from the Advantages and Disadvantages, by which Nature or Fortune hath distinguished them.

PREFACE.

This Last Distinction is abundantly notorious, and visible to every Eye; It hath indeed several Branches and Considerations included under it; but all I think may be conveniently enough reduced to Two General Heads; which, according to the vulgar way of Expression, may be termed, Happiness and Unhappiness; being High or Low in the World. To that of Happiness or Greatness, belong Health, Beauty, and other Qualifications and Advantages of Body and Person, Liberty, Nobility, Honour, Authority, Learning, Riches, Reputation, Friends. In Unhappiness or Meaness of Condition are comprembenced the Contraries of all these, which, without naming particularly, we easily understand to be the privation or want of the Forrenion'd Advantages. Now these Particulars are the occasion of infinite variety in Men's Circumstances and Conditions of Life; for a Man may be happy in the Enjoyment of One, or Two, or Three of these Qualities, and yet not so in the rest; and even in
Of Liberty and Servitude.

Liberty passes in the Esteem of many for a most eminent Advantage, and Servitude for a very grievous Evil; so exceeding great, that some have rather chosen to Die, and that after a very barbarous and painful manner, than to be made Slaves or Captives; nay, rather than come into any danger of seeing their own, or their Country's Freedom and Properties infringed, or usurped upon. But as in all Other Cases of the like Nature, so in this also, there may be a very Criminal Excess of Part.
Partiality, and a fanciful Fondness of what we deservedly have a high esteem for. There is in truth a Twofold Liberty: the true and proper sort is That of the Mind; for This is in every Man's own Keeping and Disposal, no Body can wrest it out of our Hands, nothing can impair or encroach upon it, not even the Tyranny of Fortune it self. On the other side, The Bondage of the Mind is the heaviest, and most wretched of all others; to live a Slave to one's Appetites and Lufts; to lie down in our Chains, and let our Passions prey upon us; to be led by the Nose by Prejudice, and Error, and Superstition: Oh This! This is a miserable Captivity indeed. The Liberty of one's Person is really valuable, but still that lies at the Mercy of Fortune. And as valuable as it is, yet (unless it be attended with some very uncommon Circumstance to enhance its Worth) there can never be Justice or Reason in giving it the Preference above Life it self; as some of the Ancients have done, who chose to suffer, nay, to inflict Death, and make it the Work of their Own Hands upon Themselves, rather than not die free: And even of this (to me seeming) Extravagance we find large Commendations, as if it were a more exalted Virtue than ordinary, so very dreadful Notions had they then of Slavery. *It is (says One of them) the Obedience of an enfeebl'd and despicable Soul, that hath parted with its own Will. And yet as vile as they represent this State, very great and very wise Men have liv'd in it; as Regulus, Valerian, Plato, Epictetus; and have had the Misfortune too of very wicked, unjust, and barbarous Masters; and yet they have never brought any dishonourable Reflections upon their Virtues, or thought Themselves one

* Servitus obedientia est fratri & abjici Animi, arbitrio carentis suo.
Of Nobility.

Nobility is a Quality or Distinction receiv'd and valued in all Parts of the World: It is a Mark and an Attractive of Honour and Respect, instituted and brought into Use for very good Reasons, and much to the Benefit of the Publick.

It is not everywhere the same; but differently reputed, and taken in divers Senses, according to the different Judgments of Men, and the Customs of it. Of the Countries where they live. From hence we find several Sorts or Species of it pretended to; but according to the common and most general Notion of the thing, it is the Quality of a Man's Family. Aristotle calls it, the Antiquity of the Family, and the long Continuance of an Estate in it. Plutarch terms it the Virtue of the Family; meaning by this, some certain Character, and particular good Quality, for which our Ancestors were eminent, and which hath been propagated in Succession, and is continu'd in the several Descendants of that House. Now what this Quality is in particular, which should merit such a Distinction, hath not been agreed on all hands. Some, and indeed the greater part, will have it to be Achievements in War; others add, or equal to this, Politick and Civil Prudence; whereby Men become necessary to the State by their Counsels, as the former do in the
the Field: To These have likewise been added Eminence in Learning, and particular Offices in the Courts of Princes, as Accomplishments thought fit and sufficient to distinguish a Man's Family, and derive Honour down upon Those that descend from him. But I think it must be acknowledged by all considering Persons, that the Military Honours have the Advantage, and deserve a Preference above all the rest, both because the Qualities of this kind are most serviceable to the State in its greatest Exigencies and Distresses; and because it is the most painful and laborious, and exposes Men's Persons to the greatest and most apparent Dangers. From whence it is, that a particular Veneration and Respect, a louder Applause and Commendation is allowed universally to Them; and that These by way of Eminence and Privilege, have attain'd to that distinguishing Character of Valour or Worth. Now according to this Opinion, Two things are necessary, and must both contribute as Ingredients to the Composition of that which is the True and Perfect Nobility. First, There must be the Profession and Appearance of this Virtue or good Quality serviceable to the Publick, and this is as it were the Form; and then there must be the Family, in which, as in the Matter or proper Subject, this Quality is inherent; that is, there is requir'd a long uninterrupted Continuation of it, thro' several Descents, and Time out of mind. Hence, according to the vulgar Jargon, they are listed Gentlemen, that is, Persons who are Branches and Descendants of the same Blood, and House; bearing the same Name, and the same Profession of this distinguishing Quality, for several Generations. That Person then is truly, properly, and entirely Noble, who makes singular Profession of some Publick Virtue; that renders himself useful and remarkable in the Service of his Prince and his Country; and is
Chap. 59. Of Nobility.

prung from Relations and Ancestors, who have lone the same before him, in the respective Ages when they liv’d.

Some, it is true, have separated these two Qualifications, and consider’d them apart; as being of Opinion, that one of these singly, that is, Personal Guish’d, is sufficient to entitle a Man to this Honour. They think it hard that Men should be excluded, merely upon Consideration of their Ancestors wanting the Excellencies, which they have render’d Themselves conspicuous for. Now This is a Personal and Acquir’d Nobility; and very valuable it is; but yet the Vogue and Custom of the World hath so far obtain’d, that They think it very hard too, for the Son of a Cobler, a Butcher, or a Plough-Man, to start up Noble, and be rank’d among the most Ancient Honours, let his Service to the Publick have been never so great and valuable. But yet this Opinion hath got good Footing in several Nations, and particularly among the Turks. For they have no regard at all to a Man’s Blood, the Nobility of his Ancestors, or the Antiquity of his Descendants; They look upon These Considerations to be full of unreasonable Partiality, Checks and Discouragements to Men’s Bravery; and therefore, to cherish the Inclinations of doing Gloriously, they lay the whole Stress upon Personal Performances and Accomplishments; and particularly upon Actual Courage, and those Excellencies that are purely Military. The other Part of this Distinction, is That which consists in the Antiquity of a Man’s Family only, where the Pretensions to Nobility are merely upon the Account of his Progenitors, without any Profession of such a Quality as was before mention’d and explain’d; and this is a Nobility which runs in the Blood, and is purely Natural.
Of Wisdom.

Book 1.

In his Generation: So extremely absurd, and contrary to all the Rules of Equity and Common Sense, is this extravagant Notion of Nobility, by Descent only. A Father by his Frugality and Prudence raised the Family; and therefore the Prodigal Son, who squanders all away, and beggars the Family, values himself upon the Prudence of his Father. A brave General deserved the first and best Promotion, and therefore his Great-Grandson, though a rank Coward, shall not only inherit his Titles and Estate, (in which there may be reason, because Men esteem Themselves rewarded by the Continuance of those external Forms and Honours to their Posterity) but this Coward shall really think himself a better Man than another brave Fellow with whom he converses, because his Great-Grandfather was brave. And yet, as extravagant as this Folly is in itself, it will be, and always hath been Epidemical. For Salut obsered even in his Time, *That Pride and a Disdainful Temper, was an Evil that usually went along with Quality and good Birth.

As for that other kind of Nobility, which is Personal and Acquired, the Condition of it is the very Reverse of the Former. It hath very excellent Qualities and Effects; It is peculiar to the Possessor; he hath a full and indisputable Title, and Merit hath made it all his Own: It cannot be dispensed promiscuously, nor fall upon a Man that will be a Dishonour to it; and It is of infinite Benefit and Advantage to all who converse, or can any way come to be concern'd with it. Nay, if we examine the Matter, it will be found that This hath the Advantage, even in the darling and so much-boasted Point of Antiquity too; and we are very sure, by sad Experience, that it is much

* Contemptus animus & superbia commune nobilitatis malum more
more rare and uncommon than the Natural. For from this it was, that the Natural first took its beginning; the so much celebrated Ancestors got their Nobility this way; and their degenerate Offspring are beholding to it in the Persons of Them, for all the Subject of their Vanity ever since. In short; This is real and substantial, it consists in Virtue, and Usefulness, and good Consequences to all Mankind; not empty, and dry, and a gay Idea; a Dream, and Creature of a deluded Imagination only: This proceeds from the Mind and the very Man, not from the Blood and Body; and Minds are the same; very whit as generous and great, and by Improvement and Industry frequently rendered more so in Others; tho' the Blood may differ, and not be Noble. *Who (says Seneca) is a Gentleman? The Man, whom Nature hath disposed, and as it were cut out for Virtue; this Man is well born indeed: For the Man wants nothing else to make him Noble, who hath a Mind so generous, that he can rise above, and triumph over Fortune, let his Condition of Life be what it will.

But these Two kinds dwell most amicably together, and often meet in the same Person, (as indeed there seems a great Aptitude and Disposition for them to do) and when they center thus in one Person, then the Nobility is perfect and complete. The Natural is an Introduction, an Occasion, a Spur to the Personal; for all things have a strong tendency, and very easily revert to their first and natural Principle. And as the Natural first took its Origine and Existence from the Personal, so it inclines and leads the Persons so descended to imitate, nay, to emulate the Glories of their Noble

* Quis generosus? Ad Virtutem à Naturà bene compositus, Animus facit nobilem, cui ex quacunque conditione supra fortunam liceat surgere.
Of Wisdom.

Progenitors. The Seeds of Virtue and Honour are in them already.

* In Sons Their Father's Virtues shine,
And Souls as well as Faces keep the Line.

This one Advantage is observable in being Nobly born, that it makes Men sensible they are ally'd to Virtue, and lays strong Obligations upon them not to degenerate from the Excellencies of their Ancestors. And sure there cannot be a more forcible Motive to spur and quicken Men in the pursuit of Glory, and the attempting Great and Noble Actions, than the being conscious to Themselves, that they are come out of the Loins of those very Persons, who have behaved themselves gallantly, served their King and Country, and been eminent and useful in their Generations. Is it possible Men can please Themselves with these Reflections to feed their Vanity, as it is manifest they do, and not think at the same time how vile and reproachful it is in Them, to bastardize and bely their Race, to serve only as a Foil to their Forefather's Virtues, and cast back Darkness and Disgrace upon the Lustre of their Memories?

Nobility granted by the particular Patent, and partial Favour of a Prince, without any Merit to give a Title to it, and neither personal Accomplishments, nor an ancient Family to support and set it off, is rather a Blemish and Mark of Shame, than of Honour. It is a poor, pitiful, Parchment-Nobility; bought to supply a needy King, or to feed a hungry Courtier; the Price of Silver and Gold, or the effect of Countenance and Access; not the purchase of Blood and Sweat, as such Honours ought to be. But if it be granted

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For any singular Desert, and signal good Services, when it falls not within the compass of this Notion; but is to be reputed personal and acquired, and hath a Right to all those Privileges and Commissions, which were said to belong to that sort of Nobility before.

C H A P. LX.

Of Honour.

It is the Notion of some, but a very mistaken Notion sure it is, That Honour is the proper Price and Recompense of Virtue. Others have a little corrected this Notion, by calling it, the Acknowledgment of Virtue in the Persons to whom we pay it, or the Prerogative of a good Opinion first, and then of those outward Respects, whereby we testify that good Opinion; for it is most certainly a Privilege that derives its Essence and Nature Principally from Virtue. Others call it Virtue's Shadow, which follows, or goes before it; as the Shadow does the Substance and Body from whence it is reflected. But, to speak more properly, it is the Splendor or Fame of brave and virtuous Actions, darted out from the Soul upon the Eyes of the World, and then rebounding back again upon our selves, by that Demonstration it gives of what others think of us, and the mighty Satisfaction of the Mind resulting from this Sense of their Good Esteem.

Now, Honour is so very highly esteemed, so very eagerly sought, that we generally balk no Difficulty to come at it. We endure any thing for its sake, despise every thing in Comparison of it; even Life itself is not thought a Purchase too
Of Wisdom.

Book I.

Dear to compass it. And yet after All, This is but a thin, airy Business, uncertain and fickle; foreign and at some distance from the Person receiving it, and the Things for which it is paid. It is not only not Essential to him, not any Part or Appurtenance of his Person, and Substance, but it scarce ever comes home to him. For, generally speaking, this Deference is given to Persons either Absent or Dead; and if Living, it is not accounted good Manners to praise them to their Faces; so that it waits without, and belongs to a Man’s Name only; which bears all his Commendations and Disgraces, his Scandal, and his Respects; from whence one is said to bear a Good or Wicked Name.

Now, the Name is no part of the Nature of the Thing, but only the Image which gives us a Representation of it. A Mark of Distinction, to know it from other Things by: In a Word, somewhat that goes between the Essence of the Thing, and the Honour or Dishonour belonging to it. For it is applied to the Substance, and whatever is said of it, Good, or Bad, falls upon This; and is born by it. Now Honour, before it rests upon the Name, fetches a kind of Circular Flight; and makes some stay upon the Action, the Heart and the Tongue. Whatever gallant, commendable Action is Achieved, is, as it were, the Root, the Source, the Parent which gives Birth and Being to Honour; for in truth, Honour is nothing else, but the Lustre and Resplendence of some Glorious, or Beneficial, or otherwise, Noble Exploit. Whatever Perfection a Thing hath in itself, with regard to its own Intrinsic Worth; yet if it do not produce some Effect, which is Excellent, it is not capable of Honour; but, to all Intents and Purposes of this kind, as if it had never been at all. The next Advance is made into the Mind, where it first begins to live, and is form’d into good Opinions, and
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and Venerable Esteem. Then it comes abroad in the last Place, and rides Triumphant upon Men's Tongues and Pens; and so reflects and returns back again, upon the Name of the Person, who did that Celebrated Action, from whence it first set out. (as the Sun returns Daily to the Point from whence his Motion began,) and when it hath finish'd this Course, it from thenceforth carries the Name of Honour, Praise, Glory, Renown, or the like.

But to what Sorts of Performances this Recompence is due, hath been a Question much disputed. Some Persons have delivered their Opinion, that Honour does not only, nor properly consist in a Man's behaving himself well, where great and difficult Posts are to be filled and managed by him (for every Man's Circumstances will not furnish him with Opportunities of weighty Administrations) but in the faithful Discharge of the Duties of each Person's particular Profession, be the Capacity of the Man what it will. For all Commendation is the Effect and Reward of a Man's performing commendably, that which is his proper Business to do. Thus we find Reason and Common Sense, determine us in Publick Theatres, which are but so many Images in little of this Great Theatre of the Universe. The Condition and Splendor of the Character is not enquired into, nor weighs at all with our Judgments; but He, who upon the Stage, plays the Part of a Servant or Buffoon, if he do it well, and to the Life, meets with as much Applause, as if he had represented a General, or an Emperor. And he that cannot work in Gold, if he shew the Perfection of his Art, and carve the Postures and Proportions well, in Copper, or in Plaister, is reputed a good Statuary; because this Excellence depends not upon the Fineness or Value of the Materials, but in the
the Skill shewed upon them. But yet it seems more reasonable to think, that Honour is an Advantage for something more Noble and Sublime than Ordinary; and that no Actions, but such only, which have Difficulty or Danger in them, can make just Pretensions to it. Those that are but just what they ought to be, such as our respective Stations require, and proceeding from a Sense of Obligation and Duty, cannot aspire to so great Worth, nor put in for so ample a Reward; a Reward which is disparaged by being made Common or Ordinary, and not suited to all Degrees of Persons and Performances. Thus every virtuous and chaste Wife, and every Man of Integrity and good Conduét, is not therefore a Person of Honour. For there must go more than Probity to the denominating them so; there must be Pains, and Difficulty, and Danger; nay, and, some will tell you, there must be somewhat of general Good, and Advantage to the Publick, to justify that Character in its full and true Extent. Let a Man's Actions be never so Good, never so Useful, if they be private and the Advantage redound to himself alone, another sort of Payment belongs to them. They will have the Approbation of his own Conscience; they will procure the Love, and Favour, and good Word of his Neighbours and Acquaintance; they will ensure his Safety, and put him under the Protection of the Law; but except the Influence and Advantage of them be large and diffusive, they cannot come up to Honour; for Honour is a publick Thing, and implies more of Dignity; and comprehends Splendor and Noise, Admiration, and Common Fame in the Nature and Notion of it. Others add farther, that an Honourable Action must not be a part of our Duty, but perfectly free and supererogating; for if Men were obliged to it, all Pretension to Honour is lost.

The
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The Desire of Honour, and Glory, and a Solicitous seeking the Approbation and good Opinion of Others, is a very vicious, violent and powerful Passion. The Inordinacy whereof hath been sufficiently explained and proved already in the Chapter concerning Ambition. But as bad as it is in itself, it does great Service to the Publick. For it restrains Mens Extravagancies, and keeps them within the Bounds of Decency and Duty; it awakens their sleeping Powers, shakes off Sloth, and kindles in them generous Desires, inspires great Thoughts, and Glorious Actions. Not that it is much for their Credit to be acted and invigorated by so corrupt a Principle; but rather a Testimony and strong Evidence of the Weakness and Poverty of our Nature and Condition; who are thus forced to use and accept clipped and counterfeit Money in Payment, when Standard and true Sterling cannot be had. But for the Determining precisely in what Cases, and how far this Passion is excusable, and where it is to blame, and must be rejected and disallow'd; and for the teaching it manifest, that Honour is not the proper Remuneration of Virtue, I must refer you to those Distinctions and Discourses upon it, which will occur hereafter.

Of the Marks of Honour there is great Variety; but the most desirable and charming, are Those, where there are no Mixtures of private Gain and Interest; such as nothing can be drawn out of, nor any Share lie in Common, for the Advantage of a Vicious Man; or of such low and inferior People, as shall pretend to serve the Publick by mean and dishonourable Offices. The less of Advantage they bring with them, the more Valuable they are. And accordingly we find the Ancients infinitely fond of, and with all their Industry and Pain, aspiring after those, which had nothing else to
to recommend them, but purely their being Marks of Distinction, and Characteristical Notes of Honour and Virtue. Of this Nature in the several Republicks of old, were the Garlands of Laurel and Oaken-Leaves, (and so are the particular "Bearings in Coats of Arms at this Day, added to the former Charges of the Field, upon some special Piece of Service) distinct Habits, and Robes; the Prerogative of some Sirname, as Africanus to Scipio, and the like: Precedence and Place in Publick Assemblies, and Orders of Knighthood. It may also fall out, that, when a Man's Deeds are Notorious and Celebrated, it shall be more for his Honour, not to have these Ensigns and Marks, than to have them. And therefore Cato said well, that it would make more for the Glory of his Name and Virtues, that People should ask why the City had not erected a Statue to his Memory in the Forum, than that they should enquire, why they had done it.

C H A P. LXI.

Of Learning.

Learning is, without all Dispute, a Noble and Beautiful Ornament; an Instrument of exceeding Use, when in the Hands of one, that hath the Skill to use it aright. But what Place and Proportion it deserves in our Esteem, is a Matter not so generally agreed upon. And here, as in all Cases of the like Nature, Men fall into Extremes, and are to blame in both; Some in overvaluing, and Others in disparaging and undervaluing it. Some run it up to that Extravagant Height,
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Leight, that they will not allow any other Advantage to come near, or be thought comparable to.

They look upon it, as the Supreme Happiness; Ray and Efflux of the Divinity; they hunt after it with Eagerness and insatiable Appetite; with vast Expence, and indefatigable Labour and Pains; and are content to part with Ease, and Health, and every Thing in exchange for it. Others as much diminish and despise it; treat Those with Scorn who make it their Business and Profession. And when we have observed this of either side, I suppose my Reader will make no Difficulty to allow, that a Moderation between both is best, most safe, most just and reasonable. I, for my own part, were I to execute the Herald's Office in this Dispute, should think that Place is without all question due to Integrity and Prudence, to Health and Wisdom, and Virtue, nay, I should not scruple to give Precedence to Skill and Dexterity in Business: But then for Dignity, and Noble Descent, and Military Valour, I should think they might go together Hand in Hand, or leave them to dispute the Priority out among Themselves: But if I were press'd, and must deliver my Sense freely and particularly, sure it is equal in Honour to These, or at least the very next after them.

Now, as Sciences differ from each other, according to the Subjects of which they treat, and the Matters they are employed about; and also in the Manner of acquiring, and attaining to a Mastery in them; so do they likewise in the Usefulness, the Reputableness, the Necessity, the Decency, the Fame, and the Gain of them. Some are purely Speculative, and aim at nothing further, than merely Contemplation, the entertaining, informing, improving, brightening our Intellectual Faculties; Others are Practical, and lead us directly on to Action. Some again are Real, and
And Conuersant in Things; they bring us acquainted with Matters that are without us, either Natural or Supernatural Objects; Others are Nominal. They concern Discourse only, teach us Languages, explain Terms of Arts, help us to express our selves properly, and to reason regularly and closely. Now, from this short Account, we may boldly say, That upon a Review of the foregoing Distinctions, Those Sciences, which are most Manly and Reputable, most Useful, most Necessary, and have least of Glory, and Vanity, and fordid mercenary Profit attending them, are infinitely Preferable to the rest. By the same reason then it follows beyond all Contradiction, that the Practical Sciences are of all others the most excellent; such as propose the Good and Happiness of Man for their End, and direct all their Instructions thither; that teach us to live, and to die well; to command and govern, to submit and obey as becomes us; and therefore These are worthy our most serious Application: Who ever pretends to Wisdom, must lay out his Study and his Time here; and of such, this Book is design'd to be a Compendious Summary and Abridgment: that is, of Morals, Oeconomicks, and Politicks; the First for governing our Selves well; the Second for managing our Domestick Affairs, and presiding over our Families well; and the Third for discharging our publick Offices well, if we be call'd to any Part in the Administration of the Government; or if we be private and subordinate only in both the last Capacities, then to consider and make good the Duties incumbent upon any the meanest and most inferior Character.

Next to these Practical Sciences, the Natural are to be regarded and esteemed, which let us into the Knowledge of this System, and Fabric of the Universe, and the infinite Variety of Creatures contained
chap. 61. Of Learning.

lined in it; and that, both for our own Use and benefit, so far as they can be serviceable to us, and also to excite our Wonder, and Praise, and most Humble Adoration of His incomprehensible Majesty, and Goodness, and Wisdom, and Power, who is the Great Master-Builder, the constant Preserver and Governour of All, and every Part of...

As for all the rest, they are empty and frothy Things in Comparison; and though we may all in upon them by the by, and for a little while, yet ought we not to set up our Rest there, nor make them the Business of our Lives; because the Use and Effect of them is of no great Consideration, and they contribute nothing at all towards the making us one whit better Men. To what purpose then is all that Time, and Trouble, and Expence, and how can we think it otherwise than lost, or misemploy'd, which we see studious Men sometimes lay out so liberally upon them?

It is true, they may serve to get Money, or to raise something of a Reputation among the People, but it is where Men are ignorant or ill-governed only: For otherwise they will seek and encourage such Studies, as bring solid Comforts and Advantages, and are built upon a firm Bottom.

C H A P.
CHAP. LXII.

Of Riches and Poverty.

These are the two Foundations and Beginnings, the Root and Source of all the Troubles and Calamities, the Disorders and Disturbances, that confound, and put the World out of Course: For excess of Plenty and Riches exalts and puffs up the Possessors, renders them haughty and insolent, swells them with Pride and Disdain, prompts them to Luxury and Extravagance, to Sensuality and all manner of unlawful Pleasures; encourages them to use their Inferiors contemptuously, and to insult over their Wants and their Miseries; makes them bold and daring, and in confidence of their Power, puts them upon seditious and dangerous Attempts. The extreme Poverty of Others subdues and dejects their Spirits, poysons them with Envy and reftles Jealousie, with Indignation and Spight, Discontent and Despair; and, since Matters, they think, cannot be worfe, provokes them to try their Fortunes, and make a desperate Push, in hopes they may be bet-ter. Plato calls the Poor the Bane and Plague of a Commonwealth. So that both these sorts of Men are very dangerous; but whether of the Two is more so, Considering People have not agreed. Aristotle is of Opinion, that Abundance is more formidable to the Publick, than Want; for the State hath not much to fear from Them who desire no more than a bare Subsistence; but it hath reason to be jealous of Thoſe, whose Wealth makes them Ambitious and Aspiring; and whose Interest and Authority, upon
upon the account of that Wealth, gives them Power and Opportunities to be very troublesome. Plato thinks Poverty the worse; for when poor People are grown desperate, they are furious and terrible Creatures; when they are irritated and enraged with want of Bread, and cannot live upon their Work; when Trading is dead, and they are overburdened with Taxes; then Necessity, (which is a great Mistress, and finds her Scholars very apt) teaches them That, which they would never have ventured upon in better and more easy Circumstances; and this makes them bold as Lions: For tho' each of them single can do little or no Hurt, yet their Numbers are always great, and these give them Confidence. But whatever the Disease be, 'tis certain the Remedy is more ready at hand, and the Cure easier, for the Poor than for the Rich; this Mischief is quickly restrain'd, and may be timely prevented. For so long as they have Necessaries, so long as they can carry on their Trades, and maintain their Families by them, they are generally contented. And therefore it highly concerns all Governours to preserve and encourage Trade, because in so doing they are sure to keep good Order among the laborious, and hardy, and most necessitous; which to be sure are generally the most numerous part of their Subjects. In the mean while, we may observe this very remarkable Difference between them, that the Rich have the Temptation within Themselves, and are formidable upon the account of their own Personal Vices, and the Circumstances they are in; but the Poor are not so from Themselves, nor their Condition, but if ever they minister just cause of Fear, it is commonly thro' the Indiscretion or the Cruelty of their Governours, who suffer them to be driven to the last Extremes; and when these pinch hard, and are no longer supportable, they are provok'd to play a desperate Game in their own Defence.

Now several Lawgivers, and eminent Politicians have apply'd their Minds to contrive proper Methods for
for the keeping off, and securing the States they formed, or presided over, from the Inconveniences attending each of these Extremes; and such as so vast a Disproportion of Estates and Fortunes will naturally expose the Publick to. They have been therefore desirous to bring all nearer to a Level, to reduce the one, and raise the other; so that there should be a kind of universal Mediocrity, and pretty near an equal Scantling: When Things stood upon this Foot, they promised Themselves a sure Foundation of Peace and Amity, and good Correspondence, by removing all the Grounds of Contempt on the one hand, and of Envy and Jealousie on the other, quite out of the way. Others have stretched this Project yet further; they are for introducing a common Stock, and leaving no peculiar Rights or Properties at all. But this is impracticable, and fantastical and never can exist long any where, but in Men’s own Brains and Imaginations. Nor is that other Design of Equality any more practicable, or indeed at all possible. For tho’ Men’s Income be alike, yet their Expences and Occasions will be far from being so. These may vary upon a Thousand Accidents; but it is enough that every Body is able to see an Instance in one, which is perfectly unanswerable; and that is the Number of Children, which we all know neither do, nor ever can increase in every Family alike. And therefore it must needs be insufficient, and the Design lost, where the Necessities are not, nor ever can be equal. All the Attempts that have been at any time made toward the putting in practice this Levelling Principle, have scarce ever been able to set it on Foot: It costs more than the Thing is worth to come to it; and if Men could arrive at it, yet it is highly inexpedient, and not at all to their Purpose. The End they aim at is never thus to be compassed; for after all, this is at last but to open another Door, and let the very Mischief in the back way, which we take so much Pains to keep out. For
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For if Hatred and Contention be the Evils we are afraid of, where do we find These more frequent and fierce than between Equals? How can we indeed reasonably expect it otherwise, where Men think Themselves a Match for one another, where there is no Distance or Respect to Temper, no Fear to curb and bind them to the Peace and their good Behaviour? If Envy and Jealousies arise against Superiors, so do they likewise among Equals; and this latter sort is the Seed of Disturbances and Confusions, Seditions and Civil Wars. Some Disproportion therefore is absolutely necessary, but such as is moderate, and may keep the Balance even and steady. Order is like Harmony; if all Sounds were the same, there could be no Musick; but yet it is necessary these different Notes should agree in general Cords, and retain some Proportion to make the Composition regular and sweet. But a perfect Level is like a continu'd Unison; and nothing is more flat, *nothing more unequal than an exact Equality.

This so very great Disparity of Estates and Possessions proceeds from several very different Causes; but more especially from Two. The One is unjust Borrowings, and hard Loans; when Men are forced and content to take up Money at any rate, and submit to all the unconscionable Interests that Griping Usurers put upon them; by which means those unjust Creditors eat into their Estates, gnaw out their very Heart and Bowels, and by degrees swallow all, and so grow fat upon the Substance of other People. To such as These may that Complaint of the Psalmist not improperly be apply'd, They eat up my People as they eat Bread. The Other is by Disposals of Estates, and that either by Men during their own Life-time, in Alienations, Dowries, and Portioning of Children when they Marry, or set up in the World; or else by last Will, and Bequest at the time of their Death. By

* Nihil est aequalitate inequalius.