1966


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Louisiana State University, Ph.D., 1966
Language and Literature, modern

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A CRITICAL VARIORUM EDITION OF OWEN FELLHAM'S RESOLVES

Volume I

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

The Department of English

by

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B.A., Centenary College of Louisiana, 1957
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August, 1966
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Owen Felltham (1604?-1668) is known primarily for his Resolves: Divine, Morall, Politicall, a popular book during the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Felltham himself saw eight editions through the press (1623, two in 1628, 1631, 1634, 1636, 1647, and 1661), and four more were issued in the forty-one years following his death (1670, 1677, 1696, and 1709). There were no more editions until the eight of the nineteenth century (1800, 1803, 1806, 1818, 1820, 1832, and two in 1840); and the last edition, edited by Oliphant Smeaton for the Temple Classics, appeared in 1904. This last edition, besides being far from adequate, is no longer in print; and it is hoped that this new edition will help promote a renewed critical interest in Resolves.

This variorum is a collation of the eight editions of Resolves published during Felltham's lifetime, with annotation of the poetic, mythological, and historical material that Felltham quotes or alludes to in the work. Copies of the eight editions examined are in the Huntington, University of Virginia, and Louisiana State University Libraries.

The whole of Resolves consists of 285 short essays. The first 100, which comprised the whole of the original
edition (1623), are designated the Short Century; the second 100, added in the second edition (1628), are labeled the Long Century; and the remaining 85, substituted for the Short Century in the eighth edition (1661), are called the Revised Short Century. It is hoped that this redesignation will clarify the confusion resulting from Felltham's having reversed the order of the "First" and "Second" Centuries of resolves in the third edition (1628) and his substitution of a rewritten "Second" Century in the eighth edition (1661). Corresponding resolves of the Short and Revised Short Centuries are cross-referenced in the notes.

The text of this edition of Resolves preserves the spelling and punctuation of the first issue of each of the centuries. The only changes have been typographical: substitution of the modern letter for the long £ of the original, expansion of words contracted by the omission of m or n (as indicated in the original by a tilde over the preceding vowel), and expansion of the \textit{cq} abbreviation for the Latin suffix \textit{que} in the quotations.

The Introduction consists of five parts: a brief life of Felltham, a list of previous editions of \textit{Resolves}, a literary history of the work, my own examination of the work, and a note on the mechanics of the present edition. The section of literary history is a survey of three and one-half centuries of criticism and scholarship, as well as a list of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century plagiarisms from
Resolves and a list of nineteenth- and twentieth-century anthologies that include selections from the work. My own examination of Resolves is divided into five areas not previously discussed by critics: Felltham's world view, imagery, wit, neologisms, and tone.
INTRODUCTION

I. The Life of Owen Felltham

Relatively few details are known of the life of Owen Felltham. Even his birthdate is uncertain. He comments in "To the Reader," prefaced to the 1661 edition of Resolves, that he was "but Eighteen" when they were written. These early resolves were licensed for printing on 26 May 1623, and it is probable that they were written shortly before that time, thus placing Felltham's birth about 1604. The probable place of his birth is Mutford, Suffolk. He was the second or third son of Thomas Felltham and Mary, daughter of John Ufflete of Somerleyton, Suffolk. Thomas Felltham was of the landed gentry and bore arms: on a field sable, two bars ermine, in chief three leopards' faces or. These arms appear on the engraved title pages of the second through the twelfth editions of Resolves. Owen Felltham had two brothers and three sisters. It is evident from the

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bequests in his will that his brothers survived him, while his sisters probably did not.

Of the first twelve years of Felltham's life, nothing definite is known. In his young manhood, Felltham seemed very much emotionally attached to his father, as evidenced by comments in various resolves and by the Latin epitaph which he composed on the occasion of his father's death, 11 March 1631/2. Whether this attachment existed from early childhood or whether it was developed during Felltham's adolescence or young manhood, we do not know.

In 1617, when Felltham was about thirteen years old, he was attendant in a royal progress that James I made to Edinburgh. The young Felltham probably served as a page to one of the nobles attending the king, who included Bacon, Arundel, Pembroke, Southhampton, and Buckingham. Probably at this time or shortly thereafter, Felltham wrote a brief character of the country, A Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland. Possibly because of the work's flippant tone and the immaturity of its insight and literary style, Felltham never published the work himself. It was pirated in 1649 and published in quarto as being the work of "James Howell, Gent." Some seven years after Felltham's death, it was published again (1675), anonymously, being included in an edition of his character of the Low Countries printed in Amsterdam.

Between the time of his Scotland trip and the issue of the first edition of Resolves, Felltham's biography is
again a blank. Although he had a poem published in *Parnassus Biceps* (1656), a collection of verse by alumni of the two universities, Felltham probably did not attend either Oxford or Cambridge. From internal evidence, it is reasonable to assume that Felltham, when he was writing the resolves that make up the first edition, knew too little Latin to be the graduate of a university. Before 1623, he did certainly study the Bible, probably in an earlier translation than the Authorized Version of 1611; Plutarch, undoubtedly in North's 1603 edition, which contains lives not in the original Greek work; Homer, also in translation; Diogenes Laertius, undoubtedly in a Latin translation, since Felltham could not read Greek, and no English translation was available until much later; a smattering of Virgil, Ovid, and Cicero; and the fables of Aesop and La Fontaine, also in translation. In the most recent periodical article on Felltham's work, "'New Frame and Various Composition': Development in the Form of Owen Felltham's Resolves," McCrea Hazlett makes a surprising statement: "There is no value to be gained from cataloguing Felltham's numerous quotations. They are drawn, for the most part, from Scripture and the classics and are in no way remarkable."\(^2\) Certainly most of Felltham's quotations and allusions are commonplaces, but this does not make attention to them unprofitable. By 1623, Felltham had already come a long way toward embracing the neo-Stoicism

\(^2\) *MP*, LI (1953), 101.
that was fashionable among many Christians of his generation. It is evident that his favorite books in the Bible were Job and Ecclesiastes, since he quotes or alludes to those books more than he does any of the others. His favorite among the ancient pagan philosophers was Diogenes the Cynic; so much is he a favorite that the essayist often attributes to him remarks made by other philosophers.

Although there is no date on the title page, the first edition of Resolues: Diuine, Morall, Politicall undoubtedly appeared in 1623. It was a small duodecimo, and the author's name was given as "Owin Felltham." The printer was Henry Seile, whose shop "at the Tygers head in St Paules Churchyard" issued the first seven editions of the work. The eighth and ninth were done by Anne Seile, Henry's widow. In this first edition, the individual resolves do not have titles.

Felltham's only publication between the first and second editions of Resolues seems to have been a poem, "Authori," in Kingsmill Long's translation of Barclay's Argenis (1625). It is addressed to the translator rather

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3Although Felltham's surname appears with one "l" a few times during the seventeenth century, it most commonly has two. For that reason, I am using "Felltham" throughout this work. The reader will notice that several of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century reviewers, anthologists, critics, and editors spell the name with one "l." When quoting them directly, I have preserved their spelling without the inclusion each time of sic. During the seventeenth century, the name was probably pronounced "Feltone" (Cornu, pp. 17-18).
than to the author (Barclay died in 1621), and is signed "OW: FELL:"; it has never been reprinted.

Felltham's whereabouts between 1623 and 1628 is unknown, but from internal evidence in the essays added to the second edition of Resolves, it is safe to assume that during that time he visited the Low Countries for a three-week stay. From that visit came the inspiration for his rather lengthy essay (19 folio pages in the 1661 edition of Resolves) entitled A Brief Character of the Low-Countries under the States. In the 1661 Resolves, the printer writes that Felltham considered the work "among his puerilia, and (as he said) a Piece too light for a prudential man to publish." Nevertheless, the work enjoyed much popularity during the century. It was pirated in 1648 and 1652. The latter year, Felltham issued, anonymously, the first authorized edition of the work, to be followed seven years later by another authorized edition, also anonymous, and included in the 1661 and subsequent editions of Resolves. He published a separate, authorized edition of the work in 1662. It was pirated again after Felltham's death, appearing in 1675 in Amsterdam as Batavia: or the Hollander displayed, with no author's name given.

Prior to 1628, Felltham did much reading. His Latin obviously improved. He read Horace and Juvenal; they are quoted at length in the new resolves published in 1628. Also among his favorites were Martial and Ausonius, whose epigrams dot the pages of the new resolves. To each of the verses
quoted, Felltham appended his own verse translation. He believed in translating one English line for one Latin line, and some of his English versions are rather truncated. Some of them are quite good, however; Henry Vaughan used several of Felltham's translations of Ausonius's epigrams in his own translation of that poet's work. Felltham read the comedians Plautus and Terrence. He read further in Ovid; characteristically his favorite of that poet's works seem to be *Tristia* and the verse letters from Pontus, written during Ovid's period of exile and filled with dark musings on fate, injustice, and inhumanity. Of the historians and biographers, he read Suetonius, Lucan, and Livy, as well as scattered bits of Dion Cassius, Ammianus, Florus, and Nepos. He discovered a sympathetic spirit in Seneca, and quotes frequently that Stoic philosopher's letters and tragedies. Another writer whose cast of mind obviously appealed to him was Boethius. He read in the church fathers Sts. Augustine, Jerome, Bernard, Gregory, and Chrysostum. He does not seem much conversant with, to us, the most famous of ancient Stoics, Marcus Aurelius (possibly because Aurelius was responsible for the persecution of Christians), but he seems to know something of Epictetus. Of the other ancients, he of course read further in Cicero; rather surprisingly, he read the *Satyricon* of Petronius Arbiter; and he seems to have dipped into Pliny and Aristotle, especially their works on natural history. Of his near contemporaries, he seems to have been influenced greatly by only two: Justus Lipsius,
the great neo-Stoic philosopher of the sixteenth century, and Montaigne, whose work he probably read in Florio's translation, since he did not yet know French.

In 1628, Felltham published a second edition of *Resolves*. To the original hundred short resolves, he added a second, longer hundred. These longer resolves, each of which bore a title, were paged separately from the earlier resolves and had a separate title page, on which they were labeled "Excogitations." Whereas the earlier resolves had been just that, each a "resolve" to do better in a particular situation, the longer resolves were more nearly essays in the broader sense of the term. In then Felltham discusses Puritans, the concept of order and degree, the Great Chain, the problem of establishing a secure government. Already there were mutterings directed toward Charles I and Archbishop Laud. Felltham, a conservative Royalist and *via media* Anglican viewed what he regarded as the approach of governmental and ecclesiastical chaos with much fear.

Later in 1628, a third edition of *Resolves* was issued. The individual members of the original century were given titles, and the order of the centuries was reversed. The pages were numbered consecutively from Resolve I, i. to Resolve II, c., and a "large Alphabeticall Table," or index, was appended. This was the form that the next four editions were to follow.

The first two editions of *Resolves* had been handsomely printed, with much care to detail. They were probably
limited editions and, as an anonymous nineteenth-century reviewer remarked, "the pet work of a well-to-do person."\(^4\) The third through the seventh editions, however, appear to be haphazardly printed and proofread, and are printed on a rather poor quality of paper. It is safe to assume that by this time the work had become very popular and that these poorer editions were printed hurriedly and in rather large numbers of copies to take care of public demand. Editions four through seven, although they contain words and phrases that are obviously erroneous, do not even have errata sheets appended to them.

At some time between 1627 and 1629, Thomas Randolph, a young friend and literary protégé of Ben Jonson, wrote a long poem, "To Mr. Feltham on his booke of Resolves." He and Felltham had not met: "th'art unknown to me" (1. 35). The poem was published for the first time in Randolph's posthumous Poems with the Mvses Looking-Glasse: And amyntas (1638), to which Felltham contributed a memorial poem.

Felltham was not in London in 1627 or 1628 when the second edition of Resolves was being prepared for the press: on the Errata page of this edition, the printer comments, "The Authors absence ha's made faults multiply." He must have come up shortly thereafter, at which time he met Jonson and Randolph. In 1629, Jonson, disgusted with the reception

\(^4\)"Owen Felltham and his 'Resolves,'" Meliora, IV (1862), 92.
of his play The New Inn, wrote a verse entitled "Come. Leave the loathed Stage." Many poets, including Randolph, wrote verse answers to it; but it seems that Felltham's contribution, "An Answer to the Ode of Come Leave the loathed Stage &c.," was one of the most popular. It was published in 1656 in Parnassus Biceps, possibly the only poem in the collection written by one who was not a product of either university. Feltham thought enough of it to reprint it in the 1661 Resolves. Jonson probably took Felltham's teasing good naturedly.

In 1631, the fourth edition of Resolves was issued. Early in the following year, Felltham's father died. He was buried at Babraham, or Babram, Cambridgeshire. Felltham composed a Latin epitaph for the tomb; it was printed for the first time in the 1661 Resolves. Later in 1629, he was involved in litigation over his inheritance; he lost the case.

At some time around 1629 or 1630, Felltham was appointed steward in the household of Barnaby O'Brien, sixth Earl of Thomond. The seat of the O'Briens was Great Billing, Northamptonshire. Barnaby died in 1657, whereupon his brother Henry became Earl. Felltham served the seventh earl and the sixth earl's widow, the Dowager Countess Mary, for the rest of his life. Although Northamptonshire was in control of the Parliamentarians during most of the Civil War, the O'Briens remained staunch Royalists. Somehow they managed to hold on to their lands, and they and Felltham
lived at Great Billing during most of the War and the Interregnum. It is fair to suggest that in 1629 or 1630, the O'Briens were attracted to this sober and conservative young man who loved the King and the Established Church, and that attraction may very well have accounted, at least partially, for their appointment of him as steward. His duties do not seem to have been exclusively at their Northamptonshire properties, for he spent some time before the War and after the Restoration at their London house in the Strand. The O'Brien seat at Great Billing became a favorite of the courtiers of Charles II; on one occasion the Duke of York (later James II) was entertained there.

In the service of the O'Briens, Felltham became reasonably wealthy. Probably shortly after joining the O'Brien household he married Mary Clopton of Kentwell Hall, Melford, Suffolk, of whom nothing further is known. In the 1661 Resolves, Felltham published two letters which he wrote to her, addressing her as "Clarissa." There are also two letters written to his mother-in-law, "Olivia." Mary Felltham probably died before her husband; there is no mention of her in his will. If they had any children, a supposition for which there is no evidence, they also must have died before their father, since there is no mention of any offspring in the will. Corru suggests that the love lyrics of Felltham, published in the 1661 Resolves, were inspired by his wife, and that upon her death, probably at an early age, Felltham was so grieved that he resolved not
to remarry (pp. 101-102).

The fifth and sixth editions of Resolves appeared in 1634 and 1636, respectively. In 1635, Felltham published a poem, "Upon the Death of the Noble Knight, Sir Rowland Cotton," in a memorial volume entitled Parentalia Spectatissimo Rolondo Cottono. The poem was reprinted with a few minor changes in the 1661 Resolves. In 1636, he published another, "To the Generovs and Nobly minded Mr. Robert Dover, on his Heroic meetings at Cotswold." Although these Cotswold exercises were intended to be a revival of the Olympic Games, Felltham is more interested in the Muses and Mount Helicon in the poem than he is in Olympia. The poem is published under a shorter title in the 1661 Resolves.

In 1637 and 1638, Felltham exchanged letters with William Johnson, an Englishman at the Jesuit College in Cadiz. Johnson wrote to Felltham expressing admiration for some of the Resolves, but showing a dislike of Felltham's attitude toward the Roman Church. In his answer, many times longer than Johnson's letter, Felltham upholds the position of the Church of England, supporting his argument with an impressive number of citations from Biblical and post-Biblical authority. Interestingly, Johnson cites Calvin and Felltham cites the Council of Trent. There is no evidence that Felltham took Holy Orders. He did have a large theological library, which he bequeathed to his nephew, "Thomas Felltham, Minister"; and he probably conducted family services for the Dowager Countess of Thomond, since there is extant a work
of his entitled "A Form of Prayer Compos'd for the Family of the Right Honorable the Countess of Thomond," published only in the 1709 edition of Resolves. Probably he was no more, however, than what today would be designated a Lay Reader.

In 1638, Felltham also contributed a poem "To the Memory of immortan Ben" in the memorial volume Jonsonus Virbius. It is not published in the 1661 or any other edition of Resolves, but it has been printed in several editions of Jonson's works.

Felltham's whereabouts during the decade of the Civil War is uncertain. Probably he was in Northamptonshire. If he fought in the Cavalier army, there is no record and very little room for supposition. He alludes to the War only indirectly in the 1661 Resolves and does not mention himself as an active participant. In 1647, at the height of the War, he issued the seventh edition of Resolves, the last to appear before the Restoration. He was deeply affected by the beheading of the King in 1649. His most famous, or infamous, thoughts on the subject are contained in a poem entitled "An Epitaph to the Eternal Memory of CHARLES the First, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, &c. Inhumanely murthered by a perfidious Party of His prevalent Subjects, Jan: 30.1648." He reflects that "'twas a far more glorious thing / To dye a MARTYR, than to live a KING"

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5 This date is given according to the old style. According to modern dating, the year should read 1649.
(11. 19-20). He accepts the King's book, *Eikon Basilike*, as authentic, commenting that "He had copy'd out in every Line, / Our Saviours Passion" (11. 21-22) in his "peerlesse Book" (1. 24). He groups Cromwell and Bradshaw with Herod, Judas, and Pilate (11. 31-32). These ideas were, of course, common enough among devout spokesmen for the Cavalier party. Felltham goes beyond this, however, to the horror of many of his nineteenth-century reviewers. He affirms that the "Royal Bloud" of Charles "true miracles had wrought" (1. 40), and closes with the line "Here CHARLES the First, and CHRIST the second lyes." The poem was first printed in the 1661 *Resolves*.

During the Interregnum Felltham probably did some of the revision on the short resolves and composed the two "Discourses" on Biblical passages, "Something Upon Eccles. ii. 11" and "upon St. Luke xiv. 20," both of which were published for the first time in the 1661 *Resolves*. In 1652 he contributed a poem to Edward Benlowe's *Theophila, Or Loves Sacrifice. A Divine Poem*. Felltham's verse of six stanzas, "Upon the Vanitie of the World," became stanzas 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, and 11 of the twelve-stanza poem "True Happiness," published in the 1661 *Resolves*. In 1659 Felltham's song, "When Dearest, I but think on thee," was mistakenly printed in *The Last Remains of ST John Suckling*. In the 1661 *Resolves*, Felltham calls attention to the mistake and reprints the poem, with several textural differences. This is the only poem of Felltham's that is frequently included
in modern anthologies of seventeenth-century literature, but it is one of the most beautiful lyrics of the period.

As evidenced by his resolves R. S. 83. Of Conscience and R. S. 84. Of Peace, Felltham was overjoyed at the Restoration. He happily concurred with Parliament in dating the reign of Charles II from 1649, the year that Charles I was executed. In his will, dated 4 May 1667, Felltham refers to that year as "the nineteenth year of the reign of our sovereign lord Charles the Second."

In 1661 Felltham published the eighth edition of Resolves, the last to appear during his lifetime. The resolves of the 1628 edition were reprinted without change. The short resolves that made up the 1623 edition were altered almost beyond recognition. Many were omitted altogether, many were lengthened and changed considerably, many that were altogether new were added, and the "century" was reduced to eighty-five resolves. To the two centuries of resolves were added the two "Discourses" mentioned above and "Lusoria, or Occasional Pieces." This latter consisted of 41 poems, including three Latin epitaphs, one for Felltham himself; eighteen letters by and one to Felltham, and "A Brief Character of the Low Countries." With the exception of the omitted resolves from the 1623 edition, some miscellaneous poems cited above, and the character of Scotland, also cited above, the 1661 Resolves represents Felltham's complete literary production up to 1661.

During the period from 1661 to 1668, Felltham's only
literary composition seems to have been the "Form of Prayer" mentioned earlier. He did write business letters during this period, one of which is preserved in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic. 1663-4 (p. 559). His name is mentioned in three other letters in the Calendar between 1665 and 1667. All of these letters show Felltham in his capacity of steward for the O'Briens. Also during this time he became friends with Dr. Edmund King, Charles II's personal physician, and Joseph Williamson, one-time Secretary of State, both of whom witnessed his will in 1667. On 27 May 1664, Felltham was given the lease to Catherlogh, in Ireland. He bequeathed it to his nephew and namesake. At some time during his stewardship of the O'Brien estate, he had purchased the lease to Craterlagh, County Clare, Ireland.

On 4 May 1667, Felltham prepared his last will and testament. The copy preserved is in his own hand. Nearly half is taken up in praise to God. He requests that he be buried where his body should "fall to Earth," and that the cost of his funeral not exceed £30; such a sum seems modest enough today, but in 1667 it was a rather sizeable expenditure. He bequeathed his estate to his two brothers, his nephews and nieces, and a few friends. Aside from the real estate mentioned above, he left several silver drinking mugs, a diamond ring with thirteen stones of unspecified weight, and a considerable library. At the time the will was written, Felltham appears to have been in good mental health; he mentions nothing of his physical condition.
On 23 February 1668, Felltham died. He was at that time staying at the London house of the Dowager Countess of Thomond. The next day he was buried at St. Martin's in the Fields.
II. The Editions of Resolves

Below are listed all twenty-one prior editions of Resolves. In this variorum I have used only the first eight, those published during Felltham's lifetime; and the twenty-first, the only twentieth-century edition. For those editions which I collated, I have indicated the library owning the copies that I examined. For the first six, there are Short Title Catalogue numbers included in the entry.

1 Resolues; Diuine, Morall, Politicall. London: Henry Seile, [1623]. Small 12mo. S. T. C. no. 10755. Huntington Library. This edition consists of one-hundred short essays; they are reproduced below as the Short Century, abbreviated as $S$. The resolves of this first edition did not have titles; the titles reproduced below are those added in the third edition.

2 Resolve's: A duple Century, one new an other of a second Edition. London: Henry Seile, 1628. Small 4to. S. T. C. nos. 10756 and 10757. Huntington Library. The second edition of the original one hundred resolves is placed at the beginning of the book and is designated "The First Century." The one hundred new resolves, longer than the earlier ones and each bearing a title, are designated "The Second Century," but are paged separately. This new century is reproduced below as the Long Century, abbreviated as $L$.


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1 For a complete bibliographical description of all of the editions of Resolves listed here, see Cornu, pp. 35-44.


8 **Resolves: The eight [sic] Impression, With New, & Severall other Additions both in Prose, and Verse.** London: A: Seile, 1661. Small folio. Huntington Library. In this edition the long century remains unchanged, but the shorter century of essays has been completely revised, with the omission of many of the original resolves and the addition of several new ones, making what amounts to a completely new group of essays, still labeled a "century," but now containing only 85 resolves. This new set of essays is reproduced below as the Revised Short Century, abbreviated as R. S.

9 **Resolves: Divine, Moral, Political. the Ninth Impression.** London: A. Seile, MDCLXX. Small folio. This is almost an exact reprint of the eighth edition.

10 **Resolves: Divine, Moral, Political. The Tenth Impression.** London: Andrew Clark and Charles Harper, MDCLXXVII. Small folio. This is essentially the same as the eighth and ninth editions.

11 **Resolves: Divine, Moral, Political . . . In this Eleventh Edition.** London: M. Clark, MDCCXCVI. Small folio. This is the same as the eighth through the tenth editions, with the addition of citations by an unknown hand.

12 **Resolves: Divine, Moral, Political . . . this Twelfth Edition.** London: Benj. Motte, MDCCXIX. 8vo. This is the same as the eleventh edition with the exception of some modernization in spelling.
13 The Beauties of Owen Felltham: selected from his Resolves. Edited by J. Vine [a pseudonym for an unknown editor]. London, J. Vine, 1800. 16mo. This is merely selected passages from the eighth edition.

14 The Beauties of Owen Felltham; Selected from his Resolves, Published in the year 1661. Edited by J. Vine. New York: Burton and Darling, 1803. Small 12mo. This is probably a reprint of the thirteenth edition.

15 Resolves, Divine, Moral, and Political, of Owen Felltham. Edited by James Cumming. London: J. Hatchard, 1806. Small 8vo. Cumming used the twelfth edition, but he reprinted only 146 resolves. He is very free with the text.


17 Resolves, Divine, Moral, and Political, of Owen Felltham. Second Edition, As Revised. Edited by James Cumming. London: John Hatchard and Son, 1820. Large 8vo. This is essentially a reprint of the fifteenth edition, but the number of resolves has been increased to 169.

18 Resolves, Divine, Moral, Political. Cambridge, Mass.: Hilliard and Brown, Printers for the University, MDCCCXXXII. The Library of the Old English Prose Writers. Vol. IV. Small 12mo. Edited by Alexander Young, editor of the general series. Young used the tenth edition, but reprinted only 55 resolves. He disregarded Felltham's order and attempted to arrange the resolves by subjects.

19 Resolves Divine Moral and Political. London: Pickering, 1840. Small 12mo. This is a reprint of the fourth edition; the spelling is modernized.

20 Resolves, Divine, Moral, Political. London: Whittaker & Co., Houlston & Stoneman. Oxford: J. H. Parker. Leicester: J. G. & T. C. Brown, 1840. Square 4to. This is the most beautiful and the most faithful of the nineteenth-century editions. The edition followed is the third; there is some modernization of spelling, but no other liberties are taken.
21 Resolves: Divine, Morall and Politicall. Edited by Oliphant Smeaton. London: J. M. Dent and Co., MDCCCCIV. The Temple Classics. Small 16mo. This is a reproduction of the third edition (although the publisher claims it to be of the second), with spelling and punctuation modernized. There are 87 notes, 10 to the Short Century and 77 to the Long. All of the notes have been reproduced below in full, with the designation "Smeaton" following.
III. A Literary History of Resolves

A. The Seventeenth Century and the Restoration

Although it is true, as Jean Robertson states, that "Actual references to Felltham's writings during the seventeenth century are remarkably few,"¹ the popularity of Resolves is attested by two undeniable facts: the large number of editions which the various forms of the book went through between 1623 and 1709, and the very widespread unacknowledged use of Felltham's words, phrases, sentences, and English translations of Latin verses in the books of his contemporaries.

The first reference to Felltham and his Resolves by name is in the poem, "To Mr. Feltham on his booke of Resolves,"² by Thomas Randolph, the young protégé of Ben Jonson. Although the work is a commendatory poem, a form which by that time had become an exercise in extravagance, it does shed light on the personal characters of Felltham and Randolph, and it is the first critical statement of any kind on Resolves.

Of Felltham himself, Randolph writes:

¹"The Use Made of Owen Felltham's 'Resolves': A Study in Plagiarism," MLR, XXXIX (1944), 108.

...by what inspiring power,
By what instinct of grace I cannot tell,
Dost thou resolve so much, and yet so well?
(11. 16-18)

Thou holding passions rai̇nes with strictest hand
Dost firme and fixed in the Center stand.
Thence thou are setled.
(11. 21-23)

Although this poem was probably written between 1627
and 1629, the verbal parallels between lines 21-23 of it and
lines 27-36 of Donne's famous "A Valediction: forbidding
mourning," first published in 1633, are striking. The
figure of Felltham's standing "firme and fixed in the
Center" is remarkably like that of Donne's lady, who, as
the "fixed foot" of the compass, is planted "in the center"
and with "firmness" causes the speaker to draw a true circle.
This figure may have been enough of a commonplace in the
earlier seventeenth century that Donne and Randolph could
have used it independently, but it is also quite possible
that Randolph could have seen Donne's poem in manuscript
long before it was published.

In the following lines quoted from his poem, Randolph
began a trend that all of the nineteenth-century editors and
reviewers of Resolves were forced to follow. Lacking
specific knowledge of the author's life and character, he
infers it from the work:

Thy book I read, and read it with delight,
Resolving so to live as thou dost write.
And yet I guesse thy life thy booke produces,
And but expresses thy peculiar uses.
Thy manners dictate, thence thy writing came. . . .
(11. 25-29)
...thy life had been
Patterne enough, had it of all been seen,
Without a book; books make the difference here,
In them thou liv'st the same but every where.
(11. 31-34)

Randolph, something of a rake himself, praises Felltham's
scholarly turn of mind and the obvious morality of his life
and work:

...let the most diligent mind
Prie thorough it, each sentence he shall find
Season'd with chast, not with an itching salt,
More savouring of the Lampe, then of the malt.
(11. 45-48)

Thou hast not one bad line so lustful bred
As to dye maid, or Matrons cheeke in red.
(11. 61-62)

Thy book a Garden is, and helps us most
To regaine that, which wee in Adam lost.
(11. 65-66)

Although critics of the eighteenth and nineteenth
centuries have often found Felltham's prose style somewhat
barbarous and verbose, the first critic of Resolves found it
admirably pointed and well suited to the content:

... the stile, being pure and strong and round,
Not only but Pythy: Being short breath'd, but sound.
(11. 89-90)

... 'tis such
That in a little hath comprized much. . . .
(11. 95-96)

Such is thy sentence, such thy style, being read
Men see them both together happ'ly wed.
And so resolve to keepe them wed, as we
Resolve to give them to posteritie.
(11. 117-120)
Certainly to a generation reared on the Ciceronian fullness of rhetoric that one finds in the prose of Donne and others of the period, the wording of the Resolves, especially in the pieces of the 1623 edition, would seem remarkably clear and tersely written.

The only other recorded contemporaneous remark about Felltham's work was made by Abraham Cowley in his play The Guardian, which was printed with the inscription "Acted before Prince CHARLS His HIGHNESS At Trinity-Colledg in Cambridge, upon the twelfth of March, 1641." Captain Blade, the guardian, decides that his daughter Aurelia shall marry young Truman, who is in love with Lucia. Aurelia protests, and she is answered by her father: "I would not hear thee, though thou wert an angel. I'm as resolute as he that writ the Resolves" (IV,vii). By the time that this play was first acted, Felltham's book had gone through six editions, and its title certainly must have been recognizable to a large part of the audience.

The most conclusive proof of the popularity of Owen Felltham's Resolves is the frequency with which other writers of the period borrowed from it. Jean Robertson has remarked that "Plagiarism in the seventeenth century was not the literary offence that it has since become"; consequently, it seems that the use of the Resolves by later authors was generally accepted.

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4"The Use Made of Owen Felltham's 'Resolves,'" p. 108.
the writers who used material from *Resolves* in their own work did not deem it necessary to cite Felltham or his book by name.

The earliest borrower from *Resolves* was the anonymous editor of *Vade Mecum* (1629), an enlarged edition of Daniel Tuvill's *Essaves, Morall and Theologicall* (1609). He uses three anecdotes and a phrase from *Resolves*, alluding to these borrowings, along with those from other authors, simply as flowers "taken from 'more copious gardens' for the betterment of the essays that he would save from oblivion."\(^5\)

The most famous seventeenth-century author to use Felltham's work in his own is Henry Vaughan. L. C. Martin has discovered ten quotations and echoes of Felltham in Vaughan,\(^6\) Jean Robertson an eleventh,\(^7\) and F. E. Hutchinson has noted that Vaughan even borrowed a line from Felltham's Latin epitaph for his own.\(^8\) The most important and best known of Vaughan's appropriations from "this favorite book of his"\(^9\) is the phrase "Bright shootes of everlastingnesse";


\(^7\)"The Use Made of Owen Felltham's 'Resolves,'" pp. 108-109.


it is taken from the resolve *Of the soule* (L. 64) and becomes a central image in "The Retreate."\(^{10}\)

In his *Enchiridion*, a book of short meditations published in 1640, Francis Quarles, the noted emblem writer, twice echoes Felltham's resolve *Of Man's unwillingnesse to dye* (L. 13).\(^{11}\) Three authors whom Robertson refers to as "semi-religious essayists" were influenced by *Resolves*: Arthur Warwick, Joseph Henshaw, and Bishop Beveridge.\(^{12}\) John Hewytt, who "combined religious fervour with a liking for conceits and strange words," seems to have used phrases from *Resolves* in his sermons.\(^{13}\)

Two authors who lifted large sections of Felltham's work for use in their own were the Earl of Manchester, a literary dabbler, and Richard Younge, a Puritan pamphleteer. The Earl of Manchester's *Al Mondo or Contemplations of Death and Immortality*, first published in 1631 and described in the preface of its fifteenth edition (1688) as "a very suitable gift for funeral guests in place of the customary black kid gloves," is, Robertson asserts, "a mosaic of

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\(^{12}\) "The Use Made of Owen Felltham's 'Resolves,'" p. 109.

\(^{13}\) Ibid., p. 109.
sentences culled from such varied sources as the Bible, classical authors, Bacon's *Essays* and Felltham's *Resolves*, all used without any indication that they were borrowings.

Considering Felltham's aversion to Puritan bigotry, it is ironic that one of the most prolific of the Puritan pamphleteers, Richard Younge, should quote quite liberally from *Resolves*. But Younge had, according to Robertson, an "omnivorous appetite for borrowings," and used large portions of Felltham's work in his first long pamphlet, *A Counterpoyson: or, soverain antidote against all griefe* (1637) and in a pamphlet published as both *Sinne Stigmatized* and *The Drunkard's Character* (1638). Robertson suggests that Felltham may have expressed resentment at such wholesale plagiarism:

There are traces of the *Resolves* in *Cordial Councell* (1644), and in *Cure of Misprision* (1646); but in his later and shorter pamphlets Younge did not have recourse to the *Resolves* nearly so frequently. Possibly Felltham found some effective means to stop his pillaging.

Another unscrupulous literary pirate to use Felltham's *Resolves* was Robert Herne, who collected and published a book of essays entitled *Ros Coeli. Or, A Miscellany of*

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14Ibid., p. 109. Parallel readings from *Resolves* and *Al Mondo* are on p. 110.

15Ibid., p. 110. Parallel readings from *Resolves* and the two Younge pamphlets are on pp. 110-112.

16Ibid., p. 113.
Ejaculations, Divine, Morall &c. Being an Extract out of Divers Worthy Authors, Antient and Moderne (1640). In his prefatory remarks, Herne professes that the papers he publishes in Ros Coeli would have been lost had he not preserved them. By 1640, Felltham's Resolves had gone through six editions; it seems highly unlikely that they should need Herne's pirated versions to save them from oblivion. Nevertheless, Herne

... used the Resolves freely: occasionally, a few passages in Felltham's work became independent sections in Ros Coeli or were scattered throughout the latter work; in other instances, entire essays were lifted verbatim with the elimination only of a few sentences. But at one point Herne evidently grew tired of the thankless task of thinly disguising his piracies, for he turned to six of Felltham's essays, dropped one, edited the others haphazardly, and copied them in exactly the same order as that given by his victim.

The last writer to borrow from Resolves during Felltham's lifetime seems to have been John Gadsbury, a noted astrologer. In London's Deliverance Predicted (1665), he sought to prove by astrology that the end of the plague was at hand. Although he has recourse to Felltham's phrasing and imagery frequently, only once does he indicate that he is quoting someone else, and then not by name.

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17C. A. Patrides, "Bacon and Felltham: Victims of Literary Piracy," N&Q, N. S., V (1958), 63-65. For the specific resolves plagiarized, see notes 5-9, pp. 64-65.

18Ibid., pp. 64-65.

19Robertson, "The Use Made of Owen Felltham's 'Resolves,'" pp. 113-114.
B. The Eighteenth Century

The last substantial plagiarism from Felltham's *Resolves* occurs in the early eighteenth century. The *Entertainer: containing Remarks upon Men, Manners, Religion and Policy* appeared serially in 1717-1718. The work was probably the product of many hands; and at least one of the contributing authors, Robertson speculates, was addicted to *Resolves*.²⁰

The first explicitly critical statements made about *Resolves* since those in Thomas Randolph's poem, almost exactly a hundred years before, occur in John Constable's *Reflections upon Accuracy of Style* (1734).²¹ The *Reflections* are cast in the form of dialogues. In the Third Dialogue, between Critomachus, Eudoxus, and Cleander, Constance twice has something to say about Felltham's *Resolves*. Early in the dialogue, Eudoxus compares the styles of Callicrates (a pseudonym for an early eighteenth-century essayist) and Felltham, inserting a short quotation from each of eight resolves. He then comments:

... I thought that sort of Style wou'd not be of a lasting credit, because it is too violent. And according to the proverb, *nihil violentum diuturnum*, no Author who writes unnaturally, whose expressions are apparently forced and artificial ... can be long approved (pp. 72-73).


To this, Cleander answers:

I daily enter more into your opinion, that a natural smooth way of writing, is far preferable to that high-flown way (p. 73).

In all fairness to Felltham, it should be noted here that the eight examples that Constable quotes are not indicative of the best style in Resolves; in many places Felltham exhibits as "natural" and as "smooth" a way of writing as that of the best essayists of the eighteenth century. His frequent inversions, his proclivity for neologisms, and his occasional fanciful use of imagery are, of course, not the kind of writing that Constable obviously prefers.

Indeed, the second criticism of Resolves occurs during a discussion of the proper use of metaphors in writing. From Dryden's dedication to the History of the League, Eudoxus quotes a metaphor of which he approves (pp. 104-105). It employs meteorological terminology and is rather brief. He then quotes the "vast and spacious sea" metaphor which begins Felltham's resolve Of the temper of Affections (L. 62), remarking:

... a discreet Author shall leave off a Metaphor before you begin to think it too long, while another shall run it on into the tiresome lengths of childishness and affectation. ...

This example, compared with that of Mr. Dryden, will sufficiently shew the difference between a metaphorical representation carried smoothly and naturally on to a just extent, and one that runs into a tedious kind of childishness (pp. 105-106, 106-107).

These remarks led Sir Samuel Brydges to remark in his Censura Literaria (1805) that Constable had "in many
instances exposed [Felltham's] pedantical, affected, and unnatural phrase,"\(^{22}\) an attitude toward Resolves which colored much of the nineteenth-century criticism of Felltham's style.

The only other eighteenth-century literary figure to quote Felltham or discuss his work is Samuel Johnson. Either he or his amanuenses seem to have known Resolves well; several quotations from the work are used, "with approval," to illustrate definitions of words in Johnson's famous Dictionary (1755).\(^{23}\) Four years later, in an Idler essay on the subject of translation, Dr. Johnson mentions Felltham:

Feltham appears to consider it as the established law of poetical translation, that the lines should be neither more nor fewer than those of the original. . . .\(^{24}\) He alludes to a passage from "To The Readers," prefaced to the 1628 edition of Resolves, in which Felltham comments on his translations of the Latin verses which appear in the book.\(^{25}\) Dr. Johnson shared Dryden's opinion that a translation should be close enough to convey the author's sense, but loose enough to convey his spirit (p. 217).

In the eighteenth century, an age in which critics

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\(^{22}\)London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, I, 24.

\(^{23}\)Robertson, "The Use Made of Owen Felltham's 'Resolves,'" p. 115.


\(^{25}\)See "To The Reader," The Long Century, below.
considered some of Shakespeare's imagery too fantastic, it is not unreasonable to suppose that both the critic and the general reader found the language and the conceits of Felltham's Resolves forbidding. Toward the end of the century, however, there was awakened in the literary world an interest in the antique; paralleling this in the world of everyday was a renewed call to piety. Since Felltham's book was both antique and pious, it is hardly surprising that a new interest in it was forthcoming. The impetus for this revived interest seems to have been a letter to the editor of a popular periodical:

Mr. URBAN

March 9.
The present age being peculiarly partial to splendid new editions of popular books; I am much astonished to find several books of real merit which are still suffered to remain in obscurity. I will not say the books I am about to mention are popular, but they are such as will ever be read both with pleasure and profit. Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Feltham's Resolves, and Fuller's Holy State, are worthy of being brought forward in improved editions. The Works of Mr. Fuller are all of them too excellent to remain buried in oblivion.

Yours, &c.

CRITO. 26

In a year's time, a part of Crito's plea was answered.

C. The Nineteenth Century

Although Felltham's work was edited and published in 1800, eighteen years passed, during which there were two additional British editions and an American one, before it was reviewed in a periodical. The second London edition of

26 *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXIX (1799), 200.
The Beauties of Owen Felltham (1818) evoked a short comment in the Gentleman's Magazine:

The original Publication of Felltham, in 1661, is a Work of which the merit has long been well established; containing truths not only of the first importance, but also of an uncommon degree of beauty; though sometimes encumbered with quaint ideas and obsolete expressions.

Following this is a short quotation from the introduction by the editor, J. Vine (a pseudonym), in which he discusses his modernization of the work. The review concludes:

In its present form the work has an eminent tendency to advance the interests of sound Religion and Morality, and to convey instruction in very pleasing language (p. 347).

Although quite brief, this review sets the tone of Felltham criticism to come in the nineteenth century. On the one hand, there is an appreciation of the pious sentiments expressed in Resolves; on the other, a deprecation of the style in which these sentiments were expressed. This critical ambivalence is very like that directed toward Sir Thomas Browne and the metaphysical poets during the same era.

By the time that James Cumming issued his second edition of the Resolves (1820), nineteenth-century clergymen, notable among them Bishop Newton in his Practical Dissertations, had begun to quote Felltham's work in their

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27See above, section II, item 16.

28Anonymous review, LXXXVIII (1818), 346.

29See above, section II, item 17.
This second Cumming edition provided the occasion for a strange review. The comment begins with a discussion of seventeenth-century casuistry, practitioners of which professed the "ability to resolve Cases of Conscience": he then comes to the conclusion that "to the study of this science we owe this book, and to the public taste of the day its passing through so many editions." The next three paragraphs of the review are a discussion of seventeenth-century religious prose in general, including the usual complaints about the "quaintness of expression," "obscure comprehension of the idea" on the part of the author, and "elaborate and artificial construction" of the arguments (p. 55).

Late in the article, he comes to Felltham's work itself:

The book before us is a Cabinet in the fashion of the day; full of gorgeous ornaments of mother of pearl and shells; and is curiously carved, braced and hinged (p. 56).

He quotes passages from Resolves, praising the "singularity and richness of the work," the figures of which he finds "both curious and excellent." He then makes his most incisive evaluation:

30 Robertson, "The Use Made of Owen Felltham's 'Resolves,'" p. 115.

the principal characteristic of Feltham's writing, is the singular poetical ingenuity which he uses to illustrate his ideas. His similitude and allusions are inexhaustible; very rarely common-place, and generally as a-propos and felicitous, as they ingeniously dovetail with the other matter (p. 56).

In 1823, a pious contributor to The London Christian Instructor, or Congregational Magazine, happened upon a copy of the ninth edition of Resolves (1670) and reviewed it for his magazine. As is the case of so many nineteenth-century articles on Felltham, the first part is taken up with speculation on who and what the author was, and is filled with much unavoidable misinformation. Most of the rest of the review is a collection of long quotations from Resolves. Some of the reviewer's comments, however, deserve attention:

Owen Felltham was, unquestionably, a man of talent, and, though he is seldom elevated, and never profound, he frequently produces a strong impression by the liveliness of his fancy and the richness of his language (p. 375).

His style is deficient in ease; he is continually in quest of point and antithesis, and when, which is frequently the case, he is successful in the search, he gives it an air of effort and elaboration, which materially abates from the effect (p. 376).

Owen Felltham frequently degenerates; he sometimes annoys by pedantry, offends by affectation, and disgusts by grossness, though the latter, when it occurs, which is not often, has the air of bad taste rather than of tainted imagination (p. 377).

The reviewer lists some of Felltham's "hard words" and "fantastic phrases"; then he makes the comment, "His violations of decorum we shall leave where we found

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32 Anonymous review, VI (1823), 375-77.
them . . ." (p. 377). It is a pity that the reviewer does not cite any of the passages he considers "violations of decorum," since it is hard to imagine what he could find offensive.

The best known nineteenth-century review of Resolves is the one appearing in the Retrospective Review of 1824. Although it is a review of the eighth edition (1661), the reviewer lists all of the first twelve editions of Resolves, and then gives some account of James Cumming's editions.33 Of these, he remarks:

As two impressions of this re-publication have appeared, we are bound to assume, that it has met with fair encouragement; but we have seldom seen it ourselves in the hands of general readers, and we cannot help suspecting that our review will introduce it to the notice of many who never even heard of the name Owen Felltham (p. 344).

The reviewer then compares Resolves to Bacon's Essays, Civil and Moral, commenting that Felltham's differ from Bacon's essays in their "direct personal application to the person of the author," although,

. . . they otherwise bear a frequent resemblance in manner, and still more in matter, the subjects of a great many of the Resolves being the same as those treated on by the illustrious writer alluded to (pp. 344-345).

Later, he extends the comparison, saying of Felltham:

Like the Great Chancellor, too, he often brings the imagination of the poet to aid the wisdom of the philosopher. Bacon has been much extolled for the

---33Anonymous review, X, 343-344. See above, section II, items 15 and 17.
splendour of his imagery: we doubt whether many
metaphors could be produced from his works,
surpassing the beauty of [some of] those . . .
from the Resolves (p. 346).

The reviewer's criticism is judicious:

The style of Owen Felltham is not always equal. He
is occasionally prolix; his illustrations are two
[sic] multiplied; and his language is sometimes
loose and familiar. He [has an] antithetical and
pruning propensity. . . . But his general style is
nervous and appropriate; rather close and pointed
than diffusive, though at times really eloquent.
. . . He is prodigal of metaphor and quotation, and
has, perhaps, on that account, been accused of
pedantry; but, surely, if to quote at all from
ancient writers be allowable, such allusions as
[Felltham uses] add both force and interest to the
maxims they are intended to support (p. 345).

He comments on Cumming's 1820 edition, calling attention to
the fact that it represents merely selections from Resolves,
not the whole work, and that the editor has "curtailed" some
of the quaint expressions in the book. This might be
necessary to make the book more acceptable to the general
reader of the nineteenth century, the reviewer concedes, but
he adds:

For our parts, however, we confess, that we cannot
so easily consent to part with the little quaintnesses
of style, which, to our minds, convey a greater charm
than more polished diction; . . . we are content to
pardon all the puriencies we have yet discovered in
Owen Felltham's Resolves (p. 355).

Of the content of the book, he says:

Proceeding from style to sentiment, we are every
where, in the Resolves, impressed with a high
opinion of our author's excellent good sense and
knowledge of mankind (p. 347).

He quotes many passages from Felltham's work to illustrate
this point, commenting meanwhile:
Another of Felltham's merits is his liberal allowance for the failings of others, and the kindly feeling with which the sternest of his reproofs is tempered (pp. 348-349).

And concluding:

But the highest excellence of the Resolves— an excellency, before which every merit of composition sinks into insignificance—is the purity of the religious and moral principles they exhibit (p. 350).

He calls special attention to some of the resolves, quoting from a few at length, and mentions some of the works in Lusoria, the poems and occasional pieces that made up a part of the eighth edition. He concludes:

We lay aside the Resolves, as we part from our dearest friends, in the hope of frequently returning to them. We recommend the whole of them to our readers' perusal. They will find therein more solid maxims, as much piety, and far better writing, than in most of the pulpit lectures now current among us (p. 355).

The second American edition of Felltham's work (1832) provided the occasion for what seems to be the first American review and criticism of Resolves. The essay begins, as do the British ones of the same period, with speculations about the author:

Scarcely anything is known of the life of this old Christian moralist. We have his folio of wit and wisdom, but the man is invisible. From a recounting of the few known facts of Felltham's life, the reviewer turns to internal evidence from Resolves.

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34See above, section II, item 18.

drawing from that evidence an interesting and valid conclusion about Felltham's point of view in his essays:

He says very little directly about himself. You have the man's mind as plainly before you as the face of a friend, but this is seen chiefly as it is exercised and affected by its subject. Self appears to be regarded by him as a moral nature to be studied, guarded, and improved; and his meditations extending to almost everything that concerns humanity, are of an exceedingly practical character; and by sincerely consecrating them all to the purpose of strict self-application, he has secured for them the easier access to the heart of every reader (p. 453).

Of the style of Resolves, the reviewer says:

His distinguishing quality is good sound sense, the very plainest sense, and sometimes the very coarsest; but yet far from being arid or cold; a degree of unction, warmth, or pleasantry always shows how closely opinion and feeling were joined in his mind. What he conceived vigorously he was willing, according to the taste of the age . . . to tell in any way that seemed most forcible. He has recourse to illustrations from all quarters; the merest pedantry comes as heartily from him as the growths of his ever active fancy. All antiquity is ransacked for parallels and enforcements, and with these is mingled the most delicate or the strongest painting of what he has himself beheld or imagined. Thought is heaped on thought, conceit upon conceit. There is little of modern finish in the "composure," little of the rhetorician's completeness, or of the artist's detail and assemblage. He tells all he has to say just as the ideas come to him mind, with no lingering upon one pleasant image or thought, and no artful transition to another. His particularity is the result of plenty, and not of a desire to be minute or complete. There are few pictures ready made for us, but materials for a thousand, and we may make them for ourselves. It is worth while to read him if but to see how well it is to stop and meditate upon a briefly despatched thought, instead of always following out dilated thoughts with a pleasing sense of something still to come, which we are to reach wholly by the aid of another (p. 454).

On the other hand, there is some adverse criticism of Felltham's style:
It must be allowed that he is sometimes very ordinary and tedious, and with apparently as little consciousness of it as of his eminent beauties. The amount of common-place, we suppose, is large in all writings; to disguise it is pretty easy in verse, but one of the triumphs of prose. Felltham cares no more about a poor thing of his own than a good one. He would disdain to concentrate all he knew or thought in one flame or sparkle;—and after breaking forth in mild or full splendor, he is perfectly ready to pass again into the cloud, and without ever irradiating it (pp. 454-455).

And later, in a harsher vein:

For the most part, he expresses himself clearly and in short sentences, with very little grace, but still with much that is picturesque in the diction. Sometimes, as if by accident, he gives us a passage of surpassing beauty, that might satisfy the most fastidious modern ear. Sometimes he falls into the most puerile inversions and a most vicious kind of rhythm. . . .

Felltham's use of language is often as strange and offensive as these singularities of style. Like his contemporary, Sir Thomas Browne, he delights in the manufacture of most hideous words from the Latin. . . . a downright, wilful, barefaced departure from current language, and as we believe, in a spirit of sheer affectation and pedantry (p. 458).

Yet, he is not to be put off by what he considers lapses in good writing:

. . . we become engaged with the character of our tranquil advicer, and the charm of intimacy makes us desire more and more of his writings, with all their inequalities and deficiencies; and we read them again and again with the same equable satisfaction (p. 455).

Of the century-long decline in the appreciation of Felltham, the reviewer remarks:

The serenity or apparent indifference to fame in these old writers seems to be a pledge that they will never utterly perish. Their long obscurity is a sort of proof of their disinterestedness. They had something to say for our good, and were
willing to wait for the season when we could perceive
their merit, and value their intentions, and make a
fair allowance for their defects (p. 455).

The first discussion of Felltham in a work of literary
history seems to be that in Henry Hallam's Introduction to
the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and
Seventeenth Centuries (1837-9). Discussing Resolves as one
of a group of seventeenth-century literary works "more worthy
of consideration for their matter than for the style in
which it is deliveres," he remarks:

For myself, I can only say that Feltham appears
not only a labored and artificial, but a shallow
writer. Among his many faults, none strikes me more
than a want of depth, which his pointed and sentitious
manner renders more ridiculous. There are certainly
exceptions to this vacuity of original meaning in
Feltham: it would be possible to fill a few pages
with extracts not undeserving of being read, with
thoughts just and judicious, though never deriving
much lustre from his diction. He is one of our worst
writers in point of style; with little vigor, he has
less elegance; his English is impure to an excessive
degree, and full of words unauthorized by any usage.
Pedantry, and the novel phrase which Greek and Latin
etymology was supposed to warrant, appear in most
productions of this period; but Feltham attempted to
bend the English idiom to his own affectations. The
moral reflections of a serious and thoughtful mind are
generally pleasing; and to this, perhaps, is partly
owing the kind of popularity which the Resolves [sic]
of Feltham have obtained; but they may be had more
agreeably and profitably in other books (II, 150-151).

After several examples from the language of Resolves, Hallam
remarks:

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36 The edition cited is an American one, 4 vols. in 2
(New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1880), II, 150. The discussion
of Felltham is in Part III, Chapter VI, "History of Moral and
Political Philosophy and of Jurisprudence from 1600 to 1650."
And we are to be disgusted with such vile English, or properly no English, for the sake of the sleepy saws of a trivial morality. Such defects are not compensated by the better and more striking thoughts we may occasionally light upon (II, 151, n. 1).

Hallam does manage to see in Resolves "a certain contemplative melancholy, rather serious than severe, in respect to the world and its ways," and attributes to that melancholy the fact that Resolves "seem to have a charm," that may account for "the editions they have gone through and the good name they have gained" (II, 151, n. 1).

The "very elegant" Pickering edition (1840) occasioned an odd note in the Gentleman's Magazine. The only critical statement in it is highly ambiguous, referring to Resolves as "a well-known and ingenious work which has been praised as much as it deserves." The reviewer closes with the remark, "We must say in justice that Mr. Pickering is the only publisher who puts forth new editions of works of standard value, amid the loads of modern rubbish that are making the press sweat and groan" (p. 402). He then calls for new editions of old works, including the unpublished sermons of Jeremy Taylor.

S. Austin Allibone, in his Dictionary of Authors: A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors, living and deceased: from the Earliest Accounts to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century (1859), has

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37 See above, section II, item 19.

38 N. S., XIII (1840), 402.
a rather lengthy entry on Owen Felltham. It includes speculations on his biography; a list of editions of *Resolves*, quotations from the *Retrospective Review* article and Hallam's book, and two quotations from *Resolves*. The only critical comment is Allibone's reference to the book as "a work of great ability" and "an excellent work."  

The last long periodical article on *Resolves* in the nineteenth century appears in *Meliora* (1862). The anonymous essayist begins with a discussion of the essay as a form, calling attention to the fact that the English have been pre-eminent in the genre. Of the class of essay that he labels "Thoughts, Meditations, Emblems, Resolves," he comments:

> There is in this sort of writing a greater degree of compressed, almost aphoristic, thought, a more familiar and earnest pointedness of personal address, a graver tone of self-application, and a kindlier vein of exposition and expostulation than in 'Essays' properly so called... Their friendly, advice-giving, interested, and interesting tone made such writings liked; their brevity and pithy polish; their sort of learning-in-undress literateness, their pleasant profitableness made them attractive and influential. Each of their readers, like their authors, could enjoy them lovingly and say, 'Et sic demulcio vitam' (p. 90).

He refers to Felltham as:

> One of the best of those writers—an author in whose brief remarks and observations or maxims, there are combined a sweet piety, a solid good sense, a moral and religious purity, and a geniality of spirit considerably more intense than is usually current among men... (p. 90).

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39I, 585.
40"Owen Felltham and his 'Resolves,'" IV, 89-90.
He then speaks of "the delight, the satisfaction, the benefit we believe we have ourselves received from their study" (p. 90).

The inevitable speculation on the author's biography is longer than that in most of the essay-reviews examined so far, eleven pages (pp. 91-101). When the essayist returns to a discussion of Resolves, he comments on Felltham's

... reflective, ingenious, sprightly, and perspicuous style of thought, which combines in a great degree the point and polish of modern composition with the warmth and geniality of the olden time; and includes touches of eloquence and refinement of expression and character which it would do us all good to imitate (p. 101).

After quoting briefly from five resolves, he concludes:

Extracts might be indefinitely multiplied, each surpassing the other in some quality, in acute insight into the heart, in faithful expostulation, in richness, depth, and pregnancy of meaning; in force and pathos; in power of thought and elegance of expression; ... in Owen Felltham's 'Resolves' there are unfolded to the reader the pages of a clear, methodical, expansive, many-thoughted, acute, and faithful Christian man's soul, and therefore that it interests us much to know and read and feel the truths which he enunciates. An honest man's voice can seldom be too often heard.

Felltham's 'Resolves' abound in just and judicious thoughts; they are the reflections of a serious and intelligent, widely observant man; they are suffused with a sort of contemplative melancholy that looks upon the causes of the multiplied miseries of human life with a saddened rather than a censorious eye. They are full of a kindly charity which endeavours to calm and soothe, to console and cordial man's estate; and they are imbued with a Christian earnestness which anxiously exerts itself to dissolve and dispel the perplexities and uncertainties of man regarding his origin, condition, duty, sufferings, and destiny. Devout aspirations, penitential and grateful reflections, sincere confessions, variety of sentiment, a learned yet
unpedantic scholarship, a style always perspicuous, often striking, not unfrequently quaint, give this book a charm and worth which recommend it to the notice of those who like to possess themselves of ingenious, sagacious, manly, and felicitously-expressed thought. Aiming not at the discussion of large and vast speculations, or deep and unplummeted inquisitions into morals and religion, but intending to be a wise companion, a Christian adviser, a judicious prompter, a conscientious friend, an engaging inspirer of moral life and feeling, Felltham has eminently succeeded. Among the thinkers of his time, he almost alone has held the field against the oblivion in which the gliding years enwrap the labours of men. He has not, indeed, sought to 'reason high' upon the 'mysterious mysteries' of life, providence, fate, &c., but he has been contented to think about and advise regarding the attainment of the highest happiness and the holiest pleasure, and has endeavoured to lighten up life by glimpses of the radiance of eternity (pp. 102-103).

The Victorian literary historians, with the exception of Hallam, give Felltham rather short shrift. Thomas Arnold (1862) discusses Resolves in a single sentence squeezed between discussions of Bishop Hall and Sir Thomas Browne. Obviously he had not read the book since he defines "resolve" as used by Felltham to mean the "solution of a problem." Joseph Angus (1856?) gives the work two rather long sentences, in the first of which he states wrong information about the publication dates of the early editions, and in the second a resumé of Hallam's earlier criticism of the book, concluding with the remark that "others find there occasional picturesqueness of expression, and a fine vein

of thought." George Saintsbury (1898) gives the book only slightly more space. He asserts that Felltham's "fame rests entirely on his Resolves," which he describes as

... a book of Essays, showing the extremely strong nisus of the time toward that form. There are a hundred and eighty-five of them, the subjects and the general treatment being not unlike Bacon's, though far less magniloquent. Yet Felltham wrote well, thought wisely, and sometimes gives curiously fresh traits and touches of his time in manner as well as thought.

Saintsbury anticipates the twentieth-century penchant for authentic texts, calling the Cumming edition a "somewhat garbled form" and stating a preference for those editions of Resolves published during Felltham's lifetime and immediately afterwards.

Selections from Resolves were published in two well known nineteenth-century anthologies. The earlier of these was George Burnett's Specimens of English Prose-Writers from the Earliest Times to the Close of the Seventeenth Century, &c. (1807). The editor chose five resolves and used the 1806 Cumming text. Over eighty years later, two resolves...
were included in Henry Craik's English Prose Selections. Volume two of the anthology (1894), entitled Sixteenth Century to the Restoration, was edited by A. I. Fitzroy, who in his introductory remarks to Felltham's resolves defends that author's style: "Felltham writes pleasantly and well" (p. 287). He also comments favorably on Felltham's good sense and the wisdom exhibited in Resolves.

By the end of the nineteenth century, interest in Resolves had definitely waned; in the first half of the twentieth century, it almost completely disappeared.

D. The Twentieth Century

What seems to be the first critical comment on Felltham's Resolves in this century is an unfavorable one. An anonymous reviewer for the Quarterly Review (1902) states: "He wrote what is probably the worst English that has ever been written," echoing Hallam's sentiment of sixty-five years earlier.

The last edition of Resolves was published in 1904 as a part of the Temple Classics. In 1905, Richard Garnett and Edmund Gosse describe the work as a part of an "underwood of Theophrastian character-sketches" that includes Earle's

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50 See above, section II, item 21.
Microcosmography and William Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants. The individual resolves, according to Garnett and Gosse, "were technically essays" in the character tradition; and the two literary historians give an interesting reason for the rise of character writing in the earlier seventeenth century: "The fashion for these studies was greatly encouraged by the decay of the drama, and particularly by that of comedy." This comment, of course, completely ignores the greater part of Felltham's work, which certainly cannot be considered a collection of characters.

J. J. Jusserand (1909) has no use for Resolves; discussing the work as a part of the character genre, he concludes:

Felltham, who ceaselessly fluctuates between paradox and banality, confining himself as much as possible to abstractions, in the hopes apparently of belonging to all times (but who only succeeded in being of none), is among the least valuable of all. There is little profit to glean in hearing him descant with good intention on hope, poverty, "the uncertainty of life," "Time's continual speed," or in examining with him whether woman is inferior to man.52

Harold V. Routh, in Chapter XVI of The Cambridge History of English Literature (1910), discusses the importance of Felltham and his Resolves in the history of the English essay:


Bacon proved the possibilities of this type of literature as a repository of miscellaneous and desultory meditations. His influence is seen in such men as Owen Felltham, who, endowed with an interest in moral problems, and a certain mastery over reflective prose, published essays from time to time. These, apparently, were intended as exercises for confirming and strengthening the writer in his own opinions, and show only occasional efforts at an imitation of Bacon's gnomic style. And yet, Felltham's respectable, though commonplace, moralisations established the essay's right to embrace even sacred topics; especially are the virtuous deeds of the ancients selected with no little intuition to illustrate Christian ideals.53

An even more sympathetic discussion of Felltham and his Resolves is in Hugh Walker's The English Essay and Essayists (1915). Walker devotes four pages to Felltham and his work; much of this discussion is a comparison of Felltham with Bacon:

The Resolves are written, not without ease, but certainly with care. It is the ease which comes from study, not from indifference. Felltham's discipleship to Bacon is clear; but so is the greatness of the distance at which he follows his exemplar. . . . Felltham's essay on death is obviously founded upon and indebted to Bacon's essay on the same subject; but Of Man's Unwillingness to Die [L. 13] shows how much more rhetorical and how much less massive in thought the minor writer is. He loves ornate phrases . . . to which there is no parallel in Bacon. Occasionally he paraphrases Bacon. . . .54

There are other differences between the scholar Felltham and the master Bacon besides the enormous difference in force and genius. Bacon's subjects


54 London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., pp. 63-64.
are . . . generally political or ethical. Felltham's are more distinctively religious, or moral with a religious tinge . . . . The very subjects [of Resolves] are suggestive of the pulpit, and the treatment is in accordance with the subjects. Now the vice of the pulpit has commonly been a tendency to truisms, a fatal proneness to take "glimpses into the obvious." And it is Felltham's vice too. A good example is to be found in the essay Of Time's continual Speed [L. 9]. It is written with more than usual care, and, so far as mere harmony of sound is concerned, the result is more than usually pleasing. Unfortunately the thought is trite and ordinary. . . . (p. 65).

Of Felltham's relationship to other writers of his generation, Walker remarks:

There are well-marked differences, both of endowment and of purpose between Felltham and the character-writers. The author of the Resolves had plenty of wit, though, apparently not much humour. But in the Resolves, as a rule, his aim was not to display either. By far the most witty of his writings is that bright and lively performance, A Brief Character of the Low-Countries under the States, where, far more than in the Resolves, we are reminded that he was a contemporary of Earle (p. 64).

Walker points out a similarity between parts of Resolves and William Drummond of Hawthornden's A Cypress Grove, a prose meditation on death published in 1623; he thinks that Felltham's Of Time's continual Speed (L. 9), an "undeniably fine" piece of writing, has "something in the cadence of the sentences which suggests that Felltham may have read" Drummond's meditation (pp. 65-66).

In his A History of English Criticism (1925), George Saintsbury again expresses an appreciation of Felltham's Resolves, this time defending it against Hallam's attack,
which he considered unjust.\textsuperscript{55} 

The most lengthy discussion of Felltham's \textit{Resolves} to appear in this century is that of Elbert N. S. Thompson in his \textit{The Seventeenth-Century English Essay} (1927). In a discussion of genres, he places the resolve with the meditation and the injunction, distinguishing the three from the essay in general by their "decidedly hortatory character."\textsuperscript{56} He notes, however:

In Felltham's work, the precise style of the resolve or injunction is not always observed. The shorter pieces of the first part are more apt to assume the hortatory form, and to end with some pious determination on the author's part than are the longer essays of the second section (p. 74).

Of Felltham's style, he remarks that the epigrammatical sentences which occur frequently in \textit{Resolves}... can hardly be carried in solution, and Felltham's prose often loses ease and continuity. He was too fond of balance and metaphor to be natural. But many passages... are written with real beauty (pp. 75-76).

And later:

Felltham's... style bears plainly the marks of Attic prose. Carefully balanced clauses are the rule. ... Felltham resorts often to metaphors... Neat similes... can be frequently found... Illustrations... are nicely woven into the body of the thought (pp. 127-128).

Although "A Biography and Bibliography of Owen Felltham" (1928) is primarily a work of scholarship, Max D. Cornu makes a valuable critical statement in his speculation

\textsuperscript{55}London: Blackwood, p. 407, n.

\textsuperscript{56}University of Iowa Humanistic Studies, III, no. 3, 66.
on the reasons for the popularity of *Resolves*. Writing of the pieces that made up the first edition (reproduced below as the Short Century), he comments:

...Felltham's resolvs, though preceding both of them, belong to the same tradition as the *Christian Meditations* of Bishop Hall and the centuries of *Thoughts* of Thomas Fuller. It is doubtful, however, whether either the form or content of this print was such as to warrant further editions had not Felltham added to them, in 1628, a second century [reproduced below as the Long Century] in which he shows a marked improvement in style and thought. In these later essays the "resolve element is reduced to a subordinate position, when not quite overlooked" and the subjects discussed are in many cases worldly. Such topics as public scandal, music, marriage, puritans [*sic*] and war are here enlarged upon objectively, much after the manner of Bacon, the 1625 edition of whose *Essays or Counsels* may very likely have contributed to Felltham's change of tone.57

Douglas Bush (1945) picks up and amplifies Thompson's remarks. Bush states, "The familiar essay's capital is personality and style,"58 and he finds both Felltham's personality and his style delightful:

...Felltham upholds wisdom and the amateur ideal of culture against mere knowledge and pedantry.

...Books are Felltham's delight and recreation, not his trade. His praise of poetry has an intimate warmth which reminds us that he was a poet in his own right. ... As a devout Anglican and royalist, who


58 *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 190. I am quoting from the 1945 edition. A second edition, revised, was issued in 1962; Bush's comments on Felltham remain unchanged, but the pagination is different.
could look back on Charles the First as 'Christ the Second,' Felltham was a man of piety but not a pietist. His essay on Puritans [L. 5] illustrates his fundamental reverence for 'the beauty of order' in the Church, in society, and in the individual. Although he seeks the via media in all things—except the love of God and hatred of evil—and although the commonplaces of religion and morals are his staple article, he can, more than most didactic essayists, make virtue sound exciting and moderation adventurous. Felltham's harmony of Christianity and Stoicism is tempered and sweetened by a love of life and literature, by philosophic charity and undogmatic good sense. His moralizings on death and mutability and vainglory, as well as his Christian Stoicism, carry us forward, if not to Urn Burial, at least to Christian Morals (p. 191).

With other critics, Bush finds Felltham's style "pointed," but remarks that it "does not exclude homeliness or metaphysical wit" (p. 192).

The most recent major literary history to treat Felltham and his Resolves does so inaccurately. Tucker Brooke, in A Literary History of England (1948), relegates Felltham to a single footnote, and in that note makes two errors. The bibliographical information is wrong, and the description of Resolves as "a collection of short essays written in the style of the character books" indicates that Brooke had probably not read any of the resolves other than Of Puritans (L. 5), the most frequently anthologized one.

It should be noted here that Brooke died before reading the proofs of his section of the work; had he lived, he might have corrected the errors mentioned.

The only periodical essay on Felltham's Resolves to

appear in this century is McCrea Hazlett's "'New Frame and Various Composition': Development in the Form of Owen Felltham's Resolves" (1953). Hazlett is concerned almost exclusively with the rhetorical development exhibited in each of the three major groups of resolves. Of the 1623 century, reproduced below as the Short Century, he writes:

The fundamental characteristics of the early resolves are simplicity in form and style, brevity, fixed structure, and a marked personal quality.

. . . . Felltham usually begins the meditation with a moral proposition, which, by setting and limiting the topic, points toward the ultimate vow. . . . The proposition is followed by an expansion, or development, which pursues and enriches the original thought and which frequently leads into the resolution by expounding the idea in personal terms. . . .

Not all of the resolves in the Short Century follow this form, however:

As one might expect, there are variations from this standard form. The proposition is developed differently in different essays. More often than not it is partitioned, each part being given a slight development. . . . In a few resolves Felltham begins with a solution and permits the abstract elements to develop with it. . . . With very few exceptions, however, the variations occur within the formulary framework, and most of the pieces seem to build up to the author's resolution (p. 95).

In connection with rhetoric, Hazlett discusses style:

It is coherent with the other characteristics of these earliest resolves that, compared with the later ones, they should be stylistically spare. Their dominant syntactic characteristic is shortness of period and absence of subordinate elements. Perhaps as a result of the violent transitions, a single idea is frequently stated in several ways. Often it is

60mp, LI, 94.
expressed abstractly and repeated in one or more metaphors. Intellectual pretentiousness is absent from the early resolves. They contain none of the voluminous quotation of Latin and Greek authors so frequent in seventeenth-century prose; anecdotes and metaphors are usually drawn from homely subjects. Such comparative stylistic simplicity throws into relief the essential characteristic of the form: building through a meditation to a climatic personal resolution (p. 95).

Of the tone of the resolves in the Short Century, he writes:

. . . the earlier resolves are not primarily designed to sway the reader. Felltham thought of them as being private and personal. . . . Felltham conceived his resolves to be as personal in their function as they are in their tone. They are moral guides by which the author can right himself, if necessary. As such, they are nearly devoid of devices to persuade others. The author's attitude toward his audience is casual and careless, for his own use of his pieces is all he desires, and his own valuation of them is all he respects. If they persuade, it is not by conscious employment of cogent argument or by adornment of style. Their unique rhetorical appeal is closely associated with that of the testimonial, an appeal from the author. Felltham depends on his statement of the idea to reveal its goodness, and on his vow to persuade the reader to follow it. If the earliest pieces are ineffectual rhetorically, we must remember that this was of little importance to Felltham. Their initial popularity was perhaps more due to their embodiment of the popular stoicism and liberal Anglicanism of the age than to their persuasive power (p. 96).

In this last comment, Hazlett makes what I consider a mistake in lending too much credence to Felltham's statement that he did not intend the resolves of the Short Century for publication. Such a disavowal of public recognition for a gentleman's literary labors is a commonplace in the Renaissance. If Felltham did not intend these early resolves for publication, why did he allow them to be rushed into print in the comparatively short time of a year after their composition? A certain amount of professed modesty was
necessary, especially since Felltham was a lad of but eighteen or nineteen when the first edition of Resolves was published.

Hazlett discusses the resolves of the second century, reproduced below as the Long Century, and the revisions of the 1661 edition, reproduced below as the Revised Short Century, together:

The most striking changes in the second century and in the revisions first published in 1661 are increased length, a tendency to develop structure from the subject matter rather than to follow a formula, removal of emphasis from the personal element, and substitution of other rhetorical appeals. Metaphors, anecdotes, formal arguments, and the authority of classical quotations and citations are far more numerous in the later resolves. Felltham seems to have acquired over the years greater interest in persuading the reader. As a result, he dropped his cavalier attitude and attempted, by the appeals of metaphor and logic, to move his audience to accept and act on his moral views (p. 96).

The expanded format allows two changes in the technique of development:

In the first place, the meditative portions are so expanded as to become dominant. In the second place, the resolution undergoes important modifications in proportion and placement. The additions to the meditative or expository portions of the resolves account for most of the increased length. Not only did Felltham expand the material he devoted to his original idea, adding refinements of various sorts, but he also introduced new concepts (p. 96).

The expansion is accomplished primarily by "the addition of metaphors" (p. 97). The large number of metaphors in the resolves of the latter two centuries . . . reveals Felltham's changed concept of the nature and function of the resolve. A writer of a poetical turn of mind, reminding himself of certain moral
truths and asserting his intention to follow them, may permit himself one or two metaphors. For his own use he would not invent ten. If, however, he hopes to persuade his audience, one of the most effectual means at his disposal, particularly if the audience is of "the middle sort," is the vivid representation of his ideas in a series of striking and apt similitudes. This is the heart of the rhetoric of the late pieces and the essence of the change in Felltham's concept of their nature and function (pp. 97-98).

Of the second change noticeable in the resolves of the Long Century and the Revised Short Century, Hazlett comments:

Along with the expansion of the expository or meditative portions of the original resolves comes marked modification of the resolution itself. In some of the new pieces . . . , there is no resolution whatsoever. Even where it is present, however, there are modifications. In many pieces it has ceased to be terminal and has been mingled with the other elements throughout. Often it has been compressed from its original length (p. 98).

Since the longer resolves are not properly "testimonials," they must be developed along other lines:

In place of the formula appears a type of structure which springs from the subject matter and in which the rhetorical appeal is derived from the cogency of the argument, the authority of learned quotation and citation, the vigor and aptness of the examples, and the piling-up of vivid conceits. These later pieces may be loosely categorized as either discursive or methodical in structure. In those of the former type, the ideas follow one another in an informal way, developing by suggestion from one to the other. In the latter, the development consists of a partitioning of the subject or a reasoned arrangement of the arguments (p. 98).

Beginning in 1628 and culminating in 1661, Felltham's technique in Resolves exhibits . . . a change from brief, formalized, essentially personal pieces to richer essays, individualized in their structure, and clearly designed to persuade (p. 94).
The new pieces are still designated "resolves," but they have become "essays" in the broader sense of the word.

Felltham has been poorly represented in twentieth-century anthologies of English literature. One resolve, On Dreams (L. 52), appears in A Book of English Essays (1600-1900), edited by S. V. Makower and B. H. Blackwell (1913).61 The editors have modernized the spelling and have substituted the word "flood" for "urine." The same resolve and another, Of Improving by Good Examples (R. S. 61), are included in W. Peacock's English Prose (1921).62 The text used is that of the 1661 edition. Jacob Zeitlin prints seven resolves in his Seventeenth Century Essays from Bacon to Clarendon (1926);63 all are from the Long Century (L. 5, 8, 23, 39, 51, 52, and 70), and are taken from the 1634 edition of Resolves.

Selections from Felltham's Resolves have appeared infrequently in anthologies designed for use as textbooks. Of Puritans (L. 5) is included in George B. Woods' The Literature of England (1936),64 and Of Poets and Poetry (L. 70) is in James Tobin's College Book of English Literature (1949);65 but neither Grebanier's English

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63 Modern Students Library (New York: Scribner), pp. 78-98.
Literature and Its Backgrounds (1939, revised 1949)\textsuperscript{66} nor Abrams' The Norton Anthology of English Literature (1962)\textsuperscript{67} even mentions Felltham or Resolves.

Even one widely-used specialized anthology of seventeenth-century English literature does not include Felltham: the White, Wallerstein, and Quintana collection, Seventeenth-Century Verse and Prose (1951).\textsuperscript{68} Roberta Brinkley's English Prose of the XVII Century (1951) has sixteen pages devoted to Felltham;\textsuperscript{69} the very brief introductory statement contains no critical appraisal; but seven resolves are reproduced, with modernized spelling and punctuation, in their entirety (1. 2, 14, 48, and 70; S. 27, 41, and 88).

By far the best treatment given to Felltham and his Resolves in this century has been by Coffin and Witherspoon in their A Book of Seventeenth-Century Prose (1929)\textsuperscript{70} and Seventeenth-Century Prose and Poetry (1946),\textsuperscript{71} and by Witherspoon and Warnke in their second edition of the latter

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{66}2 vols. (New York: The Dryden Press).
\item \textsuperscript{67}2 vols. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.).
\item \textsuperscript{68}2 vols. (New York: The Macmillan Co.).
\item \textsuperscript{69}New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.), pp. 367-382.
\item \textsuperscript{70}New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
\item \textsuperscript{71}New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, pp. 458-474.
\end{itemize}
Thirteen resolves are anthologized: L. 5, 8, 14, 20, 23, 30, 39, 46, 48, 51, 52 and 70; and S. 27.

In the 1946 edition, Coffin and Witherspoon remark that the essays of the Long Century are "less sententious than the earlier, and Bacon's influence is noticeable throughout the book". (p. 458), but seem to contradict themselves a paragraph later:

The author's method and style savor rather of Sir Thomas Browne than of Bacon. As with Browne the most engaging thing about Felltham is the spirit in which he wrote his essays, and like Browne and other early essayists, he was a gentleman rather than an author, an amateur of the art of writing, not a professional man of letters (p. 459).

The statement of greatest praise that they have for Felltham's Resolves is that the book "furnishes probably the best examples of the moral essay of the seventeenth century" (p. 459).

In the 1963 edition, Witherspoon and Warnke assert that Felltham's work occupies "an important place in the development of the English essay" (p. 317). They point out its "balance and sanity of temper" and remark that the essays introduce as to a likeable, tolerant, and witty gentleman whose poetic sensitivity frequently kindles into memorable passages of beauty and perceptiveness. . . (p. 317).

Of the prose of Resolves, they remark:

Felltham's merit as an essayist rests at least as much in his style as in his thought; he is a master of the "Senecan" style, with its aphoristic brevity,

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witty conciseness, and conversational rhythms. In reading the *Resolves*, however, one seldom has the impression that Felltham employs the Attic style for fashion's sake; the style seems rather the natural and appropriate garb for the author's disposition of mind, and his best passages have, like Browne's, an air of inevitability despite their originality (p. 317).

Of the neglect which the book has suffered, they comment:

Like many of the other prose artists of the seventeenth century, Felltham experienced a revival in the early nineteenth century, a period which prized him for his "quaintness." He has not been subject, in our own time, to the re-examination which has elevated the prose of Donne and Browne to such a position of prominence, but the reader with a taste for the eccentric elegance of seventeenth-century prose will always give Felltham an honored, if small, place in his library (pp. 317-318).
IV. A Further Examination of Resolves

Any comments that I might make about the literary ancestry of the resolve, the changing form of the resolve in the various editions of Felltham's work, and the literary style of Resolves would necessarily be repetitious, since Thompson, Hazlett, and Bush have adequately covered those subjects.\(^1\) There are some approaches to the analysis of Resolves, however, that have not yet been taken. The following discussions, though not exhaustive, indicate directions for future study.

A. Felltham's World View in Resolves

Although in his *The Elizabethan World Picture*, Tillyard looked primarily to the works of writers earlier than Felltham for examples of the concepts he was listing and explaining, all of the ideas that he catalogues in his book could have been documented fully by looking only to Felltham's Resolves. A brief examination of the contents of Tillyard's work, with accompanying references to Resolves will prove this assertion.

The first concept that Tillyard discusses is that of Order: "the conception of order is so taken for granted, so much part of the collective mind of the people, that it is hardly mentioned except in explicitly didactic passages."\(^2\)

\(^1\)See above, section III D.

For "explicitly didactic passages" on the subject of Order, one has to look only to Felltham's resolve The great Good of Good order (S. 81):

... in the Firmament, we see how all things are preserved by a glorious order: the Sun hath his appointed circuit, the Moone her constant change, and every Planet & Starre their proper course and place. ... The earth likewise hath her unstirred station; the Sea is confined in limits. ... In this world, Order is the life of Kingdoms, Honours, Arts: and by the excellency of it, all things flourish, and thrive.

In the resolve Of Charitie (L. 86), Felltham quotes the eighth metrum in the second book of Boethius's The Consolation of Philosophy and translates it thus:

That the world in constant force,
Varies his concordant course:
That seeds iarring, hot and cold,
Doe the Breed perpetuall hold:
That the Sunne in's golden Car,
Does the Rosie Day still rere.
That the Moone swayes all those lights,
Hesper vshers to darke nights.
That alternate Tydes be found,
Seas high-prided waues to bound;
Lest his fluid waters Mace,
Creeke broad Earths invallyed face.
All the Frame of things that be,
Louve (which rules Heaven, Land, and Sea)
Chaines, keepes, orders, as you see.

The two resolves cited above were written in the 1620's. Over thirty years later, having experienced the anarchy of the Civil War and periods during the Interregnum, Felltham was moved to write, in the resolve Of Peace (R. S. 84):

IF men knew rightly, how to value Peace; as is the Empyreal Heaven, this lower world might be. Where all the motions of the comprehending Orbs, all the several Constellations, and the various Position of the Stars, and Planets, produce a beauteous Chorus, and a Harmony truly ravishing.
The second concept which Tillyard discusses is that of Sin. Basically, sin to the Elizabethan was the revolt of angels or man against God's good order:

... the part of Christianity that was paramount was not the life of Christ but the orthodox scheme of the revolt of the bad angels, the creation, the temptation and fall of man, the incarnation, the atonement, and regeneration through Christ (p. 18).

Again, in his resolve The great Good of Good Order (S. 81), Felltham writes:

Onely in hell is confusion, horroour, and amazing disorder. From whence the wicked man shewes himself sprung, for there is nothing that like him, liues so irregular, and out of compasse. Disorder is a bird of the Diuels hatching. . . .

In Of Peace (R. S. 84), Felltham sees redemption as coming from peace in God's order:

This is the cement betwen the Soul and Deity, between Earth and Heaven. It leads us softly up the milky way, and ushers us with Musick to the Presence of Divinity, where all her Rarities are heap'd and strew'd about us.

The next concept which Tillyard discusses is the Chain of Being:

This metaphor served to express the unimaginable plenitude of God's creation, its unfaltering order, and its ultimate unity. The chain stretched from the foot of God's throne to the meanest of inanimate objects. Every speck of creation was a link in the chain, and every link except those at the two extremities was simultaneously bigger and smaller than another: there could be no gap (pp. 25-26).

This idea is implicit in the latter two of Felltham's resolves already quoted; it is quite explicit in The great Good of Good Order (S. 81). He writes specifically of the "fixed Starres" and the "wandring Planets" of the Ptolemaic
universe. In the resolve of curiosity in Knowledge (L. 27), he writes of the useless arguments of some scholastics: "Some will know Heauen as perfectly, as if they had been hurried about in every Spheare; and I thinke they may." In Of the losse of things loued (L. 31), he asks: "What one sublunarie Center is there, which is able to receiue the circles of the spreading soule?" In That all things are restrained (L. 41), he writes of the "infinite circles about one Center." Reflecting both the interdependent concepts of Order and the Great Chain in How hee must liue, that liues well (L. 100), he writes:

For our selues; wee need order: for our neighbour, Charity; and for our God, our Reuerence, and Humility; and these are so certainly linked one to another, as he that liues orderly, cannot but bee acceptable, both to God, and the world. Nothing iarres the worlds Harmony, like men that breake their rankes. One turbulent Spirit will dissentiate euen the calmest kingdome. Wee may see the beauty of order, in nothing more, then in some princely Procession. . . .

Another closely related concept is that of Correspondences. Tillyard defines it as "a number of planes, arranged one below another in order of dignity but connected by an immense net of correspondences" (p. 83). Felltham's mind obviously worked in terms of correspondences. The idea of man's being a correspondence to a kingdom is implicit in the following passage from How to establish a troubled Gouvernment (S. 15):

My passions, and affections are the chiefe disturbers of my Ciuill State: What peace can I expect within mee, while these Rebels rest vnouercome? If they get a head my Kingdome is diuided, so it cannot stand.
In Government and Obedience the two causes of a Common Prosperitie (S. 53), Felltham is concerned with order in affairs of state. He then remarks, "As it is in the larger, and more spacious vworld; so is it in the little world of Man," a very explicit statement of the microcosm-macrocosm aspect of the Correspondences.

There are more instances of correspondences in the Long Century. In Of Fame (L. 15), Felltham writes of "the Common-wealth of Man." In That all things haue a like progression and fall (L. 49), he writes:

Plants, fishes, beasts, birds, men, all grow vp by leasurely progressions: so Families, Provinces, States, Kingdomes, Empires, haue the same way of rise by steps.

In Of Dreams (L. 52), Felltham comments that when man is asleep,

The minde is then shut vp in the Burrough of the body; none of the Cinque-ports of the Ile of Man are then open, to in-let any strange disturbers.

Of course the idea of the Isle of Man is not original with Felltham; it is a common allegory of the period which is based on Correspondences. In Of Travaile (L. 87), he is again explicit: "A Kingdome to the world, is like a Corporation to a Kingdome. . . ."

The last idea discussed in Tillyard's work is the Cosmic Dance, the "notion that the created universe was itself in a state of music, that it was one perpetual dance" (p. 99). In the next paragraph, he elaborates:
The idea of creation as a dance implies "degree," but degree in motion. The static battalions of the earthly, celestial, and divine hierarchies are sped on a varied but controlled peregrination of the accompaniment of music. The path of each is different, yet all the paths together make up a perfect whole (p. 100).

In Of Dancing (R. S. 70), Felltham makes it clear that he approves of the practice. As is so often the case in the later resolves, he begins his discussion with a historical survey. He supposes that the art arose from man's "jollity of Nature," but that it also had more noble precedent:

We need therefore the lesse wonder, that some of the Ancient Grecians should so much extoll it, deriving it not only from the Amoenity and Floridness of the warm and spirited bloud; but, deducing it from heaven it self, as being practiz'd there by the Stars, the Conjunctions, Oppositions, the Aspects and Revolutions, the Ingresses, and the Egresses, and the like; making such a Harmony and Consent, as there seems a well-ordered dance amongst them.

Of course Felltham's beliefs about the nature of creation are not confined to the relatively few ideas that Tillyard discusses in The Elizabethan World Picture. For instance, Felltham accepted without question the idea that the world is composed of four elements: air, earth, fire, and water. For an ancient authority, he undoubtedly went to the discussion of Pythagorus's theory in Diogenes Laertius (VII, 25). In Of Death (L. 47), Felltham writes of man's body after death as being

... only a composure but of the two baser Elements, Water, and Earth: that now it is these two only, that seeme to make the body, while the two purer, Fire and Ayre, are wing'd away, as being more fit for the compact of an elementall and ascentiue Soule.
In Of the Soule (L. 64), he mentions the theory that the soul is "nothing but a Harmony, conflated by the most even composure of the foure Elements in man," but does not say whether he accepts the theory. Of Assimilation (L. 69) begins:

Throw the whole World this holds in generall, and is the end of all; That every thing labours to make the thing it meetes with, like it selfe. Fire converts all to fire. Ayre exsiccates and drawes to it selfe. Water movstens, and resolveth what it meetes withall. Earth changeth all that wee commit to her, to her owne nature.

Corresponding to the four elements in the world are the four humors in man. In That no man can be good to all (L. 23), Felltham mentions the "variation of the bodies humours" that causes the variation in man's character. Of the correspondence of elements to humors, Felltham writes in Of Opinion (L. 59):

One delighteth in Mirth, and the friskings of an Ayerie soule: another findeth some thing amiable in the saddest looke of Melancholy. This man loues the free and open-handed; that, the grasped fist, and frugal sparing.

In addition to writing of all four humors together, Felltham frequently speaks of the "chollericke man (S. 47; L. 2, 12, 36, 40, 54, 73, etc.) and the "melancholike man" (L. 5 and L. 59).

In connection with the elements and the humors, it is interesting to note two minor theories that Felltham accepted. One concerns stones and metals. In Of Assimilation (L. 69), he writes:
Nature is so farre from making any thing absolutely idle, that euen to stones, and dullest Meddals, shee hath giuen an operation: they grow, and spread, in our generall Mothers veines: and by a cunning way of incroachment, coozen the Earth of it selfe: and when they meete a Brother'd Constitution, they then unite and fortifie.

The second has to do with infection. Mention of the Plague is rather frequent in Resolves, as it is in many other prose works of the period. Medical men of Felltham's time were not aware that the Plague was carried by germs on the bodies of fleas, and they attributed its spread to many different carriers, one of which was the air itself. In Of Truth, and bitterness in iests (L. 38), Felltham speaks of "corrupt Ayre," which requires "many Antidotes, to keepe vs from beeing infected. . . ."

In 1650-1654, Bishop James Usher (or Ussher) published his famous chronology of the world, Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti, in which he set the date of creation in 4004 B.C. For a rather long time prior to Bishop Usher's work, men had believed that creation occurred approximately four thousand years before the birth of Christ. In That all things haue a like progression and fall (L. 49), first published in 1628, Felltham writes of the Roman Empire under Augustus, who reigned from 44 B. C. to A. D. 14, as existing "when the World was, within a very little, aged 4000. yeeres." The 4000 years before the birth of Christ was commonly divided into two periods: 2000 years of "Natural" law and 2000 years of Mosaic law. Men of the seventeenth century expected there to be approximately 2000 years of Christian law before
the Second Coming. Felltham, however, believed that "there are promises that the latter dayes shall be shortned," and that "wee cannot expect the like extent of time after it, which we finde did goo before it." His world, then, was a world fast decaying:

Nor can wee thinke, but that Decay, which hastens in the ruine of all lesser things, will likewise bee more speedy in this. If all things in the World decline faster by farre, then they doe ascend; why should we not beleue the World to doe so too?

Since all things had decayed, Felltham believed himself to be living in "this the crazed age of the World" (That mis-conceit ha's ruin'd Man, L. 29). He continues (L. 49):

I know not what certaine grounds they haue, that dare assume to foretell the particular time of the Worlds conflagration. But surely in reason, and Nature, the end cannot be mightily distant. We haue seene the Infancie, the Youth, the Virility, all past: Nay, wee haue seene it well stept into yeeres, and declination, the most infalible premonitors of a dissolution. Some could beleue it within lesse then this 29. yeeres, because as the Flood destroyed the former World, 1656. yeers after the first destroying Adam; so the latter World shall be consumed by fire, 1656. yeeres after the second saving Adam; which is Christ. But I dare not fixe a certainty, where God hath left the World in ignorance. The exact knowledge of all things is in God onely.

It is good that Felltham did not "fixe a certainty," since he lived twelve years beyond the speculated date of the Second Coming, and he included this same resolve, without

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3For a complete discussion of the effect that this idea of decay had on Renaissance writers, see George Williamson, "Mutability, Decay, and Seventeenth-Century Melancholy," ELH, II (1935), 121-150.
alteration, in the eighth edition of *Resolves*, published five years after 1656.

Critics and literary historians have called Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* encyclopedic, and certainly it is. Felltham's *Resolves* is something of an encyclopedia also, a fairly comprehensive collection of both commonplace and esoteric beliefs held by conservative Englishmen in the earlier seventeenth century.

**B. Felltham's Use of Imagery in *Resolves***

Various reviewers and critics have commented on Felltham's felicitous use of Latin quotations and other illustrations, primarily historical, to illustrate the points he is making in *Resolves*. As yet, no one has made a study of the imagery. Many of the resolves are as carefully constructed as poems; and, like poems, they depend to a large degree on imagery for both their beauty and their meaning. And as a corollary, Felltham’s use of images drawn from the world outside of books tells us something about the man himself.

Some of his more striking images are drawn from ships and sailing. Characteristically, the Christian's life is compared to a ship's journey:

Though [Death] bee the wicked mans shipwracke, 'tis the good mans putting into harbour: where striking sayles, and casting Anchor, he returnes his lading

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^See above, section III, passim.
with advantage, to the owner: that is, his soule to
God; leauing the bulke still mored in the Hauen; who
is vnrigg'd, but onely to be new built again, and
fitted for an eternall voyage (S. 13).

In warning himself not to neglect the duty of prayer, Felltham
compares the prayerful Christian to a good sea captain:

The vigilant Mariner sailes with the first winde,
and though the gale blow somewhat aduersely, yet
once launched forth, hee may either finde the blast,
to wombe out his sailes more fully, or else helpe
himselfe, by the advantage of Sea-roome: whereas he,
that rides still anchor'd in the Riuer, and will
sayle with none, but a wind faire, may either lye
till hee lose his voyage, or else rot his Barke in
the Harbour (S. 61).

Felltham also believes that virtue must be uncloistered:

Those that are throughly arted in Nauigation, doe
as well know the Coasts, as the Ocean, as well the
Flawes, the Sands, the Shallowes, and the Rockes; as
the secure depths, in the most vnperillous Channell.
So, I think, those that are perfect men, (I speake of
perfection since the fall) must as well know bad,
that they may abtrude it; as the good, that they may
embrace (L. 12).

The most beautiful and most appropriate of the images drawn
from nautical experiences is one concerning a telescope:

Meditation is the soules Persective glasse: whereby,
in her long remove, shee discerneth God, as if hee
were neerer hand (L. 14).

Two striking aphorisms are based on imagery drawn from
fishing, and both seem worthy of Isaak Walton. In Of
Preaching (L. 20), Felltham writes of the power that a good
public speaker can exert:

Diuinitie well ordered, casts forth a Baite, which
angles the Soule into the eare: and how can that
cloze; when such a guest sits in it?

The metaphor may be mixed; it is, nonetheless, effective.
The following metaphor is unmixed, and it shows that Felltham
obviously knew something of fishing first hand. In *Against Compulsion* (L. 51), he writes:

Little Fishes are twitched vp with the violence of a sudden pull; when the like action cracks the line, whereon a great one hangs.

Two good illustrations are drawn from hunting or shooting:

*Publike Reproofe*, is like striking of a Deere in the Herd; it not onely wounds him, to the losse of inabling blood: but betrays him to the Hound, his Enemie: and makes him, by his *fellowes*, be pusht out of companie (L. 8).

And:

... *Fame* often playes the *Curre*, and *opens*, when she *springs no* game (L. 23).

Felltham probably had not seen war first hand when he wrote the resolves of the Long Century. Nevertheless, he uses war instruments as metaphors in two resolves:

*Enemies*, like *Miners*, are euer working, to blow vp our vntainted names. ... I will thinke that endeour spent to purpose, that either makes a Friend, or vnmakes an Enemie. In the one, a Treasure is wonne; in the other, a Siege is raised (L. 21).

... is *content* such a slender tittle, that 'tis nothing but the *present now*; fled sooner then enjoy'd? like the report of a *lowd-tongu'd Gunne*, ceas'd as soone as heard: without any thing to shew it has beene, saue *remembrance* only (L. 22).

One entire resolve of the Long Century is devoted to the subject, *Of Warre, and Souldiers* (L. 90). In it, Felltham makes some rather naïve observations about fighting:

For the *weapons* of War, they differ much from those of ancient times: and I beleue, the *invention of Ordnance* hath mightily saved the *lives* of men. They *command* at such *distance*, and are so *unresistable*, that men come not to the *shock* of a *Battell*, as in
former Ages. We may observe, that the greatest numbers, have fallen by those weapons, that have brought the Enemies nearest together.

Significantly, when Felltham had lived through the Civil War and came to write the resolves of the Revised Short Century, he omitted references to war and composed one of his most moving resolves in praise of its opposite, Of Peace (R. S. 84).

Felltham liked music when he felt that it moved men to virtue and not to vice (Of Musicke, L. 88), and he draws on the art for illustrative purposes:

When I heare the ravishing straines, of a sweet-tuned voyce, married to the warbles, of the Artfull Instrument; I apprehend by this, a higher Diapason; and doe almost beleeeve, I heare a little Deity whispering (L. 14).

As in Musicke sometimes one string is lowder, sometimes another; yet never one long, nor never all at once: So sometimes one State gets a Monarchy, sometimes another; sometimes one Element is violent, now another; yet never was the whole world under one long, nor were all the Elements raging together. Every string has his use, and his tune, and his turne (L. 41).

The Idle man is like the dumbe Jacke in a Virginall: while all the other dance out a winning Musicke, this, like a member out of joyn, sullens the whole Body, with an ill disturbing lazinesse (L. 48).

The young Felltham seems to have known something of chess, tennis, and fencing. In considering a man's rank in life, he writes:

... while the game is playing, there is much difference between the King and the Pawne: that once ended, they are both shuffled into the bag together: and who can say whether was most happy, saue onely the King had many checks, while the little Pawne was free, and secure (S. 9)?
Of the four periods of a man's life, Felltham comments:

In all, he is in the Court of this world, as a ball bandied between 2. rackets, Ioy, & sorrow: If either of them strike him ouer, he may then rest: otherwise, his time is nothing, but a constant motion in calamitie (S. 57).

Using illustrations drawn from fencing, he writes:

'Tis easie to know a beginning swearer: he cannot mouth it, like the practised man. Hee oathes it, as a cowardly Fencer playes; who, as soone as he hath offered a blow, shrinkes backe: as if his heart suffered a kinde of violence by his tongue... (L. 19).

He that is to play with a cunning Fencer, will heed his Wardes, and advantage more; who, were he to meet with one vnskilfull, hee would neglect, or not thinke of them. Strong opposition teaches opposition to be so (L. 28).

From two such widely disparate occupations as carpentry and hairdressing come the last two illustrations in this discussion:

Socrates calls Nature, the Reason of an honest man: as if man, following her, had found a square, whereby to direct his life (L. 19).

A kemb'd Oration will cost both sweate, and the rubbing of the braine. And kemb'd I wish it, not frizzled, nor curl'd. Diuinitie should not lasciuiate (L. 20).

As is evidenced by all of the above quotations, Felltham had a gift for apt metaphor, and the metaphor is frequently based on a striking image. These aphoristic passages are often too striking, as E. N. S. Thompson has suggested, to be "carried in solution," but on three occasions in the Short Century Felltham was able to write

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5The Seventeenth-Century English Essay, p. 75.
resolves so tightly controlled in imagery that each might be termed as metaphysical wit.

C. Metaphysical Wit in Resolves

Although we ordinarily think of metaphysical wit in terms of poetry, a case might be made for its use in the prose of some Renaissance writers. Sir Herbert J. C. Grierson has given what is probably the best definition of the metaphysical technique: "passionate, paradoxical argument, touched with humour and learned imagery." While there is much wit in Felltham, especially in the earlier two centuries of resolves, there is little humor. If we set aside the notion that humor is a necessary ingredient in metaphysical wit, two of Felltham's resolves might quality as metaphysical (S. 28 and S. 80); if we insist upon humor, only a third (S. 57) is eligible.

Of the two humorless resolves, Sanctitie is a Sentence of three Stops (S. 80) is more loosely written than is A Christian compared in a three-fold condition to the Moone (S. 28). In both the statement of theme is made in the first sentence:

A Christians voyage to heauen, is a sentence of three stops: Comma, Colon, Periodus (L. 80).

Wee see in the Moone a threefold condition, her Wane, her Increase, her Full: all which, I liuely see resembled in a Christian, three causes working them: Sinne, Repentance, Faith (S. 28).

The development of the former is not particularly full:
He that repents, is come to the Comma, and begins
to speake sweetly, the language of saluation; but
if he leaues there, God vnderstand not such abrupt
speeches. . . . 'Tis he that confesseth & forsakes
his sinne, that shall find mercy: 'tis his leauing
his wickednesse, that is as his Colon, and carries
him halfe way to heauen. Yet heere also is the
Clause vnperfect, vnles he goes on to the practice
of righteousnesse, which as a Period knits vp all,
and makes the sentence full (S. 80).

There is, also, extraneous material: mention of a pirate
and a man who deserts in battle.

There is, however, a full development in the latter;
and after Felltham has discussed each stage at some length,
he draws a further comparison between the moon and the
Christian:

. . . for as the Moone when she is least visible,
is a Moone as well, as when wee see her in her full
proportion; onely the Sunne lookes not on her vvith
so full an aspect, and shee reflects no more, then
she receiues from his: So a Christian in his
lowest ebb of sorrow, is the Childe of God, as well,
as when hee is in his greatest flow of comfort,
onely the Sunne of Righteousnesse darts not the
beames of his loue so plentifully, and he shewes no
more, then God giues him (S. 28).

He then concludes with a metamorphosis of the moon into the
sun:

Sinne may cast me in a trance, it cannot slay me:
it may bury my heat for a time, it cannot change
my beeing: it may accuse, it shall not condemn:
Though GOD deprive mee of his presence for a time,
he will one day re-inlighten mee, polish mee, and
crowne mee for euer: where the Moone of my
inconstant ioy shall change to a Sunne, and that
Sunne shall neuer set, be clouded, or eclypsed.

The third resolve, The vanitie and shortness of mans
Life (S. 57), is, as its title suggests, not intended to be
humorous. It is certainly witty, and it is the kind of wit
that leads the writer into the same kind of trap that Donne set for himself in punning on his own name in his serious religious poem "A Hymn to God the Father." Undoubtedly both Felltham and Donne were writing from conviction in these two works, but the results are so clever that they cause the reader to question the sincerity behind them.

Felltham begins his resolve by noting that man's "yeeres at full are forescore and ten," which he divides, according to Pythagoras's model, into four equal parts: "He is first Puer, then Iuuenis, next Vir, and after Senex." The resolve is a discussion of the problems met in each of the four periods. In concluding the piece, Felltham writes that he has not yet passed the first of these stages and he does not know whether he will be allowed the full measure of all four. If he is not, he rests content that an early death is God's will:

... though I wish not the full fruition of all, yet doe I desire to borrow a letter from each: So instead of Puer, Iuuenis, Vir, & Senex: giue mee the foure first letters, which will make me P I V S.

All three of the above resolves were written when Felltham was "but Eighteen." They reveal a youthful passion for wit that cannot be held in check by piety. In the resolves of 1628 and 1661, Felltham is frequently witty, but never as consciously so as in these examples from his earlier work.
D. Felltham's Neologisms in Resolves

One of the frequent nineteenth-century complaints about Resolves was that its language is filled with fantastic and "barbarous" words. The same fascination with words that manifested itself in the "P I V S" of resolve S. 57 showed itself all through Felltham's writing career in his practice of creating new words. These newly coined words number well over a hundred; but they are primarily of three types, and a few examples of each type will illustrate his method.

The first are created by using a noun or an adjective for a verb or a verbal:

... nor does the sedulous Bee, thyme all her thighes from one flowres single vertues (L. 12).

Like the Crocadile, he slimes thy way, to make thee fall... (L. 21).

... though pleasure merries the Sences for a while: yet horror after vultures the vnconsuming heart... (L. 25).

... when, like Nero, thou should'st Taverne out thy time with Wantons... (L. 57).

The words of the second group are created with affixes:

... whosoeuer looke but steadfastly vpon her, could not, but insoule himselfe in her (L. 9).

The Papists pourtray [God] as an old Man: and by this meanes, disdeifie him... (L. 16).

Vn-wormwooded Iests I like well; but they are fitter for Tauerne, then the Maiestie of a Temple (L. 20).

... Even blushing brings [Maidens] to their Devirgination... (L. 77).

6See above, section III C, passim.
The words of the third group are properly "inkhorn terms," derived primarily from Latin:

... how like a nated Sop. ... (L. 12).

... perfect men ... must ... know bad, that they may abtrude it. ... (L. 12).

... the slynnesse of a vulpine craft (L. 12).

... nor is there any whom Calamity doth so much tristitate, as that he neuer sees the flashes of some warming ioy (L. 41).

The OED lists Felltham's Resolves or plagiarisms of it as the first use of each of the above words. Much work needs to be done on the subject of Felltham's neologisms; this brief discussion is only a bare suggestion of the richness to be found in Resolves.

E. Felltham's Tone in Resolves

McCrea Hazlett has written a pioneer work on the changes in the form of the resolves from the Short Century of 1623 to the Revised Short Century of 1661. He does not, however, consider in any detail the change in tone that was made during that same period.

The resolves of the Short Century are personal, directed for the most part to Felltham himself, and very serious in tone. They present their author as a pious, but unfortunately not a very interesting, young man, who like serious young men in all ages is eager to point out and

share his piety. Only once in the hundred resolves does he speak directly to the reader, and the tone of his remark is condescending: of prying out the secrets in a friend's heart he remarks, "this, if I may speake freely, I count as a fault" (S. 35).

The Owen Felltham of the resolves of the Long Century is five years older. He has learned some Latin and some history, and he eagerly parades his newly-acquired knowledge. He does not cite the sources of his quotations or illustrations: "for a Gentleman, I hold it a little pedantical" ("TO THE READERS," The Long Century). Although the resolves, or more properly essays, of the Long Century are in themselves far more interesting than those of the Short Century, the tone of many of them is still a trifle presumptuous.

The years between 1628 and 1661 mellowed Owen Felltham. No longer compelled to prove himself, he is natural and warm in the resolves of the Revised Short Century. He is still pious, but his piety gives the impression of being completely unaffected. In the Short Century and the Long Century, he had often written in generalities, giving examples, but not from his own life. In the Revised Short Century, he writes of "Going with some Gentlewomen to a Play at Salisbury Court" (R. S. 61). In that same resolve, he tells of two tradesmen who were honest in their dealings with him when he would have not detected any dishonesty. Of these two good examples, he writes:
I will not have the vanity, to say, These passages have rendered me better,: Nor am I ashamed to confess, that I have sometime remembered them with profit.

This is goodness without ostentation. And it is written in the tone of one man speaking to an equal.

By the remarks above, I have not meant to indicate that Felltham is anywhere in Resolves offensive or rude to the reader. As the essayist matured, however, the tone of his work reflected that maturation; and the fifty-seven-year-old man of 1661 is a far more likeable person and a more interesting essayist than is the eighteen-year-old youth of 1623.
V. This Edition of \textit{Resolves}\textsuperscript{1}

Since the third edition of \textit{Resolves} (1628), there has been confusion in the labeling of the centuries of essays. In this third edition, Felltham reversed the order of the first and second centuries; and in the eighth edition (1661), he added to the confusion by replacing the original century of 1623 with a "century" of eighty-five partly-new and partly-revised essays. In an attempt to clarify matters, I have relabeled the centuries. Discarding the labels "first" and "second," I have substituted "Short" for the 1623 century, "Long" for the century added in 1628, and "Revised Short" for the eighty-five resolve century of 1661. The centuries are placed in chronological order, and the corresponding resolves of the Short and Revised Short Centuries are cross-referenced in the footnotes.

The text followed in the Short Century is that of the 1623, or first, edition. Titles to the individual resolves of that century have been supplied, without comment, from the third edition, 1628. The text of the Long Century is from the second edition, 1628. The text of the Revised Short Century is from the eighth edition, 1661.

Only in a few rare cases of obvious misprints (transposed or inverted letters) have I altered the text in any way, and those alterations are always footnoted. All other changes have been typographical. For the long s of

\textsuperscript{1}See above, section II, "The Editions of \textit{Resolves}."
the original, I have substituted modern usage. Words which have been contracted by the omission of _m_ or _n_ (as indicated in the original by a tilde over the preceding vowel) have been expanded silently. The _cq_ abbreviation for the Latin suffix "que" in many of the quotations has also been expanded without comment.

No attempt has been made to indicate the alternate spellings of words or alternate punctuation. Since the eight editions of _Resolves_ collated for this edition span the change in the use of _u-v_ and _i-j_, as well as the dropping of many terminal _e_'s, there would necessarily be a variant for nearly every word in the Short and Long Centuries. Also, much of the spelling peculiarities and punctuation marks are probably the work of the printer rather than of the author. Variants in capitalization and the use of italics are also disregarded, since they, too, were usually a printing convention.

Textural notes are indicated by superior letters; all other notes by arabic numerals. Italicized numbers in the textual notes refer to the editions of _Resolves_ listed above in Section II of this Introduction.
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Owen Felltham

RESOLVES:

DIVINE, MORALL, POLITICALL.
The Face of the Booke

Vnmasked.¹

HEere, th'Vniuerse in Natures Frame,
Sustain'd by Truth, and Wisedomes hand,
Does,² by Opinions empty Name,
And Ignorance, distracted stand:

Who with strong Cords of vanity, conspire,
Tangling the Totall, with abstruse Desire.

But then the Noble Heart infir'd,
With Rays, divinely from aboue,
Mounts (though with wings moist, and bemir'd)
The great Gods glorious Light to proue,

Slighting the World: Yet selfe renouncing, tries
That where God drawes not, there she sinks, & dies.

¹Doth, 6.

²This verse is prefaced to the engraved title page in 3-8; it is a translation and an explanation of the Latin and Hebrew labels of the allegorical figures. Although the engraving of the title pages was done at different times by three different artists, John Morris, William Marshall, and Robert Vaughan, they remained essentially the same pictorially. The most beautiful of the engravings, that done by Robert Vaughan for the eighth edition, is reproduced on the following page.
Engraved Title Page, Eighth Edition
Owin Felltham

RESOLUES: DIVINE, MORALL, POLITICALL

[The Short Century]

[1623]
The Epistle Dedicatarie.\(^1\)

TO THE MOST VERTVOVS, DISCREET, AND Noble; the Lady DOROTHY CRANE,\(^2\) daughter to the right Honorable, and Religious, the Lord HOBART.\(^3\)

MADAME,

If euer Resolutions were needful, I thinke they be in this Age of loosenesse; wherein, 'twere some vnhappinesse to bee good, did not the Consciousnesse of her owne worth, set vertue firme, against all disheartnings. This makes her of so specious a glorie, that though shee need not the applause of any, to adde to her happinesse; yet she attracts the hearts of all that know her, to Loue, Seruice, Admiration. That I haue sacred this offertory of my thoughts to your Ladyship, this is reason inough; if not, your Loue to my dearest friend, may second it. To apparell any more in these paper vestments, I should multiply impertinents; and perhaps displease. For I haue euer found face-commendation to dye Wisdomes cheeke of a blush-colour. Discreet Nature is alway modest, and deseruing best, loues least to heare on't. This onely I will truely adde: that I know not the thing of that value, should make me shrine vp a worke of

\(^1\) Prefaced to the Short Century, \(^1\)-\(^7\).

\(^2\) Born 14 March 1591/2.

\(^3\) Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
this nature, to any, in whom I could observe, the possibility of a failure in Vertue. Such a Dedication were to put Vertue to a Step-dame, that would not nurse, but stifle her. With your Goodness, I am sure, shee shall finde the tendernes of a maternall love. And if in these weak extractions, your Judicious eye light you to ought, increasing that affection (all by-respects put away) my next Petition will bee: that it may please you to command

Your immutable servant,

OW. FELTHAM.
TO THE PERVERSER.  

To beginne with Apologies, and intreate a kinde Censure, were to disparage the Worke, and begge partialities: equall with Ostentation I ranke them both. If thou bee'est wise, pleasing words cannot bline thy judgement from discerning errors, wheresoeuer they appeare. If thou bee'est foolish, they can neither blanch thy folly, nor make thee thinke better, than thy indiscretion leades thee to. Requests from others, may sway our words, or actions; but our mindes will haue their owne free thoughts, as they apprehend the thing. Internall judgement is not easily perverted. In what thou shalt heere mete with, use the freedome of thy natuie opinion: Et Lectorem, et Correctorem liberum volui.  

I shall euer professe my selfe his debtor, that greetes me with reprehensions of Loue. The noblest part of a friend, is an honest boldnesse in the notifying of errors. He that tells me of a fault, ayming at my good; I must thinke him wise and faithfull: wise, in syping that which I see not: faithfull in a plaine adminishment, not tainted with flattery. That I haue made it publique, I pleade not the importunitie of friends: that were to play at Hazzard for

Prefaced to the Short Century, 1-7.

I wish both a reader and a corrector of my book.
folly, if it prooue not. I writ it without incouragement from another; and as I writ it, Ic send it abroade. Rare, I know it is not: Honest, I am sure it is: Though thou findest not to admire, thou maist to like. What I aime at in it, I confesse, hath most respect to my selfe: That I might out of my owne Schoole take a lesson, should serue mee for my whole Pilgrimage: and if I should wander from these rests, that my owne Items might set me in heauens direct way againe. We doe not so readily run into crimes, that from our owne mouth haue had sentence of Condemnation. Yet, as no Phisician can be so abstemious, as to follow strictly his own prescriptions: So I thinke there is no Christian so much his minds master, as to keepe precisely all his resolutions. They may better shewe what hee would be, then what he is. Nature hath too slow a foote, to follow Religion close at the heele. Who can expect, our dull flesh should wing it with the flights of the soule? He is not a good man that liues perfect; but hee that liues as well as he can, and as humane fraileties will let him. He that thus farre striues not, neuer began to bee vertuous; nor knowes he those transcending joyes, that continually feast in the noble-minded man. All the externall pleasures that mortality is capable of, can neuer enkindle a flame, that shall so brauely warme the soule, as the loue of vertue, & the

cI omitted, 5.
certaine knowledge of the rule we haue ouer our own wild passions. That I might curbe those, I haue writ these: and if in them, thou find'st a line may mend thee; I shall think I haue diuulg'd it to purpose. Reade all, and vse thy mindes libertie; how thy suffrage falls, I weigh not: For it was not writ so much to please others, as to profit my selfe.

Farewell.

Ad Librum:

--Quid miser egi?

Quid volui? Dices.

3To you, the book: What did I do wrong? You will answer, What did you intend?
RESOLVES:
DIVINE, MORALL, POLITICALL.

S. 1. Of Idle Bookes. ¹

IDLE bookes are nothing else, but corrupted tales in Inke and Paper: or indeed Vice sent abroad with a Licence: which makes him that reades them, conscious of a double injurie: they being in effect, like that bestiall sinne of brutish Adulterie. For if one reades, two are catched: hee that angles in these waters, is sure to strike the Torpedo, that in stead of beeing his food, confounds him. Besides the time il spent in them, a two-fold reason shall make me refraine: both in regard to my loue to my owne soule, & pitie vnto his that made them. For if I be corrupted by them, the Comprisor of them is mediately a cause of my ill: and at the day of Reckoning (though now dead) must giue an account for't, because I am corrupted by his bad example which hee leaues behinde him; So I become guilty by receiuing, and hee by thus conuaying this lewdnesse vnto me: Hee is the thiefe, I the recieuer; and what difference makes our Law betwixt them? If one be cut off, the other dyes; both I am sure perish alike. I will write none, lest I hurt

¹Cf. Bacon's Essay on Studies--Smeaton. Actually there seems to be little to compare in the two. More comparable with Bacon's essay is S. 27. A Rule in reading Authors, below. The revised version of this resolve is R. S. 1. Of Idle Books, below.
them that come after me. I will read none, lest I augment
his mulct that is gone before me; neither write, nor read,
lest I prove a foe to my selfe. A lame hand is better then
a lewd pen: while I live, I sinne too much; let me not
continue longer in wickednesse, then life. If I write ought,
it shall be both on a good subject, and from a deliberated
pen: for a foolish sentence drop't upon paper, sets folly on
a Hill, and is a monument, to make infamie eternall.

S. 2. Of Humilitie.¹

The humble man is the surest Peace-maker: of all morall
vertues Humility is the most beautifull: she both shunnes
Honor, and is the way to it: she rockes Debate asleepe, and
keepes peace waking, nay, doth foster, doth cherrish her:
which is well expressed in a pretty story of two goates, that
met at once, on a very narrow Bridge, under which there
glided a deep, and violent streame: being both met, the
straitnesse gave deniall to their Journey; get backe they
could not, the planke was too narrow, for their returning
turne: stand still they might, but they could neither bee
continuall, nor to purpose: and to fight for the way in so
perillous a place, was either to put a wilfull period to
their liues, or extremely hazard them. That they may

¹See below R. S. 2. Of Humility.
therefore both passe in safety, the one lyses down, &
th'other goes over him: so while their passage is quiet,
their lives are secure, from death, from danger.² I have
ever thought it idle to continue in strife; if I get the
victory, it satisfies my minde, but then, shall I have his
malice too, which may endamage me more: so my gaine will be
lesse then my hindrance: If I be overcome unwillingly, then
is the disgrace mine, and the losse: and though I have not
his malice, yet shall I not want his scorne. I will (in
things not weighty) submit freely: The purest gold is most
ductible: tis commonly a good blade that bends well. If I
expect disaduantage, or misdoubt the Conquest, I think it
good wisedome, to give in soonest: so shall it be more honour
to doe that willingly, which with stiffnesse I cannot but
hazard upon compulsion. I had rather be accounted too much
humble, then esteemed a little proud: the Reede is better
that bends, and is whole; then the strong Oake, that not
bending, breakes: If I must have one, give me an
inconuenience, not a mischiefe: the lightest burthen, is the
easiest borne.

²is not whole, only in 5; undoubtedly a misprint.

²La Fontaine has a similar fable (XII, iv), but in his
account the two goats remain proud and fall to their deaths.
S. 3. **To Perfection, what is most necessarie.**

To make a perfect man, there is requisite both Religion & Nature. Nature alone we know too loose: religion alone will seeme too hard; some for Religion haue I knowne formall, strict; yet haue so wanted the pleasing parts of a good nature, as they haue beene feared, but not loued: for being of a fiery spirit, euene slender occasions haue made way to the divulging of their own imperfections: either by to seuer a reprehension, or else by too soone, sodaine Contempt: both which make much for the harbouring of hate against themselues, by making them esteemed either rash Censurers, or angry proud ones: and wee all know, that as Judgement is neuer shot suddenly but from a fooles bow; so blind Choller broke into expression, is the true marke of an intemperate minde; others there yet rest, whom it tickles much to chatter of their own merits, and they cannot lay an egge, but they must cackle, or like the boasting PHARISEE,\(^2\) trumpet out the report of their owne excellence; yet for lacke of an humble and discret nature, that should cause their observation be busied at home. And this is that makes the world disdaine, contemne them: selfe commendation is an arrow with too many feathers: which, we leuelling at the marke, is taken with the

\(^1\)See below R. S. 3. Of Religion and Morality.

wind, and carried quite from it. Some againe for nature, I have found rarely qualified: ennobled with such a mild affability, such a generous spirit, and such sweetnesse of disposition, and demeanour, that their humble & courteous carriage have prevailed much in the affection of those with whom they have had commerce; yet because they have wanted Religion (that like a good subject should make an elaborate worke rare) they have, onely in a superficiall applause, wonne the approbation of the unsteady multitude: who love them more for suffering their rudenesse, then for any noble worth, that's obvious to their undiscerning Judgements. But in all this they have got no reuerence, no respect at all. Thus Religion without Nature (in men meerely naturall) begets a certain forme of awfull regard: but to them 'tis like a tyrannical Prince, whom the people obey more for feare of an austere rebuke, then for any true affection, they beare to his person. Now Nature without Religion oft wins loue: and this is like a Master too familiar with his servant: that in the beginning gains loue, but shall in the end find contempt: and his toleration will be made an allowance of ill. Both together are rare for qualification. Nature hath in her selfe treasure enough to please a man; Religion a Christian: the last begets feare, the other loue, together admiration, reuerence. I will like, I will loue them single; but conioyn'd, I will affect and honour.
S. 4. Of Lyes and Vntruths.¹

I finde, to him that the tale is told, beliefe onely makes the difference betwixt a truty, and lyes: for a lye beleueued, is true: and truth vncredited, a lye; vnlesse he can carry his probation in's pocket, or more readily at his tongues end: for as he that tells a smooth lye, is iudged to speake truth, till some step forth to contradict his utterance: so he that tells an unlikely truth, is thought to broch a lye, vnlesse he can produce convincing reason to proue it; onely the guilt, or iustice of the thing rests in the knowing conscience of the Relator. In the hearer I cannot count it a fault: 'tis easie to bee deceived in miracles, in probabilities: albeit the iudgement that passeth on them, bee both honest, wise, apprehensiue, and cleere. In the teller iustly; if it bee a lye, there needs no text to confute it; if it seeme so, and he cannot purge it, discretion were better silent. I will tell no lies, lest I bee false to my selfe: no improbable truths, a lest I seeme so to others; If I heare any man report wonders, what I know, I may haply speake; what I but think, shal rest with my self; I may aswell be too suspicious, as ouer credulous.

¹truth, 5.

¹See below R. S. 4. Of Truth and Lying.
S. 5. Three things aggravate a Misere.¹

Three things are there which aggravate a misery, and make an evil seem greater than indeede it is.
Inexpectation, Unacquaintance, want of Preparation.
Inexpectation, when a mishap comes suddenly, and unlooked for: it distracteth the minde, and scares both the faculties and affections from their due consultation of remedy: whereas an evil foreseen is half cured, because it giveth warning to provide for danger. Thus the falling of a house is more perillous, than the rising of a flood: for, while of the former, the hurt is more unaudyable, by reason both of the violence, and precipitation: The latter, through the remissenes of comming, is lesse dangerous, lesse prejudiciall; there being time, either to auoyd the place, or to countermure. If this suffice not, think but how odious treason would shew in a deare friend, from whom we only expected the sweet embraces of loue:² the conceit onely is able to kill, like a madde Dogg's biting, that not onely wounds the body, but insaniates the soule. Secondly, Unacquaintance. Familiaritie takes away feare, when matters not usuall, prove inductions to terror. The first time the Fox saw the Lyon, hee feared him as death: the second, hee

¹See below R. S. 5. Of Preparing against Death.
²Perhaps Felltham is here thinking of Iago in Othello.
feared him, but not so much: the third time hee grew more bold, and passed by him without quaking. The Imbellicke peasant, when hee comes first to the field, shakes at the report of a Musket: but after he hath rang'd thorow the furie of two or three Battels, he then can fearelesse stand a breach; and dares, vndaunted, gaze death in the face. Thirdly, want of preparation. When the enemie besiegeth a Citie, not prepared for Warre, there is small hope of evasion, none at all to conquer, none to ouercome. How much more hard is the winter to the Grashopper, then the Pismire, who before, hauing stor'd her Garner, is now able to withstand a famine? Lest then, I make my death seem more terrible to me, then indeed it is; I will first daily expect it: that when it comes, I may not be to secke to entertaine it: if not with ioy, as beeing but flesh: yet without sorrow, as hauing a soule. Secondly, I will labour to be acquainted with it, often before it come, thinking it may come: so when I know it better, I shal better sustaine it: with lesse feare, without terror. Thirdly, I will prepare for it, by casting vp my accounts with God, that all things even and streight betwixt vs, whensoever he shall please to call for me, I may as willingly lay down my life, as leave a prison. Thus shall I make my death lesse dreadful, and finish my life before I dye. He that dyes dayly, seldom dyes dijectedly.

3Aesopica 10, "The Fox Who Saw the Lion."
4La Fontaine, Fables I, i, "The Grasshopper and the Ant."
S. 6. Of Good and Bad Ends.¹

A good beginning have I often seen conclude ill. Sin in the bud is faire, sweet, pleasing: but the fruit is death, horror, hell. Something will I respect in my way, most in my Conclusion: in the one, to prevent all wilfull errors; in the other, to insure a Crowne. For as Judgement hath relation to the manner of dying; so hath death dependance on the course of living. Yet the good end hath no bad beginning; it once had. A good consequence makes the premises so esteemed of, and a sweete rellish at the leauing off, makes the draught delightfull, that at the first did taste unpleasant. That is well that ends well: and better is a bad beginning that concludes well, then a prosperous onset that ends in complaint. What if my beginning hath been ill? sorrowes overblowne, are pleasant; that which hath beene hard to suffer, is sweet to remember. I will not much care what my beginning be, so my end by happy. If my Sunne set in the new Jerusalem,² I haue liu'd well, how-euer afflictions have sometimes clouded my course.

¹seeme, 5.
²There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
²Revelation 21:2.
Extreme Longings seldome seen to succeed well.¹

Extreme longings in a Christian, I seldome see succeed well: surely God means so to temper his, as hee would not haue their affections violent, in the search of a temporall blessing: or else he knowes our frailety such, as wee would be more taken with the fruition of a benefit, then the Author. Prosperities are strong pleaders for sinne: Troubles be the surest Tutors of goodnesse. How many would haue dyed ill, if they had liu'd merrily? GOD hath seuerall wayes to reduce his to his own orders, among which, I am perswaded none is more powerfull, then restraint of our wils. It sends the soule to meditation, wherby she sees the worlds follies in such true colours of vanitie, that no sound discretion can thinke them worth the doting on: and though our discontentments so transport vs, as we see not the good we reape by a Depriuation: yet sure wee are happier by this want: for wee are all like women with Child, if we had the things we long for, how soone should we eate and surfet? When nature findes her ardent desires fulfilled, shee is rauenous, and greedy; yea then shee hath so little moderation, as 'tis not safe to satisfie her. If I can, I will neuer extremely couet: so though I meet with a Crosse, it shall neither distemper, nor distract mee: but if my desires out-strip my intention, I will comfort my selfe with

¹See below R. S. 6. Against Extreme Longings.
this, that the enjoyment might have added to my content, and endangered my soul: but the want shall in the end be a means to embetter them both. Gods Saints shall with joy subscribe to his will: though here for a time it may seem to thwart them.

S. 8. Of Silence. Of Babbling.¹

A worthy Act hath hee done, that hath learned to refraine his tongue; and surely much euill hath hee preuented, if hee knowes when to be well silent. Unkindnesses breed not so many Iarres, as the multiplying of words that follow them. How soone would these coales dye, if the tongue did not enkindle them? Repentance often followes speaking; silence either seldome, or neuer: for while our words are many, sinne is in some, in most. Goe to the Crane, thou Babbler, reade her storie, and let her inform thee: who flying out of Sicily, puts little stones in her mouth, lest by her owne garrulitie, she bewray her selfe as a prey to the Eagles of the mountaine Taurus: which with this policy, she flyes ouer in safety:² even silence euery is a safe safeguard: if by it, I offend, I am sure I offend

¹In this Essay Feltham has evidently borrowed from Bishop Hall's Characterisms, The Busybody—Smeaton. There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.

²This tale comes ultimately from Erasmus, Similia, I, 570E; but Felltham probably got it from Lyly's Euphues.
without a witnesse: while an vnruuly tongue may procure my 
ruine, and prooue as a sword to cut the third of my life in two: 'tis good alwayes to speake well, & in season: and is it not as safe sometimes to say nothing? he that speaks little may mend it soone: and though he speaks most faults, yet hee exceedes not, for his words were few. To speake too much, bewrayes folly; too little, an vnperceiuing stupiditie: I will so speake, as I may be free from babbling Garrulitie: so be silent, as my Spectators may not account me blockishly dull. Silence and speech are both as they are vsed, either tokes of Indiscretion, or badges of Wisedome.

binto, 5.  cSilent, 4, 5.

S. 9. Of Prayer.\(^1\)

'Tis a hard thing among men of inferiour ranke, to speake to an earthly Prince: no King keepes a Court so open, as to giue admittance to all commers: and though they haue, they are not sure to speede; albeit there bee nothing that should make their petitions not grantable. Oh how happy, how priuiledged is then a Christian? who though he often liues heere in a slight esteeme, yet can he freely conferre with the King of Heauen, who not onely heares his intreaties,

aas omitted in 4-7.

\(^1\)See below R. S. 7. Of Prayer.
but delights in his requests, induites him to come, and promiseth a happy welcome; which he shewes in fulfilling his desires, or better, fitter for him. In respect of whom, the greatest Monarch is more base, then the basest vassaile in regard of the most mighty and puissant Emperour. Man cannot so much exceede a beast, as God doth him: what if I be not known to the Nimrods\(^2\) of the world and the Peeres of the earth? I can speake to their better, to their Master; and by prayer bee familiar with him: importunity does not anger him; neither can anything but our sins make vs goo away empty; while the game is playing, there is much difference between the King and the Pawne: that once ended, they are both shuffled into the bag together: and who can say whether was most happy, saue onely the King had many checks, while the little Pawne was free, and secure? My comfort is, my accesse\(^b\) to heauen is as free as the Princes; my departure from earth not so grieuous: for while the world smiles on him, I am sure I haue lesse reason to loue it then hee. Gods fauour I will chiefly seeke for; mans, but as it falls in the way to it: when it proues a hindrance, I hate to be loued.

\(^b\)excesse, 4, 5; obviously a misprint.

\(^2\)Genesis 10:8-10.
S. 10. A **Vertuous Man is a Wonder.**

The vertuous man is a true wonder: for it is not for himselfe, that hee is so. But that I see so many wicked, I meruaile not. 'Tis easier running downe the hill, then climing it. They that are this way giuen, haue much the advantage of them, that follow goodnesse. Besides those inclinations that sway the soule to vice, the way is broader, and more ready: hee that walkes through a large field, hath onely a narrow path to guide him right in the way: but on either side, what a wide roome he hath to wander in? Every vertue hath two vices, that close her vp in curious limits: and if shee swerues, though but a little, she suddenly steps into errour. Fortitude hath Feare, and Rashnesse: Liberalitie, Auarice, and Prodigalitie: iustice hath Rigor, and Partialitie. Thus euery good mistresse, that two bad servants: which hath made some to define vertue, to bee nothing but a meane betweene two vices, wherof one leads to excesse, the other to defect: making her like the rooфе of a Church, on whose top, wee scarce find roome to turne a foote in: but on either side, a broad road to ruine: in which, if we once be falling, our stay is rare, our recouery a miracle.

*a* and omitted in 2-7.  
*b* in the right, 2-7.  
*c* clouzes, 5-6.  
*d* hath, 2-7.  

1See below R. S. 8. The **Vertuous Man is a wonder.**
The man that is rare in vice, I will neuer admire: if he goes but as hee is driuen, hee may soone be witty in euil: but the good man, I will worthily magnifie: he it is can saile against the wind, make the thorny way pleasant, and unintangle the incumbrances of the world.

S. 11. Of Veniall Sinnes.1

What sinne is there, that we may account or little, or veniall, unlesse comparatiuely? seeing there is none so small, but that (without repentance) is able to sinke the soule in eternall Damnation? Who will thinke that a slight wound, which giues a sodaine Inlet to Death? But should wee grant this erroour, yet these of all other, I obserue the most dangerous, both for their frequency, and secrecie; the one increasing them to a large heape, the other so couering them, as we see not how they wrong vs: The rain that fals in smallest drops, moistens the earth, makes it mire, slimy, and durte: whereas a hard showre, that descends violently, washeth away, but soakes not in. Euen the smallest letters are more hurtfull to the sight, then those that are written with a text pen. Great sinnes, and publicke, I will auoide for their scandal & wonder: lesser & priuate, for their danger, and multitude: both, because my God hates them. I cannot, if I loue him, but abhorre, what hee loathes.

1See below R. S. 9. Of Venial Sinnes.
Memory and forgetfulness, are both in friendship necessary. Let me remember those kindnesses my friend hath done to me, that I may see his love, and learn gratitude. Let me forget those benefits I have performed to him, lest they shuffle out the effect of my love, and tell me he is requited. Thus may we together increase our friendship, and comforts: otherwise, a man may have many acquaintances, but no friends; though unthankfulness banisheth love, gratitude obtains a repealement.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a} repeale, 2-7.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1} See below R. S. 10. Of Memory and Forgetfulness in Friendship.}\]


I observe, besides the inward Contents of a peaceable conscience, two things, wherein a Christian excels all other men. In true Valour: In Fidelitie. In true Valour; that is, in a just quarrell: for if his cause be naught, there is none more timorous then hee; and indeed to shew much Courage, in a bad matter, is rather a token of desperate folly, then any badge of a magnanimous minde: but in a just cause, he is bold as a Lyon. Nothing can daunt his ever undaunted minde.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1} See below R. S. 11. Wherein a Christian excels other men.}\]
Not Infamy, for he knowes in this, his share is not worse
then his Masters; & while it is for his names sake; he
knowes he is in it, blessed. If there bee any Nectar in
this life, 'tis in sorrowes wee indure for goodnesse.
Besides, hee weighes not how he falls to the world, and men;
so he may stand firme, to his heauenly Father. That God we
fight for, is able enough to vindicate al our wrongs. Not
afflictions; how many did Job and the Apostles2 wade through
with Courage, witha Content? These he knowes are heere but
for a time, transient, and momentary; neither shall the
Israelites liue alwayes, vnder the tyranny of Pharaoh,3 or
the travailsb of the Wildernes:4 He knowes also, the more
abundant in sorrowes heere, the more abundant in ioyes
hereafter; His teares shall returne in smiles, his weepings
in a streame of pleasures. God doth not recompence with a
niggardly hand; hee shall finde his ioyes as an ouer-flowing
Sea; and his glory beyond thought, exuberant. Not Death;
for he knows, that wil be his happiest day; and his bridge,
from woe, to glory. Though it bee the wicked mans shipwracke,
'tis the good mans putting into harbour: where striking
sayles, and casting Anchor, he returns his lading with
advantage, to the owner; that is, his soule to God; leauing

aand, 6, 7. btravailes, 6, 7.
2Job, passim; Acts, passim. 3Exodus 1-14.
4Exodus 15 through Joshua, passim.
the bulke still more^c in the Hauen;^d who is vnrigg'd, but onely to be new built again, and fitted for an eternall voyage. Had not Christians had this solace; how should the Martyrs haue dyed so merrily, leaping for ioy, that they were so neere their home, and their heauen? dying often like Samson among his enemies,^5 more victory attending their end, then proceedings. Ah peerelesse Valiance! vnconquerable Fortitude! Secondly, in Fidelitie. There is no friendship like the friendship of Faith. Nature, Education, Benefits, cannot all together, tye so strong as this. Christianitie knits more sure, more indissoluble. This makes a knot, that Alexander cannot cut.^6 For as grace in her selfe, is farre aboue nature; so likewise is she, in her effects: and therefore vnites, in a far more durable bond. And a Christian, though he would resolue with himselfe, to deale double; yet if he be sincere, in spight of his resolution, his conscience will rate him, check him, and deny him to doe it; nay, though he would, he cannot resolue. He that is borne of God, sinnes not; and the Spirit of sanctification will not let him resolue vpon ill. This is that Fidelity that we finde, and admire in many, that haue chosen rather

^c^more, 2, moated, 6, 7. 
^d^Heaven, 5.


^6^The Gordian Knot. According to legend, the person who could untie it was to be given dominion over all of Asia. Plutarch relates that Alexander cut it with his sword, thereby claiming the prize.
to embrace the flame, & dye in silence, then to reveale their Companions, and Brethren in Christ. Tyrants shal sooner want inuention for torments, then they with tortures be made treacherous. The League that heauen hath made, hell wants power to breake. Who can separate the coniunctions of the Deitie? Againe, as well in reproofe, as in kindnesse, doth his loue appeare. For howsoever hee conceales his friends faults, from the eye of the world; yet hee affectionately tells him of them, in priuate: not without some sorrow on his owne part, for his brothers fall. He scornes to be so base as to flatter: and he hates to bee so currish as to bite. In his reprehensions, he mingles Oyle and Vineger: he is in them, plaine, and louing. Inuiolable amitie! Inuailuable loue! Heere is met Courage and Constancy; one to withstand an Enemie, an other to entertaine a friend. Giue me any foe, rather then a resolued Christian: no friend, vnlesse a man truely honest. A father is a ready treasurie; a brother an infallible comfort; but a friend is both.

S. 14. In Losses what to looke to.¹

I will in all losses, loke both to what I haue lost, and to what I haue left. To what I haue lost: that if it may be, and be good, I may recouer it: if not, that I may

¹See below R. S. 12. Of Losses.
know what I haue forgone. To what I haue left: that if it be much, I may be thankefull, that I lost no more, hauing so much, that I might haue been depruied of: if little, that I may not repine; because I haue yet something: if nothing but my life, that I may then be glad: because that will bee the next thing I shall lose. Which whensoever it happens will with double Ioy recompence all the rest. Gods presence is abundant plenty: hauing that, I know nor want, nor losse, nor admission of ill.

S. 15. How to establish a troubled Gouernment.¹

A man that would establish a troubled gouernment, must first vanquish all his foes. Factious heads, must bee higher by a Pole then their bodies.² For how will the Folds bee quiet, while yet among them, there bee some Wolues? He that would rule ouer many, must fight with many, and conquer: and be sure, either to cut off those that raise vp tumults: or by a Maiesticke awe, to keepe them in a strict subiection. Slacknesse, and conniuence, are the ruines of vnsettled Kingdomes. My passions, and affections are the chiefe disturbers of my Ciuill State: What peace can I expect within mee, while these Rebels rest vnouercome? If they get a head, my Kingdome is divided, so it cannot stand.


²In Pelltham's day the heads of convicted traitors were displayed on spiked poles at the Tower.
Separations are the wounds of a Crowne; whereby (neglected) it will bleed to death. Them\textsuperscript{a} will I striuve to subdie. If I cut them not off, I will yet restraine them. 'Tis no cruelty, to deny a Traytor libertie. I will haue them be my Subiects, not my Prince: they shall serue me, and I will sway them. If it cannot bee without much striuing: I am content with a hard combate, that I may haue a happie raigne. 'Tis better I endure a short skirmish, then a long siege: hauing once wonne the field, I will hope to keepe it.

\textsuperscript{a}Then, 4-7.

S. 16. Death is the beginning of a Godly Mans Ioy.\textsuperscript{1}

Death to a righteous man, whether it commeth soone, or late, is the beginning of ioy, and the end of sorrow. I will not much care whether my life bee long, or short. If short; the fewer my dayes be, the lesse shall bee my misery, the sooner shall I be happy. But if my yeeres be many, that my head waxe gray, euen the long expectation of my happinesse, shall make my ioy more welcome.

\textsuperscript{1}See below R. S. 13. Of long and short Life.
S. 17. Of doing Good with Labour, and Euill with Pleasure.¹

'Twas anciently said, that whatsoever good work a man doth with labour, the labour vanisheth, but the good remains with him that wrought it. And whatsoever euill thing hee doth with pleasure, the pleasure flyes, but the euill still resteth with the Actor of it: goodnesse making labour sweet; euill turning pleasure to a burthen. I wil not care how laborious, but how honest; not how pleasurable, but how good my actions be. If it could bee, let mee bee good without pleasure; rather then lewd, with much ioy. For though my good bee at first tedious; I am sure in time it will yeeld me content: whereas the euill that now is delightfull, cannot but prooue a woe to my soule. The sweetest liquor, is not alwayes the most wholesome. The Limon is more tart, yet excelleth the Orenge, that delighteth the taste: poison may a while seeme pleasant, and a weake stomacke thinke a Cordiall fulsome.

¹See below R. S. 15. Of doing Good with Labour, and Evil with Pleasure.

S. 18. Of being the Worlds Fauorite without Grace.¹

What if I were the worlds chief estate Fauourite? endowed with the choycest ornaments her Treasury could affoord mee,

¹chiefest, 2-7. ¹chiefest, 2-7.

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
adorn'd with beauty, imbellisht with a faire proportion, in polici[e subtill, in alliance great, in revenue large, in knowledge rich, famed with honor and honored with attendants; and to all these, had adjoyned the prolonged yeere[s] of Methusalah,² yet if I wanted grace to use these graces right, they would all turne to my greater disgrace and confusion. Good parts imploied ill, are weapons, that being meant for our owne defence, we madly turne their edges, and wound our selues: they might make mee faire in show, but in substance more polluted: they would be but as a saddle of gold to the backe of a gall'd horse; adorne mee, they might, better mee they could not. Grace onely can make a man truely happy: what shee affordeth, can content sufficiently; and with ease furnish the vast roomes of the mind: without her, all are nothing; with her, euen the smallest is true sufficiencie: how fully can she bee rich, in the penury of these outward royalties? something indeed they adde to her ornament, but 'tis from her, that they assume their goodnesse. For though heauen hath made them so in their owne nature, yet is it from her that they proue so to me. Doe we not oftner finde them, lights to blind vs, then to direct vs? I will neuer thinke my selfe neerer heauen, for hauing so much of earth. A weake house with a heauie roofe is most in danger. He that gets heauen, hath plenty enough; though the earth scornes to allow him any thing: he that failes of that, is

²969 years. Genesis 5:27.
truely miserable; though shee giue him all shee hath. Heauen without earth is perfect. Earth without Heauen is but a little more cheerly hell. Who haue beene more splendent in these externall flourishes, then Heathen? but in the other, 'tis the Christian onely can challenge a felicity. Hauing these, I might winne applause with men; but the other wanting, I shall neuer gaine approbation vvity God. And what wil all their allowance auaile, when the Earths Creator shall Iudge and Condemn? 'tis a poore relieve in misery, to be onely thought well of, by those that cannot helpe me.

S. 19. Humanitie and Miserie, are Paralells.¹

Is not man born to trouble, as the sparkes flye vpwards? is not his time short, and miserable, his dayes few, and euill? What madnesse then were it in me, to hope for a freedome from sorrowes, or to thinke my selfe exempt from the common appointment of the most High? It hath beene censured as phrensie, to vndertake to expell nature; what shall I thinke it, to hope to frustrate the designement of the Lord of Nature? Humanitie, and misery are alwayes paralels: sometimes indiuiduals: and therefore when wee wold put sorrow in an Embleme, we paint him a man.² If I

²him in a man, 3-7.

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
haue but few Crosses, I vvill truely then account my selfe fauoured: if I haue many, and be sometimes free, I'le thinke I escape well, being so vntoward. If I haue nothing but troubles; yet may I not complaine: because my sinne hath deseru'd more, then heere I can bee able to suffer. Had I but a being, though full of woe, yet vvere I beholding to God for it. His very least, and meanest gift, exceedeth much, even all, my best desert. I doe infinitely want, how to merit a permission to liue.

S. 20. Of Reputation: Or, A good Name. ¹

To haue euery man speak vvell of me, is impossible: because howsoever I carry my selfe, some Cynick will barke at my course. Who can scape the lash of Censure? If I should be vitious, and profuse, I should be loued of some; but not the best, not the good. If I should Camelion-like, change my selfe to euery obiect, if I were not extraordinarily vvarie,² I might soon counterfet some mans humour flase, and that would bane my drift. For both to Vertue, and to Vice, is Flatterie a false glasse, making the one seeme greater, the other lesse then it is: and if it lights on a noble

²wearie, 3-7.

¹See below S. 45. Just Shame in a good man, saddens his soule; S. 88. Good Name, how it is both the Best, and Britlest thing that is; and R. S. 20. Whence a Mans Fame arises.
discretion, it is ever so unhappy, as to beget the ruine of it selfe. But imagine I could doe it with such exactnesse, that even the eye of Lyncaeus\textsuperscript{2} could not espy it: yet when one should commend mee for one thing, and another for the contrary; what would the world think of me, that could thus in one, bee hot, and cold? should I not be censured as a Tymorist? Yes surely, and that justly: neither could it but be just with God, at last to vmaske my Flattery, and vrip my folly, in the view of the multitude. Private sinnes are punished with a publike shame. A supposed honest man found lewd, is hated as a growne Monster, discovered by the blabbe of Time. Sinne is a concealed fire, that even in darkness will so work as to bewray it selfe. If I live vertuously, and with piety, the world will hate me, as a Separatist:\textsuperscript{3} and my Reputation will be traduced, by the Ignominious aspersion of malevolent tongues. To be good, is now thought too neere a way to contempt: That which the Ancients admired, wee laugh at. A good honest man is a foole. What then? shall I, to please a man, displease a Christian? I had rather live hated for goodness, then bee loued for Vice. Hee does better that pleaseth one good man, then hee that contents a thousand bad ones. I would, if it

\textsuperscript{2}One of the Argonauts, whose eyesight was so keen that he could see through the earth.

\textsuperscript{3}A group even more pious than the Puritans. They left England for Holland and later founded the Plymouth colony in America.
could be, please all: yet I would winne their loues vvith
honesty: otherwise, let their hate wound mee, rather then
their loue imbrace. What care I for his friendship, that
affected not vertue? hauing his hate, he may hurt me
outwardly: but inioying his loue, I will iustly suspect my
soule of some ill. For if his affection be toward\textsuperscript{b} me, 'tis
sure because hee sees something in mee, that pleaseth
himselfe: but while hee sees euery thing vnlike him; how
is't possible I should bee beloued of him? since diuersities
breed nothing but disvnion: and sweet Congruitie is the
mother of Loue.

\textsuperscript{b}towards, 4-7.

S. 21. \textit{Sinne brings Sorrow.}\textsuperscript{1}

Who admires not the Wisdome of Demosthenes, in the
answere hee returned to Corinthian Lais? \textit{[Paenitere tanti
non emo.]}\textsuperscript{2} Certainly, had hee not knowne it from a selfe
experience, 'tis not possible a Heathen should haue spake\textsuperscript{a}
so diuinely. All our dishonest actions, are but earnests

\textsuperscript{a}spoke, 2-7.

\textsuperscript{1}See below R. S. 50. \textit{Of the use of Pleasure.}

\textsuperscript{2}Demosthenes, the famous Athenian orator, and Lais, one
of several famous courtesans of that name in Athens. In
R. S. 50, Felltham translates the phrase, "He would not buy
Repentance at so dear a rate."
laid downe for griefe. Vice is an infallible forerunner of wretchednesse. Let the Worldling tell me, if he finds it not true, that all his warrantable aberrations, wherein he hath dilately tumbled himselfe, end at last, either in anguish, or confusion; Sinne on the best condition, brings repentance: but for sinne without repentance, is provided hell. 'Tis not folly, but madness, even the highest, that makes a man buy his vexation. I wil force my selfe to want that willingly, which I cannot enjoy without future distaste. Though the Waspe falles into the honey, that after drownes her: yet the Bee chuseth rather, to goe to the Flower in the field, where shee may lade her thighes securely, and with leisure: then to come to the shop of the Apothecarie, where shee gets more, but makes her life hazardable.

S. 22. Of Workes without Faith, and of Faith without Workes.1

Workes without faith, are like a Salamander without fire,2 or a fish without water: In which, though there may seeme to be some quicke actions of life, and symptomes of agilitie: yet they are indeede, but fore-runners of their

1Cf. Pascal's Thoughts, § 497.—Smeaton. See below R. S. 47. Of Faith and good works. See also the "Articles of Religion," xii, The Book of Common Prayer.

2An ancient source for this unnatural natural history is Aristotle, Historia Animalium, V.19.552b15.
end, and the very presages of death. Faith againe without Workes, is like a bird without wings; who, though she may hop with her companions here upon earth; yet if she liues til the world ends, shee'l neuer fly to heauen. But when both are ioyn'd together, then doth the soule mount vp to the Hill of eternall Rest: these can brauely raise her to her first height: yea carry her beyond it; taking away both the will, that did betray her: and the possibility that might. The former without the latter, is selfe-coozenage: the last without the former, is meere hypocrisie: together, the excellencie of Religion. Faith is the Rocke, while every good action is as a stone laid: one the Foundation, the other the structure. The Foundation without the walls, is of slender value: the building without a Basis, cannot stand. They are so inseparable, as their coniunction makes them good. Chiefely will I labour for a sure Foundation, SAVING Faith: and equally will I seek for strong wals, Good Workes. For as man iudgeth the house by the edifice, more then by the Foundation: so, not according to his Faith, but according to his Workes, shall God iudge man.

S. 23. A rare thing to see a Rich Man Religious.¹

'Tis a rare thing to see a rich man religious; we are told, that his way is difficult: and not many mighty are

¹See below R. S. 21. That 'tis some difficulty to be Rich and Good. See also Matthew 19:24 and Mark 10:25.
chosen. ² For while the earth allowes them such ioyes, 'tis their haue[n]; and they looke for no other: Their pleasures are sufficient vnto them, both for honour, solace, and wealth: who wonders to see them carelesse of the better, when they dote vpon the worse? neither the minde, nor affection, can bee seriously diuided at once. Againe, euen low Commons whom they thinke meanely of, are higher often in vertues of the mind; are dearer vnto God then they: & shall sit in heauen aboue them. Are there not many servants, that in life¹ haue born the burthen now crowned with vnending Ioyes, while their masters are either in a lower degree glorious, or excluded that caelestiall societie? I dare make it a part of my faith; yet auouch my selfe no Hereticke. Euen in meanest things GOD shewes his mighty power: impossibilities are the best aduancers of his Glory. For what we least beleue can be done, wee most admire beeing done. Yet in this obserue the mercy of God, that though the Worldling hath not pietie in his thoughts, yet God giues him all these good things that hee hath no right to; albeit by his owne ill, he, like enuy, extracts euill out of good; so they proue in the end, nothing but paper pillars and painted fruite. Let all men blesse God for what they enjoy: they that haue wealth, for their riches: I will praise

¹In their life time, 2-7.
¹See I Corinthians 1:26.
him, that he hath kept them from me. I haue now what is
good for me: and when my time comes, my ioy shall abound.

S. 24. What a Vertuous Man is like, in the Puritie of a
   Righteous Life.¹

A vertuous man shining in the puritie of a righteous
life, is a Lighthouse set by the Sea-side, whereby the
Mariners both saile aright, and auoyd danger: But he that
liues in noted sinnes, is a false lanthorne, which shipwrackes
those that trust him. The vertuous man by his good carriage
winnes more to godlines, and is the occasion of much good,
yea it may be, so long as the Moone renewes: For his
righteousnes dyes not with him: those good examples which he
liued in, and those pyous workes which hee leaues behind
him, are imitated and followed of others, both remayning and
succeeding. So they are conueyed from one generation to
another: and he, next God is a primary cause of a great deale
of the good they atchieue. So wee cannot but grant, that
while here his emory weares out, his glory in a better
world augments daily: either by his good presidents, his
pious institutions, his charitable deeds, or his godly works;
each of which with Gods blessing, are able to kindle some
heat in the cold zeale of posteritie. Examples are the best
and most lasting lectures; vertue the best example. Happie

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
man that hath done these things in sincerity: Time shall not outliue his worth: He liues truely after death, whose pious actions are his pillars of remembrance: though his flesh moulders to drosse in the graue, yet is his happinesse in a perpetuall growth: no day but addes some graines to his heape of glory. Good workes are seedes, that after sowing returne vs a continuall haruest. A man liues more renowned by some glorious deedes, then euer did that Carian, by his Mausolean monument. On the contrary, what a wofull course hath he runne, that hath liued lewdly, and dyes without repentance? his example infects others, and they spread it abroad to more; like a man that dyes on the plague, he leaues the infection to a whole Citie: So that euen the sinnes of thousands, hee must giue an account for. What can we thinke of such as haue been the inuentors of vnlawfull games, and callings that are now in vse? sure they haue much to answer for, that thus haue occasioned so much ill: yea better had it beene, they had not beene at all, then being, to be loaden with the sinnes of so many. Miserable man! that when thy owne burthen is insupportable, thou yet causest others to adde to thy weight; as if thou would' st be sure desperately to make thy rising irrecoverable: are the

^Mausolus was the king of Caria in the 4th century B.C. When he died, his widow Artemisia had erected a splendid sepulchre at Halicarnassus to house his remains. It is no longer standing, but some of the sculpture from it is in the British Museum. The word mausoleum became a generic term for any extravagant tomb.
waters of thy own sinnes so low, that thou must haue streames from every place, to runne into thy\textsuperscript{a} Ocean? Who can without a shower of teares, thinke on thy deplorable state, or without mourning, meditate thy sad condition? Oh! Let me so liue, as my life may be beneficiall, not hurtfull to others. Let my glory increase, when my life is done: I am sure, satietie in heauen, is not capable of either complaint, or discontent: but as for spoyling others, by my own confusion, sinne: I should think death a faire preuention. I loue not that life which makes death eternall. I haue sin enough of my\textsuperscript{b} owne, to sigh, and sorrow, and mourne for: I need not make others mine by my owne bad actions. A little of this is too too much;\textsuperscript{c} yea, he hath enough, that hath none; hee hath too much, that hath any at all.

\textsuperscript{a}that, 5. \textsuperscript{b}mine, 2-7. \textsuperscript{c}is too much, 2-7.

S. 25. \textbf{Of being Proud, by being Commended}.\textsuperscript{1}

Hee deserues not commendation, that for beeing commended growes proud: every good thing, a good man speakes of mee, shall, like the blast of a trumpet in warre, incite and incourage me, to a closer pursuit of more nobler vertue:

\textsuperscript{1}See below R. S. 22. \textbf{Against being proud by being Commended}.
not like Bucephalus\(^2\) trappings, blow mee vp in a higher conceit of ouerprizing my owne weaknes: So while some speake well, let my deeds exceed their tongue. I had rather men should see more then they expect, then looke for more then they shall find.

\(^2\)The war horse of Alexander the Great. When he died, Alexander built a splendid tomb to house his remains and founded a city in his honor, giving it his name.

S. 26. Of Secresie in Projecting ought.\(^1\)

When a man hath the proiect of a course in his mind, 'tis good wisedome to resolue of secrecy, till the time his intent bee fulfilled: neither can hee but be\(^a\) foolish, that brags much, either of what he will doe, or of what he shall haue: For if what hee speaks of, falls not out accordingly, then will the world mocke him with derision and scorne: and oftentimes his liberall tongue, may be occasion of some sodain intercepting his aime: divulged intentions seldom proceed well: multitudes make a iarre in business; their opinions, or Counsels either distract Judgement, or diuert resolution: But howsoever, if what wee boasted of commeth to passe, yet shall we be reputed vain-glorious, boasters, vnwise. Bragges\(^b\) lift vp expectation so high, that shee

\(^a\)he chuse but be, 2-6; he chuse but the, 7.

\(^b\)Braggers, 2-7.

\(^1\)See below R. S. 23. Of Secresie.
ouerthinkes the birth: and many times, the childe which
indeed is faire, wee thinke not so, because wee were possest
with hopes of finding it rare. Secrecy is a necessary part
of policie: things vntold, are yet vndone: then to say
nothing, there is not a-lesse labour. I obserue, the
Fig-tree whose fruit is most pleasant, bloomes not at all:
whereas the Sallow that hath glorious palmes, is continually
found Barren. I would first be so wise, as to bee our owne
Councellor: next, so secret, as to bee my owne
Councell-keeper.

S. 27. A Rule in reading Authors.¹

Some men read Authors as our Gentlemen vse flowers,
oney for delight and smell; to please their fancy, and
refine their tongue. Others like the Bee, extrace onely
the hony, the wholesome precepts, and this alone they beare
away, leauing the rest, as little worth, of small value.
In reading I will care for both; though for the last, most:
the one serues to instruct the mind; the other fits her
to tell what she hath learned: pity it is, they should
be deuided: he that hath worth in him, and cannot express
it, is a chest keeping a rich Iewell, and the key lost.
Concealing goodnesse, is vice; vertue is better by being

¹See above S. 1. Of Idle Bookes, and below R. S. 27.
Of reading Authors. Cf. Bacon's essay Of Studies.
communicated. A good stile, with wholesome matter, is a faire woman with a vertuous soule, which attracts the eyes of all; The good man thinkes chastly, and loues her beauty, for her vertue; which he still thinks more faire, for dwelling in so faire an outside. The vicious man hath lustfull thoughts; and he would for her beauty, faine destroy her vertue: but comming to sollicite his purpose, findes such divine lectures, from her Angels tongue, and those deliuer'd with so sweet a pleasing modesty, that he thinks vertue is dissecting her soule to him, to rauish man with a beauty which he dream'd not of. So hee could now curse himselfe, for desiring that lewdly, which he hath learn'd since, onely to admire, and reuerence: Thus he goes away better, that came with an intent to bee worse. Quaint phrases on a good subject, are baits to make an ill man vertuous; how many vile men seeking these, haue found themselues Coneurtites? I may refine my speech without harme: but I will endeouer more to reforme my life. 'Tis a good grace both of Oratory, or the Pen, to speake, or write proper: but that is the best work, where the Graces, and the muses meet.

2This is one of the arguments in Sidney's An Apology for Poetry.
S. 28. A Christian compared in a three-fold condition to the Moone.¹

Wee see in the Moone a threefold condition, her Wane, her Increase, her Full: all which, I liuely see resembled in a Christian, three causes working them: Sinne, Repentance, Faith. Sinne; which after the act, when he once considers, it makes him like the Moone in her Wane, or state of Decrement, obscuring, and diminishing that glorious light of the spirit, which whilome shined so brightly in him: nay, sometimes as the Moone in her latest state of Diminution, hee seemes quite gone, resting for a time like a man in a trance, like a tree in Winter, or as fire buried in concealing Embers, without either sense, or shew, of either light, or heat. But then comes Repentance, and casts water in his face, bedewes him with teares, rubbes vp his benumbed soule; that there is to bee seene some tokens, both of life, and Recovery: This makes him spring, causes him to begin to bud againe, vnburies his lost light, and by little and little, recollects his decayed strength of the apprehension of Gods spirit: so sets him in the way of ioy, and renews courses. But lastly, Faith appeares, and perfects vwhat Repentance beganne, and could not finish: she cheeres vp his drooping hopes, brings him againe to his wonted solace, spreads out his leaues, blowes vp his fainting fire to a bright flame: makes him like the Moone in her full glory, indues him with

a plenteous fruiting of the presence of the Almighty, and neuer leaues him, till he be resettled in his full ioy, contentment, happinesse. Thus while he sinnes, he is a Decressant; when he repents, a Cressant; when his faith shines cleere, at full. Yet in all these, while he liues heere, hee is subject to change: sometime like a Beacon on a Hill, he is seen a farre off, and to all: sometime like a Candle in a house, neerer hand, and only to his familiars: sometimes like a Lampe vnder a bushel, he is obscur'd to all; yet in all he burnes, though in some, insensibly: and is neuer without one sound consolation, in the worst of all these: for as the Moone when shee is least visible, is a Moone as well, as when wee see her in her full proportion; onely the Sunne lookes not on her vvith so full an aspect, and shee reflects no more, then she receiues from him: So a Christian in his lowest ebb of sorrow, is the Childe of God, as well, as when hee is in his greatest flow of comfort, onely the Sunne of Righteousnesse darts not the beames of his loue so plentifully, and he shewes no more, then God giues him. When God hides his face, man must languish: his with-drawings, are our miseries: his presence, our vnfailing Ioy. Sinne may cast me in a trance, it cannot slay me: it may bury my heat for a time, it cannot change my beeing: it may accuse, it shal not condemn: Though GOD deprivue mee of his presence for a time, hee will one day re-inlighten mee,

2Isaiah 30:17. 3Matthew 5:15.
pollish mee, and crowne mee for euer: where the Moone of my
inconstant ioy shall change to a Sunne, and that Sunne shall
neuer set, be clouded, or eclypsed.  

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This entire essay is a well-sustained metaphor, very
much like a metaphysical conceit in prose. For a similarly
developed resolve, see below, S. 80. Sanctitie is a
Sentence of three Stops.


In expences I would bee neither pinching, nor prodigall:
yet if my meanes allow it not, rather thought too sparing,
then a little profuse: 'tis no disgrace to make my ability
my Compasse of saile, and line to walke by. I see what I
may doe; others but what I doe: they looke to what I spend,
as they thinke mee able: I must looke to what my estate will
beare: nor can it be safe, to straine it at all: 'tis fit I
should respect my owne abilitie, before their forward
expectation. Hee that when hee should not, spends too much,
shal when he would not, haue too little to spend. 'Twas a
witty reason of Diogenes, why he asked a halfe-penny of the
thrifty man, and a pound of the prodigall; the first, hee
said, might giue him often, but the other e're long, would
haue none to giue. Yet say I had to dispend freely; as to

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1See below R. S. 25. For Ordering of Expences.

2Diogenes the Cynic (ca. 412-323 B. C.). The incident
is reported in Diogenes Laertius VI, 67.
bee too neere hauing enough, I esteeme sordid: so to spend superfluously, though I haue abundance, I account one of follies deepest ouer-sights. There is better vse to bee made of our talents, then to cast them away in waste: God gaue vs them, not to spend vainely, but to imploy, for profit, for gaine.\(^3\)

\(^3\)See the Parable of the Talents, Matthew 25:14-30.

S. 30. Of a Christians Settlednesse in his Saviour.\(^1\)

As the Needle in a Dyall remoued from his point, neuer leaues his quiuering motion, till it settles it selfe in the iust place it alway stands in: So fares it with a Christian in this world: nothing can so charme him, but hee will still minde his Saviour: all that put him out of the quest of Heaven, are but disturbances. Though the pleasures, profits, and honours of this life, may sometime shuffle him out of his vsuall course; yet he wauers vp and downe in trouble, runnes too and fro like Quick-siluer, and is neuer quiet within, till hee returnes to his wonted life, and inward happiness: there he sets down his rest, in a sweet, vnperceiued, inward content: vwhich though vnseeene to others, hee esteemes more, then all that the world cals by the name of felicity: they are to him, as May-games to a Prince;

\(^{1}\)See below R. S. 26. Of a Christians settlednesse in his Saviour.
fitter for children, then the Royaltie of a Crowne. It shall not more grieue me, to liue in a continued sorrow, then it shall ioy mee, to find a secret perturbation in the worlds choycest solaces. If I finde my ioy in them, without vnquietnesse, that vvill proue a burdensome mirth: For finding my affections settle to them without resistance, I cannot but distrust my selfe, of trusting them too much. A full delight in earthly things, argues a neglect of heauenly. I can hardly think him honest, that loues a Harlot for her brauery, more then his Wife, for her vertues. But while an inward distate shewes mee these Cates vnsauourie, if my ioy bee vncompleat in these terrene felicities, my inward vnsettlednesse in them, shall make my content both sufficient, and full.

S. 31. The Worlds enchantment, when she smiles on vs.¹

Strange is the enchantment that the world works on vs, when she smiles and lookes merrily: 'tis iustly matter of amazement, for a man to grow rich, and retaine a minde vn-altered: yet are not all men changed alike, though all in something admit variation. The spider kills the man, that cures the Ape.² Fortunes effects are variable, as the natures she works vpon: some, while their baskets grow more

¹See below R. S. 28. Of the Variation of Men in themselves.
²Neither Pliny nor Aristotle mentions this phenomenon.
full, their mindes are higher, and rise: they now know not those friends, that were lately their companions: but as a Tyrant among his Subjects, growes haughty, and proud: so they, among their familiars scorne, and contemne: spurning those with arrogant disdain, which but of late, they thought as worthy as themselves, or better: high fortunes are the way to high mindes: pride is usually the child of riches. Contempt too often sits in the seat with Honour. Who have we known so imperious in Offices, as the man that was borne to beggary? As these rise, so some fall: and that which should satiate their desire, increaseth it: which is ever accompanied with this unhappiness, that it will never bee satisfied: this makes them baser, by being wealthier: profit (though with drudgery) they hugge with close armes. All vices debase man, but this makes a Master a slave to his servant, a drudge to his slave; and him that God set over all, this puts under all. Pittifull: that man when good things are present, should search for ill: that he should so care for riches, as if they were his owne: yet so use them, as if they were anothers: that when he might be happy, in spending them, will be miserable in keeping them: and had rather dying, leave wealth to his enemies, then being alive, relieve his friends. Thus as one aspires, the other descends: both extremes, and justly blameable. If my

\( ^a \)Office, 4-7.  \( ^b \)make, 2.  \( ^c \)with, 2-7.  \( ^d \)lamentable, 5-7.
estate rise not, I hope my minde will bee what it is, not
Ambitious, nor auaricious. But if euere\textsuperscript{e} the Diuine prouidence
shall, beyond either my desert, or expectation, blesse mee,
I will thinke, to grow proud, is but to rise, to fall: and
to proue couetous, onely to psssesse wealth, that the nobler
mindes may hate, and scorne mee. For what is there they
esteeme more sordid, then for a mans minde to bee his
moneyes Mercenary?

\textsuperscript{e}But if, 2-7.

S. 32. The Christians\textsuperscript{a} Life what.\textsuperscript{1}

A weake Christians life, is almost nothing but a
Vicissitude of sinne, and sorrow. First, hee sinnes, and
then he laments his folly: like a negligent schooleboy, he
displeaseth his master; and then beseecheth his remission
with teares. Our owne corruptions are diseases incurable:
while we liue, they will break out vpon vs; wee may correct
them, we cannot destroy them: they are like the feathers in
a fowle, cut them they will come againe: break them, they
will come againe: pluck them out, yet they will come again:
only kill the bird, and they grow\textsuperscript{b} no more. While bloud is
in our veines, sinne is in our nature; since I cannot auoide

\textsuperscript{a}Christian, 5, 6. \textsuperscript{b}they will grow, 2-7.

\textsuperscript{1}There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
it, I will learne to lament it: And if through my offences, my ioy bee made obscure, and vanish: that sorrow shall new beget my ioy; not because I haue beene sinfull, but because, for sinne, I finde my selfe sorrowful. All other sorrowes are either foolish, fruitlesse, or beget more: onely this darke entry, leads the way to the faire Court of happines. God is more mercifull in giuing repentance to the Delinquent, then in granting remission to the Repentant: He hath promised pardon to the Penitent, no Repentance to the Peccant.

S. 33. A good Rule for chusing a Friend.\(^1\)

In chusing friends there be two sorts of men, that I would for euer auoyd: For besides the learning of their vices, I dare not trust them with a secret. There is the Angry man, and the Drunkard: The first in his fit is merely mad, hee speakes not a word by reason, but by brutish passion:\(^a\) not vpon premeditated termes, but whatsoever his memory on the sudden catches, his violent passion driueth out, bee it knowne, or hidden: so oft in a braule he blabbes out that, which being cooled, hee much repents to haue named: committing that in his sparkling fury, which his appeased soule will tremble to think of. Anger is the feuer of the soule, which makes the tongue talke idle: it puts a man into passions, 4-7.

\(^{1}\)See below R. S. 29. A Caveat in choosing Friends.
a tumult, that he cannot heare what Counsell speakes: tis a raging Sea, a troubled water, that cannot be sholesome for the use of any: and if it be true which Hippocrates\textsuperscript{2} tels, that those diseases are the most dangerous that alter the habit of the patients countenance: this must needs bee most perillous, that voyce, colour, countenance, pace, so changeth, as if fury dispossessing reason, had set a new Garrison in the Citadell of man. This he knew that gaue vs that precept, Make not friendship with an angry man. The other hath no memory at all: For the aboundance of wine hath drown'd vp that noble Recorder: and while Bacchus is his chiefe god, Apollo neuer keepes him company:\textsuperscript{3} Firends and foes, familiars, and strangers are then all of equall esteeme: so he forgetfully speaks of that in his cups, which if he were sober, should bee buried in silence. First he speaks he knowes not what, nor after, can he remember what that was he spake. Hee speaks that he should forget, and forgets that, which hee did speake. Drunkennesse is the funerall of all intelligible man, whom onely time and abstinence can resuscitate. A drunkards minde and stomach are alike; neither can retaine, what they receiue. I would bee loth to admit of

\textsuperscript{2}The most celebrated physician and medical author of ancient times (ca. 460-357 B. C.), who was still quoted as an authority in Felltham's day.

\textsuperscript{3}Since Apollo was, among other things, the patron god of wisdom, prophecy, medicine, art, music, and archery, anyone cut off from him was left with virtually none of the better things of life.
a familiar so infectious as either; more unwilling to reueale my selfe to any so open. What friend soeuer I make choice of, I will bee sure hee shall haue these two properties, Mildnesse, Temperance: otherwise tis better to want companions, then to be annoyed with either a madman or foole. Clitus was slaine by a Drunken Master: The Thessalonians massacred by an angry Emperour: and the deaths of either, lamented by the Agents.

4 Alexander the Great. The incident is recounted in Plutarch's life of him.

5 Theodosius, in A. D. 390. An account is in Gibbon, Ch. XXVII.

S. 34. Liberty makes Licentious.1

I see, liberty makes licentious, and where the reines are giuen too loosely, the affections run widely on, without a guide, to ruine: For mans will without discretion, that should adde limits, is like a blind horse, without a bridle, that should guide him aright: he may goe fast, but runnes to his own ouerthrow, and while hee mends his pace, he hastens to his owne mischiefe. Nothing makes vs more wretched, then our owne vncontrolled wils. A loose will fulfilled, is the

1Cf. Spenser, Fate of the Butterfly, 1. 209—"What more felicitie can fall a creature / Than to enjoy delight with libertie?" etc.; and then Milton's sonnet on the Detraction which followed my writing certain treatises—"License they mean when they cry liberty."—Smeaton. See below R. S. 30. Of the danger of Liberty.
way to worke out a woe. For besides this folly in beginning wrong, the greatest danger is in continuance: when like a Bowle running down a hill, he is euer most violent, when hee growes neerest his Center & period of his aime. These follies are prettily shaddowed in the sports of Acteon, that while he suffer'd his eye to roue at pleasure, and beyond the pale of expedience, his Houndes, euen his own affections, ceaze him, teare him, proue his decay. Let it be my vigilance to curbe my beginning desires, that they may not wander beyond moderation; if my owne will be a blind conductor, good precepts to an ingenious nature, are bitts that restraine, but hurt not. I know, to follow a soothing fancy, cannot be but ridiculously ill: and this inconuenience besides haue I seene: That hee which may doe more then is fit, will in time doe more then is lawfull. He that now exceedes the measure, will ere long exceed the manner. Vice is a Peripatetick, alwayes in Progression.

^experience, 5-7.

^Acteon saw Diana in her bath; as punishment she turned him into a stag, and his own dogs tore him apart. The story is in Ovid, Metamorphoses, III, 138-252.
S. 35. That All secrets should not be imparted to the faithfullest Friend.¹

Euen between two faithfull friends, I thinke it not conuenient that all secrets should be imparted: neither is it the part of a friend, to fish out that, which were better concealed, yet I obserue some, of such insinuating dispositions, that there is nothing in their friends heart, that they would not themselues know with him; and this, if I may speake freely, I count as a fault. For many times by too farre vrging, they wring bloud, from whence onely milke should flowe: knowing that by their importunitie, which not only breedes a dislike in them to heare, but also when their conference is ended, begets a repenting sorrow in him that told it: and makes him wish, hee had lock't vp his lips in silence, rather then haue powred out his heart with such indiscretion. How many haue bewailed the vntimely disclosures of their tongue? how many haue screw'd out secrets, that would haue giuen thousands to haue return'd them vnknowne? If I haue a friend that I care not to lose,² I will neuer ingage my selfe so much, as to be beholding to him to know all. If I haue one that is faithfull, I wil not wrong him so much, as to wrest that from him, should cause

²See below R. S. 31. In the strictest Friendship, some Secrets may be reserv'd.
him be sorrowfull. If hee reuеales ought vn-vrged, my
aduice is faithfull, and free: otherwise, to presse out a
secret that may proue preiudiciall, I esteeme as the
beginning of the breach of Amity, and the primary breeder of
a secret dislike.

S. 36. What losse comes by the gaining either of the
Pleasure or Profit of the World.\(^1\)

We know 'tis sometimes better to sound a retrait, & so
retire, then 'tis to stay in the field, and conquer: because
it may so fall out, that the prize we win, cannot counteruaile
the losse, that by this Warre we shall sustaine: so like the
foolish Mariner, that seeing a Fish in the Sea, leapes into
the water to catch that, which together with his life hee
loseth. Wee often lose an eternall Kingdome, for the gaine
of toyes, and vanities. Who is there that hazzards not his
soule, for the pleasures, or the profits\(^a\) of sin? which when
they haue, what haue they got, but shaddowes or vexations?
The wealthy man is like a powder-master, who hath provision
against an enemie, but is euer in danger of being\(^b\) blowne vp.
As for pleasure, 'tis at best but a hilded\(^2\) vessel; which

\(^a\) or profits, 2-7. \(^b\) to be, 5.

\(^1\) See below R. S. 32. That 'tis no Dishonour sometime to
Retract a Pursuit.

\(^2\) Perhaps Felltham is making an adjective of "hilding,"
something or someone which is worthless, base.
though it please the palate for a cup or two; yet the Lees are at hand, and they marre it: a little disturbance turnes it into distaste. What a foole were I to cast away my soule on such transitorie trifles? which when I haue, I am neither sure to enjoy, nor to find commodious: what I cannot keep without danger, I will neuer earnestly seeke: to lose a Crowne of gold, for a counterfet, is more then a childish fondnesse. I had better sit still and be quiet in peace, then rise to conquer a petty Village, when my losse is a large Citie.

S. 37. Of using Means.¹

Christ healed disease three manner of wayes; with meanes, as the Leper in the eighth of Mathew;² without meanes, as in the ten Lepers in the seventeenth of Luke;³ against meanes, as the man borne blind, in the ninth of John.⁴ I will looke to meanes as beeing more ordinarie, more reveale: but if my blind eye sees⁵ not that present succour, my feare is not more, nor my griefe. 'Tis as easie to God to worke without meanes, as with them: and against them, as by either: 'Tis all one to him, Bee cleane, or Go wash. Yea, though euery argument concludes danger, let not my hopes

¹See, 2-7.

faile me yet, his omnipotency is beyond that feeble stay of the soule: nor yet will I so depend on his will hidden, as I neglect to practice his will rehealed. For as to dis-regard his appointed meanes, is a supreme contempt: so to depend too much on things vnsearchable, is rather a badge of rash presuming, then any notable courage of faith. I must looke to my way, and let him alone in his.

S. 38. The Misery of being Old and Ignorant.¹

'Tis a Capital misery for a man to bee at once both old and Ignorant. If hee were onely old, and had some knowledge, he might abate the tediousnesse of decrepit age, but the diuine raptures of Contemplation. If he were yong, though he knew nothing, yet his yeeres would serue him, to labour, and learne: whereby in the Winter of his time, hee might beguile the wearinesse of his pillow and chayre. But now his body being withered by the stealing length of his dayes, and his limbes wholly disabled, for either motion, or exercise, these together with a minde vnfurnished of those contenting speculations of admired Science, cannot but delineate the pourtraicture of a man wretched. A gray head with a wise minde, is a treasurie of graue Precepts, experience, & judgement. But foolish old age, is a barren Vine in Autumnne: or an Vniuersitie to study folly in: euery action

¹See below R. S. 34. The Misery of being old and ignorant.
is a pattern of infirmity: while his body sits still, hee
knowes not how to finde his minde action: and tell mee if
there bee any life, more irkesome then idlenesse. I haue
numbred yet but a few dayes; and those I know, I haue
neglected. I am not sure they shall bee more, nor can I
promise my head, it shall haue a snowy haire. What then?
Knowledge is not hurtfull, but helps a good minde: any
thing that is laudable, I desire to learne. If I dye to
morrow, my life to day shall be somewhat the sweeter for
knowledge: and if my day proue a Summer one, it shall not be
amisse, to haue prouided something, that in the euening of
my Age, may make my minde my Companion. Notable was the
answere that Anthisthenes gaue, when hee was asked what
fruit he had reaped of all his studies? By them, haith hee,
I haue learned, both to liue, and to talke with my selfe.3

2This is one of the few purely autobiographical
statements in the Short Century, which was "written when he
was but Eighteen" ("TO the READER," The Revised Short Century,
below).

3Athenian Cynic philosopher, fl. 366 B. C. Felltham
embellishes the statement somewhat; the answer was simple:
"the ability to hold converse with myself." Diogenes
Laertius, VI, 6.

S. 39. A two-fold way to Honour.1

There is a two-fold way to honour: Direct, when God

1See below R. S. 35. A twofold way to Honour.
cals: Indirect, when man seekes it, without the Lords warrant. David went the first, and his Crowne departed not from his head, till nature had payed her debt, and his life dissolved: And when hee is gone, his Issue succeeds him. Absolon went the other, but his sinnes pulled him down with vengeance: and onely a dumbe pillar speaks his memory. God cannot indure the aspiring spirit, that would dlime the holl of preferment, without his leaue. Theeues of honour, seldom finde ioy in their purchases, stability, neuer. Besides, I obserue the man that is fit for a place of note, neuer seekes it so much, as hee is sought for, for it: whereas euer the Bramble, that is low, and worthlesse, cryes out aloud, Make me a King: 'tis incident to a weake minde, to ouer-value it selfe. How many would be Magistrates, that know not how to bee men? Moses objects much, when God himself imposeth a charge: For a man of vnderstanding knowes, that 'tis better to liue in the Valley, where the times tempests blow ouer him: then to haue his seat on the Mountains top, where euery blast threatens both his ruine, and fall: howsoever others measure him, hee knowes his owne height; and will not exceed it. Yet beeing placed by an Almighty hand, hee that set him there, can keep him secure. But hee must then beware, that he makes not that his King,

that should be his Subject: that he giues not the reins, where he should use the checke: and that he playes not the Ape too much, either by too idle imitation, or by doting too fondly, on his darling Honour. Thus cautelous, may he live safe: When he that reacheth promotion without Gods calling him, may flourish awhile, but not thriue. In ascents, those are the safest, that are broadest, and least sudden, and where the light is open: how soon is a fall caught in those staires that are darke, narrow, & quickly rising? I wil as well look to the way, as the thing: There is no path to happy preferment, but that which vertue treads: which was well noted by the Heathen when they built the Temple of honour so, that none could enter it, but they must first passe through that of vertue. I had rather liue honestly, though meanely: then by unlawful practices usurp a Crowne.

\(^{a}\)he, in 1; obviously a misprint.

\(^{6}\)Wary, heedful.

\(^{7}\)After the battle of Clastidium in Cisalpine Gaul, Marcellus vowed a temple, which was to belong to Honor and Virtue together. The pontiffs refused to allow one temple to be consecrated to two deities, and so two temples, one of Honor, one of Virtue, were built close together. Livy, xxvii,25.

S. 40. **Cowardice worthlesse.**

Nothing more disworthes a man, then Cowardice, and a

\(^{1}\)See below R. S. 37. **Of Cowardice.**
base fear of danger: the smooth way it makes difficult, the
difficult inaccessible. The Coward is an unfinished man; or
else one which nature made less than others: If ever he did
any thing well, fortune was his guide, not wisdom. His
fear in him begets delay, and delay breeds that he fears,
danger: the soldier that dares not fight, affords the
Enemy too much advantage for his preparation; both for
directing his soldiers, plotting his Stratagems,
strengthening his files, ordering his Camp, or doing any
thing that may turn disadvantage upon his foe: when as the
valorous warrior gives most discomfiture, in his suddenest
onset, where he takes away the time for fortification. If
it be by speech a man is to act his part, fear puts an
ague in his tongue, and often leaves him, either in an
amazed distraction, or quite elingued. For the too serious
apprehension of a possible shame, makes him forget that,
should help him against it: I mean a plain boldness,
bequeathing a dilated freedom to all his faculties, and
senses: which now with a cold fear, are frozen and congealed.
If not this, out of an unmeasured care to do well, it
drives a man into affectation: and that like misshapen
apparel, spoils the beauty of a well limb'd body: For
nature will not endure the rack; when you set her too high,

Cf. Sewell's Suicide, "The coward sneaks to death, the
brave live on," etc. --Smeaton.

Speechless, dumb. The OED cites this as the first
recorded usage of the word.
she proues vntuneable, and instead of a sweet cloze, yeeldes
a cracke: she euer goes best in her owne free pace: I will
neither stay her so long, as to meet delay: nor runne her so
far, as to doe ought affectedly. I had rather be confidently
bold, then foolishly timorous; he that in every thing feares
to doe well, will at length doe ill in all.

S. 41. Of Lamenting the losse of Trifles.¹

Many haue much lamented the losse of trifles, when they
might haue gained by such damages, had they not with them,
lost themselues: I meane, their quiet minds, and patience.
Unwise so to debarre themselues of rest, when their vexation
cannot yeeld them profit; if teares could either recouer a
losse, or recall time, then to weepe, were but to purpose;
but things past, though with prudence they may be corrected,
yet with greatest griefe, they annot bee recalled: make them
better wee may, but for to make them not to be at all,
requires more then a humane strength, or a finite power.
Actions once done, admit a correction, not a nullity.
Although I will endeuour to amend what is gone by amisse,
yet will I labour, never to grieue for any thing past, but
sinne; and for that alwayes. A small losse shall never
trouble mee: neither shall the greatest hindrance, make my
heart not mine owne. He spake well that said, He which

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
hath himselfe, hath lost nothing.\(^2\)

\(^2\)Montaigne, Works, I, 38, "Of Solitude."

S. 42. A Practice with Friendship.\(^1\)

\begin{verbatim}
Some men are of so noble, and free a disposition, that
you cannot being a friend, aske ought, to receive a deniall:
it being one part of their happines, to pleasure the man they
loue. Yet these in the end, and these times, are the only
unhappy men. For being exhausted by the necessities of
others, and their base working on a free nature, an\(^a\)
unwelcom want, at once undoes them, and the goodnesse of
their disposition. pitty such willing courtesies should be
cast away in such ungratefull ground; that like an
unbottomed Gulfe, swallowes, but returnes not, or that a
mans firme loue should make him doe that, should kill himselfe
in future. Contrarie to these, you haue another sort are\(^b\)
fast, and holding: and though sometimes they might pleasure
a friend, without a selfe prejudice: yet their inbred
crabbednesse reserues all, with a close hand. And while the
other ruins with a faire affection; he thrives with a vulgar
\end{verbatim}

\(^a\)and, 5-7. \hspace{2cm} \(^b\)as, 2-7.

\(^1\)This bracketed alternate title is unique in the
Resolves; it appears this way in editions 3-7. See below
R. S. 39. Of free Dispositions. See also below S. 44. Of
purchasing Friends, with large Gifts.
hate, and curses; such as the first, are best to others: such as the last, to themselves. I will so serve others, as I injure not myself: so my selfe, as I may help others.\textsuperscript{c}

\textsuperscript{c}others, 2-7.

S. 43. \textit{Sinne by but Once committing, gains a Proneness to Reiteration.}\textsuperscript{1}

As there is no feat of activity so difficult, but being once done, a man ventures on it more freely the second time: so there is no sinne at first so hatefull, but being once committed willingly, a man is made more prone for a reiteration. For there is more desire of a knowne pleasure, than of that which only our ears have heard report of. The horse that hath fed on provender, will looke and long for it: but the iade that hath only had hey, expects no more then his racke.\textsuperscript{a} So farre is ignorance good, that in a calme, it keepes the minde from distraction; and knowledge, as it breedes desire in all things, so in sinne. Bootlesse therefore shall ever be that cunning fetch of Satan, when hee would induce me once to make a triall of sinne, that I might thereby know more, and be able to fill vp my mouth.

\textsuperscript{a}The horse...his racke, omitted in 2-7. Perhaps Felltham thought the metaphor too mundane for such a serious subject, especially since there is a metaphor of a temple a little later on.

\textsuperscript{1}See below R. S. 40. \textit{The danger of once admitting a Sin}. 
with discourse, my minde with fruition; bearing mee in hand, I may at my pleasure giue it the hand of parting, and a finall farewell. Too often (alas) haue I bin deceiued with this beguiling perswasion, of a power to leaue, and awill to returne at my will. Henceforth shall my care bee to refraine from once. If I grant that, stronger perswasions will plead for a second action: 'tis easier to deny a guest at first, then to turne him out, hauing stayed a while. Thou knowest not, sencelesse man, what ioyes thou losest, when thou fondly lashest into new offences. The world cannot repurchase thee, thy pristine integrity: thou hast hereby lost such hold of grace, as thou wilt neuer again be able to recouer. A mind not conscious of any foule enormities, is a fair temple in a durty street: at whose dore, Sinne, like a throng of rude plebians, knockes incessantly: while the doore is shut, 'tis easi to keep it so, and them out; open that, but to let in one, thousands will rush in after him, and their tramplings will for euer soyle that vnstained floore, while thy conscience is vnspotted, thou hast that can make the\textsuperscript{b} smile vpon the racke, and flames; 'tis like Homers Nepenthe,\textsuperscript{2} that can banish the sadnesse of the minde. But when thou woundest that, thou buriest thy ioyes at once: and throwest a Iewell from thee is richer then the wealth of thee, 2-7.

\textsuperscript{b}Nepenthe is a drug causing forgetfulness and oblivion. See Odysseus among the lotus-eaters, \textit{Odyssey}, IX.
worlds. Foole that thou art, that wandring in a darke wilderness, dost wilfully put out thy candle; and thinkest cold water can slake thy thirst, in the burning fit of an Ague; \(^3\) when it onely breeds in thee a desire to powre in more. Hee that neuer tasted the pleasures of sinne, longs lesse, after those banefull discontenting contents. What sweets of sinne I know not, I desire still to be vnexperienc't in. I had rather not know, then by knowledge be miserable. This Ignorance will teach me Knowledge, of an vnknowne peace. Let mee rather be outwardly maimed, and want discourse: then bee furnisht of that, and possesse a wound, that bleedeth within.

\(^3\)It was a common folk belief until very recent times that a person with a fever should be given warm or even hot water to drink.

S. 44. Of purchasing Friends, with large Gifts.\(^1\)

'Tis foolish, and sauors not of common policie, to purchase friends by\(^a\) large gifts: because hauing once vsed them to rewards, they will still expect more: and custome that pleaseth, is seldome omitted, without either discontent, or danger. If then our loues tokes shall seem to diminish,

\(^a\)with, 2-7.

\(^1\)See above S. 42. A Practice with / A Rule of Friendship, and below R. S. 39. Of free Dispositions, and R. S. 54. Of Gifts, and their power.
friendship likewise will decrease: and if not quite consume, yet easily be drawne to allow harbour to base dis-respect: which what a thorne it is to an affectionate minde, I desire rather to know by iudicious observation, then by reall experience: but sure I am, it no way can be small; yet most true must it needs be, that friendship wonne by large gifts, resembles but the straw fire; that hauing matter to feed vpon, burnes brightly: but let new fuell be neglected; it dyes, consumes, and quite goes out. Nor further can this amity be euer approued, or sure, or sincere. For hee that loues me for my gifts sake, loues my gifts, aboue my selfe: and if I should happen to light on aduersities; I should not finde him then to appeare: there being no hope of a gainefull requitall. If I giue any thing, it shall be because hee is my friend: not because I would haue him so: not so much that I may haue his loue; that\(^b\) that already, hee hath mine. I will vse them sometimes to continue friendship, neuer to begin it. I doe not hold him worthy thankes, that professeth me a kindnesse for his own ends.

\(^{b}\)but, 2-7.

S. 45. **Just Shame in a good man, saddens his soule.**\(^{1}\)

Nothing more saddens the soule of a good man, then the

\(^{1}\)vid. [above S. 20.] Of Credit [Reputation] Or,[A] Good Name—Felltham. See also below S. 88. Good Name, how it is both the Best and Brittiest thing that is and R. S. 20. Whence a Mans Fame arises.
serious apprehension of a just shame. If it were false, his own cleerenesse would bee a shield strong enough, to repel the darts of slander. For man is never miserable, till Conscience turns his enemy. If it were but the losse of riches, there were a possibilitie of a recouerie: if of friends, hee might finde more, or content himselfe with the knowledge of their happinesse, in that glorious Mansion of the Saints: if of corporall anguish, a quiet minde might mitigate his paines, or industry with time, take a truce with sorrowes: but this misery is immedicable. Credit once lost is like water so diffusiusely split, that 'tis not in humanitie to recollect it. If it bee, it hath lost the purity, and will for ever after, be full of soile: and by how much his honest was more noted; by so much will his shame bee more, and his griefe. For see what a horror he hath before him: all will bee now ready to brand him with the odious, and stigmaticall name of an Hypocrite. His Reputation (which though it bee not dearer then his soule, yet he prizeth aboue his life) will be blacked with an eternall staine: which nor absence, time, endeavour, nor Death can wash away. If he liues, and could in himselfe forget it: yet the envious world will keepe it vpon record: and when hee mindes it not, rub it on his galled soule. If he could fly from his Countrey, that would like a Bloud-hound follow him: if he dyes, that will suruiue him, and make his very graue contemptible: nay, so farre will it spread, as
somewhat to infect his friends: and though haply in himselfe hee may be bettered, by so rash a fall: yet the cruell, and vncharitable world will euer thinke him worse. In this I dare not follow it: in doing that may cause this, I hope I shall not. I will first striue to be void of the act might bring shame, next, not to cast it in the dish of the penitent. If my sufferings bee vniust, I am sure in the end I shall find them comfortable. If God hath pleas'd to remit offences, why should I commemorate them? A good life is a forrasse against shame: and a good man's shame, is his benefit: the one keepes it away; the other when it comes, makes it proue profitable.

S. 46. The Will accepted with God for the Deed.¹

The will for the deed, is oft with God accepted: and he that is a thankefull Debtor, restores a benefit. Many benefits, nay, all I possesse, O Lord, from thee I know I haue receiued: requite them I cannot, returne them I may not, and to rest ingratefull, were a sin inexcusable. Since then I cannot retaliate thy loue, or retribute thy fauours: yet Lord will I owe them, with a desire to pay.

¹See below R. S. 41. Of Gratitude, and Gods accepting the Will for the Deed.
There is not anything else that destroys friendship, sooner than concealed grudges. Though reason at first produceth opinion, yet opinion after, seduceth Reason. Conceits of vnkindnesse harboured and beleued, will worke even a steady loue, to hatred. And therefore, reserved dispositions, as they are the best keepers of secrets: so they are the worst increasers of loue. Between friends it cannot be, but discourtesies wil appeare: though not intended, by a willing act, yet so taken by a wrong suspect: which smothered in silence, increase dayly, to a greater distaste: but revealed once, in a friendly manner, oft meet with that satisfaction, which doth in the disclosure banish them. Sometimes ill tongues, by false tales, sow Discord between two lovers. Sometimes mistakes, set the mind in a false belief. Sometimes jealouesies, that flow from loue, imprint suspition in the thoughts. All which may find ease in the uttering: so their discoverie be in mindnesse; otherwise, choller casts a mist before the eyes of the minde, and when it might see cleerely, will not let it. If betweene my friend, and my selfe, a private thought of vnkindnesse arise; I will presently tell it, and bee reconciled: if he be cleere, I

\[\text{aConcealing, 6.} \quad \text{bdiscourerie being mildnesse, 3-7.}\]

\[1\text{See below R. S. 43. Concealed Grudges, the Destruction of Friendship.}\]
shall like him the better when I see his integritie; if faulty, confession gains my pardon, and binds me to love him: and though we should in the discussion iarre a little, yet will I be sure to part friendly. Fire almost quench't, and laid abroad, dyes presently: put together, it will burne the better. Every such breach as this, will unite affection faster: a little shaking prefers the growth of the tree.

S. 48. Of Affecting an High seat of Honour.¹

I have sometimes wish't my selfe in some high seate of honour: with what folly, I have after seen, and been displeased, with my selfe, with my desires: so vnbefitting visedome, so dissonant from Christianity. For what can a high place conferre vnto me, that can make my life more truely happy? if it addes to my ioyes, it increaseth my fear;² if it augments my pleasure, my care is more, and my trouble. But perhaps I shall have reverence, weare rich apparell, and fare deliciously: alas! cold flames, wet rayment. Have I not known some enioying all, and never found other fruit, but enuie, beggery, and disease? so have in the end, wished to change, for lower Honours, for meaner dignities, accounting themselves as the flag, on the top of a shipmast,

²feares, 5.

¹See below R. S. 44. 'Tis neither a great Estate, nor great Honours that can make a man truly Happy.
as more high, and more visible; so more, and euer open, to the wind, and stormes: being as a worthy Iudge once answered one, that gaue him his title of Honour: True, Honorable servants, to post through the toyles of a circuit, and thinke on any mans busines but their owne. Ah Tissue couer, to a straw Cushion! But I shal haue more means, so shall I do the more good: I grant; but may I not doe as much good, with lesse meanes? 'Tis a question who shall haue more reward, of him that does most in quantity, or most according to the proportion of his means; If Christ may be admitted as arbitrator, the poore Widdow gaue more, then al the rich ones. I feare, if I had more, I should spend more in waste: sure I am, I should haue more to answere for. Besides, who knowes what a change wealth might work in me? what a snare hath it proued to many, that like the Sunne, haue in the morning of their time, mounted themselues to the highest pitch of perspicuity, and brightnesse? which when they haue once attained, they decline, fall, vanish, & are gond; leauing nothing behind them, but dark night, blacke reputation. If not this, what can I tell, but that I might gather like a spunge, to bee squeezed out againe, by some

\[\text{according the, 3-5.}\]

\[\text{Mark 12:41-44.}\]

\[\text{Perhaps Felltham is thinking here of Sir Francis Bacon, who, only two years earlier (1621), had been convicted of bribery and removed from the office of Lord Chancellor.}\]
grinding oppressor? So bee more vexed with an unexpected losse, then pleased with my short injoyment. The thiefe that meets with a full purse, takes away it, and returns a stabbe; while the empty pocket makes the life secure: then perhaps we could wish to be poore, but cannot: that so vvee might lessen our griefe, by the sorrow for our losse. Tell me then, O my soule! vvhat should make thee wish to change? I liue in a ranke, though not of the highest, yet affoording as much happiness, more freedome: as beeing exempt from those suspititious cares, that pricke the bosome of the wealthy man: 'tis such as might content my better, and such as heauen smiles on, with a gracious promise of blessing, if my carriage be fair and honest; and without these who is well? I haue necessaries, and what is decent; and when I desire it, something for pleasure. Who hath more then is needfull? If I be not so rich, as to sowe almes by sackfulls, even my Mite, is beyond the superfluity of wealth: and my pen, my tongue, and my life, shal (I hope) helpe some to better treasure, then the earth affoordsC them. I haue food conuenient for mee: and I sometimes find exercise to keepe my body healthfull: when I doe, I make it my recreation, not my toyle. My rayment is not worst, but good: and then that, let mee neuer haue better. I can bee as warme in a good Kersey, as a Prince in a Skarlet robe, I liue where is much means of true saluation: my libertie is mine owne, I can both

Cafford, 4, 5.
frequent them, and desire to profit by them. I haue a mind can bee pleased vvith the present; and if time turnes the wheele, can indure ad change, without desiring it. I vvant nothing but abundance; and this I neede not because want herein, I account much better then reall possession: if it had beene fit for mee, I know, my God would haue bestowed it on me.- He neuer was so careles of a child of his, as to let him misse that, he knew might make for his good. Seeing then, hee sees it inconuenient, it shall bee my ioy to liue without it; and hencedorth, will I not long any more to change. He is not a compleat Christian, that cannot be contented vvith that he inioyes. I will rather settle my minde to a quiet rest, in that I finde: then let her wander, in a wearied sollicitude, after vngotten plenty. That estate that God giues me, euer vvill I esteeme best: though I could not thinke it so, I am sure it is so: and to think against knowledge, is a foolish suspition.

dthe, 3-7.

S. 49. Of Jealousie of an Other. ¹

'Tis a precept from a perfidious mind, that bids vs thinke all knaues vve deale vvith: so by distrusting, to

¹See below R. S. 42. Of Distrust and Credulity. The revised title fits the resolve much better than the one above.
hinder deceit. I dare not give my mind that liberty, lest I
injure charity, and run into error. I will think all
honest, if strangers: for so I'm sure they should be; only
let me remember, they are but men: so may upon temptation,
fall with the time: otherwise, though they want religion,
Nature hath implanted a moral justice, which unperturbed,
will deal square. Christ's precept was found in the mouths
of Heathen. *Doe not to another, what thou wouldst not have
done to thy selfe.*

2 In R. S. 42, Felltham identifies the author of the
statement as Cicero. This negative statement of what in the
eighteenth century came to be known as the Golden Rule is
widespread among the ancients. In Hebraic writing it
appears in Tobit 4:15, and in Greek and Roman philosophy
from Thales on. Christ's statement is in Matthew 7:12.

S. 50. The great Evil that Neglect brings both to
Body and Soul.¹

Though the bodies excretions grow but insensibly, yet
unless they be daily taken away, we see, they make men
monstrous: as *Nabuchadnezzar's* haires were like Eagles
feathers, and his nayles like birds clawes, in his seuen
yeeres bestiality.² So that those things which nature with
due ordering, hath made for use and ornament: with a
carelesse neglect, grow to mischief, and deformity. In the

¹See below R. S. 45. Of Neglect.
²Daniel 4:33.
soule I finde it yet worse: and no Vice so soon steales on
vs, as the abuse of things in themselues lawfull: For Nature
euer since her first deprauation, without a corrigible hand
to restraine her, runs into wide extremeties. I know, 'tis
good the Vine should flourish, but let it alone, and it
ruines it selfe, in superfluous branches. Our pleasures wee
see, are sometimes the enliuenings of a drooping soule: yet
hos easily doe they steale away our minds, and make vs with
a mad affection, dote vpon them? none suspecting in so faire
a semblance, a Sinon, that should gull vs, with such dilusiuue
postures: but because we know them lawfull, we boldly, and
heedlessely vse them: and as prouidence is the mother of
happiness: so negligence is the Parent of misery. I will
euer bee most circumspect, in things veiled with either
goodnesse, or sweetnesse. Nothing steales more soules from
God, then lewd courses that are outwardly glorious. Reason
hath not so dull an eye, but shee may see those things, that
are apparantly ill: but those that are so, onely by their
accident, haue power to blind her sight: so require more care,
more vigilancy. I'le only vse them, to make be better: when
they leaue that, I'le leaue them: and deale with 'vm in a
wise discretion, as the Emperour Commodus did with his
servants, in a wicked jest, banish them: not for the ill they

Sinon was the Greek who persuaded the Trojans to take
in the wooden horse, Aeneid, II. His name became synonymous
with trickery and deceit.
haue done me; but for the harme they may doe. Since all my goodnes cannot make one sin good: why should an accidental sinne spoile that, which is good in it selfe?

4Reported in Dion Cassius, lxxii.

S. 51. Of Solitarinesse and Companionship.

There is no man that liues well, but shall be suspected for selfe-conceited, vnlesse hee can liue like a Hermite, in a Cell: or like some Satyre, in an unfrequented Desart. He cannot for his life so carry himselfe, but he shall sometimes light on lewd company: such as hee neither loues, nor cares for. If he continues society with them, he endangers his soule: either by participating of their bad actions, or else by conniuing at those offences, he sees they delight in: either of which, not onely cast a present guilt on the soule, but even worke it to such a temper, as makes it apt to receiue the impression of any ill; So secretly insinuating, till it come from toleration, to allowance, Action, Custome, Delight. Bad Companions are like Traitors, with whom if we act, or conceale, wee are guilty: this Pitch will defile a man. If he shall out of an honest care of his soules welfare, and his loue to Religion, labour to auoid such bad associates: or beeing unhappily fallen among them, seeke for a present escape: Then pride, and a high conceit of himselfe,

1See below R. S. 49. Of Solitarinesse and Companionship.
is guessed the onely motiue of his bodies departure: when
indeed 'tis onely goodnesse, that importunes his absence.
But tell mee now, is't not better I leaue them, & be thought
proud wrongfully: then stay with them, and be knowne bad
certainly? He's a foole that will sell his soule, for a
few good words, from a bad mans\textsuperscript{a} tongue. What is't to me,
how others thinke me, when I know, my intent is good, and
my wayes warrantable? A good conscience cares for no
witnessse: that is alone, as a thousand. Neither can the
worlds Calumnies, worke a change in a minde resolued.
Howsoever heere my Reputation should be soiled unworthily,
yet the time is not farre off, when a freedome from sinne
will bee more worth, then a perpetuated fame from Adam, till
Doomes day. While heauen and my Conscience see mee Innocent,
the worlds suppositions cannot make mee culpable. Hee that
is good, and ill spoken of, shall rejoyce, for the wrong is
done him by others. Hee that is bad, and well reported,
shall grieue for the iniury hee does himselfe. In the one,
they would make mee what\textsuperscript{b} I am not: in the other. I make my
selfe what I should not. Let me rather heare ill, and doe
well: then doe ill, and bee flattered.

\textsuperscript{a} a mans, 2-7.  \textsuperscript{b} make what, 5.
S. 52. Better to suffer Injuries then offer them.\(^1\)

For injuries, my opinion is with Socrates: 'Tis better to suffer, then to offer them.\(^2\) He may be good that beares them: he must be ill that proffers them. Saul would slay David, when himselfe only is vitious, and ill.\(^3\) Vice, is accompanied with iniustice; Patience, is an attendant\(^a\) on Vertue.

\(^a\)is attendant, 5.

\(^1\)See below R. S. 46. Of Injury.

\(^2\)Xenophon, Memorabilia.

\(^3\)I Samuel 19:1-17.

S. 53. Government and Obedience the two causes of a Common Prosperitie.\(^1\)

In all nations, two things are causes of a common prosperity: Good Government: and good Obedience: A good Magistrate, ouer a peruerse people, is a sound head, on a surfetted body. A good Comunalitie and a bad Ruler, is a healthfull body, with a head aching: either are occasions of ruine: both sound, preseruatius. A good Gouernour is a skilfull Ship-master, that takes the shortest, and the safest

\(^1\)Although there is no resolve in the R. S. Century exactly corresponding to this one, see below R. S. 82. Of Law.
course: and continually so steeres, as the Rockes, and Shelues which might shipwracke the state, be avoide: and the voyage euer made, with the soonest speed, best profit, most ease. But a wicked Magistrate is a Wolfe made leader of the fold: that both satiates his crueltie, and betrayes them to danger. To whom if you adde but ignorance, you may upon certain grounds, profesie destruction. **The Judges insufficiencie, is the Innocents calamitie.** But if the Common-wealth be obedient, & the Ruler worthy: how durable is their felicitie, and ioy? Solon might well say, That Citie was safe, whose Citizens were obedient to the Magistrates, and Magistrates to the Lawes.\(^2\) What made the Maior Scipio so victorious, but his wisedome in directing, and his Souldiers willingnesse, in obeying, when he could show his troopes, and say, You see not a man among al these, but will, if I command him, from a Turret throw himselfe into the Sea?\(^3\) The inconuenience of stubbornnesse, that Consull knew, who meeting vvith an obstinate Youth, sold both him, and his goods, saying, Hee had no need of that Citizen, that vvould not obey. As it is in the larger, and more spacious vworld; so is it in the little world of Man. None if they serue their true Prince, but haue a Gouernour completely

\(^2\)Athenian law-giver (ca. 640-558 B. C.). The statement is reported in Plutarch, "The Comparison of Poplicola with Solon."

\(^3\)Scipio Africanus Major (ca. 236-183 B. C.), the great Roman general who overcame Hannibal. His discipline over his troops became legendary.
perfect. Criticisme it selfe, cannot find in God to cauill at. He is both iust, and mercifull, in the Concrete, and the Abstract, he is both of them. Who can taxe him with either crueltie, or partialitie? though my obecience cannot answere his perfection; yet will I endeour it. If Christ bee not my King to gouerne, he wil neither be my Prophet to forewarne, nor my Priest to expiate. If I cannot come neere it, in effect, as being impossible: I will in desire,\footnote{will desire, 5.} as being conuenient: so though lesse, yet if sincere, I know, he wil accept it: not as meritorious, but respecting his promise.

\footnote{See below R. S. 48. Of the danger of a fruitless Hearer.}

S. 54. Of a Fruitlesse Hearer's danger.¹

'Tis an Aphorisme in Physicke, that they which in the beginning of sicknes eate much, and mend not, fall at last to a generall loathing of food. The Morall is true in Diuinity. He that hath a sick conscience, and liues a hearer vnder a fruitfull Ministery, if he growes not sound, he will learne to despise the world. Contemned blessings leave roome for curses. Hee that neglects the good hee may haue, shall find the euill he would not haue. Iustly hee sits in darknesse, that would not light his Candle when the
fire burned clearly. He that needs counsel, and will not hear it, destines himself to misery, and is the willing Author of his own woe. Continue at a stay he cannot long: if he could, not to proceed, is backward. And this is as dangerous to the soul, as the other to the body. Pitiably is his estate, that hates the thing should help him: if ever you see a drowning man refuse help, conclude him a wilful murderer. When God affords me plentiful means, woe be to me if they prove not profitable: I had better have a deaf ear, then hear to neglect, or hate: to the burying of such treasures there belongs a curse, to their misspending, judgements.

S. 55. Of God's gifts which are common to All, and

Peculiar to the Elect only.¹

God gives three kinds of gifts, Temporal, Spiritual, and Eternal; Temporal, as Wealth, Pleasure, Honour, and such like. Spiritual, as Saving Faith, Peace of Conscience, and assurance of Salvation. Eternal, as Glory and happiness in heaven for ever. The first is common to the wicked, as well as the godly, and they mostly flourish in these terrestrial beauties. For who so great in favour with the world as they? They live, become old, and are mighty in power, as Job speaks

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century. See the "Articles of Religion," xvii, The Book of Common Prayer.
in his 21. yet all these sweetes passe away like a vapour, and though they reuell out their dayes in mirth, yet in a moment they goe downe to the graue. The two other God bestowes onely vpon his Elect: all that heere hee often giues them, is onely one of these: some spiruall favours hee bestowes vpon them, the other he reserues for them, when Earth cannot cal them her Children. One he giues them not, till they be gone from hence; the other when they haue it, the world sees it not. What difference can a blind man perceiue, betweene a sparkling Diamond, and a worthlesse peble? Or what can a naturall man spie, in an humble Christian, that euer hee thinkes may make him be happie? Afflictions heere are the Lot of the tighteous, and they dimme those splendid beauties, that speak them faire in the eye of the Almighty: they are sports of the priuie Chamber, that these Kings ioy in: the vnciuill vulgar see not the pleasures of their Crown: Whereas the wicked, and God-forsaken man spreads out his plumes, and seemes euen to checke the Sunne in his glory. Vice loues to seeme glorious, yea more to seeme, then to bee. What a Lustre these Glow-wormes cast in darknesse, which yet but touched, are extinct? a poore reckoning alas in the end! when all these counterfet Jewels shal be snatched from him, and he answere for all strictly, at the vnauoidable barre of the last Judgement.  

\[^{2}\text{Verse 13.}^{3}\text{Romans 14:10-12.}\]
haue nothing but woe heereafter. Flesh, rebellious flesh, would sometime set me to murmur at their prosperity; but when my minde in her Closet revolues their fickle estate, and findes all their good in present, & outward, I see nothing may be a mid-wife to the least repining enuie. When my soule solaceth her selfe in those rauishing delights that exhilarate a Christians mind, how poorely can I thinke of those lamentable ioyes? the spirituall man lookes on the flourishishes of this life with pitty, not desire. If God giues the wicked one, and me two, why should I complaine? but when the least of mine, is infinitely better then his all, let mee never grudge him, so poore, and so short a heauen. If God affoords mee his childrens favours (though oppressed with pouerty) I am richer, then all their gawdy Adulations can make me: because I haue already the earnest of a World of Ioy, which the wicked shall never obtaine.

S. 56. Of Libelling against them that are falne.¹

I wonder what spirit they are indued withall, that can basely libell at a man that is falne! If they were heavenly, then would they with him condole his disaster, and drop some teares in pitty of his folly, and wretchednesse: If but humane, yet nature never gaue them a mind so cruell, as to adde weight to an ouercharged beame. When I heare of any

¹See below R. S. 51. Of Libelling. See also above S. 48, n. 3.
that fall into publike disgrace, I haue a mind to
commiserate his mis-hap, not to make him more disconsolate.
To inuenome a name by libells, that already is openly tainted,
is to adde stripes with an Iron rod, to one that is flayed
with whipping: and is sure in a mind well-temper'd, thought
inhumae, diabolicall.

S. 57. The vanitie and shortnesse of mans Life. 1

Our yeeres at full are fourescore and ten: 2 much time
compared to a day; but not a minute in respect of eternity:
yet how few liue to tell so large a succession of time? One
dyes in the bud, another in the bloome, some in the fruite,
Few like the sheafe, that comes to the barne in a full age:
and though a man liues to injoy all, see but how little he
may call as his owne. He is first Puer, then Juuenis, next
Vir, and after Senex; 3 the first hee rattles away in toyes

1There is much in this Essay that is merely a paraphrase
on Bacon's two essays (1) On Death; (2) On the Vicissitudes
of Things; also of that famous passage in Dryden's
Aurengzebe, Act iv., sc. 1, "When I consider life, 'tis all
a cheat," etc.--Smeaton. There is no corresponding resolve
in the R. S. Century.

2Felltham seems to be rather optimistic here. Psalm
90:10 gives the familiar three score years and ten, which may
be lengthened to fourscore years, "by reason of strength."
Nowhere does the Bible suggest fourscore and ten.

3Although Felltham gives the Latin terms for these four
ages, he is probably thinking of Pythagoras's division of
man's life: "Twenty years a boy, twenty years a youth, twenty
years a young man, twenty years an old man." Diogenes
Laertius, VIII, 10.
and fooleries, ere he knowes where he is, spends a great part of his precious time: he playes as if there were no sorrow, and sleeps as if there would neuer bee joy. The next, pleasures and luxurie shorten and hasten away: uncheckd heat makes him nimble spirits boile; he dares then doe that, which after he dares not thinke of: he does not then liue, but reuell; & cares not so much for life, as for that which steals it away, Pleasure. Hee hath then a soule that thinkes not of it selfe, but studies onely to content the body: which with her best indulgence, is but a piece of active earth: when she leaves it, a lump of nastinesse. The third, Cares of the world, and posterity, debarre of a solid content: and now when he mounted to the height of his way, he finds more misery, then the beginning told him of. What iarres, what toyles, what cares, what discontentments, and what unexpected distractions, shall he light vpon? if poore, hee's miserable, and ridiculous: if rich, fearefull & solicitous: this being all the difference betweene them, the first labours how to liue, the other studies how to continue liuing. In the last, nature growes weake and irksome in her selfe, venting her distaste with Salomon, and mournes that now shee finds her dayes, that be vnplesasing. He that liues long hath onely the happiness,

\(^{a} \text{he is mounted, 2-7.} \)

\(^{4} \text{Probably a reference to Ecclesiastes, supposedly written by Solomon.} \)
to take a larger taste of misery: what before hee thought hurled about with more then a sphericall swiftnesse, he now thinks more tedious, then a tyred Hackney in foule wayes: Time, that before hee hath wooed to stay for him, now he could on his knee sue to, to haste him away. But if (that honey of all humanity) Learning, hath taught him a way to coozzen his sorrowes, he could then with old Themistocles, find in his heart to weep, that he must then leave life, when he begins to learne wit. Thus all mans ages are so ful of troubles, that they filch away his time of liuing. The first is full of folly: the second of sinne: the third of labour: the last of griefe. In all, he is in the Court of this world, as a ball bandyed between 2. rackets, Joy, & sorrow: If either of them strike him ouer, he may then rest: otherwise, his time is nothing, but a constant motion in calamitie. I haue onely yet runne through the first, and passed my Puerilia; whether my life, or my youth shall be ended first, I neither know, nor care. I shall neuer bee sorrowfull, for leauing too soone, the tempests of this tumbling Sea. But if I see my Summer past, I hope in Autumn God will ripen me for himselfe, and gather mee: if my Maker, and master saw it fit, I could bee content neither to see it, nor winter, I mean the winter of age: but if he shall appoint mee so large a time, I shall willingly pray as my Saviour hath

5Famous Athenian statesman (ca. 527-460 B. C.).

6See above S. 38, n. 2.
taught mee, His will bee done:⁷ though I wish not the full fruition of all, yet doe I desire to borrow a letter from each: So instead of Puer, Juuenis, Vir, & Senix; giue mee the foure first letter, which will make me P I V S.


S. 58. A good Rule in wearing of Apparell.¹

Two things in my apparell, I will onely aime at; Commodiousnes, Decencie: beyond these I know not, how ought may be commendable; yet I hate an effeminate spruceness, as much as a phantasticke idsorder. A neglectiue comlinesse is a man's best ornament.² Sardanapalus was as base in his Feminine vestures,² as Heliogabalus was mad, when hee wore Shooes of Gold, and Rings of Leather:³ the one shew'd much pride, the other more wantonnesse: let mee haue both these excluded, and I am pleas'd in my Garments.

¹man's ornament, 5.
²See below R. S. 52. Of Apparel.
³Last king of the Assyrian empire of Nineveh, noted for his effeminacy and licentiousness. Diodorus Siculus, II, 23-27.
³Elagabalus (ca. A. D. 205-222), Roman emperor noted for his extravagancies and indecencies. Dion Cassius, lxxvii, 30-41.
S. 59. **The good vse of an Enemie.**

Though an enemy bee not a thing necessarie; yet is there much good vse to be made of him: yea, sometimes he doth a man a greater pleasure, then a dearer friend, for whereas a friend, out of a feare to displease, and a kinds of conniuing partialitie, speaks only Placentia, & such as he thinkes, may not giue a distaste, an enemy vtters his opinion boldly, and if any act, misbeseeming vertue, spring from a man, he will be sure to finde it, and blowe it abroad. So that if a man cannot know by his friends, wherein he offends; his enemie will bee so much his friend, as to shew him his folly, and how hee fayles. 'Twas a good speech of Diogenes, Wee haue need of faithfull friends, or sharpe enemies.

Evemy man hath vse of a monitor: yet I see in all, such a naturall and wilfull blindnesse through selfe-loue, that evemy man is angry when his enemy reuiles him, though iustly: and all pleased, when a friend commends, though his Encomion be false, and desertlesse. I will entertaine both with an equall vwelcome: neither, without some meditation, and good vse. If one praise me for the thing I haue not, my first

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1See below R. S. 53. **The good use of an Enemie.**

2pleasantness.

3Diogenes the Cynic (5th Century B. C.). This statement is in neither Diogenes Laertius nor Plutarch. Felltham seems so fond of Diogenes that he sometimes attributes sayings and anecdotes of others to him.
following endeouour shall bee to get what hee commends mee for; lest vhen the time comes that I should shew it, hee reapre disgrace, by reporting vntruths, and I lose my credit, by wanting that, I am suppos'd to possesse. If for that I haue: I will striue to attaine it, in a measure more large: so shall his words be truth, and my deeds prooue them. If my enemy vpbraids me, let mee see if it be iustly. It was an argument of much worth, in that renowned Macedonian, which made him (when he was told Nicanor rayled on him) say, I beleue he is honest, and feare I haue deseru'd it. If it bee so, I will labour to shake off that corruption, and be glad I haue so discouer'd it. But if iniuriously hee reports foule, it shall bee my ioy to beare contentedly, the vniust aspersions of malicious Censure: who euer was, that was not slandered? Though he should be beleuu'd awhile: yet at last, my actions would out-weigh his words, and the disgrace rest, with the intender of the ill. So that webbe of scandal, they would iniect vpon me, my life shal make a garment, for themselves to weare. That stone that injury casts, euer in the end, lights on her selfe.

4This incident is recounted in the spurious "Life of Philip of Macedonia" appended to the 1603 North edition of Plutarch.
S. 60. *Inward Integritie and outward Vprightnesse ought to respected, whilst we liue heere.*¹

Two things a man ought to respect while he liues heere; his inward integritie, and his outward vprightnesse: his piety toward God, and his reputation among men. The one is by performance of religious duties; the other by obedience to the lawes publicke; the one makes his life famous; the other his death happy: so both together, bring credit to the name, and felicitie to the soule. I wil so be alone, as I may be with God: so with company, as I may please the godly; that, report from good men, may speake me vertuous. Thus whensoever my breath shall bee made but aire, they shall beleue, and I know, my selfe to bee blessed. The death of a good man, is like the putting out of a wax perfumed Candle; hee recompences the losse of light, with the sweet odour hee leaues behind him.

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.

S. 61. *Of the danger of Neglecting the duty of Prayer.*¹

As it fareth between two friends, that haue been ancient familiars, yet dwelling asunder, the one out of a carelesse neglect, forgets and omits his vsuall duty of visitation; and

¹See below R. S. 55. *Of the inconvenience of neglecting Prayer.*
that so long, that at last he forbeares to goe at all: so their loues decay, and diminish: not proceeding from any Iarre, but onely out of a stealing neglect, of renuing their loues: Euen so it falls out between God, & the carelesse Christian: who when hee hath long omitted the duty of Prayer, and perhaps hath some small motiues of a happy returne; the Diuell askes him with what face hee can now repaire vnto him, haung been so long a stranger, both to him, and that holy duty. Dis-respect is the way to lose a friend: Hee that would not continue a friend, may neglect him, and haue his aime. Experience hath taught mee how dangerous negligence hath beene, how preiudiciall: how soone it breeds custome; how easily, and insensibly, custome creepes into Nature; which much labour, and long endeuour cannot alter, or extirpate. In this cause there is no remedy but violence, and the seasonable acceptance of opportunitie: The vigilant Mariner sailes with the first winde, and though the gale blow somewhat aduersely, yet once lanched forth, he may either finde the blast, to wombe out his sailes more fully, or else helpe himselfe, by the aduantage of Sea-roome: whereas he, that rides still anchor'd in the Riuer, and will sayle with none, but a wind faire, may either lye till hee lose his voyage, or else rot his Barke in the Harbour. If a supine neglect run me on these sands, a violent blast must set me afloat againe. In things that must bee, 'tis good to

aand to that, 2-7.
be resolute. I know not whether I shall have a second call, or whether my first motion shall die issuelesse. I am sure I must returne, or perish: and therefore necessities shall adde a foot to my weake desires; yet I will struie more to preuent this, by frequent familiaritie; then beeing an estranged friend, to renew old loues: not that after error, I would not returne; but that I would not stray at all.

S. 62. A good mans joy in his many sorrowes.¹

The good man hath many sorrowes, that the wicked man neuer knowes of: his Offences, the sinnes of the Time, the dishonour of God, the dayly increasing of Satans kingdome, and the present misery of his fathers children: So that many times, when the prophane man is belching out his blasphemies, hee inwardly drops a teare in his soule, and is then petitioning heauen for his pardon. But to strengthen him vnder the burthen of all these, he hath one joy (that were all his sorrowes doubled) could make him lightly beare them: and this is the truth of Gods promises. If I haue more troubles then another, I care not; so I haue more ioyes. God is no tyrant, to giue mee more then my load. I am well in the midd'st of all, while I haue that, which can uphold me in all. Who deserves most honour of the sluggard that kept his bed warme, or the man that hath combated a monster,

¹See below R. S. 57. Why men chuse honest Adversity before undue Prosperity.
and master'd him? *Job* was not so miserable in his afflictions, as hee was happy in his patience.2

2*Job* 27:3-6.

S. 63. *Envy a Squint-ey'd Foole.*

The enuious man is a squint-ey'd foole; and must needs want, both wit and honesty: for as the wise man hath alwayes his mind fixed most on his owne affaires: so on the contrary, hee observes other mens; while those that are proper and pertaining to himselfe, injoy the least of his counsell and care. He sees others, & is blind at home; he lookes upon others as if they were his, and neglects his own as if they were anothers. Againe, that which he intends for mischiefe, & a secret disgrace; euer addes some splendour to the brightnesse of his worth, he doth so unjustly maligne: as if wishing him infamous, he would labour to make him famous: or desiring to kill him, would prescribe him a Cordiall. Enuie, like the worme, never runs but to the fairest and the ripest fruit: as a cunning Bloudhound, it singles out the fattest Deere of the Herd: 'tis a pitchy smoake, which wheresoever

1Along with this Essay, Sir Thomas Overbury's Character, "A Disaster of the Time"; Bishop Holl's [sic] Character, "Of the Envious," and Earle's portrait in his *Microcosmographic*, "A Detractor," should be read.—Smeaton. See below R. S. 56. Of Envy.
we finde, wee may be sure there is a fire of vertue. 

Abrahams riches were the Philistins enuie.2 Jacob's blessing bred Esaus hate.3 He's a man of a strange constitution, whose sicknes is bred by anothers health; as if nature had made him an Antipathite to vertue; If hee were good, or meritorious, hee would neuer grieue to haue a companion: but being bad, and shallow himselfe, hee would damme vp the streame, that is sweete and silent: so by enuying another, for his radiant lustre, he giues the world notice, how dark and obscure he is in himselfe. Yet to all these blurres, if it were a vice, that could adde but a dramme of content, there might something bee spoken in way of Apology; But whereas all other vices are retained, either for pleasure or profit; this only like a barren field, brings forth nothing, but bryars, and thornes: nothing but a meager leanenesse to the pined corps, accompanied with griefe, vexation, madnesse. If another excell me in goodnesse, I 'le make him my example to imitate; not my blocke to stumble on. If in wealth, I shall with him blesse God for his plenty, neuer grudge at those faire fauors of heauen, God hath enough, both for mee, and him: but if he deserves better, let mee applaud the diuine Iustice, not taxe it. If the vice it selfe shall not

2Felltham's memory is faulty here; it was Issac's riches that the Philistines envied. Genesis 26:14.

3Genesis 27:41.
not cause me to shunne it; yet the folly of it shall awe me so much, as not to shake hands with a Serpent so foule: 'tis only the weak-sighted, that cannot endure the light. A strong eue can vnhurt gaze the Sunne.

S. 64. Gods Law our Looking-glasse.\textsuperscript{1}

The Counsell the Philosophers gaue the young men of Athens, may with much profit, be appli'd by a Christian: viz. That they should often view themselves in a glasse, that if they were faire, and well featured, they should doe such things as should bee beseeming their amiable shape: but if foule, and ill fauored, that then they should labour to salue the bodies blemishes, by the beauties of a mind, accoutred with the ornaments of vertue, & good literature.\textsuperscript{2} The Law\textsuperscript{3} is the Christians looking glasse; which will shew all, without either flattery, or partiality. 'Tis a globe hung in the midd'st of the\textsuperscript{a} roome, vwhich will shew thee euery durty corner of thy soule. If thou hast wandered in a darke way, this will tell thee thy aberrations: and put thee againe into true path. In it vvill I often behold my selfe: that if

\textsuperscript{a}a, 6, 7.

\textsuperscript{1}There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.

\textsuperscript{2}Socrates, in Diogenes Laertius, II, 33. Felltham embellishes the speech somewhat.

\textsuperscript{3}Matthew 5:17-20.
I bee free from the outward, actual violation of it, any thing faire, or have some beauties, I may study daily how to maintaine them, how to increase them. But if I find my selfe like a Leopard in his spots, or an **Ethiopian** in his hiew naturall, blacke and deformed (as I cannot be otherwise in my selfe) it shall yet make mee see my defects, and strue to mend them. Knowne deformities incite vs to search for remedy: The knowledge of the disease, is halfe the cure.

S. 65. The **Majestie of Goodnesse**.¹

There is no man so badly inclin'd, but would gladly bee thought good: no man so good already, but would be accounted somewhat better: Which hath oft made me sit down with vvonder, at the choice excellency of religious vertue; that even those which in heart contemne this Princesse; yet cannot but think it an honour, to be counted as attendants to her. Such a diuine, and amazing Majestie there is in Goodnes, that all desire to weare her Liuery, though few care to performe her service: Like proud **Courtiers**, they would faine bee Favorites, but scorne to attend. If then they cannot but affect her, that are her enemies; how should they loue her that joy to be friends? If I bee bad, let my care bee to bee good indeed, not thought so. If any good parts already shine in me; I had rather in silence know my selfe better, then haue

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
the vnconstant world deeme\textsuperscript{a} me, either rare or excellent.

\textsuperscript{a}vnconstant deeme, 3-7.

S. 66. The true cause of a wicked mans short Life.\textsuperscript{1}

It was well said of Dauid, The wicked man shall not live out halfe his dayes:\textsuperscript{2} for by his intemperancy, hee pulis on himsylfe either diseases, or judgements; which cut him downe, before hee bee fully growne. And though his dayes bee multiplyed, he makes them seeme much shorter, then indeed they are. For besides the being taken away by vntimely accidents, there bee two things that seeme to contract time, in a more compendious scope. Either excessive and secure ioy: or else a sure expectation of ill. One of these in euery wicked man hath residence: The former is too ordinarie: the latter not so common, nor fully so dangerous. The first hath his conscience so cast in a sleepe, that it feeles not those priuy and perillous wounds, that sinne impaires it withal. All is frolicke, iocund, merry: and he swimmes in the fullest delights inuention can procure him: his eye's inchanted with lasciuious obicets; his eare\textsuperscript{a} charmed with scurrilous talks; his taste glutted

\textsuperscript{a}eares, 2-7.

\textsuperscript{1}There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.

\textsuperscript{2}Psalm 37 is on this subject.
with luxurious ryots; his smell filled with artificial perfumes; and his armes heated with the wanton imbraces of lust: every sense hath his severall subject of solace: and while in all these, his affections are wholly taken up in the present apprehension of pleasure; how can hee count of the precipitate pace of time, that like an Arrow, from a strong bent Bow sings with the speed of his course? If his delights would give him leisure, to meditate a little on this, he might be so much himself, as to know how his time posteth: But letting it passe, as a thing vnthought of, his end steales on him, vnlook't for, vnwelcome, vnawares: and all those voluptuous merriments, wherein his life-time, he imbathed himselfe: now seeme as a day that is past, whose Sunne declin'd at noone. But if otherwise, this sensualitie blinds him not, or that his conscience be awake alreadie: then alas! how timerous and terrifi'd he is, with the expectation of his doome, and finall confusion? wishing that hee were either some senslesse stone, that the bitter throes and pangs of despaire might not feelingly pierce him; or else that he had such wings, as could procure his escape from death, and marrow-searching Judgement. So like a condemned man, that knowes the date of his dayes, hee lyes telling the clocke, and counting the houre; which he spends, in wishing every day a yeere, every houre a day, every minute an houre, that still he might awhile injoy the sweet

\textsuperscript{b}freely, 2-7.
possession of his deare and beloued life. Thus either while his soule cleaues to the midd'st of his mirth, his way beguiles him: or else while he quiuers with the consideration of the shame that attends him, he sailes with such feare, that he mindes not his voyage; so is suck't into Gulfe. e're euer hee he aware. A full swinge in pleasure, is the way to make man senselesse: A confident perswasion of vnauoidable misery is a ready path to despaire. These potions that are good but tasted, are mortal ingurgitiated. Pleasure taken by Physick, is like a cordiall to a weakened body: and an expedient thought of our dissolution, may bee as a corrosiue plaister to eate away the deadnesse of the flesh. Both are commendably vsefull. I will neither be so Iouiall, as to forget the end; nor so sad, as not to remember the beginning of life, God.

Cinto a Gulfe, 5-7.

S. 67. Prayer more needefull in the Morning then Euening.¹

Though Prayer should bee the key of the day, and the locke of the night: yet I hold it more needful in the morning, then when our bodies do take their repose. For howsoever sleepe be the Image, or shadow of death, & when

¹See below R. S. 59. Prayer most needful in the morning.
the shadow is so neere, the substance cannot be farre: yet a man at rest in his chamber, is like a sheepe impenn'd in the fold: subject onely to the vnuavoidable, and more immediate hand of GOD: whereas in the day, when he roues abroad in the open and wide pastures, he is then exposed to many more vnthought of accidents, that contingently and casually occurre in the way: Retirednesse is more safe then businesse: who beleevues not a ship securer in the Bay, then in the middest of the boyling Ocean? Besides, the morning to the day, is as youth to the life of a man: if that he begun well, commonly his age is vertuour: otherwise, God accepts not the latter seruice, when his enemy ioyes\(^a\) in the first dish. Hee that loues chastity, will neuer marry her, that hath liued a Harlot in youth. Why should God take thy dry bones, when the diuell hath suck't the marrow out?

\(^a\)ioynes, 5, 6.

S. 68. The three booke\(^s\), in which God may bee easily found.\(^1\)

GOD hath left three books to the world, in each of which hee may easily be found: The Booke of the Creatures, the book of Conscience, & his written Word. The first shewes his omnipotency. The second his Iustice: the third his mercy, and goodnesse. So though there bee none of them so

\(^1\)There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
barren of the rudiments of knowledge, but is sufficient to leave all without excuse, apologies: yet in them all, I find all the good, that ever either the Heathen, or the Christian hath publish'd abroad. In the first, is all Naturall Philosophy: in the second, all Morall Philosophy: in the third, all true Divinitie. To those admirable Pillars of all humane learning, (the Philosophers) God shew'd himselfe in his omnipotency and justice, but seemed as it were to conceal his mercy: to vs Christians he shines in that which out-shines all his works, his Merch: Oh! how should be regratulate his favours for so immense a benefit, wherein secluding himselfe from others, hee hath wholly imparted himselfe to vs? In the first of these I will admire his works, by a serious meditation of the wonders in the Creatures. In the second, I will reverence his justice, by the secret and inmost checks of the conscience. In the third embrace his love, by laying hold on those promises, wherein he hath not onely left me meanes to know him, but to love him, rest in him, & enjoy him for ever.

S. 69. The praise of Learning, yet without Grace, it is a Mischief.¹

If the fault be not in the misapplication, then is it true that Diogenes spake of Learning; That, It makes young

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
men sober, old men happie, poore men rich, and rich men honorable. Still, in any, without grace, it proves a double mischief; there is nothing more pestilent, then a ripe wit applied to lewdnesse. Because hee that knowes himselfe to bee quicke and acute, relyes on his own braine, for evasion from all his villanies; and is drawne to the practice of much vice, by the too much presuming on his own dexteritie. Ability & a wicked will, is fuel to burne the world with; wit and wantonnesse are able to intice a chaste one. Resolution and policy can cast broyles in Christendome, and put ciuill men into ciuill warres; if you beleue not this, examine the Jesuite. On the contrary, where grace guides knowledge, and Religion hath the reines of Art: there, though on earth, the man is made heauenly; and his life is truely Angelicall. He does good by the instinct of Grace, and that good hee doth well, by the skilfull direction of Learning. Religion is as Grammar, that shewes him the word, and the ground: while knowledge, like Rhetoricke, doth polish it with beseeing ornaments. He that giues almes, do's good, but he that giues willingly to the needy, and in season does better. I vvill set my selfe to attaine both: for as he can neuer be a good Orator, that wants either Grammar, or

2 Diogenes the Cynic, reported in Diogenes Laertius, VI, 68.

3 The reference here, of course, is to the wars caused by the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. Felltham expresses the Englishman's horror of the militant Society of Jesus.
Rhetoricke: So there is no man can bee a compleat Christian, without Grace, and some knowledge. Vzzah intended wvell, but did not know so;⁴ & want of goodnes spoil'd Achitophel's Counsell.⁵ How can wee either desire or loue him that wee doe not know; since affectus motus est Cordis, a notitiae & cognitione objecti, exercitus.⁶

⁴The first edition has nor, obviously a misprint.

⁵Uzzah touched the untouchable Ark of the Lord to keep it from falling and was struck dead. II Samuel 6:3-7.

⁶"Emotion is an activity of the heart, which is aroused by knowledge and recognition of the object."

S. 70. A Couetous Man can be a friend to None.¹

The couetous man cannot bee a true or faithfull friend to any: for while⁷ he loues his money better then his friend, what expectation can there bee of the extent of his liberality? In aduersity, and the time of tempest, when he should be a hauen to rest in, and an Alter Idem;² he will either like the Crocodile ceaze on him in the fall, and take the advantage of his necessities: or else out of a

²whiles, 2-7.

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.

²"Another self." Cicero uses the phrase in De Amicitia, XXI, 80.
lothnesse to lose any thing by his disbursement, rather see him macerated by a consuming want, then any way send him a salute for distresse. Words from a dead man, and deeds of charity from a man couetous, are both alike rare, and hard to come by. 'Tis a miracle if he speaks at all; but if he doth breake silence, 'tis not without terrou & amazement to the hearers. A couetous mans kindnesse, is like the fowlers shrap 3 wherein he casts meat, not out of charity, to relieve them; but treacherie to insnare them. He reaches thee bread in one hand and shewes it; but keepes a stone in the other and hides it. 4 If yet his courtesies were without danger, I would rather endure some extremitie, then bee beholding to the almes of Auarice. He that ouer-values his benefit, neuer thinkes hee hath thanks sufficient. I had better shift hardly, then owe to an insatiable Creditor.

3 A place where bait is laid for birds.

4 Probably a reference to Matthew 7:9 and Luke 11:11: "Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?" Felltham could also mean that the stone was to be used as a weapon when the hungry man reached for the bread.

S. 71. The folly of contemning the Poore in Christ.
Magnanimitie and Humilitie Cohabitants. 1

I have seene some high minded roysters, scornfully contemne the lowly poore of Christ; as if they were out of

1 There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
the reach of the shattering wind of Judgement, or thought it an impossibility, euer to stand in need of the helpe of such humble shrubbes. Fooles so to contemne those, whose ayde they may after want: 'tis no badge of Nobility to despise an inferiour. Magnanimity and humility are Cohabitants: Courtesie is one of the fairest Iems in a Crowne; 'twas Caesar's glory, to saue his Countrey-men, which liues stil in that speech, vwhich sayes, he pardoned more, then hee overcame: 2 True Honour is like the Sunne, that shines as well to the Peasant in the field, as the Monarch in his throne: he that withholds his clemency, because the subiect is base, denies a remedy to his wounded foot; because 'tis an inferior part: so he may iustly after complaine and want it: when the Lyon was caught in a snare, 'twas not the spatioius Elephant, but the little Mouse, that restor'd him his wonted liberty: 3 though the head guides the hand, the hand defends the head.

2In both Plutarch's "The Life of Caesar" and Suetonius's "The Deified Julius," LXXIII-LXXV, Caesar is shown to be quite merciful to his enemies.

3Aesopica, 150, "The Lion and the Mouse who Returned a Favor."
S. 72. Sudden Occasion of Sinne dangerous.¹

As sudden passions are most violent; so sudden occasions of sinne are most dangerous: for while the senses are set upon by unthought of objects, reason wants time to call a Counsell to determine how to resist the assault: 'tis a faire booty makes many a thiefe, that if he had missed of this accident, would perhaps have liu'd honestly. Opportunity is a wooer, that none but heauen can conquer. Humanity is too weake a spell for so powerfull a charme: shee casts a fury into the bloud, that will teare out a way, though the soule bee lost by it. The racke is easier then her importunity; flames are snow-bals to it: sure if the Diuell would change his properties, he would put himselfe into this subtill thing: she pul's vs with a thousand chaines; at every nerver she hangs a poize, to draw vs to her sorcery: and many times in our gaine, wee are lost for euer. What, tortures cannot force vs to, she will smoothly perswade: shee breaks all bonds, lawes, resolutions, oathes. Wise was the abstinence of Alexander, from the sight of Darius his daughters; lest their beauty should incite him to folly:² she runnes vs into forbidden errors, & makes vs so desperate, as to dare any

¹could, 5.
²See below R. S. 60. To beware of being Surprised.
²Plutarch, "The Life of Alexander."
thing: If she offer mee her service to ill, Ile either kicke her as a bawd to vice, or else vvinke, vwhen shee shewes mee her painting. Occasion is a witch, and I'le be as heedfull in auoyding her; as I vwill bee vvary to eschew a sinne. But if I bee constrained to heare the Syren sing, Vlisses was wise, when hee ty'd himselfe to the mast.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{3}Odyssey, XII.

S. 73. Of being Vices Friend, and Vertues Enemy.\textsuperscript{1}

My hatred to my enemy shall be but in part, my loue to my friend, whole and intire: for howsoever I may hate my enemies vices, and his ill conditions; yet will I loue his person, both as he is a man, and my brother. His detestation is too deepe, that will burne his linnen, because 'tis foule. they may both returne to their former purity, and then to hate, is sinfull. But as for my friend, I will loue both his person, and his qualities: his qualities first, and for them his person. Yet in neither will I so hate, as to be a foe to goodnesse; nor so loue, as to foster Iniquity: 'Tis a question which is the worst of the two, to bee vices friend, or vertues enemie.

\textsuperscript{1}There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
Next God, the good man is the onely friend; for when all other slinke out of the way, hee onely is a secure harbour for a shipwrackt soule to ride in; If he be vpright that be falne in distresse, he then relieues him, as a brother, as a member: If lewd, yet necessity induceth a commiseration, and seeing the glorious Impresse of the Almightyes image in him, hee can not, but for his Fathers sake, affect him. If hee be poore, of God's making, by the vnauoidable desigmenent of a supreme prouidence, nature incites a reliefe: For he knowes not how soone, a like lot may fall in his owne ground. The same sunne saw Job both rich, and poore to a Proverbe. If his owne ill courses haue brought his decay; he is not so obdurate, and flinty, but that hee can afford him a hand of compassion, to strengthen him a little, in the midd'st of disasters: hoping that his charitie may either worke his returne, or stay him from speedy ruine. If he be ill, he is a Magistrate, to correct and reclaime him: if good, he is a father, to vphold, and loue him: if rich, he reades him a lecture of moderation, and discreet dispose: tells him, not possession, but use diuitiates a man more truely: if poore, he sets him to Schoole with Paul there to learne, Content is plenty; There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.

1Job 1:13-19.
2Philippians 4:11.
how that Pagan **Cynick** could laugh at riches, when he call'd them nothing but **fortunes vomit**;⁴ if wise, hee is his delight, and solace; even the Garnar,ᵃ where he leaues his load, and lockes his store: if ignorant, hee instructs him with the Oracles of God, dictitates sentences vnto him, & speakes all, **tanguam ex tripod**.⁵ Every way I finde him so beneficall, that the pious vwill not liue, but with him: and the badde man cannot liue without him. Who had salu'd the offending **Israelites**, had not Moses stood vp for to intercede?⁶ it shall more ioy mee to liue with Christians, then men.

ᵃThe first edition has Granar, obviously a misprint.

⁴Diogenes the Cynic, in Diogenes Laertius, II, 53.

⁵"As it were, from the tripod," i.e., as prophecy. The oracle of Apollo was thought to have sat on a tripod when she delivered her prophecies.

⁶Probably Felltham is alluding to the episode of the Golden Calf, Exodus 32:11-14.

S. 75. **The hard-hearted man hath Misery almost in Perfection**¹

The hard-hearted man hath misery almost in perfection: and there is none more wretched, then a man with a conscience seared. Other sinners march in the high-way to ruine; but hee as hee goes, builds a wall at his backe,

¹See below R. S. 63. **Of hardnesse of Heart**.
that hee cannot retire to the tent. Neither Mercies, nor Judgements, winne him at all. Not mercies: those his pride makes him thinke but his due, and while they are but common ones, they passe away with his common thoughts. Benefits seldom sinke deepe in obdurate minds: 'tis the soft nature that is soonest taken with a courtesie. Not Judgements; for either he reuerberates them back, before they pierce, as a wal of steele doth a blunt-headed arrow: or if they doe perhaps find entrance, like the Elephant, with the convulsion of his nerues, & his bodies contraction; hee casts out the shaft that sticks within him: so still he rests vn mollified, for all this raine, and haile. Warnings to peruerse dispositions, are the meanes to make them worse: Those plagues, and wonders that would haue melted a milder soule, only reduced Pharoah's to a more hard, and desperate temper.\(^2\) Strange: that hee should locke out of his own good, with so strong\(^3\) a key, so sure a Ward; when euery vice that defiles the minde, findes both ready and free welcome. If I liue in sinne, God's first call is mercy; I had better goe willingly, then be led by constraint: 'tis fit hee should know the smart of torture, that nothing will cause to confesse but the Racke: if I finde God whips mee with any sensible stroke, I will search the cause, then seeke the cure: such blowes are the physicke of a bleeding soule: but

\(^3\)strange, 4-7.

\(^2\)Exodus 9-11.
neglected, my sinne will be more, and my punishment: 'tis in vaine to bee stubborne with God: hee that can\textsuperscript{b} crush vs to nothing, can turne vs to any thing: let mee rather returne speedily, and preuent Iudgements, then stay obstinately and pull downe more: as 'tis a happy feare, which preuents the offence, and the rod: so that is a miserable valour, which is bold to dare the Almighty.

\textsuperscript{b}he can, 4-7.

S. 76. Of Censure and Calumnie.\textsuperscript{1}

Some mens Censures are like the blasts of Rammes Hornes, before the walles of \textit{Jericho}:\textsuperscript{2} all the strength of a mans vertue they lay \textit{levell} at one utterance: when all their ground is onely a conceited fancie, without any certaine basis to build on. What religious mine will not with amazement shudder, at the peremptorie conclusions, where they haue set their period? Wondring, Man that knowes so little, should yet so speake, as if he were priuy to all. I confesse, a man may roue by the outward lineaments, what common inclinations rule within: yet that Philosopher did more wisely, that seeing a faire face, with a tongue silent, bade him \textit{speake that he might see him.}\textsuperscript{3} For the cheeke may

\textsuperscript{1}There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
\textsuperscript{2}Joshua 6:4-10.
\textsuperscript{3}Probably Diogenes.
be dimpled with a pleasing smile, while the heart throbs with undiscovered colors: and as a clear face shewes not always a sound body: no more is an ingenuous look, always the ensigne of a minde vertuous. I will onely walke in Christ's path, and learne by their fruits to know them to know them: where I want experience, charitie bids mee think the best, and leave what I know not, to the Searcher of heart's. Mistakes, Suspect, and Enuiue, often injure a clear fame, there is least danger in a charitable construction:

In part hees guilty of the wrong that's done, Which doth beleue those false reports, that runne.

I will neither beleue all I heare, nor speake all I beleue; A mans good name is like a milke-white ball, that all infinitely gather soyle in tossing. The act of Alexander in this cause, merits an eternall memory: that hauing read a Letter with his Fauorite Hephaestion, wherein his mother calumniated Antipater, tooke his Signet from his finger, and appressed his lips with it: Conjuring as it were, the strict silence of anothers disgrace. Oh Alexander! this very action was enough to make thee famous, who should not in this admire, and imitate thee? A desire to disgrace another, cannot spring from a good roote: Malice and

fruit, 3-7.

Matthew 7:20; Luke 6:44.

I have been unable to find the source of this couplet; perhaps it is Fellitham's own composition.

Plutarch, "The Life of Alexander."
baseness euer dwell with calumnie. I will judge well of every man, whom his owne bad life speaks not ill of: if he be bad, I'll hope well; what know I how his end may prosper? I had better labour to amend him to himselfe, then by publishing his vices, make him odious to others. If he be good, and belongs to God, how can I chuse but offend much, when I speake ill of a child that is indeared to such a fathers affection? God loues his owne tenderly; and whosoeuer offers a disgrace to them, shall be sure to pay for't, either by teares, or or torment.

The first edition has show, obviously a misprint.

S. 77. Three things that a Christian should specially knowe.¹

There are three things especially that a Christian should know: His owne Misery: Gods Loue: his owne thankfull Obedience. His misery, how just; Gods loue, how free, how vnderserued; his own thankfulness, how due, how necessary. Consideration of one, successiuely begets the apprehension of all: Our misery shewes vs his Loue: his Loue cals for our acknowledgement. Want makes a bounty weightier: if wee thinke on our needs, wee cannot but admire his mercies: how dull were we, if wee should not value the reliefe of our

¹See below R. S. 77. Of Three things we ought to know.
necessities? he cannot but esteeme the benefit, that
unexpectedly helpses him in his deepest distresse: That Loue
is most to be prized, whose onely motiue is goodnesse. The
thought of this, will forme a disposition gratefull: who can
meditate so unbottomed a loue, and not study for a thankefull
demeanour? His minde is crosse to Nature, that requites not
affection with gratitude. All favours haue this successe, if
they light on good ground, they bring forth thankes. Let mee
first thinke my misery, without my Sauiours mercy: next, his
mercy, without my merits: and from the meditation of these
two, my sincerer thankes will spring. Though I cannot
conceive of the former as they-are; Infinite, and beyond my
thought: yet will I so ponder them, as they may enkindle the
fire of my unfained, and zealous thanksgiuing. That time is
wel spent, wherein wee studie thankfulness.

S. 78. Fooles great esteeme of outward beautie.\(^1\)

Though the fooles of the world think outward beauty
the only Iewell that deserueth wearing; yet the wise man
counts it but an accident; that can neither adde, nor
diminish, to the worth of vertue, as she is in her selfe: so
as hee neuer esteemes her more, or lesse, but as he findes
her accomplisht with discretion, honesty, and good parts. If

\(^1\)Once more Feltham owes more than one idea in this
dpaper to Bacon's Essay on Beauty.—Smeaton. There is no
corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
my friend be vertuous, and nobly-minded, my soule shall loue him, nowsoeuer his body be framed: and if beauty make him amiable, I needs must like him much the better: the Sunne is more glorious in a cleere sky, then when the Horizon is clouded. Beauty is the wit of Nature put into the frontispice. If there be any humane thing may teach faith reason, that is it: in other things, we imagine more then wee see: in this we see more then wee can imagine. I haue seene (and yet not with a partiall eye) such features, & such mixtures, as I haue thought impossible for either Nature to frame, or Art to counterfet; yet in the same face, I haue seene that, which hath out-gone them both, the Countenance. Oh! if such glory can dwell with corruption, what celestiall excellencies are in the Saints aboue? who would not gaze himselfe into admiration, when he shall see so rich a treasure, in so pure a Cabinet, vnmatched vertue, in matchlesse beauty? But if my friends body hath more comelinesse, then his soule goodnesse; I like him the worse, for beeing but outwardly faire. Wickednesse in beauty, is a traytor of the Bed-chamber; poison in sweet meates. A vitious soule, in a beautifull body, I account as a Jesuite in the Roabes of a Courtier; or somewhat more fitly, a Papist, that will goe to Church.
S. 79. Of Beeing, and Seeming to Bee.¹

As I thinke there are many, worse then they seeme; so I suppose there are some, better then they shew: and these are like the growing Chesnut, that keepes a sweet, & nutrimentall kernell, included in a rough, and prickely huske. The other, as the Peach, hold a rugged and craggy stone, vnder the couer of a Veluet Coat. I would not deceiue a good man either way: both offer a wrong to vertue: The one shewes her worse then she is; dulling her beauty with dimme colours, and presenting her, with a harder fauour then her owne: The other doth varnish ouer the rottennesse of Vice, and makes goodnesse but the vizor for hypocrisie. Either are condemnable: painting the face, is not much worse, then wilfull soiling it. He is as well a murtherer, that accuseth himselfe falsely, as he that did the act, and denies it. One would obscure goodnesse, with Vice; the other would palliate Vice, with goodnesse. Fraud is in both: and I am sure no Plea² can make deceit allowable. I will therefore striue to aooid both; and with Chrysostom² either seeme as I am, or bee as I seeme. But if I should erre on one side, I had rather resemble a plaine Country-man, that

¹Pleasure, 2-7.

²There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.

²Archbishop of Constantinople, late 4th-early 5th centuries. His writings were voluminous.
goes in russet, and is rich in revenues; then a riotous Courtier, that weares glorious apparell, without mony in's purse.

S. 80. Sanctitie is a Sentence of three Stops.¹

A Christians voyage to heauen, is a sentence of three stops: Comma, Colon, Periodus. He that repents, is come to the Comma, and begins to speake sweetly, the language of salvation; but if he leaues there, God understands not such abrupt speeches: sorrow alone, cannot expiate a Pyrats robberies; hee must both leaue his theft, and serue his Country, ere his Prince wil receiue him to fauour. 'Tis he that confesseth & forsakes his sinne, that shal find mercy: 'tis his leaving his wickednesse, that is as his Colon,² and carries him halfe way to heauen. Yet here also is the Clause vnperfect, vnles he goes on to the practice of righteousnesse, which as a Period knots vp all, and makes the sentence full. Returne, and penitence is not sufficient for him, that hath fled from his Soueraignes banner; hee must first doe some valiant act, before by the law of Armes, hee can bee restored to his former bearing. I will not

¹This entire resolve is a well sustained metaphor, very much like a metaphysical conceit in prose. There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century. For a similarly developed essay see above, S. 28. A Christian compared in a three-fold condition to the Moone.

²In seventeenth-century pointing, the colon is used in most places where modern punctuation would call for a semi-colon.
content myselfe with a Comma; Repentance helps not, when sinne is renued; nor dare I make my stay at a Colon; not to doe good, is to commit euill, at least by omission of what I ought to doe: before I come to a Period, the constant practice of piety, I am sure, I cannot bee sure of complete glory. If I did all strictly, I were yet vnprofitable; and if God had not appointed my faith to perfect mee, miserable. If hee were not full of mercies, how unhappy a creature were man?

S. 81. The great Good of Good Order.

Euen from naturall reason, is the wicked man prou'd to bee sonne vnlo Satan, and heire of hell, and torments. For not to speake of heauen, (where the blessed are happy, and all things beyond apprehension excellent,) euen in the Firmament, we see how all things are preserued by a glorious order: the Sun hath his appointed circuit, the Moone her constant change, and euery Planet & Starre their proper course and place. For as they are called fixed Starres, not because they moue not at all, but because their motion is

1This is as concise a prose statement of the concepts of the Ptolemaic universe, the Great Chain of Being, and Order and Degree as can be found in seventeenth-century English literature. Possibly because of the popularization of the New Science, when Felltham revised this century of resolves (sometime between 1647 and 1661), he omitted this resolve from the R. S. Century.
insensible, and their distances ever the same, by reason of
the slow motion of the eighth sphere, in which they are: So
they are not called wandring Planets, for that they moue in
an uncertaine irregularitie; but because those seuen
inferious Orbes, wherein they are set, are diversely carried
about; which makes them appeare sometimes in one place,
sometimes in another, yet ever in the settled place of their
owne Orbe, whose Reuolutions also, are in most strict, and
ever certain times. The earth likewise hath her unstirred
Station; the Sea is confin'd in limits; and in his ebbings,
& flowings, dances as it were after the influence, and
aspect of the Moone; whereby it is both kept from
putrification, and by struggling with it selfe, from
over-flowing the land. In this world, Order is the life of
Kingdoms, Honours, Arts: and by the excellency of it, all
things flourish, and thrive. Onely in hell is confusion,
horror, and amazing disorder. From whence the wicked man
shewes himself sprung, for there is nothing that like him,
liues so irregular, and out of compass. Disorder is a bird
of the Diuels hatching: I feare lest those that rent the
Church for Ceremonie,² haue some affinitie with that prince
of mis-rule: wee oft finde the parents disposition, though
not propagated to the child, yet followed by him. I do not

²Here Felltham is probably referring to the Puritans,
one of whose objections to the Anglican Church was that it
kept much of the liturgical ceremony of the Roman Church.
censure, but doubt. We haue seldome knowne him good, that refuseth to obey good orders. Who can expect a fruitfull crop, when the field is sometimes blasted with Lightning, sometime drenched with invndations, but neuer cherished with a kindly Sunne? things vncapable of a true forme, are euer mending: yet euer vnperfect: when the rankes are broken, the victory is in hazzard. One bad voice, can put twenty good ones out of tune. I will first order my minde by good resolution; then keepe it so, by a strong constancie. Those Souldiers dyed brauely, that where they stood to fight, they fell to death.\(^3\)

\(^3\)Perhaps this is a reference to Thermopylae.

S. 82. Three things encounter our Consideration, and these three haue three Remedies.\(^1\)

In euery man there bee three things that encounter our Consideration; The Mind, the Behauiour, the Person. A grosse blemish in any of which, sticke\(^a\) some disgrace on the vnhappy owner. If the Mind be vitious, though the carriage bee faire, and Person comely; Honesty esteemes not outward parts, where inward Grace is wanting. If his mind be good, & carriage clownish, his outward bad demeanour makes his inward worth ridiculous: and admit he hath both deserving

\(^a\)stickes, 2-7.

\(^1\)See below R. S. 69. Of three things to be considered in Men.
applause; yet a surfeited and diseased body, makes all disregarded; while the approach of his presence may prove prejudicial, infectious, noisome. To remedy the defects of all these, I finde three noble Sciences: Diuinity, Philosophy, Phisick: Diuinity, for the Soule; to preserve that vnstain'd, and; holy; as also to indue it with understanding; for God with his Graces, instils Knowledge: it was the keeping of his Law, made David wiser then those that taught him.² Divine knowledge is not without humane; when God giues the first, it some measure hee giues both; and therefore we seldom finde the ignorant man honest; if hee bee mentally, yet hee failes expressively. Philosophy, for his manners and demeanour, in the many contingent things of this life; to fit him both with decent Complements, and sufficient stayednes: neither favouring of Curiosity, nor rusticity; nor was euer Religion found a foe to good manners; For shee shines brightest in a braue behauiour, so it bee still free from affectation, flattery. Philosophy is the salt of life; that can dry vp the crude humors of a nouice, & correct those pestilent qualities wherewith nature hath infested vs: which was ingenuously confess by Socrates, when Zopyrus by his Phisiognomy, pronounced him fouly vicious.³

²II Samuel 22:22-24

³Zopyrus was a physiognomist who, in a gathering of Socrates and his disciples, attributed many vices to the philosopher. The disciples ridiculed Zopyrus and his art as a consequence; but Socrates told them that the physiognomist was right, that he did have the natural propensities to vicious acts, and had only overcome them through philosophy. Cicero, de Fato, 5.
Physicke, to know the state of the body; both to auoyde distempers in health, and to recover health, in wearying diseases; 'tis the restitution of decaying nature: when she is falling, this giues her a hand of sustenance; it puts away our blemishes, restores our strength, and rids vs of that, which would rid vs of our liues. In all these though a man bee not so learned, as to teach them to others; yet in all I would know so much, as might serue to direct mee, in mine owne occasions. 'Tis commendable to know any thing that may beare the title of Good; but for these so pleasing Sciences, I will rather study with some paines, then want experience in things so necessary. Thus shall I fit my mind for God, my body to my mind, my behauiour to both, and my friends.

S. 83. How the distempers of these times should affect wise men.

The distempers of these times, would make a wise man both merry, and mad: merry, to see hos vice flourishes but a while, and being at last frustrate of all her faire hopes, dyes in a dejected scorne; which meetes with nothing in the end, but beggery, basenesse, and contempt. To see how the world is mistaken in opinion, to suppose those best, that are wealthiest. To see how the world thinkes to appall the

1There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
mind of the noblenesse with misery; while true resolution
laughs at their poore impotency, and slights euен the vtmost
spight of tyranny. To see how men buy Offices at high rates,
which when they haue, prooue gins to catch their soules in,
and snare their estates, and reputations. To see how
foolishly men coozen themselues of their soules, while they
thinke they gaine, by their cunning degrauding another. To
see how the proiectors of the world, like the sopke of the
Wheele of SESOSTRIS Chariot, are tumbled vp and downe, from
beggery, to worship; from worship, to honour; from honour,
to basenesse again. To see what idle complements are
current among some that affect the Phantasticke garbe: as if
friendship were nothing but an apish salute, glossed ouer
with the varnish of a smooth tongue. To see a strutting
prodigall ouer-looke a region, with his wavering plume; as if
he could as easily shake that, as his feather; yet in
private creep like a crouching Spaniell, to his base muddy
prostitute. To see how pot-valour thunders in a Tauerne,
and apponts a Duell, but goes away, and giues mony to haue
the quarrell taken vp vnderhand. Mad on the other side, to
see how Vice goes trapperd with rich furniture, while poore
Vertue hath nothing but a bridle and saddle, which onely

\[^2\]Sesostris is the Greek name of Ramses II, the great
king of Egypt in the 19th Dynasty. Ramses II (fl. ca. 1333
B. C.) was a great conquerer and builder. Here Fellthan
seems to be using an image of a wheel of Ramses's war chariot
as the Wheel of Fortune, although nowhere else can I find a
similar usage.
serue to increase her bondage. To see Machiauel's tenets held as Oracles; honesty reputed shallownesse; Iustice bought and sold; as if the world went about to disprooue Zorobabel, and would make him confesse, mony to bee stronger then Truth. To see how flatterie creepes into vavour vwith Greatnesse, while plaine dealing is though the enemie of state, and honour. To see how the Papists (for promotion of their owne Religion) inuent lyes, and print them; that they may not onely cozen the present age, but gull posterity, with forged actions. To see how well-meaning simplicitie is foot-ball'd. To see how Religion is made a Polititians vizor; which having help' t him to his purpose, hee casts by, like Sunday apparell, not thought on all the weeke after. And which vvould mad a man more then all, to know all this, yet not know how to helpe it. These would almost distract a man in himselfe. But since I finde they are incurable; I'le often pray for their amendment in priuate, neuer declaime, but when I am call'd to't. Hee loseth much of his comfort,


4Probably Felltham means here not Zorobabel, an ancestor of Jesus about whom nothing but the name is known, but Zerubabel, who led the first band of exiles back to Israel from Babylon, 536 B. C. See Zechariah 4:6.

5Since the 1580's, there had been pamphlet wars between Catholics and Anglicans, which were not to cease until after the Glorious Revolution.
that without a iust deputation, thrust himselfe into danger. Let mee haue that once, and it shall neuer grieue mee, to die in a warrantable Warre.

S. 84. To reuenge wrongs, what it sauours of.¹

To reuenge a wrong, is both easie, and vsuall; and as the world thinkes, sauours of some noblenesse: but Religion sayes the contrarie, and tells vs 'tis better to neglect it, then requite it.² If any man shall willingly offer me an injury, hee shall know, I can see it; but withall, he shall see, I scorne it: vnlesse it be such, as the bearing is an offence. What need I doe that, which his owne minde will doe for me? If he hath done ill, my reuenge is within him: If not, I am too blame in seeking it. If vnwillingly he wrongs me, I am as readie to forgiue, as hee to submit: for I know, a good minde will bee more sorrowfull, then I shall be offended: With his own hand hee rebateth his honour, that kills a prisoner humbly yeelding: Who but a Deuill, or a Pope, could trample on a prostrate Emperour?

¹See below R. S. 64. Of Revenge.
²Proverbs 25:22.
S. 85. Who is most subject to Censure.¹

I observe none more liable to the world's false censure, then the upright nature, that is honest, and free. For many times, while he thinkes no ill, hee cares not though the world sees the worst of his actions; supposing he shall not be iudged worse, then hee knowes himselfe: but the world beeing bad it selfe, guesses at others by his owne: so concludes bad, of those that are not. Some haue I knowne thus iniur'd; that out of a minde not acquainted with ill, haue by a free demeanor, had infinite scandals cast vpon them; when I know, the ignorant and ill world is much mistaken, and coniectures false. I will neuer censure till I see grounds apparant: hee that thinks ill without this, I dare pawne my soule, is either bad, or would be so, if opportunitie but seru'd him. In things uncertaine, a badde construction must needs flow from a bad mind: who could imagine priuate vice which they doe not see, by a harmelesse carriage, which they doe see, vnlesse either their own ill practice, or desires, had prompted them? Vice as it is the Diuels issue; so in part it retains his qualities; and desiring others bad, beleuues them so. But vertue had a more heauenly breeding: shee is wary, lest shee censure rashly: and had rather straine to saue, then erre to

¹See above S. 76. Of Censure and Calumnie. There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
condemne. If my life bee free from villany, and base
designes, I know, the good will speake no worse then they
see: as for those that are lewd, their blacke tongues can
neuer spot the faire of vertue: onely I could sometimes
grieue, to see how they wrong themselues, by wronging others.

S. 86. Content makes Rich.

Every man either is rich, or may bee so; though not all
in one and the same wealth. Some haue abundance, and rejoyce
in't: Some a competency, and are content: some hauing
nothing, haue a minde desiring nothing. Hee that hath most,
wants something: hee that hath least, is in something
suppli'd; wherein the minde, which maketh rich, may well
possesse him with the thought of store. Who whistles out
more content, then the low-fortun'd Plow-man, or sings more
merrily, then the abiect Coblar, that sits vnder the stall?
Content dwells with those, that are out of the eye of the
world, whom she hath neuer train'd with her gawds, her toyes,
her lures. Wealth is like learning, wherein our greater
knowledge, is onely a larger sight of our wants. Desires
fulfilled, teach vs to desire more: so wee that at first
were pleased, by remouing from that, are now growne
insatiable. Wishes haue neither end; nor End. So in the
midd'st of affluencie, wee complaine of penurie; which not

\[1\] see below R. S. 72. That the Mind only makes Content.
finding, wee make. For to possesse the whole world with a grumbling minde, is but a little more specious pouerty. If I be not outwardly rich, I will labour to bee poore in crauing desires; but in the vertues of the mind, (the best riches) I would not haue a man exceed me. He that hath a minde contentedly good, inioyeth in it boundlesse possessions. If I be pleas'd in my selfe, who can adde to my happinesse: as no man liues so happy, but to some his life would be burdensome: so we shall finde none so miserable, but wee shall heare of another, that would change calamities.

S. 87. The Condition of things, which the world yeeldes.¹

To haue beene happie, is wretched; to bee happie, momentary; to may bee happy, doubtfull. All that the world yeelds, is either vncertainely good, or certainly ill. Euen his best cordials, haue some bitter ingredients in them; lest foolish sensuality should catch them with too greedie a hand. Wee should surfet with their hony, if there were not gall intermingled. The reason of defect I finde in the obiect, which beeing earthly, must be brittle, fading, vaine, imperfect: so though it may please, it cannot satisfie. Earth can giue vs but a taste of pleasure, not fill vs. What shee affoords, let me lawfully vse; trust to, neuer. He onely, that hath beene, is, and shall bee for euer, can make

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
my past happinesse present, my future certaine, and my present continue, if not as 'tis, better, and then for euer.

S. 88. Good Name, how it is both the Best, and Brittest thing that is.¹

A good name is among all externals, both the best and most brittle blessing. If it be true, that Difficilia quae pulchra,² this is a faire beautitude. 'Tis the hardest both to get, and keepe: like a glasse of most curious workemanship, long a making, and broke in a moment. That which is not gained but by a continued habit of many vertues, is by one short vitious action, lost for euer. Nay, if it could onely vanish in this sort, it would then by many be kept vntainted: If it could not be lost but vpon certainties; If it were in our owne keeping; or if not in our own, in the hands of the wise and honest; how possible were it to preserue it pure? But alas! this is the miserie, that it rests vpon probabilities, which as they are hard to disprove, so they are readie to perswade: That it is in the hands of others, not our selues: in the custodie not of the discreet, and good onely; but also of Fooles, Knaues, Villaines: Who though they cannot make vs worse to our

¹See below R. S. 78. Of the uncertainty of Fame. See also above S. 20. Of Reputation: Or, A good Name. Cf. Othello, III, 3.

²"That which is beautiful is difficult."
selues; yet how vile may they render vs to others? To vindicate it from the tongues of these, there is not remedie but a constant carefull discretion. I must not onely be good, but not seeme ill: Appearance alone, which in good is too little, is in euill too much. He is a wilfull murtherer of his owne fame, that willingly appeares, in the ill action hee did not. 'Tis not enough to be well liu'd, but well reported. When we know good fame a blessing, wee may easily in the contrary, discerne a curse: whereof wee are justly seized, while wee labour not to auoid it. I will care as well to bee thought honest, as to be so: my friends know mee by the actions they see, strangers, by the things they heare: the agreement of both, is the confirming my goodnesse. The one is a good complexion; the other a good countenance: I deny not but they may bee seuerall; but they are then most gracefull, when both are seated together. It had beene well spoken of Caesar, if hee had not put her away, when after tryall, and the crime cleered, hee said, Caesars wife should not onely bee free from sinne, but from suspition.\footnote{Pompeia, Caesar's third wife, was accused of adultery with Publius Clodius; she was acquitted, but Caesar put her aside, giving this statement as his reason. Plutarch, "The Life of Julius Caesar."} An ill name may bee free from dishonestie, but not from some folly. Though slanders rise from others, we our selues oft giue the occasion. The first best way to a good name, is a good life: the next, is a good behauior.
All earthly delights I finde sweeter in the expectation, then the enioyment: All spirituall pleasures, more in fruition, then expectation. Those carnall contentments that heere wee ioy in, the Diuell shewes vs through a prospectiue glasse; vwhich makes them seeme both greater, and neerer hand: when hee tooke Christ to the Mountaine, he shewed him all the Kingdomes, and the glory of them; but neuer mentions the troubles, dangers, cares, feares, vigilancies, which are as it were the thornes, wherewith a Crowne is lined. Oh! what mountaines of ioy doe wee cast vp, while wee thinke on our earthly Canaan? whatsoever temporall felicitie wee apprehend, we cull out the pleasures, and ouerprize them; the perils and molestations wee either not see, or not thinke of: like the foolish man, that at a deare rate buyes a Monopoly, wherein hee counts the gaines, and ouer-casts them; but neuer weighs the charges, nor the casualtie, in making of him lyable both to the hateful curse of the people; and the seuere censure of

1See below R. S. 66. That Spiritual things are better, and Temporal worse, than they seem.
2Matthew 4:8; Luke 4:5.
3The Promised Land, Genesis 17:8.
Herein we are all fools, that seeing these Bladders, we will blow them beyond their compass. 'Tis Satans craft, to shew us the inticing spots of this Panther, concealing the toruitie of her countenance. But when againe we look at heauenly things, like a cunning Iuggler, he turns the glasse; so detracts from those faire proportions, the chiefe of their beauty, and worth: those, we beleue both lesse, and more remote; as if he would carrie vs in Winter, to see the pleasures of a Garden. Thus the heart informed by abused sences, is content to sayle as they steere; so either tombes her selfe in the bosome of the waues; or cuts through the way to her enemies Country; where she is quickly taken, ransack't, and rifl'd of all. If this were not, how could we be so heartlesse in pursuite of celestiall prizes, or what could breed so soone a loathing of that, which most we haue coueted, and sweat to obtaine? If my mind grow enamoured on any sublunarie happinesse, I will coole it with this knowledge: and withall tell her, shee is happier in apprehending the taste, without the Lees; then in drinking the Wine, that is yet vnfined. That felicitie which experience findes lame, and halting, Thought and supposition giue a perfect shape. But if the motions of my

\[rifl'd\text{ all, }3-7.\]

\[From the 1590's on, the manufacture and trade in almost all goods in England was controlled by monopolies granted to individuals and groups. The most famous and durable of these monopolies was the East India Company.\]
soule wheele toward any diuine sweet, my strongest arguments shall perswade a proceeding. Heere imaginations dark eye is too dimme, to fix vpon this Sunne. When I come to it, I am sure I shall finde it transcending my thoughts: Til then, my faith shall be aboue my reason, and perswade mee to more then I know. Though fruition excludes faith, yet believe makes blessed. So I will beleue, what yet I cannot inioy.

S. 90. How the Minde and Desire make Actions either Tedious or Delightfull.¹

Every mans actions are according to him mind, tedious or delightfull. For he it neuer so laborious and painefull, if the minde entertaines it with delight, the body gladly undergoes the trouble, and is so farre at the mindes seruice, as not to complaine of the bruthen. And though it be neuer so ful of pleasure, that might smooth the sences; yet if the mind distastes it, the content turnes to vexation, toyle. Desire is a wind that against the tyde can carry vs merrily; with it, make vs fly. How pleasant would our life be, if we had not crosse gales to thwart vs, various tydes to checke vs? With these, how full of distresse? yet in them, we often increase our sorrows, by vainely striuing against vnconquerable fate; when if we could but perswade our minde, wee might much ease both it, and our body. That which is

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
bad, though neuer so pleasureable, I'le striue to make my minde dislike; that my body also may bee willing to forgoe that, which my mind hates. That which is good, and should be done, I'le learne to affect, and loue; howsoever my body refuse. As my mind is better then it; so my care shall bee more to content it: but most to make it content with goodnes, otherwise I had better crosse it, then let it settle to vnlawful solaces. I prefer this vnquietnesse, before the other peace. That which is easie, Ile easily doe; that which is not, my mind shall make so. My life as it is full enough of trauaile; why should I by my mindes loathing, make it seeme more difficult?

S. 91. That we cannot know God as he is. ¹

I cannot know God as he is: if I could, I were vnhappy, and he not God. For then must that eternall omnipotencie of his be finite, and comprehensible; else, how could the fleet dimenions of the minde of man conteigne it? I admire the definition of Empedocles, who said, God was a Sphere, whose Center was every where, and Circumference no where. ²

¹Cf. Pascal's Thoughts, § 233: Infinite—Nothing. The resemblance between the two is marked.—Smeaton. There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.

²None of the extant fragments of the writings of Empedocles contain this concept, and it is not mentioned in the life of Empedocles by Diogenes Laertius. It is possibly a Christian adaptation of a statement of Empedocles now lost.
Though his full light bee inaccessible, yet from this ignorance springs all my happiness and strongest comfort. When I am so engulfed in misery as I know no way to escape: God, that is so infinite above me, can send a deliverance, when I can neither see nor hope it. He needeth never despair, that knows he hath a friend which at all assays can help him.

S. 92. Of the Minde of man after the conquest of a strong Temptation.

If I were so punish'd as to live here perpetually, I would wish to have always such a mind, as I find after the conquest of a strong temptation: then have I as much happiness as can be found in this life's moveables. The tryall first bewrayes the danger, then the escape ushers in succeeding joy: and all know, the Sun appeares more lustrous to a prisoner that comes out of a Dungeon, then to him that daily beholds his brightness. When is wine so pleasant as after a long thirst? Besides, the soul withdrawne from GOD, returns in the end with comfort, and again sweetly closeth with her Maker; whose goodnes she knowes it is to make her so brauely victorious. We are never so glad of our friends so victorious, 2-7.

1See below R. S. 74. Of the contentment after the overcoming of a strong Temptation.
company, as when he returnes after tedious absence. All the pleasures that wee haue, rellish better when wee come from miseries; then, what a glory is it to a noble spirit, to haue endur'd and conquer'd? there being more^b sweetnesse in a hard victorie, where we come off faire; then in the neglected pleasures of a continuall peace. Those Fowles taste best, that we kill our selues in birding:^c what bread eates so well, as that which wee earne vvith labour? And indeed 'tis the way to make vs perfect; for as he can neuer bee a good Souldier, that hath not felt the toyle of a battell: so he can neuer^d be a sound Christian, that hath not felt temptations buffets. Every fire refines this gold. If I did finde none, I should feare I were vices^e too much: or else that God saw me so weake, as I could not hold out the encounter: but seeing I do, the pleasantnesse of the fruit, shall furnish me with patience, to abide the precedent bitterness; This gone, I shall find it a felicity to say, I haue beene wretched.

^b some, 4, 5.  ^c our selues birding, 2-7.
^d cannot, 4, 5, 7.  ^e vicious, 4, 6, 7.

S. 93. Of Nobilitie ioyned with Vertue, how Glorious.1

Earth hath not any thing more glorious then ancient

1See below R. S. 68. Of Nobility.
Nobility, when tis found vwith vertue. What barbarous mind will not reuerence that bloud, which hath untainted run through so large a succession of generations? Besides, vertue addes a new splendor, vwhich together vwith the honor of his house, challengeth a respect from all. But bad greatnesse, is nothing but the vigor of vice; hauing both minde and meanes to bee uncontrollably lewd. A debauched sonne of a Noble Familie, is one of the intollerable burthens of the earth, & as hatefull a thing as hell: for all know, he hath had both example, and precept, flowing in his education; both which, are powerfull enough to obliterate a native illnesse: yet these in him, are but auxiliaries to his shame, that vwith the brightnesse of his Ancestors, make his owne darknesse more palpable. Vice in the Sonne of an Ancient Family, is like a clownish Actor in a stately Play, hee is not onely ridiculous in himselfe; but disgraces both the plot, and the Poet:² vwhereas vertue in a man of obscure Parents, is like a vnpollish't Diamond, lying in the way among pebbles; which howsoever it bee neglected of the vn ciudad vulgar; yet the wise Lapidary takes it vp, as a Iewell vnvaluable; it being so much the more glorious, by how much the other were baser. He that is good and great, I would sell my life to serue him nobly; otherwise, being good, I loue him better, whose father expir'd a Clowne; then he

²Felltham here places himself on the side of his friend Ben Jonson in the matter of dramatic decorum.
that being vitious, is in a lineall descent from him, that
was knighted with Tubal-Cain's fauchion which he made before
the Floud.³

³Genesis 4:22.

S. 94. Of Extreme Passion.¹

I find some men extremely passionate: and these, as
they are more taken with a ioy; so they taste a disaster
more heauily. Others are free from beeing affected; and as
they neuer ioy excessively; so they neuer sorrow
immoderately: but haue together, lesse mirth, and lesse
mourning: like patient gamesters, winning, and losing, are
one. The latter I will most labour for. I shall not lose
more contentment in apprehending ioyes, then I shall grieue
in finding troubles. For we are more sensible of paine, then
delight; the one contracting the spirits, the other dilating
them. Though it were not so, liuing heere, vexations are
more ordinary: Ioy is a thing for hereafter. Heauen cannot
bee found vpon earth. Many great ioyes are not so pleasant,
as one torment proues tedious. The father sighes more at
the death of one sonne, then he smiles at the birth of many.

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
S. 95. How knowledge of our selues, and the things wee intend, make vs doe well.¹

In weighty affaires, wee can neuer doe well, vnlesse we know both our selues, and the thing wee intend. Truth falls into hazard, when it finds either a weak Defender, or one that knowes not her worth. How can hee guide a businesse, that needeth a guide for himselfe? Haue we not knowne many, taking their abilities at too high a pitch, rush vpon matters that haue proou'd their ouerthrow? Rash presumption is a ladder that will breake our neckes. If wee thinke too well of our selues, we ouershoot the marke; If not well enough, wee are short of it. And though wee know our selues, yet if ignorant in the thing, wee expose our selues to the same mischiefe. Who is so vnwise as to wade through the riuier he hath not sounded, vnlesse hee can either swimme wel, or haue helpe at hand? Hee that takes vpon him what hee cannot doe, rides a horse which he cannot rule; he can neither sit in safety, nor alight when he would. In whatsoever I vndertake, I vwill first study my selfe; next the thing that I goe about: being to seeke in the former, I cannot proceede well; understanding that, I shall know the other the better; if not the particulars, I may cast it in the general; something vnseene, we must leaue to a sodaine discretion, either to order, or auoyde. 'Tis not for man to

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
see the events, further then nature and probabilities of reason lead him. Though wee know not what will bee, 'tis good wee prepare for that which may be: we shall brooke a checke the easier, while wee thought on't, though wee did not expect it. But if knowing both aright, I find my selfe vnable to performe it; I vvill rather desist from beginnings, then run vpon shame in the sequell. I had better keepe my selfe and ship at home; then carry her to sea, and not know how to guide her.

S. 96. What man would do, if he should alwayes prosper. ¹

What an elated Meteor would man grow to, did prosperitie alwayes cast sweetening dewes in his face? Sure he would once more with **Quids Gyants**, fling Mountaines on heaps,² to pull downe God from his throne of Maiesty; forgetting all felecity, but that aiery happinesse hee is blinded with. Nothing feedes pride so much, as a prosperous aboundance: 'tis a wonder to see a Favorite study for ought, but additions to his greatnesse: If I could bee so uncharitable, as to wish an enemies soule lost, this were the onely way: Let him liue in the height of the worlds blandishments. For how can hee loue a second Mistresse, that neuer saw but one beauty, and still continues deeply enamoured on it? Evere

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.

man hath his desires intending to some peculiar thing: GOD should bee the end we aime at; yet we often see, nothing carries vs so farre from him, as those favours hee hath imparted vs: tis dangerous to be outwardly blessed. If plenty and prosperitie were not hazardous, what a short cut should some haue to heauen, ouer others? 'Tis the misery of the poore, to be neglected of men: 'tis the misery of the rich, to neglect their God. 'Tis no small abatement to the bitternesse of aduersities, that they teach vs the way to heauen. Though I would not inhabite Hell, if I could, I would sometimes see it; not out of an itching desire to behold wonders; but by viewing such horrors, I might value heauen more dearely. He that hath experienc't the Seas tumultuous perils, will euer after, commend the Lands security. Let mee swimme a riuer of boyling Brimstone, to live eternally happy; rather then dwell in a Paradise, to bee damn'd after death.

S. 97. Pride and crueltie, makes any more odious, then any sinne besides.¹

Every Vice makes the owner odious; but Pride and Cruelty more then any beside. Pride hath no friend: His thoughts set his worth aboue himselfe, all others vnder it. Hee thinks nothing so disgracefull, as want of reuerence,

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
and familiaritie. There is a kinde of disdaining scorne
writ in his brow, and gesture; wherein all may reade, I am
too good for thy company. So 'tis iust all should despise
him, because hee contemneth all. Hee that hath first
ouer-prized himselfe, shall after be vnder-valued by others;
which his arrogancie thinking vniust, shall swell him to
anger, so make him more hatefull. Pride is euer
discontentiue: It both occasions more then any, and makes
more, then it doth occasion. As Humilitie is the way to get
loue and Quietnesse: so is Pride the cause both of a Hatred,
and Warre. Hee hath angred others, and others will vex him.
No man shall heare more ill of himselfe, then he that
thinkes he deserues most good. It was a iust quip of that
wise King, to that proud Physician, who writing thus,
Menecrates Iupiter, Regi Agesilao salutem; was answered thus,
Rex Agesilaus, Menecrati sanitatem: indeed he might well
wish his wits to him, that was so vnwise as to thinke
himselde God. Aristotle, when hee saw a youth proudly
surveying himselfe, did iustly wish to be as he thought
himselfe; but to haue his enemies such, as hee was. I dare
boldly say, neuer proud person was well beloved. For as

\[\text{Plutarch, "The Life of Agesilaus." Agesilaus was king of Sparta in the 4th century B.C. Menecrates usurped the name Jupiter when he, by good fortune, cured a dread disease. By sanitatem, Agesilaus is wishing him sanity, meaning that he is not well in his wits to be so presumptuous.}\]
nothing unites more, than a reciprocall exchange of affection: so there is nothing hinders the knot of friendship more, then apparant neglect of courtesies. Cruelty is a Curre of the same litter. 'Tis natures good care of her selfe, that warnes vs from the denne of this Monster. Who will euer conurerse with him, that he hath seen deuoure another before him? A Tyrant may rule while hee hath power to compell; but when he hath lost that, the hatred hee hath got, shall slay him. Who wonders to heare yong Cato aske his Schoolemaster, how Silla liu'd so long, when hee was so hated for his crueltie? it was a diuelish speech, that Caligula borrowed of the Poet, Oderint dum metuant: I am content if they feare mee, that they should hate me. And sure if any man tooke the course for't, he did; when hee bade his executioners so strike, as they might feele that they were a daving. Hee that makes crueltie his delight, shall bee sure to haue hate his best recompence. Destation waites vpon vnmercifulnesse: who would not helpe to kill the Beast, that sucks the bloud of the Pould? What hath made some Nations so odious as these two; Pride, and Cruelty? The proud man will haue no friend; and the cruell

\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\] those, 4-7. \[\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\] proud will, 4-7.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\] Plutarch, "The Life of Cato the Younger." From his early youth Cato was remarkable for his fine sense of justice and his nobility of character.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\] Suetonius, "Gaius Caligula," XXX,1. The quotation is from Accius, Trag., 203.
man shall have none. Who are more miserable than they that want company? I pity their estate, but love it not. Were I Lord of the whole Globe, and must live alone, I had unhappiness enough to make my commands my trouble. The one turn'd *Angels* out of Heaven; the other, *Monarks* from their thrones: both, I am sure, are able to turn us to hell: it is better being a beast, than a dying man, with either unpardoned.  

5This paper is one of the finest in the volume, and suggested a fine poem to Cowper, viz. his *Progress of Error*. --Smeaton. There is no evidence, either internal or external, that this resolve influenced Cowper's poem, or that Cowper had ever read Felltham's work.

S. 98. Whether *Likenesse* bee the cause of *Loue*, or *Loue* the cause of *Likenesse*. 1

I know not whether is more true, That, *likenesse is the cause of Loue*: or, *Loue* the cause of *likenesse*. In agreeing dispositions, the first is certain; in those that are not, the latter is evident. The first is the easier love; the other the more worthy. The one hath a lure to draw it; the other without respect, is voluntarie. Men love us for the similitude we have with ourselves; *GOD*, meerely from his goodness, when yet we are contrary to him. Since he hath lou'd mee, when I was not like him, I wil strive to

1See below R. S. 81. *Of Love and Likeness*. 
bee like him, because hee hath lou'd mee. I would bee like
him being my friend, that lou'd mee, when I was his enemie.
Then onely is loue powerfull, when it frames vs to the will
of the loued. Lord, though I cannot serue thee as I ought,
let me loue thee as I ought. Grant this, and I know, I shall
serue thee the better.

S. 99. Loue and feare doe easily draw vs to Beliefe.¹

What wee either desire, or feare, wee are easily
drawne to beleue. Tell the prodigal, his Kinsman's dead
should leaue him an estate to swagger with, hee'le quickly
give credit to't. The mother of a sicke infant, if shee but
heares death whisper'd, she is confident her childe is gone:
either of them transport the minde beyond her selfe, and
leave her open to inconueniencies. How many haue shortened
their dayes, by sudden false apprehensions, that haue been
help'd forward, by one of these two: or else so discouered
their mindes, as they haue made way for themselues, to bee
wrought vpon by flatterie, by seducement? In the one, Nature
is couetous for her owne good; so dilates her selfe, & as it
were stretcheth out the armes of her soule, to embrace that,
which shee hath an opinion may pleasure her: and this is in
all sensitiue creatures; though I know the desire of onely
rationall, and intelligible things, is peculiar to Man: who

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.
by vertue of his intellectuall soule, is made desirous of things incorporeall, and immortall. Thus hee that would bee vvell spoken of, beleeeues him, that falsely tells him so. In the other, Nature is prouident for her owne safety; so all the spirits shrinke in to guard the heart, as the most noble part: whereby the exteriour parts, beeing left without moisture, the haire is sometimes suddenly turned gray: the heart thus contracted, and wrought vpon, by it selufe; more easily then, admits any thing, that is brought her by the outward senses. Thus if the miserable Man heares a fire hath beene in the towne where his house is, he cryes vndone, though his owne were neuer in danger. In either of these, how might perswasion worke, and betray vs? What nature hath infused, I cannot cast out; correct I may. If I must desire, and feare, I will doe it so moderately, as my iudgement, and reason may bee still cleere. If vnawares I be ouertaken, I will yet be carefull to conceale my selfe: so though my owne passions bee ouer-strong; others shall not see them, to take mee at aduantages. As many haue been spoiled by being soothed, in their plausible desires: so haue many beene abused, by being malleated, in their troublesome feare.
S. 100. **Though Resolutions change, yet Vowes should know no Varietie.**

Resolutions may often change; sometimes for the better; and the last euer stands firmest. But vowes well made; should know no variance: For the first should bee sure, without alteration. Hee that violates their performance, failes in his duty: and every breach is a wound to the soule. I will resolue oft, before I vow once; neuer resolue to vow, but what I may keep; neuer vow, but what I both can, and will keepe.

\(^1\)There is no corresponding resolve in the R. S. Century.

FINIS.
A CRITICAL VARIORUM EDITION OF OWEN FELLTHAM'S RESOLVES

Volume II

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of English

by

Ted-Larry Pebworth
B.A., Centenary College of Louisiana, 1957
M.A., Tulane University of Louisiana, 1958
August, 1966
RESOLVES
OR,
EXCOGITATIONS.

[The Long Century]
1628

---Ne te quaesiueris extra.¹

¹Don't ask yourself anything more.
TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, Thomas Lord Coventry,

Baron of Alesborough,

Lord Keeper of the great Seale of England,

and Councellour of Estate to his

Maiestie of Great Britaine.¹

May it please your Lordship,

Though I should not know your person, I cannot bee a stranger to your Vertues: All eares are filled with report of them: and what a Predecessour of yours, to his great Honour, wrote of the Greatnesse of Place,² you, My Lord, haue to your greater Honour, practised. These my Excogitations, I humbly dedicate to your Lordship; which I confesse I should scarce haue done, if your Noblenesse had not beene more eminent then your Place. All that hath made me thus presuming, is your Goodnesse, which I know is full of pardons, for those that erre by reuerencing. That I haue prefixed your Name, is not in thought of adding ought to your Honour: but in gaining something to the Worke; that being so inscribed, it may carry with it, what already shineth in your Noble Bosome, Honest Authority. May it liue but as long as your Fame, and knowne Integrity; then may I rest assured, it shall neuer meete a Graue in comming Ages. Howsoeuer, I

¹Prefaced to the Long Century, 2–7.
²Peace, 4–7.
³then I, 3–7.
shall be praised for this, (if I have not coveted too high, and intruded on your more weighty Affaires,) that I have chosen an approved Patron.

The God of Goodnesse perpetuate your Lordships Happinesse.

The most humble of your Lordships truest Honourers,

Ovv. Feltham.
TO THE READERS

I am to answer two OBJECTIONS; One, that I have made use of STORY, yet not quoted my AUTHORITIES; and this I have PURPOSELY done. It had beene all one Labour, inserting the matter, to give them, both the AUTHOR, and place. But while I am not CONTROUERSIALL, I should only have troubled the Text, or spotted a MARGENT, which I always wish to leaue free, for the COMMENTS of the man that reads. Besides, I doe not professe my selfe a Scholer: and for a GENTLEMAN, I hold it a little PEDANTICALL. Hee should use them rather as brought in by MEMORY, RAPTIM, and OCCASIONALL; than by STUDY, search, or strict COLLECTION: especially in ESSAY, which of all writing, is the neerest to a running DISCOURSE. I haue so vsed them, as you may see I doe not STEALE, but BORROW. If I doe; let the READER trace me, and if he will, or can, to my shame DISCOUER; there is no cheating like the FELONY of WIT: Hee which theeues THAT, robbes the OWNER, and coozens those that heare him.

1Prefaced to the Long Century, 2-7.

2See Robert Burton, "Democritus Junior to the Reader," The Anatomy of Melancholy, ed. Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1955), p. 19: "... I cite and quote mine Authors (which howsoever some Illiterate scribblers account pedantical, as a cloak of ignorance, and opposite to their affected fine style, I must and will use); I have borrowed, not stolen. ..."

3"Quickly."
The next is, for the POETRY; wherein, indeed, I have been strict; yet would be FULL. In my opinion, they disgrace our LANGUAGE, that will not give a LATIN verse his ENGLISH, under two for one. I confess, the LATINE (besides the curiousnesse of the TONGUE) hath in every VERSE, the advantage of three or four SILLABLES; yet if a man will labour for't, he may turne it as short, and I beleue, as FULL. And for this, some late TRANSLATIONS are my proove. WHAT you finde heere, if you please, like: But remember alwayes, to censure a RESOLVE in the middle, is to give your JUDGEMENT a possibility of erring. IF you aske why I writ them; 'twas because I lou'd my STUDY. If, why I PUBLISH them, know, that having no other meanes to shew my selfe to the WORLD, so well, I chose this; not to BOAST, but because I would not deceive.

RESOLVES.

L. I. Of sodaine Prosperitie.

Prosperity in the beginning of a great Action, many times, vndoes a Man in the end. Happiness is the Cause of mischiefe. The faire change of a treacherous Dye, at first, flatters an improuident Gamester, with his owne hand, to throw away his wealth to another. For while we expect all things, laughing vpon vs, like those we haue pass'd; we remit our care, and perish by neglecting. When a Rich Crowne ha's newly kiss'd the Temples of a gladded King, where he finds all things in a golden swimme, and kneeling to him with Auspicious reuerence; hee carelesly waues himselfe in the swelling plenty: Layes his heart into pleasures, and forgets the future; till Ruine seize him, before hee can thinke it. Felicity eates vp Circumspection: and when that guard is wanting, wee lye spred to the shot of generall Danger. How many haue lost the victory of a Battell, with too much confidence in the good fortune, which they found at the beginning? Surely, 'tis not good to bee happie too soone. It many times vndoes a Noble Family, to have the estate fall to the hands of an Heyre, in minority. Witty children oft saile in their age, of what their childhood promised. This holds not true in Temporal things only, but

stream, 8.
even in Spirituall. Nothing flackens the proceedings of a Christian more, then the too-early applause of those that are groundedly honest. This makes him thinke hee now is farre enough, and that he may rest, and breathe, and gaze. So he slides backe for want of striuung, to goe on with increase. Good successe in the midd' st of an action, takes a man in a firmer settlednesse: and though hee findes the event alter; yet custome before, will continue his care for afterwards. In the end, it crownes his expectation; and incourages him to the like care in other things, that by it, he may finde the sequell answerable. But in the beginning, it falls like much raine as soone as the feed is sowne: which does rather wash it away, then giue it a moderate rooting. How many had ended better, if they had not begunne so well? Pleasure can vndoe a man at any time, if yeelded to. 'Tis an inviting Ginne to catch the Woodcocke-man in. Croefus counsel'd Cyrus, if he meant to hold the Lydians in a slavery, that he should teach them to sing, and play, and drinke, and dance, and dally; and that would doe it without his endeuour.¹ I remember Ouid's fable of the Cent-oculated Argus:²

¹Cyrus, King of Persia, was the conqueror of Croesus, King of Lydia, and after the latter's defeat received him into the number of his friends. The question referred to in the text was asked after Cyrus had found the Persians politically restless, and hungering after excitement.—Smeaton.

²Argus with the 100 eyes, of which two only slept at one time. Juno set him to watch Io, whom Jupiter, her lover, had changed into a heifer. Mercury, by command of Jupiter,
The Deuill I compare to Mercurie, his Pipe to pleasure, Argus to Man, his hundred eyes to our care, his sleeping to security, Io to our soule, his transformation to the curse of God. The Morall is onely this; The Deuill with pleasure, pipes Man into security, then steales away his soule, and leaues him to the wrath of heaven. It can ruine Anthony in the midd'zt of his fortunes, it can spoile Manibal after a long and glorious Warre: but to meet it first, is the most danger; it then being aptest to find admission; though to meet and yeeld, bee worst at last: because there is not then a time left for recovery. If the Action be of worth that I take in hand, neither shall an ill accident discourage mee, nor a good one make me carelesse. If it happen ill, I will be the more circumspect, by a heedfull prevention to avoide the like, in that which insues. If it happen well, my feare shall make mee warily vigilant. I will euer suspect the smoothed streame for deepnesse; till we come to the end. Deceit is gracious company; for it alwayes studies to bee faire and pleasing: But then, like a thiefe, hauing train'd vs from

c the, B.
slew Argus by lulling him to sleep with the sound of his lyre. Juno put the eyes of Argus on the tail of the peacock, the bird sacred to her. Cf. Moschus, Idylls; Propertius, 1-585.—Smeaton. Ovid's account is in Metamorphoses, I, 622-721.

3 The ruin of Antony came through Cleopatra; while Hannibal's soldiers were enervated by the pleasures of Capua.—Smeaton. Felltham's probable sources were Plutarch's "The Life of Marcus Antonius" and the spurious "The Life of Annibal" printed in the 1603 edition of North's translation of Plutarch.
the Roade, it robbes vs. Where all the benefit we have left, is this: that, if we have time to see how we were coozned, we may have so much happiness, as to dye repenting.

I. 2. Of Resolution.

What a skeyne of ruffled silke is the uncomposed Man? euery thing that but offers to euens him; intangles him more, as if, while you vnbind him one way, hee warpseth worse the other. Hee cannot but meeete with varietie of occasions, and euery one of these, intwine him in a deeper trouble. His wayes are strewd with Bryers, and he bussies himselfe into his owne confusion. Like a Partridge in the net, he masks himselfe the more, by the anger of his fluttering wing.

Certainly, a good Resolution is the most fortifying Armour that a Discreet man can weare. That, can defend him against all the vnwelcome shuffles that the poore rude World puts on him. Without this, like hot iron, hee hisses at euery drop that findes him. With this, He can be a servant as well as a Lord; and have the fame inward pleasantnesse in the quakes and shakes of Fortune, that he carries in her softest smiles.

I confesse, biting Penury has too strong talons for mud-wall'd Man to graspe withall. Nature is importunate for necessities: and will try all the Engines of her wit, and power, rather then suffer her owne destruction. But where shee hath so much as shee may liue: Resolution is the onely
Marshall that can keepe her in a **decent** order. That which puts the loose **wouen minde** into a whirling **tempest**, is by the **Resolute**, **seen**, **sighted**, **laughed** at: with as much **honour**, more **quiet**, more **safety**. The **World** has nothing in it worthy a man's **serious anger**. The best way to perish **discontentments**, is either**a** not to see them, or **convert** them to a **dimpling mirth**. How endlessse will be the **quarrels** of a **chollericke man**, and the **contentments** of him, that is **resolved** to turne **indignities** into things to make sport withall? 'Tis sure, nothing but **experience**, and collected **judgement**, can make a man doe this: but when he has brought himselfe vnto it, how infinite shall he finde his **ease**? It was **Zantippe's** observation, that she euer found **Socrates** returne with the fame **countenance** that he **went** abroad withall.**1** **Lucan** can tell vs,

---**Fortunague perdat**

---**Opposita virtute, minas**.---**2**

---All Fortunes threats be lost,

Where Vertue does oppose.---**2**

I wish no **man** so **spiritlesse**, as to tell all **abuses** press the dulnesse of a willing **shoulder**: but I wish him an

**a**neither, 5, 7. ---**b**case, 8.

---Zantippe, or Xantippe, was the shrewish wife of **Socrates**, a man noted for an even temperament which nothing could seem to shake.

---Pharsalia, 9, 569-570, Housman ed.
able discretion, to discern which are fit to be stirred in, and those to prosecute for no other end, but to shew the injury was more to Vertue, and deare Natures Justice, then to himselfe. Every man should be Equities Champion: because it is that eternall pillar, whereon the World is founded. In high and mountain'd Fortunes Resolution is necessary, to insafe vs from the thefts, and wyles of prosperity: which steal vs away, not onely from our selues, but vertue: and for the most part, like a long peace, softly deliver us into impoverishing Warre. In the wane of Fortune, Resolution is likewise necessary, to guard us from the discontents that usually assaile the poore dejected man. For all the World will beat the man, whom Fortune buffets. And vnlesse by this, he can turne off the blows, hee shall bee sure to feele the greatest burthen, in his owne sad mind. A wise man makes a trouble lesse, by Fortitude: but to a foole, 'tis heauier by his stooping too't. I would faine bring my selfe to that passe, that I might not make my happinesse depend on anothers judgement. But as I would neuer doe anything vnhonestly: so I would neuer feare the immateriall wind of censure, when it is done. Hee that steeres by that gale, is ever in danger of wracke. Honesty is a warrant of farre more safety then Fame. I will neuer bee asham'd of that which beares her seale: As knowing 'tis onely Pride's being in fashion, that hath put honest Humility out of

\[C\text{which, 5-7}\]
\[d\text{to't, 6.8}.\]
countenance. As for the crackers of the braine, and
tongue-squibs, they will dye alone, if I shall not reuiue
them. The best way to haue them forgotten by others, is
first to forget them my selfe. This will keepe my self in
quiet, and by a noble not-caring, arrow the intenders
bosome: who, will euer fret most, when he findes his
designes most frustrate. Yet, in all these, I will something
respect custome, because shee is magnified in that world,
wherein I am one. But when she parts from iuse reason, I
shall rather displease her by parting; then offend in her
company. I would haue all men set vp their rest, for all
things that this world can yeeld. Yet so, as they build
upon a surer foundation then themselues: otherwise, that
which should haue beeene their foundation, will surely crosse
them; and that is, G O D.

L. 3. A Friend and Enemy, when most dangerous.

I will take heed both of a speedy Friend, and a slow
Enemie. Loue is neuer lasting, that flames before it burns.
And Hate, like wetted Coales, throwes a fiercer heate, when
fire gets the mastery. As the first may quickly faile: so
the latter will hardly be altered. Early fruiites rot soone;
As quicke wits haue seldome sound judgements, which should
make them continue: so friendship kindled,\textsuperscript{a} is rarely found

\textsuperscript{a}kindled suddenly, 3-8.
with the durability of affection. Enduring Love is ever built on Vertue; which no man can see in another at once. He that fixeth upon her, shall find a beauty that will every day take him with some new grace or other. I like that Love, which by a soft assension, does degree it selfe in the soule. As for an Enemy that is long a making: hee is much the worse, for being iss no sooner I count him as the act ons of a wise State, which being long in resoluing, are in their Execution sodaine, and striking home. Hee hates not but with cause, that is unwilling to hate at all. If I must haue both, giue mee rather a friend on foote, and an enemy on horsebacke. I may perswade the one to stay, while the other may bee galloping from mee.

L. 4. Of the ends of Vertue and Vice.

Vertue and Vice neuer differ so much, as in the end; at least, their difference is neuer so much vpon the view, as then. And this, I thinke, is one reason, why so many judgements are seduced in pursuit of ill. They imagine not their last Act will be Tragicall; because their former Scenes haue all beene Comedie. The end is so farre off, that they see not those stabbing shames, that awaite them in a killing ambush. If it were neerer, yet their owne dimme sight would leave them vndiscovered. And the same thing that encourageth Vice, discourageth Vertue. For, by her
rugged-way and the resistance that she findes in her passage; she is oft persuaded to step into Vice's path: which while shee findeth smooth,¹ shee neuer perceiueth slippery. Vice's Road is paued all with Ice; inuiting by the eye, but tripping vp the heele, to the hazzard of a wound, or drowning. Whereas Vertue's² is like the passage of Hannibal ouer the Alpes: a worke of a trying toyle, of infinite danger. But once performed, it lets him into the Worlds Garden, Italy: and withall, leaues him a fame as lasting, as those which he did Conquer, with his most unused weapon of War, Vineger.² Doubtlesse the World hath nothing so glorious as Vertue: as Vertue when she rides triumphant. When like a Phoebean Champion, she hath rowted the Armie of her enemies, flatted their strongest Forts, brought the mightiest of her foes, in a chained subjection, to humour the motions of her thronged Chariot, and be the gaze of the abusiue World. Vice, at best, is but a diseased Harlot: all whose commendation is, that she is painted.

Sed locum virtus habet inter astra,
Vere dum flores venient tepenti,

¹Vertue, 4-7.
²See Matthew 7:13-14.
²Hannibal is said to have split the hardest rocks by kindling fires upon them, and then throwing vinegar on the heated surface.—Smeaton. The incident is reported in the spurious "The Life of Annibal" printed in the 1603 edition of North's translation of Plutarch.
Et comam siluis hiemes recident,
Vel comam siluis revocabit aestas.
Pomaque Automno fugiente cedent,
Nulla te terris rapiet vetustas.
Tu Comes Phoebo, comes ibis astris.³

But Vertue's thron'd among the Starres,
And while the Spring warmes th'infant bud,
Or Winter bald's the shag-hair'd wood:
While Summer giues new lockes to all,
And fruits full ripe, in Autumnne fall,
Thou shalt remaine, and still shalt be,
For Starres, for Phoebus, Company.

Is a rapture of the lofty Tragedian. Her presence is
a dignity, which amazes the beholder with incircling raves.
The conceit of her Actions, begets admiration in others, and
that admiration both infuseth a joy in her, and inflames her
magnanimitie more. The good honour her, for the loue of the
like, that they finde in them-selues. The bad, though they
repine inwardly, yet shame (which is for the most part an
effect of base Vice,) now goes before the action, and commands
their baser hearts to silence. On the other side, what a
Mon-ster, what a Painters Diuell is Vice, either in her bared
skin, or her own ensordid ragg's: Her own guilt, and the

³Seneca, Hercules Oetaeus, 1575-1581.
detestation which she findes from others, set vp two great Hels, in her one little, narrow, heart; Horror, Shame; and that which most of all doth Gall her, is, that shee findes their flames are inextinguishable. Outwardly, sometimes shee may appeare like Vertue: For all the seuerall iemm's in Vertue, Vice hath counterfeit stones, wherewith shee guls the ignorant. But there bee too^\textsuperscript{2} maine reasons which shall make mee Vertues Louer: for her inside, for her end. And for the same reasons will I hate Vice. If I finde there be a difference in their wages;^\textsuperscript{3} I will yet thinke of them, as of the two sonnes in the Gospell; whereof Vertue said hee would not goe to the Vineyard, yet did. And Vice though hee promised to goe, désisted.\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{2}two, 6. \quad \textsuperscript{3}wayes, 3-7.
\textsuperscript{4}Matthew 21:28-31.

L. 5. Of Puritans.

I Finde many that are called Puritans,\textsuperscript{1} yet few, or none

\textsuperscript{1}First used, according to Fuller, in 1584, and applied to those clergymen of the Church of England who refused to accept its liturgies, ceremonies and discipline, as arranged by Archbishop Parker and his coadjutors.—Smeaton. It seems odd that in preparing a new edition of the Resolves for the press in 1661, Felltham did not revise this essay. Most of it was still applicable in 1661, of course, but a decade of the Puritan Commonwealth should have caused Fellthan, a conservative Anglican and royalist, to have additional thoughts on the matter of the Puritan. This essay is one of the closest approaches to the popular seventeenth-century English "character" that we find in the Resolves.
that will owne the name. Whereof the reason sure is this; that 'tis for the most part held a name of infamie; and is so new, that it hath scarcely yet obtain'd a definition: nor is it an appellation derived from one man's name, whose Tenets we may finde, digested into a Volume: whereby we doe much erre in the application. It imports a kinde of excellencie aboue another; which man (being conscious of his own fraile bendings) is ashamed to assume to himselfe. So that I beleue there are men which would be Puritans: but indeed not any that are. One will haue him one that liues religiously, and will not reuell it in a shorelesse excesse. Another, him that separates from our Divine Assemblies. Another, him that in some tenents onely is peculiar. Another, him that will not sweare. Absolutely to define him, is a worke, I thinke, of Difficulty; some I know that reioice in the name; but sure they be such, as least understand it. As he is more generally in these times taken, I suppose we may call him a Church-Rebell, or one that would exclude order, that his braine might rule. To decline offenses; to bee carefull and conscionable in our seuerall actions, is a Puritie, that euery man ought to labour for, which we may well doe, without a sullen segregation from all societie. If there be any Priuiledges, they are surely granted to the Children of the King; which are those that are the Children of Heauen. If mirth and recreations bee lawfull, sure such a one may lawfully use it. If Wine were given to cheere the
heart, why should I feare to use it for that end? Surely, the merry soule is freer from intended mischiefe, then the thoughtfull man. A bounded mirth, is a Patent adding time and happines to the crazed life of Man. Yet if Laertius reports him rightly, Plato deserves a censure, for allowing drunkennesse at Festiuals; because, saies he, as then, the Gods themselues reach Wines to present Men. God delights in nothing more, then in a cheerefull heart, carefull to performe his service. What Parent is it, that reioyceth not to see his Child pleasant, in the limits of a filiall duty? I know wee reade of Christs weeping, not of his laughter: yet wee see, hee graceth a Feast with his first Miracle; and that a Feast of joy: And can we thinke that such a meeting could passe without the noise of laughter? What a lump of quickened care is the melancholike man? Change anger into mirth, and the Precept will hold good still: be merry, but sinne not. As there bee many, that in their life assume too great a Libertie; so I beleue there are some, that abridge themselues of what they might lawfully use. Ignorance is an ill Steward, to provide for either

2Perhaps an allusion to Julius Caesar, I, ii, 192-195.

3Diogenes Laertius, a Greek writer of the third century A. D., whose Lives of Eminent Philosophers seems to have been Felltham's philosophical mainstay. Plato's remark is reported in III, 39.

4John 11:35. 5The Marriage at Cana, John 2:1-11.

6Ephesians 4:26.
soule, or Body. A man that submits to reuerent Order, that sometimes unbinds himselfe in a moderate relaxation; and in all, labours to approve himselfe, in the sereneness of a healthful Conscience: such a Puritane I will loue immutably. But when a man in things but ceremoniall, shall spurne at graue Authoritie of the Church, and out of a needlesse nicetie, be a Thiefe to himselfe, of those benefits which God hath allowed him: or out of a blinde and vncharitable Pride, censure, and scorne others, as reprobates: or out of obstinacy, fill the World with brawles, about undeterminable Tenets. I shall thinke him one of those, whose opinion hath fevereda his zeale to madnesse and distraction. I haue more faith in one Salomon,7 then in a thousand Dutch Parlours8 of such Opinionists. Behold then; what I haue seene good! That it is comely to eate, and to drinke, and to take pleasure in all his labour wherein he travaileth under the Sunne, the whole number of the dayes of his life, which GOD giueth him. For, this is his Portion. Nay, there is no profit to Man, but that bee eate and drinke, and delight his soule with the profit of his labour.9 For, he that saw

a severed, 5-7; obviously a misprint.

7Solomon was supposed to have been the author of Ecclesiastes; see notes 9 and 10 below.

8Felltham's use of this phrase probably stems from his visit to the Low Countires sometime between 1623 and 1628. Holland was a hotbed of religious controversy at the time, earlier having offered sanctuary to the English Separatists before their migration to the Plymouth Colony in America.

9Ecclesiastes 5:18.
other things but vanitie,\textsuperscript{10} saw this also, that it was the hand of God. Me thinkes the reading of Ecclesiastes, should make a Puritane vndresse his braine, and lay of all those Ph Anatique toyes that gingle about his understanding. For my owne part, I thinke the World hath not better men, then some, that suffer vnder that name: nor withall, more Scelestique\textsuperscript{11} Villaines. For, when they are once elated with that pride, they so contemne others, that they infringe the Lawes of all humane societie.

\textsuperscript{10} Ecclesiastes 1:2.
\textsuperscript{11} Wicked. The OED cites this as the first recorded usage.


I Neuer yet found Pride in a Noble Nature: nor Humilitie in an vnworthy minde. It may seeme strange to an inconsiderate eye, that such a poore violet Vertue, should euer dwell with Honor: and that such an aspiring fume as Pride is, should euer sojourne with a constant Basenesse. 'Tis sure, we seldome finde it, but in such, as being conscious of their owne deficiencie, thinke there is no way to get Honour, but by a bold assuming it. As if, rather then want fame, they would with a rude assault, deflowre her: which indeed, is the way to lose it. Honour, like a Noble Virgin, will neuer agree to grace the man that
rauisheth. If shee bee not wonne by Courtesie, she will never love truly. To offer violence to so choise a beauty, is the way to bee contemn'd and loose. 'Tis hee that hath nothing else to commend him, which would invade mens good opinions by a mis-becomming sawciness. If you search for high and strained Carriages; you shall for the most part, meete with them, in low men. Arrogance, is a weed, that euer growes in a dunghill. 'Tis from the ranknesse of that soile, that shee hath her height and spreadings: Witnesse Clownes, Fooles, and fellowes that from nothing, are lifted some few steps vpon Fortunes Ladder; where, seeing the glorious representment of Honour, aboue; they are so greedy of embracing, that they striue to leape thither at once: so by ouer-reaching themselues in the way, they faile of the end, and fall. And all this happnes, either for want of Education, which should season their minds with the generous precepts of Morality; or, which is more powerfull; Example: or else, for lacke of a discerning Judgement, which will tell them, that the best way thither, is to goe about, by humility and desert. Otherwise, the River of Contempt runnes betwixt them and it: and if they goe not by these passages, they must of necessity either turne backe with shame, or suffer in the desperate venture. Of all Trees, I obserue, GOD hath chosen the Vine,\(^1\) a low plant, that creeps vpon

\(^a\)happiness, 8.

\(^1\)John 15:1-5.
the helpfull Wall. Of all Beasts, the soft and patient Lambe. Of all Fowles, the milde and gall-lesse Doue. CHRIST is the rose of the Field, and the Lillie of the Valley. When GOD appeared to Moses, it was not in the loftie Cedar, nor the sturdy Oake, nor the spreading Plane; but in a Bush; an humble, slender, abiect shrub. As if he would by these elections, checke the conceited arrogance of Man. Nothing procureth Loue, like Humility: nothing Hate, like Pride. The proud man walkes among daggers, pointed against him: whereas the humble and the affable haue the People for their guard in dangers. To bee humble to our Superiours, is dutie: to our Equals, courtesie; to our Inferiours, nobleness. Which, for all her lownesse, carries such a sway, that she may command their soules. But, wee must take heed, wee expresse it not in vnworthy Actions. For then leaving Vertue, it falls into disdained baseness: which is the vndoubttable badge of one, that will betray Societie. So farre as a man, both in words and deeds, may bee free from flatterie, and vnmanly cowardice; hee may bee humble with commendation. But surely, no circumstance can make the expression of Pride laudable. If euer it bee, 'tis when it meets with Audacious Pride, and conquers. Of this

2John 1:29,36.

3Matthew 3:16; Mark 1:10; Luke 3:22; John 1:32.

4Song of Solomon 2:1.

good it may then bee author, that the affronting man, by his owne folly, may learne the way to his duty, and wit. Yet this I cannot so well call Pride, as An emulation of the Divine Instince; which will alwayses vindicate it selfe vpon presumptuous ones; and is indeed said to fight against no sinne, but Pride. 6


L. 7. Of Reward and Service.

VWhen it lights vpon a worthy Nature, there is nothing procures a more faithfull Service, then The Masters liberality; nor is there any thing makes that appeare more, then a true fidelitie. They are each of other alternate; Parents; begetting and begotten. Certainly, if these were practised, Great men need not so often change their Followers: nor would the Patrons be abandoned by their old Attendants. Rewards are not giuen, but paid, to Servants that bee good and wise. Nor ought that blood to be accounted lost, which is out-letted for a Noble master. Worth will neuer faile to giue Desert her Bayes. A liberall Master, that loues his Servent well, is in some sort a God vnto him: which may both giue him blessings, and protect him from danger. And believe it, on the other side, a diligent and discreet Servant, is one of the best friends that a man can be blest withall. He can doe whatsoever a Friend may: and will bee commanded with
lesser hazzard of losing. Nay, he may in a kinde, challenge
a glory aboue his Master: for, though it be harder to play a
Kings part well, then 'tis to act a Subject:; yet Natures
inclination is much more bent to rule then to obey: Serve:
being a condition, which is not found in any Creatures of one
kinde, but Man. Now, if the Question bee, when men meet in
these relations, who shall the first beginne? The lot will
surely fall vpon the Seruant: For hee is tyed in dutie to
bee diligent; and that euer bindes without exception. The
Lord is tyed but by his Honour: which is voluntarie, and not
compulsie: Liberalitie being a free adjection, and not a Tye
in his bargaine. 'Tis good sometimes for a Lord to use a
Seruant like a friend, like a companion: but 'tis alwayes
fit for a Seruant to pay him the reuerence due to a Master.
Pride becomes neither the commander nor the commanded. Every
Family is but a severall Plume of Feathers: the meanest is
of the selfe-same stuff: only hee that made the Plume,
was pleased to set the Lord highest. The power of commanding,
is rather Politicall, then from equall Nature. The service
of man to man, followed not the Creation, but the Fall of
man; and till Noah curs'd his Sonne, the name of Seruant is
not read in Scripture.\(^1\) Since, there is no absolute freedome
to bee found below. Euen Kings are but more splendid
Servants, for the Common body. There is a mutualitie
betweene the Lord and Vassailes. The Lord serues them of

\(^1\)Genesis 9:25.
necessaries: and they him, in his pleasures and conueniences. Vertue is the truest liberty; nor is hee free, that stoopes to passions: nor hee in bondage, that serues a Noble Master.

When Demonax\(^2\) saw one cruell in the beating of a Servuant: 
Fie, (sayes hee) forbeare; lest by the World, your selfe be taken for the servant. And if wee haue any faith in Claudian,\(^3\) we may beleue, that

He knowes no bondage, whom a good King swayes:

For, Freedome neuer shines with cleerer rayes,

Then when braue Princes raigne.

Fallitur, egregio quisquis sub Principe credit
Seruitium: nunquam libertas gratior extat
Quam sub Rege pio.\(^4\)

Imperiousnesse turnes that servant into a slaue; which Moderation makes as an humble-speaking friend. Seneca

beginnes an Epistle, with reioycing, that his friend lived

\(^2\)A celebrated philosopher of Crete in the reign of Hadrian. He showed no desire to provide for his own wants. When hungry, he entered the first house he came to and there ate and drank till satisfied.—Smeaton. The incident is reported in the biography of Demonax by Lucian, a Greek writer of the second century A. D.

\(^3\)A celebrated poet, who lived in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius. He was patronised by Stilicho, and followed his patron into exile. He supplies the poverty of his matter by the purity of his language and the melody of his numbers.—Smeaton.

\(^4\)Consulatu Stilichonis, III, 113-115.
familiar with his Servant. Neither can have comfort, where both are uncommunicable. I confess, the like contenance is not to be shewed at all. that which makes a wise man modest, makes a Foole unmannery. 'Tis the sawcie servant, that causes the Lord to shrinke his descending fauours. Of the two, Pride is the more tolerable in a Master. The other is a preposterousnesse, which Salomon saw the Earth did groane for. Hadrian sent his Inferiour servant a box on the eare, for walking but betweene two Senators. As I would not serue, to be admitted to nothing, but to high commands: So I thinke, whos'ere is rudely malepert blemishes the discretion of himselfe, and his Lord. As there ought to be equality, because Nature has made it: so there ought to be a difference, because Fortune has set it. Yet cannot the distance of their Fortunes be so much, as their neereness, in being Men. No Fate can fright away that likeness. The other we have found in motion, in variance; even to rare and inverted mutations. Let not the Lord abuse his Servant; for 'tis possible, he may fal below him: Let not the servant neglect his Master; for he may be cast to a meaner condition. Let the servant deserve, and the Master recompence: and if

5 Epistula XLVII. Chaucer quotes from this letter in "The Parson's Tale."

6 Ecclesiastes 10:7.

7 Roman emperor, second century, A. D., one of the most capable administrators to wear the purple. Dion Cassius, LXIX.
they would both be **noble**; the best way is, for those that be subiect, to forget their services and for those that are **commanders**, to remember them. So, each louing other, for their **generous worthiness**; the World shall strew praises in both their **paths**. If the **servant** suppose his **lot** be hard, let him thinke, that **service** is nothing but the **free-mans** calling: wherein while he is, he is bound to discharge himselfe, well.


**TO Reprehend** well, is both the hardest, and most necessarie part of Friendship. Who is it, that will either not **merit a checke**, or endure one? Yet wherein can a **Friend** more unfold his **loue**, then in preueting **dangers**, before their birth: or, in reducing a Man to **safety**, which is trauailing in the way to **Ruine**? I grant, the manner of the **Application**, may turne the **benefit** into an **injurie**: and then it both strengtheneth **Error**, and wounds the **Giever**. Corrections is neuer in vaine. **Vice** is a **myrie deepnesse**: if thou striuest to helpe one out, and dost not; thy stirring him, sinkes him in the further. **Fury** is the madder for his chaine. When thou chidest thy wandring **Friend**, doe it secretly; in season; in **loue**; not in the eare of a **popular convention**: For many times, the presence of a

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*a travelling, 4-8. Seventeenth-century spelling makes no distinction between travail and travel.*
Multitude, makes a man take vp an vnjust defence, rather then fall, in a just shame. Diseased eyes indure not an unmasked Sunne: nor does the wound but rankle more, which is vanned by the publike ayre. Nor can I much blame a man, though hee shunnes to make the Vulgar his Confessor: for they are the most vncharitable tell-tales that the burthened Earth doth suffer. They understand nothing, but the Dregge of Actions: and with spattering those abroad, they besmeare a deserving Fame. A man had better be convinced in priuate, then be made guilty by a Proclamation. Open Rebukes are for Magistrates, and Courts of justice: for Stelled Chambers,\(^1\) and for Scarlets, in the thronged Hall. Priuate, are for friends; where all the witnesses of the offenders blushes, are blinde, and deafe, and dumbe. Wee should doe by them, as Ioseph thought to haue done by Mary, seeke to couer blemishes, with secrecie.\(^2\) Publike Reproofe, is like striking of a Deere in the Herd; it not onely wounds him, to the losse of inabling blood: but betrayes him to the Hound, his Enemie: and makes him, by his fellowes, be pusht out of companie. Euen concealement of a fault, argues some

\(^1\)Probably a reference to the Star Chamber, a court which operated from about 1487 until it was abolished by the Parliamentarians in 1641. It was named for its first meeting place, a room with a star-spangled ceiling in the Palace of Westminster. It became the most formidable, and to the Puritan elements in England the most hated, court in the land, especially during the reigns of James I and Charles I.

\(^2\)Matthew 1:19.
charitie to the Delinquent: and when we tell him of it in secret, it shewes, wee wish hee should amend, before the World comes to know his amisse. Next; it ought to bee in season, neither when the Braine is misted, with arising fumes: nor when the Minde is madded, with vn-reined passions. Certainly, hee is drunke himselfe, that prophanes Reason so, as to urge it to a drunken man. Nature vnloosed in a flying speed, cannot come off with a sudden stop.

Quis matrem, nisi mentis inops, in funere Nati
Flere vetat? non hoc ulla Monenda loco est: 3

Hee's mad, that dryes a Mothers eyes full tyde
At her Sonnes graue. There 'tis no time to chide:

Was the opinion of the smoothest Poet. To admonish a man in the height of his passion; is, to call a Souldier to Councell, in the mid'st, in the heate of a Battaile. Let the Combat slacke, and then, thou maist expect a hearing. All Passions are like rapid Torrents: they swell the more, for meeting with a Damme in their violence. He that will heare nothing in the rage and rore of his anger, will, after a pause, inquire of you. Seeme you to forget him; and hee will the sooner remember himselfe. For it often fals out, that the end of Passions, is the beginning of Repentance. Then will it be easie to draw backe a retiring man: As a

3Ovid, Remedia Amoris, 127-128.
Boat is rowed with less labour, when it hath both a Wind and Tide to drive it. A word seasonably given, like a Rudder, sometimes steers a man quite into another Course. When the Macedonian Philip⁴ was capring in the view of his Captiues: Sayes Demades,⁵—Since Fortune has made you like Agamemnon, why will you shew your selfe like Thersites? And this chang'd him to another Man,⁶ A blow bestow'd in the striking time, is better then tenne, delivered unseasonably. There are some nicks in Time, which whosoever findes, may promise to himselfe successe. As in all things, so in this; especially, if he doe it as hee ought, In Loue. It is not good to be too tetricall and virulent. Kinde words make rough actions plausible. The bitternesse of Reprehension, is insweetned with the pleasingnesse of Compellations. If ever Flattery might be lawfull, here is a Cause that would give it admission. To be plaine, argues Honestie: but to bee pleasing, argues discretion. Sores are not to be anguish't with a rusticke pressure; but gently stroaked, with a

⁴Father of Alexander the Great, the great enemy of Athens. Against him Demosthenes delivered his celebrated Philippics.—Smeaton.

⁵An Athenian, who in youth was a sailor, but became a distinguished orator, and acquired great influence in the State. Taken prisoner at the battle of Cheronea by Philip, he became very friendly with the king. One of his orations is extant.—Smeaton.

⁶The incident is recorded in the spurious "Life of Philip of Macedon" printed in the 1603 edition of North's translation of Plutarch.
Ladyed hand. Physicians fire not their eyes at Patients: but calmly minister to their diseases. Let it bee so done, as the offender may see affection without arrogancie. Who blowes out Candles with too strong a breath, does but make them stinke, and blowes them light againe. To auoyd this, it was ordain'd among the Lacedemonians, That every Transgressor should be, as it were, his owne Beadle: for, his punishment was, to compasse an Altar, singing an Invectiue made against himselfe. It is not consonant, that a member so un-boned as the tongue is, should smart it with an Iron lash. Evry man that adviseth, assumes as it were, a transcendencie over the other; which if it bee not allayed with protestations, and some selfe-including termes, growes hatefull: that euen the Reprehension, is many times the greater fault of the two. It will bee good therefore, not to make the complaint our owne, but to lay it vp pon some others; that not knowing his grounded Vertues, will, according to this, bee apt to iudge of all his actions. Nor can he be a competent judge of anothers crime, that is guilty of the like himselfe. 'Tis vnworthily done, to condemn that in others, which wee would not haue but pardoned in our selues. When Diogenes fell in the Schoole of the Stoickes; He

7Plutarch, "The Life of Lycurgus."

8The founder of the Cynic School of Philosophers. He lived in a huge cask or but, and his chief maxim was, happiness consists in the number of things one is able to do without.—Smeaton.
answeres his deriders, with this question: Why doe you laugh at me for falling backeward, when you your selues doe retrograde your liues? He is not fit to cure a dimmed sight, that looks upon another with a beamed eye. Freed, we may free others. And, if wee please them with praising some of their vertues, they will with much more ease, be brought to know their vices. Shame will not let them be angry with them, that so equally deales, both the rod and Lauvell. If hee bee much our Superior, 'tis good to doe it sometimes in parables, as Nathan did to David: So, let him by collection, give himselfe the censure. If hee bee an Equall, let it appeare, affection, and the truth of friendship vrging it. If it be our Inferiour, let it seeme our care, and desire to benefit him. Towards all, I would be sure to shew Humility, and Loue. Though I finde a little bluster for the present, I am confident, I shall meet with Thankes afterward. And in my absence, his reverend report, following mee. If not: The best way to lose a friend; is by seeking, by my loue, to saue him. 'Tis best for others, that they hate me for vice; but if I must be hated, 'tis best for my selfe, that they hate me for my goodnesse. For

\[\text{bdeal, 3-8} \quad \text{Che, 5-8.}\]

\[\text{9Matthew 7:3-5; Luke 6:41-42.}\]

\[\text{10The parable of the rich man with his flocks, and the poor man with the one ewe lamb, after the sin of Uriah's murder.—Smeaton. II Samuel 12:1-6.}\]
then am I mine owne Antidote, against all the poyson, they can spit vpon me.


IN all the Actions that a Man performes, some part of his life passeth. Wee dye with doing that, for which onely, our sliding life was granted. Nay, though wee doe nothing, Time keepes his constant pace, and flies as fast in idlenesse, as in imployment. Whether we play, or labour, or sleepe, or dance, or study, the Sunne posteth, and the Sand runnes. An houre of Vice is as long as an houre of Vertue. But, the difference which followes upon good actions, is infinite from that of ill ones. The good, though it diminisheth our time heere, yet it layes vp a pleasure for Eternity: and will recompence what it taketh away, with a plentifull returne at last. When wee trade with Vertue, wee doe but buy pleasure with expence of time. So it is not so much a consuming of time, as an exchange. Or as a man sowes his Corne, he is content to want it a while, that hee may, at the Harvest, receiue it with advantage. But the bad deeds that we doe heere, doe not onely rob us of so much time; but also be-speake a torment for hereafter: and that in such a life, as the greatest pleasure wee could there bee crown'd withall, would be the very act of dying. The one, Treasures vp a pleasure in a lasting life: The other, prouides vs torture
in a death eternall. Man, as soone as hee was made, had two
great Suitors, for his life and soule: Vertue, Vice. They
both trauail'd the world with traines, harbingers, and
large attendance: Vertue had before her, Truth, running
naked, valiant, but vn elegant: then labour, cold, hunger,
thirst, care, vigilance; and these but poorely arayed, and
shee in plaine, though cleane attire. But looking neere,
shee was of such a selfe-perfection; that she might very well
embleme,\textsuperscript{1} whatsoeuer omnipotencv could make most rare.
Modest she was: and so louely; That whosoeuer lookt
but stedfastly vnpon her, could not, but insoule himselfe in
her. After her, followed Content, full of Jewels, Coine,
Perfumes, and all the massy riches of the World. Then Ioy,
with Masquers, Mirth, Reuelling, and all Essentiall
pleasures. Next Honour, with all the ancient Orders of
Nobility, Scepters, Thrones, and Crownes Imperiall. Lastly,
Glory, shaking such a brightnesse from her Sunny Tresses,
that I haue heard, no man could euеr come so neere, as to
describe her truely. And behind all these, came Eternity,
casting a Ring\textsuperscript{2} about them; which like a strong inchantment,

\textsuperscript{1}The emblem, an allegorical picture accompanied by a
motto in prose or verse, was an extremely popular genre in
English Renaissance literature, from Spenser's The
Shepheardes Calendar to Francis Quarles's Emblems, Divine
and Moral. The emblems of Virtue and Vice that Felltham
draws here seem to owe much to Spenser, particularly to The
Faerie Queene, I, vi.

made them for euer the same. Thus Vertue. Vice thus:

Before her, First went Lying, a smooth, painted huswife: clad all in Changeable, but vnder her garments, full of Scabbes, and vgly Vlcers. She spoke pleasingly, and promised, whatsoever could bee wisht for, in behalfe of her Mistris, Vice. Upon her, Wit waited: a conceited Fellow, and one that much tooke Man with his pretty Trickes and Gambals. Next Sloth, and Luxury, so full; that they were after choaked with their owne fat. Then (because shee could not haue the true ones, for, they follow Vertue) she gets Imposters, to personate Content, Ioy, Honour, in all their wealth and Royalties. After these, she comes her selfe, sumptuously apparell'd, but a nasty surfetted Slut; whereby, if any kiss her, they were sure by her breath to perish. After her, followed on a sodaine, like enemies in ambush, guilt, horror, shame, losse, want, sorrow, torment. These charm'd with Eternities Ring, as the other. And thus they wooed fond Man; who taken with the subtile cozenages\(^{a}\) of Vice, yeelded to lye with her: where hee had his nature so impoyson'd, that his seed was all contaminated, and his corruption, euen to this day, is still Conduited to his vndone Posterity. It may be Virgil knew of such a Story, when he writ,

\(^{a}\)cozenings, 5, 7.
Quisquis enim, duros casus virtutis amore
Vicerit, ille sibi laudemque, decusque parabit:
At qui desidiam, luxumque, sequetur inertem;
Dum fugit oppositos, incauta mente, labores,
Turpis inopsque simul, miserabile transiget avum. 3

Man that Loue-conquers Vertues thorny wayes,
Reares to himselfe a fame-tombe, for his praise.
But he that Lust, and Leaden Sloth doth prize,
While heedlesse hee, oposed Labour flyes;
All, foule and poore, most miserably, dyes.

'Tis true, they both spend vs time alike: nay many times,
honest industry spends a man more, then the vn-girthed
Solaces, of a sensuall Libertine: vnlesse they be persued
with inordinatenesse; then they destroy the present, shorten
the future, and hasten paine. Why should I wish to passe
away this life ill, which to those that are ill, is the
best? If I must daily lessen it, it shall be by that, which
shall ioy me with a future Incomme. Time is like a Ship
which neuer Anchors: while I am aboord, I had better doe
those things, that may advantage me at my Landing, then
practice such, as shall cause my commitment, when I come to

3This verse is not in the recognized canon of Virgil's
works. During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, many
pseudo-Virgilian works were circulated under the Latin
poet's name, and this is probably from one of those.
the Shore. Whatsoever I doe, I would think what will become of it, when it is done. If good, I will goe on to finish it. If bad, I will either leave off, where I am, or not undertake it at all. Vice, like an vnthrifty, sel's away the Inheritance, while 'tis but in Reversion: But Vertue, husbanding all things well; is a Purchaser. Hear but the witty Spaniards Dystich:

\[\text{Ampliat aetatis spatium sibi, vir bonus, hoc est}
\]
\[\text{Viuere bis, vita posse priore frui.}\]

He that his former well-led life enjoyes,
Lives twice: so giues addition to his dayes.


The too eager pursuit of a thing, hinders the enjoyment. For, it makes men take indirect wayes, which, though they prosper sometimes, are blessed nouer. The Covetous, because he is madde vpon riches, practiseth injurious Courses, which God cursing, bring him to a speedy pouerty. Oppression will bring a Consumption vpon thy gains. Wealth snatch't vp by unjust injurious wayes, like a rotten sheepe, will infect thy healthfull flocke. Wee thinke by wrong to hide our
selues from want, when'tis that onely, which unavoydeably puls it on vs. Like Theeues, that hooking for cloathes in the darke, they draw the Owner, which takes, and then imprisons them. Hee that longs for Heauen, with such impatience, as hee will kill himselfe, that he may be there the sooner, may by that act, be excluded thence; and lye gnashing of his teeth, in Hell. Nay, though we be in the right way, our haste will make our stay the longer; He, that rides all upon the driving Spurre, tyres his horse ere his journey ends: so is there the later, for making such vn-wonted speed. He is like a giddy messenger, that runnes away without his errand: so dispatches lesse for his nimblenesse. When God hath laid out Man a Way, in vaine hee seekes a neerer one. We see the things we aime at, as Travellers doe Townes in hilly Countreyes; wee judge them neere, at the eyes end; because, wee see not the valleys, and the brooke in them, that interpose. So, thinking to take shorter courses, wee are led about, through Ignorance, and incredulity. Surely, God that made disposing Nature, knowes her better, then imperfect man. And hee that is once perswaded of this, will rather stay the leasure of the Deity, then follow the chase of his owne dilusions. Wee goe surest, when wee post not in a precipitation. Sodaine risings, haue seldom sound foundations. Wee might sweat lesse, and availe more. How haue I seene a beefe-brain'd fellow (that hath onely had impudence enough to shew himselfe a
foole) thrust into discourses of wit, thinking to get esteeme; when, all that he hath purchased, hath beene onely, the hisse of the wise, and a just derision from the abler judgements. Nor will it be lesse toyle-some, then wee haue already found it, incommodious. What jealous and envious furies, gnaw the burning brest of the ambitious foole? What feares and cares affright the starting sleepe of the couetous? of which if any happen, they crush him, ten times heauier, then they would doe the mind of the well-temper'd-man. All that affect things over-violently, doe over-violently greeue in the disappointment. Which is yet occasioned, by that, the too-much earnestnesse. Whatsoeuer I wish for, I will pursue easily, though I doe it assiduously. And if I can, the hands diligence, shall goe without the leaping bounds of the heart. So if it happen well, I shall haue more content: as comming lesse expected. Those joyes claspe vs with a friendlier arme, that steale vpon vs, when wee looke not for them. If it fall out ill, my mind not being set on't, will teach me patience, in the sadning want. I will cooze paine, with carelesnesse; and plump my joyes, by letting them surprize mee. As, I would not neglect a sodaine good opportunity; so I would not furie my selfe in the search.
L. 11. Of the tryall of Faith and Friendship.

Faith and Friendship, are seldome truly tryed, but in extremes. To find friends, when we haue no need of them, and to want them, when we haue, are both alike easie, and common. In Prosperity, who will not professe, to loue a man: In adversity, how few will shew that they doe it, indeed: When we are happy, in the Spring-tide of Abundance, and the rising flood of Plenty, then, the World will be our servant: then, all men flocke about vs, with bared heads, with bended bodies, and protesting tongues. But, when these pleasing waters fall to ebbing: when wealth but shiftesth, to another stand: Then, men looke vpon vs, at a distance: and stiffen themselves, as if they were in Armour, lest, (if they should comply vs) they should get a wound, in the close. Adversity is like Penelopes night; which undoes all, that euer the day did weaue.1 'Tis a misery, that the knowledge of such a blessednesse, as a friend is, can hardly be without some sad mis-fortune. For wee can neuer throughly try him, but in the kicke of malignant Chance. And till we haue try'd him, our knowledge can be call'd, but by the name of Hope.

1Penelope was the wife of Ulysses, King of Ithaca. When her husband did not return after the Trojan war was over, many suitors asked the hand of the queen. After putting them off in every possible way, she said she would not marry until she had finished a certain piece of embroidery [sic]. What she wove by day she picked out by night, so she got no further on. Her artifice, however, was discovered by the suitors. See Homer's Odyssey, B. II.—Smeaton.
What a pittifull plight is poore dust-temper'd-Man in, when hee can neither be truely happy, without a friend; nor yet know him to be a true friend, without his being unhappy? Our Fortunes, and our selues, are things so closely link'd, that wee know not, which is the Cause of the loue, that wee find. When these two shall part, wee may then discerne to which of them affection will make wing: When they are Coued together, wee know not, which is in pursuit. When they rise and breake, wee shall then see, which is aymed at. I confesse he is happy, that finds a true friend in extremity: but, hee is happier, that findeth not extremity, wherein to try his friend. Thus the tryall of friendship, is by finding, what others will doe, for vs. But the tryall of Faith, is, by finding what we will doe for God. To trust him for estate, when we haue the Evidences in our Iron Chest, is easie, and not thanke-worthy. But to depend vpon him, for what we cannot see; As 'tis more hard for Man to doe; So 'tis more acceptable to God, if it bee done. For, in that act, we make confession of his Deity. Wee know not in the flowes of our contentednesse, what wee our selues are; or, how wee could neglect our selues, to follow God, commanding vs. All men will be Peters, in their bragging tongue; and most men will be Peters, in their base denyall. But few men will be Peters, in their quicke repentance.2 When wee are well, wee sweare wee will not leaue him, in our greatest sickness:

but when our sickness comes, wee forget our vowes; and stay. When we meet with blows, that will force vs, either to let goe our hold of God, or our selues, Then wee see to which, our soules will cleaue the fastest. And, of this tryall, excellent is the use, wee may make. If wee find our Faith vpon the Test, firm; it will be vnto vs, a perpetuall banquet. If we find it dastardly starting aside, knowing the weaknesse, we may strie to sinew it, with a stronger nerue. So that it euer is, either the assurance of our happinesse, or the way, whereby wee may finde it. Without this confidence in a Power that is alwaies able to ayde vs, we wander, both in trouble and doubt. Infidelitie is the cause of all our woes, the ground of all our sinnes. Not trusting God, we discontent our selues with feares and solicitations: and to cure these, wee runne into prohibited paths. Unworthy earthen wormes: that canst thinke God of so vn-noble a nature, as that hee will suffer such to want, as with a dutifull endeuour doe depend vpon him. It is not usuall with Man, to bee so base. And canst thou beleeue, that that most heroicall and omnipotent infinitenesse of his, will abridge a Follower of such poore toyes, as the accoutrements of this life are? Can a Deitie be inhumane? Or can he that graspes the vn-emptied proovisions of the World in his hand, be a niggard to his Sonnes, vnlesse hee sees it for their good and benefit? Nay, could' st thou that readest this, whatsoever thou are, if thou had'st but a Sareptan Widdowes
Cruse of Gold,\(^3\) could'st thou let a diligent and affectionate Servant, that euer waited on thee, want necessaries? Could'st thou endure to see him shamed in disgracing raggs; nip't to a benumbing, with the Icy thumbs of Winter; complaining for want of sustenance; or neglected in the times of sickness? I appeale to thy inward and more noble acknowledgement; I know, thou couldst not. O perverse thought, of per-peruerted man! and wilt thou yet imagine, thou canst want such things as these, from so unbounded a bountie as his is? Serue him, and but beleue, and vpon my soule, hee will neuer faile thee, for what is most conuenient. O my God! my Refuge, my Altar, and my soules Anchor: I begge that I may but serue thee, and depend upon thee: I need not begge supply: To the other two, thou giuest that without asking. Thou knowest, for my selfe, my soules wishes are not for a vast abundance. If euer I should wish a plenty, it should be for my friends, not me. I care not to abound in abounding: and I am perswaded, I shall neuer want; not necessaries, not conveniences. Let me finde my heart dutifull, and my faith vpon tryall stedfast: and I am sure these will bee ground enough for sufficient happinesse, while I liue heere.

L. 12. That a wise man may gaine by any company.

AS there is no Booke so poorely furnished, out of which a man may not gather something, for his benefit; so is there no company so sauagely bad, but a wise man may from it learne something to make himselfe better. Vice is of such a toady complexion, that shee cannot chuse but teach the soule to hate: So lothsome, when shee's seene in her owne vgly dresse: that, like a man falen in a pit before vs, she giues vs warning! to avoyd the danger. So admirably hath GOD disposed of the wayes of Man; that euens the sight of vice in others, is like a warning-Arrow, shot, for vs to take heed. When she thinkes by publishing of her selffe, to procure a traine; God, by his secret working, makes her turne her weapons against her selffe; and strongly pleade for her Aduersary, Vertue. Of which take Balaam for a type: who intending to curse the Israelites, had enforced blessings, put in his dissenting tongue.¹ Wee are wrought to good by contraries. Foule acts, keepe Vertue from the charmes of Vice, Sayes Horace,

—Thus my best Father taught
Mee, to flye Vice; by noting those were naught.

When he would charge me thriue, and sparing bee

¹Numbers 22-24.
Content, with what hee had prepar'd for mee:
See'st not how ill young Albus liues: how low
Poore Barrus? Sure, a weighty item, how
One spent his meanes. And when he meant to strike
A hate to Whores; To Sectan be not like.

--thus me a child

He with his Precepts fashion'd.--

--Insuevit Pater optimus hoc me,
Vt fugerem exemplis vitiorium quaeque notando.
Quum me hortareur parcè, frugaliter, atque
Viverem uti contentus eo, quod mi, ipse parasset:
Nonne vides, Albi vt malè viuat, filius? utque
Barrus inops? Magnum documentum, ne patriam rem
Perdere quis velit. A turpi meretricis amore
Quum deterreret, Sectani dissimilis sis.

--Sic me

Formabat puerum dictis.--

I confesse, I doe not learne to correct faults in my selfe, by any thing more, then by seeing how vncomely they appeare in others. Who can but thinke what a nastie Beast he is in his drunkennesse, that hath seene how noysome it hath made another: how like a nated\(^3\) Sop, spunged, euen to

\(^2\)Satires, I, iv, 105-114.

\(^3\)Born, bred, framed of nature. The OED cites this as the first recorded usage.
the cracking of a skinne? Who will not abhor a chollerike passion, and a sawcie pride in himselfe; that sees how ridiculous and contemptible they render those, that are infested with them: why should I be so besottedly blinde, as to beleue, others should not spye those vices in mee, which I can see, when they doe disclose in them? Vertue and Vice, whensoever they come to act, are both margin'd with a pointing finger; but in the intent, the difference is much: when 'tis set against Vertue, it betokens then respect and worth: but against Vice, 'tis set in scorne, and for aversion. Though the bad man be the worse, for having Vice in his eye: yet the good man is the better, for all that he sees, is ill. 'Tis certaine, neither example, nor precept, (vnsesse it bee in matters wholly religious,) can be the absolure guides of the true wise man. 'Tis onely a knowing, and a practicall judgement of his owne, that can direct him in the maze of life: in the bustle of the world: in the twitches and the twirles of Fate. The other may helpe vs something in the generall: but cannot be sufficient in particulars. Mans life is like a State, still casuall in future. No man can leaue his Successor rules for seuerals; because hee knowes not how the times will bee. Hee that liues alwayes by Booke-rules, shall shew himselfe affected, and a Poole. I will doe that which I see comely, (so it bee not dishonest) rather then what a graue Philosopher commands mee to the contrarie. I will take, what I see is fitly good,
from any: but I think there was never any one man, that
liuid to be a perfect guide of perfection. In many things,
I shall fall short: in some things, a I may go beyond him.
We feede not the body, with the foode of one dish onely:
nor does the sedulous Bee thyme all her thighs from one
Flowres single vertues. She takes the best from many: and
together, she makes them serve: not without working that to
honey, which she putrid Spider would convert to poison.
Thus should the wise man doe. But, even by this, hee may
better learn to love the good, then avoyd that which is
offensive. Those that are thoroughly arted in Navigation,
doe as well known the Coasts, as the Ocean, as well the
Flawes, the Sands, the Shallowes, and the Rockes; as the
secure depths, in the most unperillous Channell. So, I
think, those that are perfect men, (I speake of
perfection since the fall): must as well know bad, that they
may abtrude it; as the good, that they may embrace. And,
this knowledge we can neither have so cheape, or so
certaine, as by seeing in in others, with a pittifull
dislike. Surely, we shall know Vertue the better, by seeing
that, which is not shee. If wee could passe the World,
without meeting Vice: then, the knowledge of Vertue onely
were sufficient. But 'tis not possible to liue, and not
encounter her. Vice is as a God in this World: whither can

a something, 5.

4 Thrust away. The OED cites this as the first recorded usage.
we goe, to fly it: It hath an ubiquitie, and ruleth too.

I wish no man to know it, either by use, or by intrusion: but being unwittingly cast upon it, let him observe, for his owne more safe direction. Thou art happy, when thou mak'st another mans Vices steps for thee, to clime to Heauen by.

The wise Physician makes the poyson medicinable. Euen the mud of the World, by the industrious Hollander, is turned to an usefull fuell.\footnote{A reference drawn from Felltham's trip to the Low Countries sometime between 1623 and 1628.} If I light on good company, it shall either induce me to a new good, or confirme mee in my liked old. If I light on bad, I will, by considering their dull staines, either correct those faults I haue, or shunne those that I might haue. As the Mariner that hath sea-roome, can make any Wind serue, to set him forward, in his wished Voyage: so a wise man may take advantage from any company, to set himselfe forward to Vertues Region. Vice is subtle, and weaving, for her owne preferment: Why should not Vertue bee plotting for hers? It requires as much policy to grow good, as great. There is an innocential\footnote{Felltham seems to have originated this form of the word. OED.} prouidence, as well as the slynesse of a vulpine\footnote{This is the first use of the word cited in the OED.} craft.

There are vices to be displac'd; that would stop vs, in the way of our Rise. There are parties to be made on our side;
good Mementoes, to uphold vs when we are declining, through the private lifts of our unjust maligners. There is a King to be pleased; that may protect vs against the shocke of the enuiouis Plebeians: the reigning Humours of the Time, that pleade custome, and not reason. We must have Intelligencers abroad, to learne what practices, Sinnes (our Enemies) haue on foote against vs: and beware what Suites wee entertaine, lest wee dishonour our selues in their grant. Every good man is a Leiger here for Heauen: and he must bee wise and circumspect, to vaine\textsuperscript{8} the sleeke nauations\textsuperscript{9} of those, that would vndoe him. And, as those that are so for the Kingdomes of Earth, will gaine something from all Societies that they fall vpon: So, those that are for this higher Empire, may gather something beneficiall, from all that they shall converse with; either for preuention, or confirmation: either to strengthen themselues, or confound their opposers.

\textsuperscript{8}To frustrate. Fethlam seems to be the first to use the word as a verb. OED.

\textsuperscript{9}Contrivance, scheme, plan. This is the first use of the word cited in the OED.

L. 13. Of Man's unwillingnesse to dye.

What should make us all so unwilling to dye, when yet we know, till death, wee cannot bee accounted happy? Is it the sweetnesse we finde in this lifes solaces? Is thre
pleasure in the *lushious blood?* Is it the *horrouer*, or the *paine*, that doth in *Death* affright vs? Or, is it our *feare*, and doubt of what shall become of vs after? Or, is it the *guilt* of our mis-guided soules, already condemning vs, by the *pre-apprehension* of a *future punishment?* If I found *Death* terrible alike to all, I should thinke there were something more in *Death*; yea, and in *life* too, then yet we doe imagine. But, I finde one man can as willingly *dyue*, as another man can be willing to *dine*. Some, that can be gladly leaue *this World*, as the wise man, being old, can forbeare the *Court*. There are, to whom *Death* doth seeme no more then a *blood-letting:* and these, I finde, are of the sort of men, which we generally doe esteeme for *wise.*—

Every man, in the *Play* of this World, besides an *Actor*, is a *spectator* too: when 'tis *new begunne* with him, (that is, in *his youth*) it promiseth so much, that he is loath to *leaue* it: when it growes to the middle, the *Act* of *virilities*, then hee sees the *Scenes* grow thicke, and fill, hee would gladly understand the *end*: but, when that drawes neere, and he finde what that will bee; hee is then content to *depart*, and leaue his roome to *succeeders*. Nay, many times, while before this, he considers, that 'tis all as it were *dilusion*; and a *dreame*, and passeth away, as the *consumed dew*: or as the sound of a *Bell* that is *rung*. He then growes weary with *expectation*, and his *life* is

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1Cf. Montaigne's *Essays*, B.I., chap. xviii.—Smeaton.
entertain'd with a tedious dislike of itself. Oh the unsettled conceit of Man! that seeking after quiet, findes his unrest the more: that knowes neither what he is, nor what he shall bee! Wee are like men benighted in a Wildernesse: we wander in the tread of seuerall paths: we try one, and presently find another is more likely: we follow that, and meete with more, that crosse it: and while wee are distracted about these various ways, the fierce Beast, Death, devoures vs. I finde two sorts of men, that differ much in their conceptions that they hold of Death. One liues in a full joy heere: he sings, and reuels, and pleasants his spleene, as if his Harvest were perpetuall, and the whole World's face fashion'e, to a posture, laughing vpon him. And this man would doe any thing, rather then dye: whereby he tells vs, (though his tongue expresse it not) that he expects a worse estate heereafter. Another liues hardly heere, with a beauty heart, furrowing of a mournfull face: as if, like a Beast, he were yeaned into the World, onely to act a sad mans part, and dye: And this man seekes Death, and misses him; intimating, that hee expects a better condition by Death: for 'tis sure, Natura semper in meliorem tendit: Nature euer aimes a better,\(^2\) nor would shee wish a change, if she did not thinke it a benefit. Now, what doe these two tell vs: but that there is both a miserie and

joy attending Man, when hee is vanisht hence. The like is
shewed, by the good man, and the bad: one avoiding what the
other would wish; at least not resee, vpon offer. For, the
good man I must reckon with the wise; as one that equally can
dye, or liue. Hee knowes, while hee is heere, God will
protect him; and when hee goes hence, God will receive him.
I borrow it from the Father: Non ita vixi, ut me vixisse
pudeat: nec timeo mori, quis bonum habeo Dominum. I haue
not so liu'd, as I should be ashamed: not feare I to dye,
for God is mercifull. Certainly, we are never at quiet,
in any thing long, till we have conquered the fear of death.
Every spectacle of Mortality terrifies. Every casuall danger,
affrights vs. Into what a dumpe, did the fight of Cyrus
Tombe, strike the most Noble Alexander. It comes, like an
arrest of Treason in a iollity: blasts vs, like a
Lightning-flash, and like a Ring put into our Noses, checks
vs in the friskes and Lavaltoes, of our dancing blood.
Fear of death, kills vs often, when Death it selfe, can doe
it but once. I love therefore, the saying of the Dying
Emperour Iulian. Hee that would not dye when hee must, and
hee that would dye when hee must not, are both of them
Cowards alike. That which we know we must doe, once; why

3 Plutarch, "The Life of Alexander."

4 A lively dance for two, with much leaping.


6 Ammianus, XXV, 3, 19.
should we be afraid to do it at any time? What we cannot do till our time comes, why should we seek to do it before? I like the man that can dye willingly, whensoever God will have him dye; and that can live as willingly, whensoever God would have him not to dye. To fear Death much, argues an evil man; at best a man that is weak. How braue did Socrates appeare, when he told the Athenians, they could do nothing; but what Nature had ordain'd, before them, condemn him to dye? How unmovedly did he take his poison? and if he had beene drinking of a Glory to the Deity. How into what a trepidation of the souls, does fear decline the Coward? how it Downes the head in the intrembled bosom? But the Spanish Tragicke tells vs,

He that smiling can gaze on
Styx, and black-wau'd Acheron;
That dares braue his ruine; he
To Kings, to Gods, shall equall bee.

Qui vultus Acheronis atri,
Qui Styga tristem, non tristis videt,
Audetque vitae ponere finem,
Par ille Regi, par Superis erit.8

adrownes, 3-8. Tragedy, 5,7.

7cf. Plato, Apologia; also Xenophon, Memorabilia.—Smeaton. See also Diogenes Laertius, II, 34-35.

8Seneca, Agamemnon, 630-632. Felltham breaks three lines into four.
'Tis a fathers SENTENCE, Nihil est in morte quod metuamus, si nihil timendum, vita commisit: Death hath nothing terrible, but what our life hath made so. Hee that hath liu'd well, will bee seldome unwilling to dye. Death is much facilitated, by the vertues of a well led-life. To say the good man feares not God, I thinke may be good Divinity. Faith approaches Heauen with confidence. Aristippus told the Saylors, that wondred why hee was not, as well as they, afraid in the storme; that the oddes was much: for, they feared the torments due to a wicked life; and hee expected the rewards of a good one. Vice drawes death with a horrid looke, with a whip, and flames, and terrours. It was cold comfort Diogenes gaue a lewd liuer: that banisht, complain'd he should dye in a forraine soyle. Peace, foole (faith hee) whersoeuer thou art, the way to Hell is the same. I confesse, take a man, as Nature has

\[\text{Be of good cheere, man, } 3-8. \text{ whateoever, } 4-7.\]

I have not been able to identify this.

A disciple of Socrates, he founded the Cyrenaic School of Philosophy. Felltham has here confused two accounts of storms at sea reported in Diogenes Laertius. In the incident in which Aristippus was involved, the philosopher was very much frightened, and when the sailors chided him for it, he told them that he had a reason for his fear, since his life was more valuable than theirs. Diogenes Laertius, II, 71. The remark cited by Felltham was made by the philosopher Pyrrho during another storm at sea. When his fellow passengers became frightened, he told them that the wise man kept himself unperturbed. Diogenes Laertius, IX, 68.

Felltham's memory is faulty. The remark is attributed to the fifth century B. C. philosopher Anaxagoras. Diogenes Laertius, II, 11.
made him, and there is some reason why hee should feare Death: because he knowes not what it will do with him. What he findes here, he sees, and knowes; what he shall find after death: he knoweth not. And no man, but would rather continue in a moderate delight, which he knowes: then indure paine, to be delivered to incertainties. I would live, till God would have me dye: and then, I would doe it without either feare or grudging. It were a shame for mee, being a Christian, and believing Heauen, to be afraid of removing from Earth. In resolving thus, I shall triumph over other casualties. All things that we feare here, we feare as steps, that descend vs toward our graves, towards infamy, and deprivation. When we get the Victory over this great terror; all the small ones, are conquered in it. Great Cities once expugned, the Dorpes, and Villages, will soon come in of themselves.

*Cf. Quarles, Enchiridion, Cent. II. 84, 100; also Cent. IV. 37, 53.—Smeaton.

L. 14. Of the worship of Admiration.

Whatsoever is rare, and passionate, carries the soule to the thought of Eternitie. And, by contemplation, gives it some glimpses of more absolute perfection, then here 'tis capable of. When I see the Royaltie of a State-show, at some unwonted solemnity, my thoughts present me something, more
royall then this. When I see the most enchanting beauties, that Earth can shew mee; I yet thinke, there is something farre more glorious: mee thinke I see a kind of higher perfection, peeping through the frailty of a face. When I heare the ravishing straines, of a sweet-tuned voyce, married to the warbles, to the Artfull Instrument; I apprehend by this, a higher Diapason: and doe almost beleive, I heare a little Deity whispering, through the pory substance of the tongue. But, this I can but grope after. I can neither finde, nor say, what it is. When I reade a rarely sententious man, I admire him, to my owne impatiency. I cannot reade some parts of Seneca, aboue two Leaues together. He raises my soule to a contemplation, which sets me a thinking, on more, then I can imagine. So I am forced to cast him by, and subside to an admiration. Such effects workes Poetry, when it lookes to towring Vertues. It giues vp a man to raptures; and inradiates the soule, with such high apprehensions: that all the Glories, which this World hath, hereby appeare, contemptible. Of which the soft-soul'd Ovid giues a touch, when he complains the want

\[ \text{Impetus ille sacer, qui vatum pectora nutrit,} \]
\[ \text{Qui prius in nobis esse solebat, abest.}\]

\(^1\text{Cf. Sir Philip Sidney, Defence of Poesie.--Smeaton.}\)

\(^2\text{Epistolarum ex Ponto, IV, ii, 25-26.}\)
That Sacred vigor, which had wont, alone,
To flame the Poets noble brest, is gone.

But this is, when these excellencies incline to gravity, and seriousness. For otherwise, light aires turne vs into sprightfull actions; which breathe away in a loose laughter, not leauing halfe that impression behind them, which serious considerations doe. As if Mirth were the excellency for the body, and meditation for the soule. As if one were, for the contentment of this life; and the other, eying to that of the life to come. All Indeouours aspire to Eminency; All Eminencies doe beget an Admiration. And, this makes mee beleue, that contemplative admiration, is a large part of the worship of the Deity. 'Tis an adoration, purely, of the Spirit; a more sublime bowing of the soule to the Godhead. And this is it, which that Homer of Philosophers avowed, could bring a man to perfect happinesse, if to his Contemplation, he ioyned a constant Imitation of God, in Justice, Wisdome, Holinesse. Nothing can carry vs so neere to God, and Heauen, as this. The mind can walke, beyond the sight of the eye; and (though in a cloud) can lift vs into Heauen, while wee liue. Meditation is the soules Perspective glasse: where by, in her long remoue, shee discerneth God, as if hee were neerer hand. I perswade no

\[^a\text{of, 5,7.} \quad ^b\text{his, 8.}\]

\[^3\text{The reference is probably to Socrates.}\]
man to make it his whole life's business. We have bodies, as well as souls. And even this world, while we are in it, ought somewhat to be cared for. As those states are likely to flourish, where execution followes sound advisements: So is Man, when contemplation is seconded by action. Contemplation generates; action propagates. Without the first, the latter is defective. Without the last, the first is but abortive, and embrious. Saint Bernard compares contemplation to Rachel, which was the more faire; but action to Leah, which was the more fruitfull. I will neither alwayes be busie, and doing: nor ever shut up in nothing but thoughts. Yet, that which some would call Idleness, I will call the sweetest part of my life: and that is, my Thinking. Surely, God made so many varieties in his Creatures, as well for the inward soule, as the outward senses; though he made them primarily, for his own Free-will, and Glory. He was a Monke of an honester age, that being asked how he could indure that life, without the pleasures of bookes, answered: The Nature of the Creature was his Library: wherein, when he pleased, he could muse upon God's deep Oracles.

^St. Bernard of Clairvaux, twelfth-century mystic. An account of the two women is in Genesis 29:31-35.
L. 15. Of Fame.

IT may seeme strange, that the whole world of men, should be carried on with an earnest desire of a noble fame, and memory after their deaths: when yet we know it is not Materiall, to our well, or ill being, what censures passe vpon vs. The tongues of the liuing, availe nothing, to the good, or hurt, of those that lye in their graves. They can neither adde to their pleasure, nor yet diminish their torment, if they find any. My account must passe vpon mine owne actions, not vpon the reports of others. In vaine men labour'd, to approue themselues to goodnesse, if the Palaces which Vertue teares, could be vnbuilt, by the taxes of a wounding tongue. False-witnesses can neuer find admission where the God of Heauen sits judging. There is no Common Law in the New Jerusalem. There Truth will be receiued, though either Plaintiff, or Defendant, speakes it. Heere, we may article against a man, by a common fame: and by the frothy buzze of the World, cast away the blood of Innocents. By Heauen proceeds not after such incertainties. The single man shall be beleued in truth, before all the humming of successive Ages. What will become of many of our Lawyers, when not an Advocate, but Truth, shall be admitted? Fame, shall there be excluded, as a lying witesse: though heere,

there is nothing which we do possess, which we reckon of an equal value. Our wealth, our pleasure, our lives, will not all hold weight against it, when this comes in competition. Nay, when we are circled round with calamities, our confidence in this, like a constant friend, takes us by the hand, and cheers us, against all our miseries. When Philip ask't Democritus, if he did not fear to lose his head, he answer'd no; for if he did, the Athenians would give him one immortal. He should be Statued, in the treasury of eternal fame. See if it were not Ovid's comforter, in his banishment:

---- Nil non mortale tenemus,
Pectoris exceptis, ingenii que bonis.
En ego, cum patria, carcam, vobisque, domoque;
Raptaque; sint, adimi que potuere mihi.
Ingenio tamen ipse meo comitorque;
Cesar, in hoc potuit Iuris habere nihil.
Quilibet hanc saevo vitam, mihi finiet ense:
Me tamen extincto, fama perennis erit.

\(^2\)Democritus (B. C. 469-361).--Called the Laughing Philosopher because he ridiculed everything. He died at the age of 109. He was the author of the Atomic Theory.--Smeaton. Democritus was so well loved that his fellow citizens honored him, with money and even with statues. He was one of the many prominent Athenians who were against Philip of Macedonia, whom they considered a barbarian.

\(^3\)Tristium, III, vii, 43-50.
All that we hold will die,
But our braue thoughts, and Ingenuity.
Euen I that want my country, house, and Friend:
From whom is rauisht, all that Fate can rend;
Fossesse yet my own Genius, and injoy
That which is more, then Caesar can destroy.
Each Groome may kill me: but whens'ere I die,
My Fame shall liue to mate Eternity.

Plutarch tells vs of a poore Indian, that would rather
endure a **dooming to death**, then **shoot** before Alexander, when
he had **discontinued**; lest by **shooting** ill, he should marre
the **Fame** he had gotten. Doubtlesse, euen in this, **Man** is
ordered by a **power** above him; which hath **instincted** in the
**mindes** of all men, an ardent **appetition** of a lasting **Fame**.
Desire of **Glory**, is the last **garment**, that, euen **wise men**,
lay aside. For this, you may trust Tacitus, **Etiam Sapientibus**,
**Cupido gloriae, novissima exuitur**.⁴ Not, that it **betters**
himselfe, being **gone**. But that it **stirs vp**, those that
**follow** him, to an **earnest endeouour**, of **Noble Actions**; which
is the onely meanses, to winne the **fame** wee wish for.
Themistocles, that **streamed** out of his **youth**, in **Wine**, and
**Venery**; and was sodainely **changed**, to a **vertuous**, and
**valiant** man; told one, that ask'd what did so **strangely change**

⁴*Histories*, IV, 6.
him: that The Trophie of Miltiades, would not let him sleep. Tamberlaine made it his practice, to reade often the Heroike deeds, of his own Progenitors: not as boasting in them: but as glorious examples propounded, to infire his Vertues. Surely, nothing awakes our sleeping vertues, like the Noble Acts of our Predecessors. They are flaming Beacons, that Fame, and Time, haue set on Hills, to call vs to a defence of Vertue; whensoever Vice, invades the Common-wealth of Man. Who can indure to skulke away his life in an idle corner, when hee has meanes, and findes, how Fame has blowne about deserning-names? Worth begets in weake and base mindes, Enuie: but in those that are magnanimous, Emulation. Romane vertue, made Roman vertues, lasting. Braue men neuer dye; but like the Phoenix: From whose preserved ashes, one, or other, still doth spring vp, like them. How many valiant soouldiers, does a generous Leader

5Themistocles became one of the most famous warrior-statesmen of Athens in the fifth century B. C. Miltiades was the hero of Marathon. See Plutarch, "The Life of Themistocles."

6Tamburlaine was a Scythian shepherd who, in the late fourteenth century, conquered most of western and southern Asia. Felltham's probable source is Thomas Fortesque, The Forest (1571, 1576), a translation from the Spanish of Pedro Mexia, Silva de Varia Leccion.

7Cf. Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, II, ii, 31.—Smeaton.

8The pheonix, a mythical bird of Arabia, lived 500 years. When time came for it to die, the bird built itself a funeral pyre of spices and aromatic woods and set fire to itself. From its ashes a new phoenix sprang up immediately.
make: Brutus, and Brutus,\textsuperscript{9} bred many constant Patriots. 

Fame, I confesse, I finde more eagerly pursued by the Heathen, then by the Christians of these times. The Immortality (as they thought) of their name, was to them, as the Immortality of the soul to vs: A strong Reason, to perswade to worthinesse. Their knowledge halted in the latter; so they rested in the first. Which often made them sacrifice their liues to that, which they esteem'd aboue their liues; their Fame. Christians know a thing beyond it: And, that knowledge, causes them to giue but a secondary respect to Fame; there being no reason, why wee should neglect that, whereon all our future happinesse depends, for that, which is nothing but a name, and empty ayre. Vertue were a kinde of misery, if Fame onely, were all the Garland, that did crowne her. Glory alone were a reward incompetent, for the toyles of industrious Man. This followes him but on Earth, in Heaven is laid vp, a more Noble, more\textsuperscript{a} Essentiall recompence. Yet because 'tis a fruit that springs from good actions, I must thinke he that loues that, loueth also, that which causeth it, worthinesse. In others; I will honour the Fame, for the desiring deeds which caused it. In my selfe; I will respect 

\textsuperscript{9} There are many men with the name Brutus in Roman history. Perhaps Felltham means two here: Junius Brutus, consul of Rome in the infancy of the republic (elected 509 B. C.); and Junius Brutus Albinus, one of the assassins of Caesar. See the first part of Plutarch, "The Life of Brutus."
the Actions, that may merit it. And, though for mine owne benefit, I will not much seeke it: yet, I shall be glad if it may follow mee, to incite others; that they may goe beyond mee; I will, if I can, tread the Path which leades to't. If I find it, I shall thinke it a blessing: if not, my endeaour will be enough, for discharging my selfe within; though I misse it. God is not bound to reward me any way; if hee accepts mee, I may count it a Mercy. The other I will not looke for. I like him, that does things that deserve a Fame, without either search, or caring for it. Christ, after many miraculous cures, injoyng his patients silence; perhaps, to checke the world, for the too-too violent quest, of this vacuum. For a meane Man to thirst for a mighty fame, is a kind of fond Ambition. Can wee thinke a Mouse can cast a shadow, like an Elephant? Can the Sparrow looke for a traine, like the Eagle? Great Fames are for Princes; and such as for their parts, are the Glories of Humanity. Good ones may crowne the private. The same fire may be in waxen taper, which is in the staued Torch, but 'tis not equall either in quantity, or advancement. Let the world speake well of mee, and I will neuer care, though it does not speake much. Checke thy selfe, thou Ayre-monger: that with a madding thought, thus chasest fleeting shadowes. Loue substances, and rest thy selfe content, with what Boetius tels: thee,

10 Mark 1:40-44.
He that thirsts for Glories prize,
Thinking that, the top of all:
Let him view th'expansed skies,
and the Earth's contracted Ball.
Hee'l be asham'd then, that the name he wanne,
Fils not the short walke, of one healthfull man.


Variety, in any thing, distracteth the minde; and leaues it waving in a dubious trouble: and then, how easie is it to sway the mind to either side: But, among all the diversities that we meet with, none troubles vs more, then those that are of Religion. 'Tis rare to find two Kingdomes one; as if every Nation had (if nit a God, yet at least) a way to God by it selve. This stumbles the unsettled soule; that not knowing which way to take, without the danger of erring, stickes to none: so dyes, ere he does that, for which
he was made to live: the Service of the true Almighty. We are borne as Men set downe in the midd' st of a Wood; circled round with severall voyces calling vs. At first, wee see not which will lead us the right way out; so diuided in our selues, we sit still, and follow none; remaining blind in a flat Atheisme, which strikes deep at the foundation, both of our owne, and the whole World's happiness. 'Tis true, if we let our dimmed understanding search in these varieties (which yet is the onely means, that we have in our selues, to doe it with) we shall certainly lose our selues in their windings; there being in every of them something to believe, above that reason which leads vs to the search. Reason giveth vs the Anatomy of things, and illustrates with a great deale of plainness, all the waves that she goes: but her line is too short, to reach the depths of Religion. Religion carries a confutation along with it: and with a high hand of Soueraignty, Awes the inquisitive tongue of Nature; and when she would sometimes murmur privately, she will not let her speake. Reason, like a milde Prince, is content to shew his Subjects the causes of his commands, and rule. Religion, with a higher straine of Maiestie, bids doe it, without inquiring further then the bare command; which, without doubt, is a means of procuring mighty reverence. What wee know not, wee reverently admire; what we doe know, is in sort subject to the triumphes of the soule, that hath discovered it. And, this not knowing, makes vs not able to
iudge. Every one tells us, his own is the truest: and there is none, I think, but hath beene seal'd with the blood of some. Nor can I see, how we may more then probably, prooue any: they being all set in such heights, as they are not subject to the demonstrations of Reason. And as we may easier say what a soule is not, then what it is: so we may more easily disprooue a Religion, for false, then prooue it, for one that is true: There being in the world, farre more error, then Truth. Yet is there besides, another misery, neere as great as this; and that is, that we cannot be our owne chusers: but must take it vpon trust, from others. And we not oft before we can descerne the true, brought vp and grounded in the false, sucking in Heresie, with our milke in childhood? Nay, when wee come to yeerors of abler judgement, wherein the Mind is growne vp compleat Man: wee examine not the soundnesse; but retaine it meerely, because our fathers taught it vs. What a lamentable weakness is this in Man, that he should build his Eternall welfare, on the approbation, of perhaps a weake, and ignorant Parent? Oh! why is our neglect the most, in that, wherein our care should be greatest? How few are there which fulfill that Precept of trying all things, and taking the best. Assuredly, though Faith bee aboue Reason, yet is there a reason to be giuen of our Faith. He is a foole that beleuues he knowes neither what, nor why. Among all the Diversities of Religion, that the world holds, I thinke, it may stand with most safety, to
take that, which makes most for God's Glory, and Mans quiet. I confesse, in all the Treatises of Religion that I euer saw; I finde none that I should so soone follow, as that of the Church of England. I neuer found so sound a Foundation, so sure a direction for Religion: as the Song of the Angels, at the Birth of Christ. Glory be to God on high.¹ There is the Honour, the reverend Obedience, and the Admiration, and the Adoration, which wee ought to giue him. On earth Peace. This is the effect of the former: working in the hearts of Men, whereby the world appeares in his noblest beauty, being an entire chaine of intermutuall amity. And good will toward men. This is God's Mercy, to reconcile Man to himselfe, after his fearefull dissertation of his Maker. Search all Religions the world thorow, and you will find none that ascribes so much to God, Nor that constitutes so firme a loue among men, as does the establisht Doctrine of the Protestant Church among vs. All other either detract from GOD: Or infringe the Peace of Men. The Iewes in their Talmud say, before God made this, hee made many other worlds, and marr'd them againe: to keepe himselfe from Idlenesse. The Turkes in their Alchoran bring him in, discoursing with the Angels, and they telling him, of things which before he knew not: and after, they make him sweare by Mohamets Pen, and Lines; and by Pigges, and Oliues. The Papists pourtray

him as an old Man: and by this means, disdeifie\textsuperscript{2} him, derogating also from his Royalty, by their odious interposing of merit. And for the Society of men; what bloody Tenents doe they all hold? as, That hee deserues not the name of Rabbi, that hates not his enemie to the death. That 'tis no sinne to reuenge injuries: That 'tis meritorious to kill a Heretike, with whom no Faith is to be kept: Euen to the vngluing of the whole worlds Frame; Contexted onely, by Commerce, and Contracts. What abhorred barbarismes did Selymus leaue in Precept, to his Successor Solyman? which, though I am not certaine they were ratified, by their Mufties; I am sure, are practized by the Inheritors of his Empire. By this Taste, learne to detest them all.

\textit{Ne putes esse nefas, cognatum haurire cruorem:}
\textit{Et nece fratema, constabilire Domum:}
\textit{Iura, Fides, Pietas, regni dum nemo supersit}
\textit{Aemulus, baud turbent religione animum.}
\textit{Hoece ratio est, que sola queat, regale tueri}
\textit{Nomen, sc. expertem te sinit esse metus.}\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{2}The \textit{OED} lists this as the only use of the word.

\textsuperscript{3}Selymus, Solyman: Father and son, both Sultans of Turkey. Selimus or Selim, son of Bejazet II., born in 1467, dethroned his father 1512, and caused his parents, brothers and nephews to be slaughtered. In 1517 he conquered the Mameluke rulers of Egypt, annexing that country, Syria and the Hejaz. He also won from the Abbaside Caliph then living as a spiritual prince at Cairo, the headship of the Moslem World, the title of Imaum, the Standard of the Prophet and the Sacred Cities of Mecca and Medina. He was a great administrator as well as a great warrior, and was also not
Thinke not thy kinreds murther ill, 'tis none:
By thy slaine brothers, to secure thy Throne.
Law, Faith, Religion, while no Riuals aime,
Thy ruine, may be practiz'd, else they maime.
This is the way, how kingly names may be
Insaf't, and from distractive terrors, free.

In other Religions, the Heathen, what fond Opinions
haue they held of their Gods? reuiling with vnseemely
threats, when their affaires haue thwarted them. As if
allowing them the name, they would conserve the Numen\(^4\) to
themselves. In their sacrifices, how Butcherly cruell? as
if (as 'tis said of them) they thought by inhumanity, to
appease the wrath of an offended Deity. The Religion which
we now professe, establisheth all in another straine. What
makes more for Gods Glory, what makes more for the mutuall

only a lover of letters but a poet. Dying in 1520, he was
succeeded by his son Soliman, the Magnificent, the greatest
of the Ottoman Sultans. The latter was born in 1496, and
succeeded his father when only twenty-four. He conquered
Hungary, Persia, Armenia, Northern Africa, and Morocco; was
also renowned as an administrator, and was a munificent
patron of arts and letters. He died in 1566, shortly after
receiving a severe reverse at Valetta from the Knights of
St. John.—Smeaton. Felltham got his information about
Selymus and Solyman from Richard Knolles, The Generall
Historie of the Turkes (London: A. Islip, 1603). The Latin
precept is on p. 562. Knolles supplies an English translation
on p. 563, using about twice as many words as the Latin uses.
Felltham, in keeping with his theory of translation ("To the
Readers," above, p. 157), renders it in English one for one.

\(^4\)Diety, divinity. The OED cites this as the word's
first use.
love of Man, then The Gospell? And our Abilities of good, wee offer to God, as the Fountaine from whence they stream. Can the day bee light, and that light not come from the Sunne? Can a Clocke goe, without a weight to moue it, or a Keeper to set it: As for Man: it teaches him to tread on cottons, mild's his wilder temper: and learnes him in his patience, to affect his enemies. And for that which doth partake on both: it makes just God, a friend to vnjust Man, without being vnjust, either to himselfe, or Man. Sure, it could be no other, then the Invention of a Deitie, to finde out a way, how Man, that had justly made himselfe unhappy, should, with a full satisfaction to exactest Justice, be made againe most happy. I would wish no man that is able to try, to take his Religion upon others words: but once resolued in it, 'tis dangerous to neglect, where wee know wee do: owe a Service.

Dii multa neglecti dederunt,
Hesperiae mala Luduosa. 5

God neglected, plenteously
Plagued mournfull Italy.

And this, before Horace his time, when God is neglected of Man: Man shall bee contemned of God. When Man abridgeth God of his honour: God will shorten Man of his happinesse. It cannot but be best, to giue all to him, of whom whatsoever

5 Horace, Carmina, 3, 6, 7-8.
wee haue, we hold. I beleeeue it safest to take that
Religion, which most magnifies God, and makes most, for the
peaceable Conversation of Men. For, as wee cannot ascribe
too much to him, to whom wee owe more then wee can ascribe:
so, I thinke the most splendid estate of Man, is that, which
comes neerest to his first Creation; wherein, all things
wrought together, in the pleasant embracements of mutuall
love, and concord.

L. 17. Of Petitions and Denyals.

Denyals in Sutes, are Reprehensions, to him that asketh.
Wee seeme thereby to tell him, that he craues That, which is
not convenient; so erres from that station, he should rest
in. In our demands, we uncover our owne desires; in the
answers wee receive, we gather how we are affected. Beware
what thou askest; and beware what thou denyest. For if
discretion guide thee not, there is a great deale of danger
in both. We often, by one request, open the windowes of our
heart wider, then all the indeauours of our observers can.
'Tis like giuing of a man our hand in the darke; which
directs him better where wee are, then either our voyce, or
his owne search may. If we giue repulses, wee are presently
held in suspition; and inssearched for the cause: which, if
it bee found trenching on discourtesie; Loue dyes, and
Revenge springs from the ashes. To a friend therefore, a
man never ought to give a rough denyall: but always, either
to grant him his request, or an able Reason why we condiscend not; by no means suffering him to go away unsatisfied: For that, ever leaves fire, to kindle a succeeding iarre. Deny not a just suit; nor preferre thou one, that is unjust. Either, to a wise-man, stamps unkindnesse in the memory. I confesse, to a generous spirit, as 'tis hard to beg; so 'tis harsh, to be denied. To such, let thy grant be free, for they will neither begge injurious favours; not be importunate; and when thou beest to receive of such, grate not too much on a yeelding Friend: though thou maist haue thy wish for the present, thou shalt perhaps be a loser in the sequell. Those that are readily daunted upon a repulse, I would wish first to try by circumstances, what may be the speede of their suit. 'Tis easier to beare collected unkindnesse, then that which we meete in affronts: the one we may wrap to death in a still silence: the other we must, for honours sake, take notice on. For this cause, twill be best, neuer to propound any thing, which carries not with it, a probabilitie of obtaining. Negat sibi ipsi, qui quod fieri non potest, petit: When we aske what is not likely to be had, before we aske, wee giue our selues the denyall. Ill Questions are the mints for worser Answers. Our refusall is deseruedly, while our demands are either undefitting, or beyond the expediency of him that should grant. Nor ought wee to bee offended with any but our
selues, when wee haue in such requests, transgressed the bounds of modesty: though in some I haue knowne the denyall of one fauour, drowning the memory of many fore-performed ones. To thinke ill of any man, for not giuing mee that, which hee needs\(^a\) not, is Injustice: but for that, to blot out former benefits, is Extreme ingratitude. The good mans thankes for old fauours, liue, euen in the blowes of iniurie. Why should a diswonted vnkindnesse make me ingrate for wonted benefits? I like not those dispositions, that can either make vnkindnesses, and remember them: or vnmake fauours, and forget them. For all the fauours I receiue, I will be thankfull, though I meete with a stop. The failing of one, shall not make me neglectfull of many: no, not though I finde vp braiding: which yet hath this effect, that it makes that an iniury, which was before a benefit. Why should I, for the abortion of one childe, kill all the elder issue? Those fauours that I can doe, I will not doe for thanks, but for Noblenesse, for Loue; and that with a free expression. Grumbling with a benefit, like a hoarse voice, marres the musicke of the song: Yet, as I will doe none for thankes, so I will receive none without paying them. For Petitions to others, I will neuer put vp Vndecent ones; nor will I, if I fail in\(^b\) those, either vex my selfe, or distaste too much the denyer. Why should I thinke he does me an iniurie, when he onely but keepes his owne? I like

\(^a\)need, 6.  
\(^b\)of, 5-7.
Poedaretus his mirth well, who when he could not be admitted for one of the 300 among the Spartans, went away laughing, and said, He was heartily glad that the Republique had 300 better men then himselfe.¹ I will neither importune too much upon unwilling mindes; nor will I be slow in yeelding, what I meane to giue. For the first, with Quid,

Et pudet, &c. metuo, semperque eademque; precari.

Ne subeant animo taedia iusta tuo.²

I shall both feare and shame, too oft to pray,

Lest urged minds to just disdain’d giue way:

For the other, I am confident, Ausonius giues good counsell, with perswading reasons:

Si bene quid facias, facias citò: nam citò factum,

Gratum erit; ingrateum, gratia tarda facit:³

Dispatch thy purpos’d good: quicke courteous deedes

Cause thankes: slow fauour, men vnthankfull breeds.

¹A Spartan of the fifth century B. C. His story is in Thucydides, VIII.

²Epistolarum ex Ponto, IV, xv, 29-30.

³Ausonius was a Christian poet of the fourth century. This couplet comprises all of Epigrammata LXXXIII.
L. 18. Of Pouertie.

The Pouertie of the poore man, is the least part of his miserie. In all the stormes of Fortune, he is the first that must stand the shocke of extremitie. Poore men are perpetuall Sentinels, watching in the depth of night, against the incessant assaults of want; while the rich lye stoue'd in secure repoeses: and compass'd with a large abundance. If the Land be russetted with a bloudlesse Famine; are not the poore the first that sacrifice their lives to Hunger? If Warre thunders in the trembling Countries lap; are not the poore those that are exposed to the Enemies Sword and outrage? If the Plague, like a loaded spunge, flyes, sprinkling poyson thorow a populous Kingdome; the poore are the fruite that are shaken from the burthen'd Tree: while the rich, furnisht with the helpes of Fortune, have means to wind out themselues, and turne these sad indurances on the poore, that cannot avoyd them. Like salt marshes, that lye low; they are sure, whensoeuer the Sea of this World rages, to be first vnder, and imbarren'd with a fretting care. Who like the poore, are harrowed with oppression, euer subject to the imperious taxes, and the gripes of mightinesse? Continuall care checks the spirit: continuall labour checks the body: and continuall insultation, both. Hee is like one rowled in a Vessell full of Pikes; which way soeuer hee turnes, he something findes that prickes him.
Yet besides all these, there is another transcendent misery: and this is, that it maketh men contemptible.

Nil habet infoelix, &c.¹

Unhappy want hath nothing harder in it,
Then that it makes men scorn'd.--

As if the poore man were but Fortunes dwarfe; made lower then the rest of men, to bee laughed at. The Philosopher (though he were the same minde, and the same man) in his squallid rags, could not finde admission, when better robes procured both an open doore, and reuerence. Though outward things can adde nothing to our essentiall worth: yet, when we are iudged on, by the helpe of others outward senses, they much conduce to our value, or dis-esteeme. A Diamond set in brasse, would be taken for a Chrystall, though it bee not so, whereas a Christall set in gold, will by many bee thought a Diamond. A poore man wise, shall bee thought a foole; though hee haue nothing to condemne him, but his being poore: The complaint is as old as Salomon: The Wisdome of the poore is despised; and his words not heard.²

Pouertie is a gulfe, wherein all good parts are swallowed. Poore men, though wise, are but like Sattens without a glosse; which every man will refuse to looke vpon.

²Ecclesiastes 9:16.
Pouertie is a reproach, which cloudes the lustre of the purest vertue. It turns the wise man fool, to humour him that is a fool. Good parts in pouertie, shew like beautie after sickness; pallid and pulingly deadish. And if all these calamities bee but attendants, what may wee judge that she is in her-self? Undoubtedly, whatsoeuer we preach of Contentednesse in want; no precepts can so gaine vpon Nature, as to make her a non-sensitiue. 'Tis impossible to finde content in gnawing penurie. Lacke of things necessarie, like a beaute loade, and an ill saddle, is perpetually wringing of the backe that beares it. Extreme pouertie one calls a Lanthorne, that lights vs to all miseries. And without doubt, when 'tis vrgent and imporuntate, it is euer chafing, vpon the very heart of nature. What pleasure can hee haue in life, whose whole life is griped by some or other misfortune? liuing no time free, but that, wherein he does not liue, his sleepe. His minde is euer at iarre, either with desire, feare, care, or sorrow: his appetite vnappeasedly crauing supply of foode, for his body, which is either nummed with cold, in idlenesse; or stew'd in sweat, with labour: nor can it be, but it will imbase euen the purest metall in Man: it will Alchimy the gold of vertue, and mixe it with more dull Allay. It will make a man submit

3Cf. Johnson, London, 1. 176.—Smeaton. The Johnson line in question is the one beginning "Slow rises worth. . . ." There is too little verbal parallel for us to suppose that Felltham's sentence influenced Johnson's poem.
to those course ways, which another estate would scorne: nay, it will not suffer the soule to exercise that generous freedome, which equall nature ha's given it; but hales it to such low vndecencies, as pull disdaine vpon it. Counsell and discretion, either quite leaue a man; or else are so limited, by vnresistable necessitie, as they lose the brightnesse that they vse to shine withall.

Crede mihi, miserum, prudentia prima reliquit,
Et sensus cum re, consiliumque fugit.4

Beleeue it, Wisedome leaues the man distrest:
With wealth, both wit and Counsell quits the brest.

Certainly, extreme pouertie, is worse then Abundance. Wee may bee good in Plenty, if we will: in biting Penuire we cannot, though wee would. In one, the danger is casuall: in the other, 'tis necessitating. The best is that which partakes of both, and consists of neither. Hee that hath too little, wants feathers to flye withall. Hee that hath too much, is but cumbred with too large a Taile. If a flood of Wealth could profit vs, it would be good to swimme in such a Sea: but it can neither lengthen our liues, nor inrich vs after the end. I am pleased with that Epigram, which is so like Diogenes, that it makes him bite in his graue:

4Ovid, Epistolarum ex Ponto, IV, xii, 47-58.
Effigiem, Rex Croese, tuam dittissime regum,
Vidit apud manes, Diogenes Cynicus:
Constitit; vtque procul, solito maiore cachinno
Concussus, dixit: Quid tibi diuitie
Nunc prosunt, Regum Rex ô dittissime, cûm sis
Sicut ego solus, me quoque pauperior?
Nam quoecunque habui, mecum fero, çûn nibil ipse
Ex tantis tecum, Croese, feras opibus: 5

When the Tubb'd Cynicke went to Hell, and there
Found the pale Ghost of golden Croesus bare,
Hee stops, and geering till he shuggsa againe,
Sayes; O thou richest King of Kings, what gaine
Haue all thy large heapes brought thee, since I spy
Tee heere alone, and poorer now then I?
For, all I had, I with me bring: but thou,
Of all thy wealth, hast not one farthing now.

Of what little vse does hee make the mines of this same
opulent man? Surely, Estates bee then best, when they are
likest mindes that bee worst: I meane, neither hot, nor
cold: neither distended with too much, nor narrowly pent,
with too little: yet neerer to a plenty then want. We may
be at ease in a Roome larger then our selues: in a Roome
that is lesse, wee can-not. We neede not vse more then will

ashruggs, 8.
1 Ausonius, Epigrammata, LIV.
serue; but wee cannot vse lesse. We see all things grow
violent, and struggle, when we would imprison them in any
thing lesse then themselues. Fire, shut vp, is furious.
Exhalations included, breake out with Thunder. Water,
compressed, spurteth thorow the stretched strainer. 'Tis
harder to contract many graines into one, then to cause many
spring out of one. Where the channell is too little for
the floud, who can wonder at the ouerflowing?

Quisquis inops peccat, minor est reus.

He is lesse guilty, that offends for want;

was the charity of Petronius Arbiter. There is not in the
world, such another obiect of pitty, as the pinched State;
which no man being secured from, I wonder at the Tyrants
braues, and contempt. Questionsesse, I will rather with
charity helpe him that is miserable, as I may bee; then
despise him that is poore, as I would not bee. They haue
flinty\(^b\) and steeled\(^c\) hearts, that can adde calamities to
him, that is already but one intirer\(^d\) Masse.

\(^b\)flinted, 5-7. \(^c\)steely, 5-7. \(^d\)intire, 8.

\(^6\)This is not among the extant fragments of Petronius
Arbiter, the luxurious author and "arbiter of elegance" to
the emperor Nero; but there are similar sentiments in the
Satyricon.
L. 19. Of the euill in man from himselfe, and occasions.

'Tis not so much want of good, as excesse of ill, that makes man post to lewdnesse. I believe there are sparkes enow in the soule, to flame a man, to the morall life of vertue; but that they are quenched by the putrid foggs of corruption. As Fruites of hotter countries, trans-earth'd in colder climates, haue vigour enough in themselves to bee fructuous, according to their nature: but that they are hindred, by the chilling nippes of the ayre, and the soils, wherein they are planted. Surely, the Soule hath the reliqu'd Impressa's: of diuine Vertue still so left within her, as shee would mount her selfe to the Towre of Noblenesse, but that she is depressed, by an unpassable Thicket of hindrances; The fraileties of the Body; the current of the World; and the Armies of Enemies, that continually warre against goodnesse, are euer checking the production of those motions, she is pregnant with. When we runne into new crimes, how we schoole our selues when the Act is over? as if Conscience had still so much justice left, as it would be vpright in sentencing, euen against it selfe. Nay, many times, to gratulate the Companie, we are faine to force our selues to vnworthinesse. Ill actions, runne against the graine of the vndefiled soule: and, euen while wee are a doing them, our hearts chide our hands and tongues, for transgressing. There are few, that are bad at the first,
meerely, out of their loue to vice. There is a noblenesse
in the mind of man, which of it selfe, intitles it, to the
hatred of what is ill. Who is it, that is so bottomlesly
ill, as to loue vice, because it is vice? yet we finde,
there are some so good, as to loue goodnesse purely, for
goodnesse sake. Nay, vice it selfe is loued, but for the
seeming-good that it carries with it. Euen the first sinne,
though it were (as Saint Aug.\textsuperscript{a} says) originally from the
soule: yet it was by a wilfull blindnesse, committed, out
of respect to a good, that was look't for by it.\textsuperscript{1} Tis the
bodies contagion, which makes the soule leprous. In the
opinion that we all hold, at the first infusing tis
spotlesse and immaculate: and where we see, there be meanes
to second the progressions of it: it flyes to a glorious
height; scorning and weary of the muddy declining weight of
the body. And when wee haue performed any honourable Action,
how it cheeres and lightens it selfe, and man? as if it had
no true ioy, but in such things, as transcending the sense of
the druggy flesh, tended to the blaze, and aspiring flame of
vertue: nay, then, as if she had dispatched the intent of
creation, she rests full, in her owne approuement, without
the weake Worlds reedy vnder propping. Man has no such
comfort, as to be conscious to himselfe, of the noble deedes
vertue. They set him almost in the Throne of a Deitie;

\textsuperscript{a}Augustine, 2-8.

\textsuperscript{1}See The City of God, XXII, 24, and Enchiridion 104-106.
ascend him to an unmouednesse; and take away from him those blacke feares, that would speake him to bee but fragile man. 'Tis the sicke and diseased soule, that driues vs into unlimited passions. Take her as shee is in her selfe, not dimm'd and thickned, with the mists of corporalitie; then is shee a beauty, displayed in a full and diuine sweetnesse.

Amat, sapit, rectè facit, animo quando obsequitur suo.

When man obeyes his minde, hee's wise, loues, and (does right.

But this is not to bee vnderstood at large. For sayes the same Comedian, Dum id modo fiat bono. Nor does it onely manifest it selfe, in its selfe; but euen over the body too; and that so farre, that it euen converts it to a spiritualitie: making it indefatigable in travailes, in toiles, in vigilancies; insensible in wounds, in death, in tortures.

Omnia deficiunt, animus tamen omnia vincit;
Ille etiam vires corpus habere facit:

Sayes the grand Loue-Master.

Though all things want; all things the mind subdues,
And can new strength in fainting Flesh infuse.

These two lines are Plautus, Amphitruo, III, iv, 12-13.
Ovid, Epistolarum ex Ponto, II, iv, 75-76.
When we finde it seconded with the *prevailent incitations* of Literature, and *sweet Moralitie*: how courageous, how comfortable, how towring is *she*? Socrates calls *Nature*, the *Reason of an honest man*: as if *man*, following *her*, had found a *square*, whereby to direct his *life*. The *soule* that takes a delight in *Lewdnesse*, is *gain'd* vpon by *Custome*; and after an *vndoing*, *dulling practice* takes a *joy* in that, which at first did daunt with *terror*. The first *Acts of Sinne*, are for the most part *trembling*, *fearfull*, and *full of the blush*. 'Tis the *iteration of euill*, that *gives forehead* to the *soule offender*. 'Tis easie to know a *beginning swearer*: he cannot *mouth it*, like the *practised man*. Hee *oathes it*, as a *cowardly Fencer* playes; who, as soone as he hath offered a *blow*, shrinke's backe: as if his *heart* suffered a *kinds of violence* by his *tongue*: yet had rather take a step in *Vice*, then be left behinde for not being in *fashion*. And, though a man be plunged in *wickednesse*, yet would he be glad to be *thought good*. Which may strongly argue the *intentions* of the *Soule* to bee *good*; though vnable to maturate that *seed* that is in it. Nay, and that like a *kinde of Captiue*, she is carried by *corruption*, through *boggs*, and *Desarts*, that at first shee feares to tread vpon. *Sinne* at first does a little startle the *blood*. *Vice* carries *horror* in her considered looke, though wee finde a *short plausibilitie*, in the present *embraces*. There is no *man*, but in his *soule* dislikes a *new vice*, before hee acts it.
And this distaste is so generall, that when Custome ha's
dull'd the sense; yet the minde shames to transmit it selfe
to the tongue; as knowing, hee which holds Tenents against
Natures Principles, shall, by shewing a quick wit, lose his
honest name. Goodnesse is not so quite extinct in man, but
that she still slashes out a glimmering light, in moralitie.
Though Vice in some soules, haue got the start on her; yet
shee makes every mans tongue fight for Vices extirpation.
Hee thatmaintaines Vice lawfull, shall haue mankinde his
enemie. 'Tis gaine, not loue to Treason, that makes man fall
a Traitor. A noble deede does beare a spurre in it selfe.
They are bad workes, that neede rewards to crane them vp
with all. I beleue, if we examine Nature, those things
that haue a pleasure in their performance, are bad but by
mis-vse, not simply so in themselues. Eating, drinking,
mirth, are ill, but in the manner, or the measure; not at
all in the matter. Mans wisdome consists not in the not
vsing, but in the well vsing of what the world affords him.
How to vs, is the most waighy lesson of man. And of this
wee faile, for want of seconding the seedes that bee in the
soule: The thornes doe first choke them; and then, they
dwindle, for lacke of watering. Two things I will strongly
labour for: To remove Annoyance; and To cherish the growth
of budding Vertue. Hee spends his time well, that strives
to reduce Nature to her first perfection. Like a true friend,
the wishes well to man, but is growne so poore, and falne
into such decay, as indeed she is not able. I will helpe her what I can in the way; though of my selfe, I be not able to set her safe in the end; and if it bee in spirituall things, not able to beginne. As man ha's not that free power in himselfe, which first hee had: so I am farre from thinking him so dull, to be a patient meerely: it was not in the first fall slaine, but irrecoverably lamed: debilitated, not annihilated. But whether this be true or no, I thinke it cannot be ill, of whatsoever good we doe, to giue God the Glorie.\(^b\)

\(^b\)to giue our God the glory on't, 3-8.

L. 20. Of Preaching.

The excessse which is in the defect of Preaching, ha's made the Pulpit slighted: I meane, the much bad Oratorie we finde it guilty of. 'Tis a wonder to mee, how men can preach so little, and so long: so long a time, and so little matter: as if they thought to please, by the inculcation of their vaine Tautologies. I see no reason, that so high a Princesse as Diuinitie is, should bee presented to the People in the sordid ragges of the tongue: nor that hee which speaks from the Father of Languages, should deliuer his Embassage in an ill one. A man can neuer speake too well, where he speaks not too obscure. Long and distended Clauses, are both tedious to the eare, and difficult for
their retaining. A sentence well couch'd, takes both the sense and the understanding. I loue not those Cart-rope speeches, that are longer then the memorie of man can fathome. I see not, but that Diuinity, put into apt significants, might rauish as well as Poetry. The weighty lines men finde vpon the Stage, I am perswaded, haue beene the lures, to draw away the Pulpits followers. Wee complaine of drowsinesse at a Sermon; when a Play of a doubled length, leads vs on still with alacrity. But the fault is not all in our selues. If wee saw Diuinitie acted, the gesture and varietie would as much invigilate. But it is too high to bee personated by Humanitie. The Stage feeds both the eare and the eye: and through this latter sense, the Soule drinkes deeper draughts. Things acted, possesse vs more, and are too more retaineable, then the passable tones of the tongue. Besides, heere wee meete with more composed Language: The Dulcia sermonis, moulded into curious Phrase. Though, 'tis to be lamented, such wits are not set to the right tune, and consorted to Diuinitie; who without doubt, well deckt, will cast a far more radient lustre, then those obscene scurrilities, that the Stage presents vs with, though oe'd and spangled in their gawdiest tyre. At a Sermon well dress'd, what understander can haue a motion to sleepe? Diuinitie well ordered, casts forth a Baite, which

\[1\text{compassed, 4-7.}\]

\[1\text{Sweet language or sweet manner of speaking.}\]
angles the Soule into the eare: and how can that cloze; when such a guest sits in it: They are Sermons but of baser metall, which leade the eyes to slumber. And should wee heare a continued Oration, vpon such a Subject as the Stage treats on, in such words as we heare some Sermons; I am confident, it would not onely bee farre more tedious, but nauseous and contemptfull. The most advantage they haue of other places, is, in their good Lives and Actions. For 'tis certaine, Cicero and Roscius are most compleat, when they both make but one Man. Hee answered well, that after often asking, said still, that Action was the chiefest part of an Orator. Surely, the Oration is most powerfull, where the Tongue is diffusiue, and speaks in a native decencie, euén in euery limme. A good Orator should pierce the eare, allure the eye, and invade the minde of his hearer. And this is Seneca's opinion: Fit words are better then fine ones: I like not those that are in-judiciously made; but such as be expressiuely significant: that leade the minde to something, beside the naked terme. And hee that speaks thus, must not looke to speake thus euery day. A kemb'd Oration will cost both sweate, and the rubbing of the braine. And kemb'd I with it, not frizzled, nor curl'd. Diuinitie should not lasciuiate. Un-wormwooded jests I like well; but

\[b\] speake, 5.

\[2\]Cicero defended Roscius, who was on trial for murder. Felltham seems to be saying here that the man of words should also be a man of action.
they are fitter for the Tauerne, then the Maiestie of a Temple. Christ taught the People with Authoritie. Grauitte becomes the Pulpit. Demosthenes confess he became an Orator, by spending more Oyle then Wine.\textsuperscript{3} This is too fluid an Element to beget substantialis. Wit, procur'd by Wine, is, for the most part, like the sparklings in the Cup, when 'tis filling: they briske for a moment, but dye immediately. I admire the valour of some men; that before their Studies, dare ascend the Pulpit; and doe there take more paines, then they haue done in their Librarie. But hauing done this, I wonder not, that they there spend sometimes three houres, but to weary the People into sleepe. And this makes some such fugitive Diuines, that like cowards, they runne away from their Text.\textsuperscript{c} Words are not all, nor matter is not all; nor gesture: yet, together, they are. 'Tis much mouing than Orator, when the soule seemes to speake, as well as the tongue. Saint Augustine, sayes Tully,\textsuperscript{4} was admired more for his tongue, then his minde; Aristotle more for his mind then his tongue. but Plato for both. And surely, nothing deckes an Oration more, then a Judgement\textsuperscript{d} able well to conceive and vutter. I know, GOD hath chosen by weake things, to confound the wise: yet I see not but in all times, a wasted Language hath much preuailed. And euen the Scriptures,

\textsuperscript{c} Textes, 5.7. \textsuperscript{d} than Judgement, 5.7.

\textsuperscript{3} Plutarch, "The Life of Demosthenes."

\textsuperscript{4} Cicero.
(though I know not the Hebrew) yet I beleue, they are penn'd in a tongue of deepe expression: wherein, almost every word, hath a Metaphoricall sense, which does illustrate by some allusion. How politicall is Moses, in his Pentateuch? How philosophicall Iob? How massie and sententious is Salomon in his Proverbs? How quaint, and flamingly amorous in the Canticles? how graue and solemne in his Ecclesiastes? that in the world, there is not such as other dissection of the world as it. How were the Iewes astonied at Christs doctrine? How eloquent a pleader is Paul at the Barre? in disputation, how subtile: And hee that reades the Fathers, shall finde them, as if written with a crisped pen. Nor is it such a fault as some would make it, now and then, to let a Philosopher or a Poet, come in and waite, and giue a Trencher at this Banquet. Saint Paul is president for it.5 I wish no man to bee too darke, and full of shaddow. There is a way to be pleasingly-plaine, and some haue found it. Nor wish I any man to a totall neglect of his hearers. Some Stomackes rise at sweet-meates. Hee prodigals a Mine of Excellencie, that lauishes a terse Oration to an approu'de Auditory. Mercurie himselfe may moue his tongue in vaine,6 if hee has none to heare him, but a Non-intelligent. They

5 st. Paul was well-grounded in Greek philosophy and literature.

6 Mercury could talk himself out of almost any trouble. He became the patron of orators.
that speake to Children, assume a pretty lisping. Birds are
cought by the counterfeit of their owne shrill notes. There
is a Magicke in the Tongue, can charme the wilde mans
Motions. Eloquence is a Bridle, wherewith a wise man rides
the Monster of the World, the People. Hee that heares, ha's
only those affections that thy tongue will give him.

Thou maist giue smiles, or teares, which ioyes doe blot;
Or wrath to Judges, which themselues haue not.

You may see it in Lucans words:

Flet, si flere iubes, gaudet, gaudere coactus:
Et te dante, capit Iudex quum non habet iram.7

I grieue, that any thing so excellent as Diuinitie is,
should fall into a sluttish handling. Sure though other
interposures doe eclipse her; yet this is a principall. I
neuer yet knew a good Tongue, that wanted eares to heare it.
I will honour her, in her plaine trimme: but I will wish
to meete her in her gracefull ieweles: not that they giue
addition to her goodnesse: but that shee is more perswafiue
in working on the soule it meets with. When I meete with
Worth which I cannot ouer loue, I can well endure that Art,
which is a means to heighten liking. Confections that are
cordiall, are not the worse, but the better for being gilded.

7This is not in the recognized canon of Lucan's works.
I have been unable to identify it.

'Tis much safer to reconcile an Enemy, then to conquer him. Victorie deprives him of his power; but Reconciliation, of his will: and there is less danger in a Will which will not hurt, than in a Power, which cannot. The power is not so apt to tempt the will, as the Will is studious to finde out meanes. Besides, an Enemy is a perpetuall Spie, upon thy Actions; a Watch, to observer thy failes, and thy excursions. All which, in the time of his Captiuitie, he treasures vp, against the day of advantage, for the confounding of him that hath beene his Detainer. When he is free from thy power, his malice makes him nimble-eyed: apt to note a fault, and publish it: and with a strained Construction, to deprawe those things, that thy intents haue told thy soule are honest. Like the Crocadile, he slimes thy way, to make thee fall, and when thou art downe, he insidiates thy intrapped life; and with the warmest blood of thy life, fattens his insulting Envy. Thy wayer he strewes with Serpents and invenomings. Thy vices he sets, like Pauls, on high: for the gaze of the world, and the scatter'd Citie: Thy Vertues, like Saint Faiths, he placeth vnder ground, that none may note them. Certainly, tis a miserie

^1 than conquer, 5-7.

^1 St. Faith's was a church in the crypt of the old St. Paul's, completely hidden from view. When the church was rebuilt after the great fire, a chapel, this time above ground, was dedicated to St. Faith.
to haue any **Enemy**, either very powerfull, or very malicious. If they cannot wound vpon **proofes**, they will doe it yet vpon **likelyhods**: and so by degrees, and sly wayes, corrupt the faire temper of our **Reputations.** In which, this **disaduantage** cannot bee helped; that the **Multitude** will sooner beleue them then our selues. For **Affirmations** are apter to winne believe, then **Negatiues** to vncredit them. It was a **Spawne** of **Machiauell**, that a **slander once raised, will scarce ever dye, or faile of finding some, that will allow it both a harbour,**$^b$ and trust.$^2$ The baggage World desireth of her selfe to scarre the **face**, that is fairer then shee: and therefore, when she findes occasion, she leapes, and flyes to the imbracement of the thing she wished for: where, with a sharpe-set **appetite**, shee **quarries** on the **prey** she meets withall. When **Seneca** asked the Question, **Quid est homini inimicissimum?** Seneca answers, **Alter Homo.**$^3$ Our **Enemies** **studies** are the plots of our ruine: nor is any thing left vn-attempted, which may induce our **damage.** And many times, the **danger** is the more, because wee see it not. If our **Enemy** be **Noble**, he will beare himselfe **valiantly,** and scorne to giue vs an **advantage** against him: though his owne iudicious **forwardnesse**, may put vs to the **worse**, let his **worth** perswade thee to an **atonement.** **Hoe that can bee a**

$^b$both harbour, 5-7.

$^2$Discourses, III, 34.

$^3$"What is of greatest danger to man? Another man."
worthy Enemie; will, reconcil'd, bee a worthier Friend. Hee that in a just cause, can valiantly fight against thee; can in a like cause, fight as valiantly for thee. If hee bee unworthy, reconcile him too: though there be nothing else gain'd, but the stilling of a scandalous tongue; even that will bee worth thy labour. Use him as a Friend in outward fairenesse: but beware him, as an Enemie, apt to re-assume his Armes. Hee that is a base foe, will hardly be but false in friendship. Enemies, like Miners, are ever working, to blow vp our untainted names. They spit a povson, that will freckle the beauty of a good report: and that fame which is white and pure, they spot with the puddled sprays of the tongue: For, they cannot but sometimes speake as they thinke: and this Saint Gregory will perswade vs to beleue: That, Humana mens, omnem quern inimicum tolerat, etiam iniquum &c. impium putat: All men thinke their Enemies ill. If it may bee done with honor, I shall thinke it a worke of good diseretion, to regaine a violent Aduersarie. But to doe it so, as it puls a poorenesse on a mans selfe; though it bee safe, is worse then to be conquer'd in a manfull contestation. Friendship is not commendable, when it rises from dishonourable Treaties. But hee that vpon good termes, refuses a Reconcilement; may be stubborne, but nor valiant, nor wise. Whosoeuer thou art, that wilfully continuest an Enemie, thou teachest him to doe thee a mischief if he can.

worthy, 5. 

dare, 6.7.
I will thinke that endeouour spent to purpose, that either makes a Friend, or unmakes an Enemie. In the one, a Treasure is wonne; in the other, a Siege is raised. When one said, he was a wise King, that was kinde to his friends, and sharpe to his Enemies. Sayes another, Hee is wiser, that can retaine his Friends in their loue; and make his Enemies like them.

unmaskes, 5,6.

L. 22. Of our sense of absent Good.

Svrely, the Mad worme hath wilded all Humanitie; wee sweat for what wee lose, before we know we haue it. We euer dote most on things, when they are wanting: Before wee possesse them, wee chase them with an eager runne: When we haue them, wee slight them: When they are gone, we sink vnder the wring of sorrow, for their losse. Infatuated estate of Man! That the inioyment of a pleasure, must diminith it: That perpetuall use must make it, like a Piramide, lessening it selfe by degrees, til it growes at last to a punctum,\(^1\) to a nothing. With what undelayable heate; does the lime-twig'd Louer court a deseruing Beautie? Which when hee obtaines, is farre short of that content it promised him: Yet, hee againe no sooner loses it, but he ouer-esteemes it,

\(^1\)The OED cites this as the first use of the word.
to an hyperbolicall summe. Presence drownes, or mightily cooles contentment: and Absence seemes to bee a torture, that afflicts most, when most stretched. Want teaches vs the worth of things more truly. How sweet a thing seemes libertie, to one immur'd in a Case of Walls? How deare a Jewell is health to him that tumbles in distempered blood?²

Is it so, that Pleasure, which is an avery constitution, cannot be grasped by a reall body? Or doe we so empty our selues in the Fruition, that we doe in it, powre out our appetites also: or is content such a slender tittle,¹ that 'tis nothing but the present now; fled sooner then enjoy'd: like the report of a lowd-tongu'd Gunne, ceas'd as soone as heard: without any thing to shew it has beene, saue remembrance only. We desire long, and please our selues with hope. We enjoy and lose together: and then we see what we haue forgone, and grieue. I haue knowne many, that haue lou'd their dead friends better, then euer they did in their life time. There is (if I haue giuen you the right sense) a like complaint in the sinewie Lyrick.

They that striue to chase away
Slaughters and intestine Warre:
That would haue dumbe Statues say,
These their Cities Fathers are:

¹title, 8.

²Cf. Dryden, Epistle xiii., l. 92.—Smeaton.
Let them their owne wilde lusts tame,
They shall not liue, till dead. (O Fate!)
We envious, hate safe Vertues name,
She dead; we sigh our widdowed state.

O quisquis voluit impias,
Cades, &c. rabiem tollere cynicam:
Siquerit, Pater vibium
Subscribi statuis, indemitam audeat.
Refrænare licentiam,
Clarus postgenitis, quàtenus (heu nefas!)
Virtutem incolu[m] odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidè.\(^3\)

We adore the blessings that wee are depriu'd of. An estate squander'd in a wanton waste, shewes better in the misse, then while wee had the vse on't. Possession blunts the thought and apprehension. Thinking is properest to that, which is absent. Wee inioy the present: but wee thinke on future things, or passed. When benefits are lost, the minde had time to recount the seuerall worths: Which, after a considerate search; she findes to be many more, then the unexamining possession told her of. Wee see more, in the discomposure of a Watch, then wee can, when 'tis set together.

\(^3\)Horace, *Carmina*, 3, 24, 25-32.
'Tis a true one: Blessings appeare not, till they be vanisht. The Comedian was then serious, when hee writ,
cold: As if the breath which the child ost, had disclouded his indarkned heart. I will apply my selfe to the present; to preserve it; to inioy it. But, neuer bee passionate for for the losse of that, which I cannot keepe; nor can regaine. When I haue a blessing, I will respect it, I will loue it, as ardently as any man. And when 'tis gone, I confesse, I would grieue as little. And this I thinke I may well doe, yet owe a deare respect, to the memory of that I lost.

\textsuperscript{b}darkened, 5-7. \textsuperscript{c}a, 5,7. \textsuperscript{d}as, 5,7.

\textsuperscript{6}II Samuel 12:20-23.

L. 23. \emph{That no man can be good at all.}

I Neuer yet knew any man so bad, but some haue thought him honest; and afforded him loue. Not euer any so good, but some haue thought him vile; and hated him. Few are so stygmaticall, as that they are not honest to some. And few againe are so just, as that they seeme not to some unequall: either the Ignorance, the Enuie, or the partiality, of those that Judge, doe constitute a various man. Nor, can a man in himselffe, alwayes appeare alike, to all. In some, Nature hath invested a disparity. In some, Report hath fore-blinded Judgement. And in some, Accident is the cause of disposing vs to loue, or hate. Or, if not these, the variation of the bodies humours. Or, perhaps, not any of these. The soule is often led by secret motions, and loues, shee knowes not
why. There are impulsive priuacies; which urge vs to a liking, euen against the Parliamentall Acts of the two houses, Reason, and the Common Sence. As if there were some hidden beauty, of a more Magnetique force, then all that the eye can see. And this too, more powerfull at one time, then another. Undiscovered influences please vs now, with what wee would sometimes contemne. I haue come to the same man, that hath now welcomm'd me with a free expression of loue, and courtesies: and another time hath left me unsaluted at all. Yet, knowing him well, I haue beene certaine of his sound affection: and haue found this, not an intended neglect; but an indisposednesse, or, a minde, seriously busied within. Occasion reines the motions of the stirring mind. Like men than walke in their sleepes, wee are led about, wee neither know whither nor how. I know there is a generation, that doe thus, out of pride: and in strangers, I confesse, I know not how to distinguish. For there is no disposition, but hath a varnisht vizor, as well as an vnpencill'd face. Some people coozen the world: are bad, and are not thought so. In some, the world is coozened: beleuuing them ill, when they are not. Vnlesse it hath beene some few of a Family; I haue knowne the whole Molehill of Pismires (the World) in an errour. For, though Report once vented, like a stone cast into a Pond, begets circle upon circle, till it meets with the banke, that bounds it: yet Fame often playes the Curre, and opens, when shee springs no game. Censures will not hold out weight, that
haue life onely from the spungie Cels of the common braine. Why should I definitiuely censure any man, whom I know but superficially? as if I were a God, to see the inward soule. Nature, Art, Report, may all faile: Yea, oftentimes probabilities. There is no certainty to discouer Man by, but Time, and Conversation. Every Man may be said in some sort, to haue two soules; one, the internall minde; the other, even the outward ayre of the face, and bodies gesture. And how infinitely in some shall they differ? I haue knowne a wise looke, hide a foole within: and a merry face, inhold a discontented soule. Cleanthes might well haue fail'd in his judgement, had not accident haue helped him, to the obscured Truth. Hee would undertake to reade the minde in the body. Some to trye his skill, brought him a luxurious fellow, that in his youth, had been expos'd to toyle: seeing his face tann'd, and his hands lether'd with a hardened skinne, hee was at a stand. Whereupon departing, the man sneezed, and Cleanthes sayes, Now I know the man, hee is effeminiate. For great labourers rarely sneeze.\(^1\) Judgement is apt to erre, when it passeth vpon things wee know not. Every man keepes his minde, if hee lists, in a Labyrinth. The heart of Man, to Man, is a roome inscrutable. Into which, Nature has made no certaine window, but as himselfe shall please to

\(^1\)Cleanthes (331-232 B. C.) was a pupil of Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school of philosophy. This incident is reported in Diogenes Laertius, VII, 173-4.
open. One man shewes himselfe to me, to another, hee is shut vp. No man can either like all, or be liked of all. God doth not please all. Nay, I thinke, it may stand with Diuinity, as men are, to say, he cannot. Man is infinitely more impotent. I will speake to every man as I find, If I heare he hath beene ill to others, I will beware him, but not condemne him, till I heare his owne Apologie.

Qui statuit alicruid, parte inaudita altera,
Aequum licet statuerit, haud aequus est. ²

Who judgement giues, and will but one side heare,
Though he iudge right, is no good Iusticer.

The Nature of many men is abstruse: and not to be espy'd, at an instant. And without knowing this, I know nothing, that may warrant my Sentence. As I will not too farre beleue reports from others: So I will neuer censure any man, whom I know not internally; nor euer those, but sparing, and with modesty.

²Seneca, Medea, 198-9.

L. 24. That Man ought to be extensively good.

I Find in the Creation, the first blessing God gaue Man.
was, Be fruitfull, and multiply.¹ And this, I find imposed by a precept, not a promise. It being a thing so necessary, as God would not leaue it, but almost in an impulsive quality. And withall to shew vs that (euen from the beginning) mans happinesse should consist, in obeying Gods commands. All men loue to liue in posteritie. Barrennesse is a Curse; and makes men vnwilling to dye. Men, rather then they will want insuing memory, will be spoken by the Handed Statue:ᵃ Or by the long-lasting of some insensate Monument. When bragging Cambyses would compare himselfe with his father Cyrus, and some of his flatterers told him, hee did excelle him: Stay, says Croesus; you are not yet his equall, for hee left a sonne behind him.² As if hee were an imperfect Prince, that leaueth an vnhelmed State. When Philip viewed his yong sonne Alexander, he said, He could then be content to dye. Conceit of a surviving name, sweetens Deaths alloed potion. 'Tis for this, we so loue those that are to preserue vs in extended successions.

There was something more in it, then the naked geere, when

ᵃStatute, 3-7.
¹Genesis 1:22.
²Cambyses, King of Persia, sixth century B. C. Croesus the last king of Lydia, was conquered and condemned to death by Cambyses's father, Cyrus the Great. Cyrus became convinced, however, that Croesus was under divine protection and pardoned him. The two men became friends, and when Cyrus was on his deathbed, he asked Croesus to watch over Cambyses. Croesus was occasionally stern with the young despot, as the incident related here shows. Herodotus, III, 34.
Caesar (seeing strangers at Rome, with Whelpes and Monkies in their indulgent lappes) asked, if they were the children, that the Women of those Lands brought forth. For hee thought such respectfull loue, was due to none, but a self-extracted Of-spring. Nor, is this onely in the baser part of Man, the body: but euin in the Sagacious soule. The first Act God requires of a Convert, is, Bee fruitfull. The good Mans goodnesse, lies not hid in himselfe alone: he is still strengthening of his weaker brother. How soone would the World and Christianity faile, if there were not propagation both of it and man? Good workes, and good instructions, are the generative acts of the soule. Out of which, spring new posterity to the Church, and Gospel. And I am perswaded, to be a means of bringing more to heauen, is an inseparable desire of a soule, that is rightly stated. Good men, with all that they converse withall in goodness, to be like themselves. How vngratefully he slinkes away, that dyes and does nothing, to reflect a glory to Heauen? How barren a tree hee is, that liues, and spreads, and cumbers the ground, yet leaues not one seed, not one good worke to generate another, after him. I know all can not leaue alike; yet, all may leaue something, answering their proportion, their kindes. They bee dead, and withered graines of Corne, out of which, there will not one Eare spring. The Physician that hath a Soueraigne Receit, and dyeth vnrevealing it,

^Off-spring, 4-8. Ungratefull, 6.
robbes the world of many blessings, which might multiply after his death: Leaving this collection, a truth to all Survivors: that he did good to others, but to doe himselfe a greater:
Which, how contrary it is to Christianity, and the Nature of explicative Loue; I appeale to those mindes where Grace hath sowne more Charity. Vertue is distributive, and had rather pleasure many with a selfe-injury, then bury benefits that might pleasure a multitude. I doubt whether euer hee will finde the way to Heauen, that desires to goe thither alone. They are envious Favorites, that wish their Kings to haue no loyall Subjects, but themselves. All heauenly hearts are charitable. Inlightned soules cannot but disperse their rayes. I will, if I can, doe something for others, and heauen; not to deserue by it; but to expresse my selfe, and my thankes. Though I cannot doe what I would, I will labour to doe what I can.

L. 25. Of the horror sinne leaues behind.

NO willing Sinne was euer in the Act displeasing. Yet, is it not sooner past, then distastfull: though pleasure merries the Sences for a while: yet horror after vultures the vnconsuming heart; and those which carry the most pleasing tastes, fit vs with the largest reluctations. Nothing so soone, can worke so strange a change: Now, in the height of delight: Now, in the depth of horror.
Damned Sathan! that with Ophean ayres, and dextrous warbles, lead'st vs to the Flames of Hell: and then, with a contempt deridest vs. Like a cunning Curtizan, that dallies the Ruffian to vndoe himselfe; and then payes him with a fleere, and scorne. Or, as some men will doe to a desired beauty, vow, and promise that, in the heat of passion, which they never mind to stand vnto. Herein onely is the difference: Gratitude, and good nature, may sometimes make them penitent, and seeke some way to satisfie: whereas, hee that yeelds to the wooing Deuill, does but more augment his tyranny. For, when wee meet with ignoble spirits, the more obedience, is a cause of the worser use. How often, and how infinitely are wee abused? with what Masques and Triumphs are we led to destruction: Foolish, besotted, degenerate Man! that having so often experimented his Jugling, wilt yet beleue his fictions, and his turfed Mines: as if hee had not many wayes to one destroying end: or could bring thee any pleasure, and in it not aime at thine overthrow. Knowest thou not, that he sowes his tares by night; and in his Baits, hides all he knowes may hurt thee? Are not all those delights he brings vs, like Trappes wee set for Vermine; charitable, but to kill? Does hee not first pitch his Toiles, and then traine vs about to insnare vs? Hee shewes vs nothing, but a tempting face; where hee hath counterfeited Natures excellency, and all the graces of a modest countenance; while, whatsoever is infective, is veiled ouer with the exactest dresse of
comelinesse. When our soules thirst after pleasure, wee are call'd, as Beasts with fodder, to the slaughter-house: or as Boyes catch Horses, with provender in their hands, to ride them. Ill actions are perpetuall perturbations: the punishment that followes, is farre more grievous, then the performance was delightfull: and the guilt is worse then the punishment.

Estgue pati poenam, quàm meruisse, minus.

The most smart is, to thinke we haue deseru'd it.

I'le give you the Story: A Pythagorean bought a paire of Shooes vpon trust: the Shoomaker dyes: the Philosopher is glad, and thinkes them gains: but a while after, his conscience twitches him, and becomes a perpetuall chider: hee repaires to the house of the dead, casts in his money, with these words; There, take thy due, Thou liuest to me, though dead to all beside.\(^1\) Certainly, ill gotten gains are farre vvorse, then losses with preserved honesty. These grieue but once, the other are continually grating vpon our quiet. He diminishes his ovnve contentment, that vvould adde to it, by unlawfulnesse; looking onely on the beginning, hee thinkes not to vvht end, the end extendeth. 'Tis Indiscretion that is Hare sighted.

\(^1\)The Pythagoreans, besides being interested in mathematics and astronomy, were very much concerned with personal ethics.
O Demea, istuc est sapere non quod ante pedes modo est
Videre, sed etiam illa quae futura sunt prospicere.  

I tell thee Demea, Wisdome lookes as well,
To things to come, as those that present are.

This differenceth a wise man and a foole: The first, begins in the end; the other ends in the beginning. I will take a part of both, and fixe one eye on the Act, another on the consequence. So, if I spy the Deuill by shrowded in the following traine, I will shut the dore against the pleasure it selfe, though it comes like a Lord, vnder a pretence of honouring mee.

2Terence, Adelphi, 388-9.


OF my selfe, what can I doe without the hazzard of erring? Nay, what can I thinke? Nay, what can I not doe, or not thinke? euen my best business, and my best vacancy, are workes of offence and errour. Uncomfortable constitution of man: that canst not but be bad, both in action, and forbearance. Corruption mixeth with our purest devotions: and not to performe them, is neglect. When wee thinke not of God at all, we are impious, and vngratefull: when we doe, we are not able to thinke aright. Imperfection swayes in all the weake dispatches of the palsyed soule. If
the **Devill** be absent, our owne **frailties** are his tempting **Deputies**. If those forbeare, the **Meretricious world** claps our **cheekes**, and fond's vs to a **coozening faile**. So, which way soever wee turne, wee are sure to be **bitten** with the one, or the other **head** of this **Cerberus**.\(^1\) To what can we intend our selues, wherein there is not a **Devill** to intrap vs? If wee **pray**, how hee casts in wandring **thoughts**, or by our **eyes**, steales away our **hearts**, to some other **object** then **God**? If we **heare**, he hath the the same **policy**, and **preiudicates** our **opinion** with the **Man**, or part of his **doctrine**. If we **reade**, hee perswades vs to let **Reason judge**, as well as **Faith**: So, measuring by a **false rule**, hee would make vs beleue, **Divinity** is much **short** of what it **shewes** for. If we do **good workes**, hee would **poison** them, with **Pharaisisme**,\(^2\) and make vs, by **overvaluing**, lose them.

If we do **ill**, he incourages vs to a **continuance**: and at last **accuses** vs. If **nothing**, wee **neglect** the **good** we should doe. If wee **sleepe**, hee comes in **dreames**, and wantonneth the **ill-inclining soule**. If wee **wake**, wee misspend our **time**; or, at best, doe **good**, not **well**. So, by bad **circumstances**, poison a well-intended **principall**. Euen **Actions** of **necessitie**, wee dispatch not without a **staine**; we drinke to **excesse**; and

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\(^1\)The three-headed dog which guarded the entrance to Hades. Hercules brought him up to the light of day as one of his labours.—Smeaton. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 450; VII, 410; IX, 185.

the drowning of the braine. We eat, not to satisfie Nature, but to ouercharge her; and to venerate the unbridled spirits. As a Mill wheele is continually turn'd round, and ever drenched with a new streame: so are we alwayes hurried sith successions of various sinnes. Like Arrows shot in mighty winds, wee wander from the Bow that sent vs. Sometimes wee thinke wee doe things well: but when they are past, we are sensible of the transgression. Wee progresse in the wayes of Vice, and are constant in nothing, but perpetuall offending. You may see the thoughts of the whipping Satyrist, how duine they are:

Mobilis, &c. varia est ferme natura malorum:
Cum scelus admittunt, superest constantia: guid fas,
Atque; nefas tandem incipiunt sentire, peractis
Criminibus: tamen ad mores natura recurrit
Damnatos fixa, &c. mutari nescia: nam quis
Peccandi finem posuit sibi? quando recepit
Ejectum semel attrita de fronte ruborem?
Quisnam hominemest, quem tu contentum videris vno
Flagitio?-----^3

Nature is motiue in the quest of ill:
Stated in mischiefe: all our ablest Skill
Cannot know right from wrong, till wrong be done:
Fixt Nature, will to condemn'd customes runne
Unchangedly: Who to his sinnes can set

^3Juvenal, Satira Decima Tertia, 236-244.
A certaine end? When hath he euer met
Blushes once from his hardned forhead throwne?
Who is it sinnes, and is content with one?

Surely there will not a man be found, that is able to answer
to these quere's. Their soules haue ceeled eyes, that can
see nothing but perfection, in their owne labours. It is
not to any man giuen, absolutely to be absolute. I will not
bee too forward in censuring the workes of others; nor will
I euer doe any, that I will not submit to judgement, and
correction, as I will be able to giue a reason, why I haue
order'd them, as the world sees.

4 Queries.

L. 27. Of curiosity in Knowledge.

Nothing wraps a Man in such a myst of errours, as his
owne curiositie, in searching things beyond him. How
happily doe they liue, that know nothing, but what is
necessary? Our knowledge doth but shew vs our ignorance.
Our most studious scrutiny, is but a disouery of what we
cannot know. Wee see the effect: but cannot guess at the
cause. Learning is like a River, whose head being farre in
the Land, is, at first rising, little, and easily viewed: but, still as you goe, it gapeth with a wider banke: not

1 Cf. Bacon, Meditationes Sacrae, De Haeresibus.—Smeaton.
without pleasure, and delightfull winding; while it is on both sides set with trees and the beauties of various flowres. But still the further you follow it, the deeper and the broader 'tis; till at last, it invaues it selfe in the vnfathom'd Ocean; There you see more water; but no shoare, no end of that liquid, fluid vastnesse. In many things wee may sound Nature, in the shallowes of her revelations. Wee may trace her, to her second causes; but beyond them, wee meete with nothing but the puzzle of the soule, and the dazle of the minds dimme eyes. While we speake of things that are, that wee may dissect, and haue power, and meanes to finde the causes, there is some pleasure, some certainetie. But, when wee come to Metaphisicks, to long buried Antiquity, and to vnreveal'd Divinitie, wee are in a Sea, which is deeper then the short reach of the line of Man. Much may be gained by studious inquisition; but more will euer rest, which Man cannot discover. I wonder at those, that will assume a knowledge of all; they are vnwisely ashamed of an ignorance, which is not disgraceful; 'tis no shame for man not to know that, which is not in his possibility. Wee fill the World with cruell brawles, in the obstinate defence of that, whereof wee might with more honour, confesse our selues to be ignorant. One will tell us our Saviours disputations among the Doctors. Another, what became of Moses body. A third, in what place Paradise stood: and where is local Hell. Some will know Hauen as perfectly, as if they had
been hurried about in every Spheare; and I thinke they may.\(^2\)
Former Writers would haue the Zones\(^3\) inhabitable;\(^4\) wee finde
them by experience, temperare. Saint Augustine would by no
meanes indure the Antipodes:\(^5\) wee are now of nothing more
certaine. Every Age both confutes old errours, and begets
new. Yet still are wee more intangled, and the further wee
goe, the neerer wee approach a Sunne that blindes vs. Hee
that went furthest in these things, wee finde ending with a
censure of their vanitie, their vexation. 'Tis questionable,
whether the progresse of Learning hath done more hurt, or
good, whether the Schooles haue not made more Questions then
they haue decided; where haue wee such peaceable, and
flourishing Common-wealths, as wee haue found among those,
which haue not so much, as had the knowledge of Letters?
Surely, these fruitlesse and anigmatique questions, are bones
the Deuill hath cast among vs, that while wee strive for a
vaune Conquest, in these Toves wee forget the Prize wee
should runne for. The Husbandman that lookes not beyond the
Plough, and the Sythe, is in much more quiet, then the
divided braine of the Statist,\(^6\) or the Scholler. Who will

\(^2\)All of these were subjects of argument among the more
excessive of the Scholastics during the Middle Ages.

\(^3\)Specifically, the Torrid Zones.

\(^4\)Not habitable. This meaning of the word was rare even
in the seventeenth century. OED.

\(^5\)St. Augustine considered that such an idea as that the
Antipodes could exist was only fit for fools and madmen.—
Smeaton.

\(^6\)One skilled in statecraft or politics.
not approve the *judgement* of our *Moderne Epigammatists*:¹

*Judice me, soli semperque perinde beati,*

*Sunt, quicunque scinnt omnia, quique nihil.*

If I may iudge, they onely happy show,
Which doe or nothing, or else all things know.

In *things* whereof I may be certaine, I will *labour* to be *instructed*. But, when I come where *reason* loseth her *selfe*; I will be content with retiring *admiration*. Why should I racke my braines, for *unprofitable* *impossibilities*? Though I cannot *know* how much is *hid*; I may soone *iudge* what may bee *discovered*.

¹Epigrammatist, 5,7,8.

L. 28. *Of being overvalued.*

*Tis an *inconvenience* for a *Man* to be counted *wiser* then *ordinarie*. If he be a *Superior*, it keeps him from discerning what his *inferiors* are. For, their *opinion* of his piercing *judgement*, makes them to *dissemble* themselues; and fits them with a *Care*, not onely to hide their *defects*, but to shew him onely, the best of themselues. Like *ill complexion'd* *Women*, that would faine be mistaken for *faire*; they *paint* most cunningly, where they know a *blemish*, or *skarre*; especially, when they are to *incounter* with those, that be
naturally beautiful. Worth in others, and defect in our selves, are two motives, that induce us to the guilding of our own imperfections. When the Sun-baked Peasant goes to feast in with a Gentleman, he washes, and brushes, and kersies himself in his Holiday clothes. When the Gentleman comes to him, he does fine up his homely house, and covers his clayed floore, with the freshness of a rushy Carpet: and all is, that he may appear as above himself: while he is to meet with one that is so indeed. If he be an equal, men are fore-opinion'd of him for a politicke man: and in any matters of weighty commerce, they will study how to be more cautelous of him, then they would of an vnesteemed Man. So he shall be sure to conclude nothing, but upon harder conditions for himselfe. Generall Fames warne us to advised contracts. He that is to play with a cunning Fencer, will heed his Warden, and advantage more; who, were he to meet with one vnskillfull, hee would neglect, or not thinke of them. Strong opposition teaches opposition to be so. I have seen a rising Favorite laid at,¹ to be trod in the dust: while the unnoted man, hath pass'd with the greater quiet, and gaine. Report both makes Ielousies where there are none, and increaseth those that there are. If he be an inferiour, he is often a man of vnwelcome society. Hee is thought one of too prying an observation: and that hee lookes further into our actions, then we would have him

¹Ambushed.
search. For there be few, which doe not sometimes doe such actions, as they would not have discretion scanne. Integritie it selfe, would not be awed with a blabbing Spie. I know, the observer may faile as well as the other: but we all know natures to be so composed,

Aliena melius vt videant, sc. iudicent, quam sua.²

That they see more of others then their owne.

We judge of others, by what they should be; of our selues, by what wee are. No man ha's preheminence, but wishes to preserue it in vnpruned state: which while an inferiour notes of imperfection, hee thinkes, doth suffer detriment: so hee rather seekes to bee rid of his company, then desires to keepe him, as the watch of his waves. Let mee haue but so much wisdome, as may orderly manage my selfe, and my meanes; and I shall neuer care to be digited, with a That is Hee. I wish, not to be esteemed wiser then vsuall: They that are so, doe better in concealing it, then in telling the World. I hold it a greater iniurie to bee ouer-valued, then ynder. For, when they both shall come to the touch, the one shall rise with praise, while the other shall decline with shame. The first hath more incertain'd honour;

²This is possibly a Renaissance paraphrase of Seneca's "Homines plus in alieno negotio videre," Epistle CIX. The wording of the paraphrase is typical of Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), one of the most prominent of the neo-Stoic philosophers.
but less safety: The latter is humbly-secure; and what is wanting in renowne, is made vp in a better blessing, quiet.

There is no Detraction worse then to over-praise a man: For whilst his worth comes short of what report doth speake him; his owne actions are euer giuing the lye to his honour.


Our owne Follies haue beene the onely cause, to make our liues vncomfortable. Our error of opinion, our cowardly feare of the Worlds worthlesse Censure, and our madding after vn-necessary Gold, haue brambled the way of Vertue, and made it farre more difficult then indeed it is. Vertue hath suffered most by those which should uphold her: That now we feigne her to bee, not what she is, but what our fondnesse makes her, a Hill almost vn-ascendable, by the roughnesse of a craggy way. Wee force indurance on our selues, to waue with the wanton toile of the World: Wee dare not doe those things that are lawfull, lest the wandring World mis-construe them: As if wee were to looke more to what wee should bee thought, then to what wee should resoluedly be: As if the Poet writ vntruth, when hee tels his friend, that,

Vertue, muddy censures scorning,

With vnstained Honour shines:
Without vulgar breath's suborning,
   Takes the Throne, and Crowne resignes.

   Virtus repulsae nescia sordida,
       Intaminatis fulget honoribus:
   Nec sumit aut ponit secures
       Arbitrio popularis Aurae.¹

Nor does the live in penurie; as some have ill imagined:² though the hues not in Palaces, yet she does in Paradise: and there is the Spirit of joy, youthfull in perpetuall life. Vertue is a competent fruition of a Lawfull pleasure, which we may well use so farre, as it brings not any evil in the sequell. How many have thought it the Summum bonum? Antisthenes was of opinion, that it had sufficient in it, to make a man perfectly happy; to the attaining of which he wanted nothing, but a Socratique strength.² Shall wee thinke Goodnesse to be the height of pleasure in the other world; and shall wee be so mad, as to thinke it heere, the sufferance of misery? Surely, 'twas none of Gods intent, to square man out for sorrowes. In our salutes, in our prayers, wee wish and invoke heauen for the happinesse of our friends: and shall wee bee so vniust, or so vncaritable, as to

¹ have imagined, 5, 7.

² Antisthenes, a Cynic philosopher of Athens (ca. 446-366 B. C.). Diogenes Laertius VI, 11.
withhold it from our selues? As if we should make it a fashien, to be kind abroad, and discourteous at home. I doe thinke nothing more lawfull, then moderately to satisfie the pleasing desires of Nature; so as they infringe not Religion, hurt not our selues, or the commerce of humane societie. Laughing is a facultie peculiar to Man: yet, as if it were given vs for inversion, no Creature liues so miserable, so disconsolate. Why should we deny to vse that lawfully, which Nature hath made for pleasure, in employment? Vertue hath neither so crabbed a face, nor so austere a looke, as wee make her. 'Tis the World that choaking vp the way, does rugged that which is naturally smoother. How happy and how healthfull doe those things liue, that follow harmelesse Nature? They weigh not what is past, are intent on the present, and neuer solicitous of what is to come: They are better pleased with convenient food then daintie: and that they eate, nor to distemper, to nourish, to satisfie. They are well arayed with what Nature has giuen them: and for rayment, they are neuer clad in the spoiles of others: but the Flyes, the Beasts, the Fishes, may for all them, welcome Age in their owne silkes, wools, and Scarlets. They liue like Children, innocently sporting with their Mother, Nature: and with a pretty kinde of harmelesnesse, they hang upon her nursing brest. How rarely finde we any diseased, but by ill mans mis-vsing them? Otherwise, they are sound,
and uncomplaining. And this blessednesse they have here above Man; that, never seeking to be more than Nature meant them, they are much nearer to the happiness of their first estate: Wherein, this, I confess, may be some reason: Man was curs'd for his own sinne: they, but for the sinne of Man: and therefore they decline lesser into worse, in this the crazed age of the World: Whereas, Man is a daily multiplier of his own Calamities: and what at first vndid him, does constantly increase his woes; Search, and selfe-presumption. Hee hath sought means to winde himselfe out of miserie, and is thereby implunged to more. Hee hath left vertue, which the Stoicks haue defined to be honest Nature; and is lanced into by-deuices of his owne ingiddyd braine: nor doe I see, but that this definition may hold with true Religion. For that does not abolish Nature, but rectifie it, and bound it. And though Man at first fell desperately, yet we read not of any Law hee had to live by, more then the Instinct of Nature, and the remnant of Gods Image in him, till Moses time: Yet in that time, who was it that did teach Abel to doe Sacrifice? as if we should almost beleue, that Nature could finde out Religion. But when Man (once falne) was by degrees growne to a height of

3It was common in the Renaissance to divide human history into three periods, those of Natural Law, Mosaic Law, and Christian Law, each of approximately 2000 years in length.

4Genesis 4:3.
prevarication: Then, God commanded Moses, to give them rules, to checke the madding of their ranging mindes.5 Thus, God made Man righteous; but hee sought out vaine Inventions: among all which, none hath more befooled him, then the setting vp of Gold: For now, (riches swaying all) they serve Vertue, like those of another Faction, are pusht at by those that runne with the generall streame. Incogitable calamity of Man! that must make that for the hinges of his life to turne on, which need not in any thing bee conducent to it. I applaud that in the Westerne Indies, where the Spaniard hath conquer'd: whose Inhabitants esteemed gold, but as it was wrought into necessarie vessell; and that no more, then they would alike of any inferiour mettall: esteeming more of the commodiousnesse, then they did of the thing it selfe.6 Is it not miserable, that we should set vp such an Idol, as should destroy our happinesse? And, that Christians should teach Heathen to vndoe themselues by couetousnesse! How happily they liu'd in Spaine, till fire made some mountaines vomit Gold! and what miserable discords followed after, Viues7 vpon Augustine doth report. If this

5The Ten Commandments, Deuteronomy 4:44-5:22.

6It was reported in the sixteenth century that the Indians of Florida esteemed copper more than they did gold because they could make more useful items of the former. Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation, 12 vols. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), VIII, 433.

7Juan Luis de Vives (1492-1540), a Spanish classical scholar and author. He was a lecturer at Corpus Christi
were put downe, Vertue might then be Queene againe. Now, we
cannot serue her as wee ought, without the leave of this
Godling. Her accesse is more difficult, because wee must goe
about to come to her. As when an Vsurper hath deposed the
rightfull King; those that would shew their loue to the true
one, either dare not, or cannot, for feare of the false ones
might. Some things I must doe that I would not: as being
one among the rest, that are involued in the generall
necessitie. But in those things wherein I may bee free from
impugning the Lawes of Humanitie, I will neuer deny my
selfe an honest solace, for feare of an avery censure. Why
should another mans inijustice breede my vnkindnesse to my
selfe? As for Gold, surely the World would bee much happier,
if there were no such thing in it. But since 'tis now the
Fountaine whence all things flow, I will care for it, as I
would for a Passe, to travell the World by, without begging.
If I haue none, I shall haue so much the more misery; because
custome hath plaid the foole, in making it materiall, when it
needed not.

College, Oxford, from 1523 to 1525. While there he protested
against Henry VIII's divorce of Catherine of Aragon and was
dismissed. He spent most of the rest of his life in Bruges.

L. 30. Of Woman.

Some are so vncharitable, as to thinke all Women bad:
and others are so credulous, as they beleue, they all are
good. Sure: though every man speakes as hee findes; there
is reason to direct our opinion, without experience of the
whole Sex; which in a strict examination, makes more for
their honour, then most men haue acknowledged. At first,
she was created his Equall; onely the difference was in the
Sex: otherwise, they both were Man. If wee argue from the
Text, that male and female made man: so the man being put
first, was worthier. I answer, So the Eueening and the
morning was the first day: yet few will thinke the night
the better. That Man is made her Gouernour, and so aboue
her, I beleue rather the punishment of her sinne, then the
Prerogatiue of his worth: Had they both stood, it may be
thought, shee had neuer beene in that subjection: for then
had it beene no curse, but a continuance of her former
estate: which had nothing but blessednesse in it. Peter
Martyr indeed is of opinion, that man before the fall, had
prioritie: But Chrysostome, hee sayes, does doubt it. All
will grant her body more admirable, more beautifull then
Mans: fuller of curiosities, and Noble Natures wonders: both
for conception, and fostering the producted birth. And can
we thinke, God would put a worser soule into a better body?
When Man was created, 'tis said, God made Man: but when
Woman, 'tis said, God builded her: as if he had then beene

1Genesis 1:27.  2Genesis 1:5.

3Peter Martyr Anglerius, fifteenth-century historian
and Bishop of Jamaica.

4Chrysostome, Archbishop of Constantinople in the
fourth century.
about a frame of rarer Roomes, and more exact composition. And, without doubt, in her body, she is much more wonderfull: and by this, we may thinke her so in her minde. Philosophie tells vs, Though the soule be not caused by the body: yet in the generall it followes the temperament of it: so the comeliest out-sides are naturally (for the most part) more vertuous within. If place can bee any priuiledge; vve shall finde her built in Paradise, when Man was made without it. 'Tis certaine, they are by constitution colder then the boyling Man: so by this, more temperate: 'tis heat that transports Man to immoderation and furie: 'tis that, which hurries him to a saugge and libidinous violence. Women are naturally the more modest: and modestie is the seate and dwelling place of Vertue. Whence proceed the most abhorred Villanies, but from a masculine, vnblushing impudence? What a deale of sweetnesse doe we find in a milde disposition? When a Woman growes bold and daring we dislike her, and say, she is too like a man: yet in our selues, vve magnifie what vve condemne in her. Is not this injustice? Every man is so much the better, by how much hee comes neerer to God. Man in nothing is more like Him, then in being mercifull. Yet Woman is farre more mercifull then Man: a It being a Sexe, wherein Pitty and compassion have dispers'd farre brighter raves. God is said to be Loue; b and

aMen, 6.

bI John 4:8.
I am sure, every where Woman is spoken of, for transcending in that qualitie. It was neuer found, but in two men only, that their loue exceeded that of the feminine Sexe: and if you obserue them, you shall finde, they were both of melting dispositions. I know, when they proue bad, they are a sort of the vilest creatures: Yet, still the same reason giues it: for, Optima corrupta, pessima: The best things corrupted, become the worst. They are things, whose soules are of a more ductible temper, then the harder mettall of man: so may be made both better and worse. The Representations of Sophocles and Euripedes may be both true: and for the tongue-vice, talkatiuenesse, I see not, but at meetings, Men may very well vie words with them. 'Tis true, they are not of so tumultuous a spirit, so not so fit for great actions. Naturall heate does more actuate the stirring Genius of Man. Their easie Natures make them somewhat more unresolute; whereby men haue argued them of feare and inconstancie. But men haue alwayes held the Parliament, and haue enacted their owne wills, without ever hearing them speake: and then, how easie is it to conclude them guiltie? Besides, Education makes more difference between men and them, then Nature: and, all their aspersions

6 Perhaps a reference to David and Jonathan, I Samuel 19-20.


8 Probably references to Antigone and Electra.
are lesse noble, for that they are onely from their Enemies, Men. Diogenes snarled bitterly, when walking with another, hee spyed two Women talking, and said, See, the Viper and the Aspe are changing poysom. The Poet was conceited, that said, After they were made ill, that God made them fearefull, that Man might rule them; otherwise they had beene past dealing with. Catullus his Conclusion was too generall, to collect a deceit in all Women, because hee was not confident of his owne.

Nulli se dicit mulier mea nubere malle
Quàm mihi: non si se Iupiter ipse petat.
Dicit: sed mulier Cupido quod dicit amanti,
In vento, & c. rapida scribere oportes aquæ.  

My Mistris sweares, she'e'd leaue all men for mee:
Yea, though that loue himselfe should Suiter bee.
She sayes it: but, what Women sweare to kind
Loues, may be writ in rapid streames, and wind.

I am resolued to honour Vertue, in what Sexe soeuer I finde it. And I thinke, in the generall, I shall find it more in Women, then Men; though weaker, and more infirmely guarded. I beleeue, they are better, and may be wrought to be worse. Neither shall the faults of many, make me vncharitable to

9 Diogenes the Cynic was noted for his misogyny.
10 Carmina, LXX.
All: nor the goodnesse of some, make me credulous of the rest. Though hitherto, I confesse, I haue not found more sweet and constant goodnesse in Man, then I haue found in Woman: and yet of these, I haue not found a number.

L. 31. Of the losse of things loued.

No crosses doe so much affect vs, as those that befall vs in the things we loue. We are more griued to lose one child of affection, then we should be for many that we do not so neerly care for, though every of them bee alike to vs, in respect of outward relations. The Soule takes a freedome, to indeare what it liketh, without discovering the reason to MAN: and when that is taken from her, she mournes, as haung lost a sonne. When the choice of the Affections dyes, a generall lamentation followes. To some things we so dedicate our selues, that in their parting, they seeme to take away euen the substance of our soule along: as if we had laid vp the treasure of our liues, in the fraile and movable hold of another. The Soule is fram'd of such an actiuue nature, that 'tis impossible but it must assume something to it selfe, to delight in: We seldom find any, without a peculiar delight in some peculiar thing; though various, as their fancies leade them. Honour, Warre, Learning, Musicke, doe all finde their seuerall votaries: who, if they faile in their soules wishes, mourne
immoderately. David had his Absolon: 1 Hannah's wish was children: 2 Hamans thirst was Honour: 3 Achitophel tooke the glory of his Counsell. 4 Who would haue thought, that they could, for the misse of these, haue expressed such excessive passions? Who would haue beleeeued, that one negligence of his Counsell, would haue truss'd vp Achitophel in a voluntarie Halter? We then beginne to bee miserable, when wee are totally bent on some one temporall object. What one sublunarie Center is there, which is able to receiue the circles of the spreading soule? All that wee finde heere, is too narrow, and too little, for the patent affections of the minde. If they could afford vs happinesse, in their possession, it were not then such fondnesse to inleage our selues with an vndevidable loue: but, being they cannot make vs truly-happy in their enjoying; and may make vs miserable by their parting; it will be best, not to concenter all our rayes vpon them. Into how many ridiculous passages doe they precipitate themselues, that dote vpon a rosev face? Who lookes not vpon Dido, 5 with a kind of smiling pitty, if Virgil's Poetry does not iniure her with

2I Samuel 1:1-23.
4II Samuel 16-17.
5Queen of Carthage. See Virgil's Aeneid, Books V. and VI.—Smeaton.
loue to Aeneas, rather then tell the truth of her hate to Iarbas?

Vritur infaelix Dido totague vagatur
Vrbe furens: qualis conjecta Cerua sagitta;
Quam procul incautam nemora inter Cressia fixit
Pastor agens telis: liquitque volatile ferrum
Nescius: illa fuga sylvas saltufque peragratur
Dictoeos: haret lateri Lethalis arundo. 6

Scorch't in fierce flames, through Cities severall waies
Lost Dido wanders: like some Deere that strayes,
And vnawares, by some rude Shepheards Dart,
In her owne Crete, pierc'd to her fearefull heart,
Flyes tripping through all Dicte's Groues and Plaines;
Yet still the deadly Arrow stickes, and paines.

But for such high fed Loue as this, Crates triple-remedy is
the best that I know: either Fasting, or Time: and, if both
these faile, A Halter. 7 And surely he descrues it, for
robbing himselfe of his Soule. Certainly, they can neuer
live in quiet, that so vehemently intend a peculiar quest.
Feare and suspicion startle their affrighted minds; and
many times, their over-loving is a cause of their losse:
Moderate care would make it last the longer. Often handling

6Aeneid, IV, 68-73.

7Crates the Cynic, of Thebes (fl. 328-324 B. C.).
Diogenes Laertius, VI, 86.
of the withering Flowre, addes not to the continuance, but is a properation of more swift decay. Who loues a Glasse so well, as hee will still be playing with it, breakes that by his childishness, which might haue beene found in the Cellar or Case. But, when in this we shall lay vp all our best contentments; what doe wee, but like foolish Marchants, venture all our estate in a bottome. It is not good to bring our selues into that absolute necessitie, that the failing of one ayme should perish vs. Who, that cannot swimme well, would come one small thred, hazzard himselfe in the faithlesse and vnfounded Sea? How pleasantly the wise man laughs at that, which makes the Lady wepe; The death of her little Dogge? The loving part in her, wanted an obiect: so play, and lapping on it, made her place it there: and that so deeply, that she must bedew her n'eyes at parting with't. How improvident are wee, to make that, affliction in the farewell, which while we had, we knew was not alwaies to stay? nor could (if we so pleas'd not) theeue the least mite from vs. He is vnwise, that lets his light spleene clap his wanton sides, which knowes it needes must dye, whens'ere the Musicke ceases. I like him, that can both play, and winne, and laugh: and lose, without a chafe, or sighes. Our loues are not alwayes constant: their obiects are much more vncertaine;and events

8Here referring to that part of a ship which is below the waterline, the cargo space; hence, by synecdoche, a ship.
more casual than they. Something I must like and love: but, nothing so violently, as to undo my selfe with wanting it. If I should ever be intangled in that snare; I will yet cast the worst, and prepare as well for a parting journey, as cohabitation. And to prevent all, I will bend my love toward that, which can neither be lost, nor admit of excess. Nor yet will I ever love a Friend so little, as that he shall not command the All of an honest man.

L. 32. Of the uncertainty of life.

Miserable brevity: more miserable uncertainty of life! we are sure that we cannot live long: and uncertain that we shall live at all. And even while I am writing this, I am not sure my pen shall end the sentence. Our life is so short, that we cannot in it, contemplate what our selves are: so uncertain, as we cannot say, we will resolve to do it. Silence was a full answer in that Philosopher, that being asked what he thought of humane life; said nothing, turn'd him round, and vanish'd. Like leaves on Trees, we are the sport of every puffe that blowes: and with the least gust, may be shaken from our life and nutriment. We travaile, we study, we thinke to dissect the World with continued searches: when, while we are contriving but the nearest

Cf. Ben Jonson's Poem, Good Life—Long Life, for many of the ideas expressed here—Smeaton.
way to't, Age, and consumed yeeres or'etake vs; and only Labour payes vs the losses of our ill-expended time. Death whiskes about the vnthoughtfull World, and with a Pegasean² speede, flyes vpon vnwarie Man; with the kicke of his heele, or the dash of his foote, springing Fountaines of the teares of Friends. Juvenal does tell vs, how Life wings away:

---Festinat enim decurrere velox
Flosculus angustae, miseraeque brevissima vitae
Portio: dum bibimus, dum sertas, vnguenta, puellas
Poscimus, obrepit, non intellecta, senectus.³

---The short-lyu'd Flowre, and Portion
Of poore, sad life, post-hasteth to be gone:
And while we drinke, seeke women, wreaths, and earn'd Applause, old age steales on vs vn-discern'd.

If Nature had not made Man an active creature, that he should be delighted in imployment, nothing would convince him of more folly, then the durance of some enterprizes that he takes in hand: for they are many times of such a future length, as wee cannot in reason hope to live till their conclusion comes. Wee build, as if we laid foundations for eternitie: and the expeditions wee take in hand, are many

²Pegasus, the winged horse in Greek mythology. Ovid, Metamorphoses, IV, 786.
³Satira Nona, 126-9.
times the length of three or four Lyues. How many Warriors haue expir'd in their expugnations; leaving their breath in the places where they laid their Siege? Certainly, hee that thinkes of lifes casualties, can neither bee carelesse, nor covetous. I confessse, we may live to the Spectacle, and the bearing-staffe: to the stooping backe, to the snow, or the sleeknesse of the declining crowne: but, how few are there, that can unfold you a Diarie of so many leaves. More doe dye in the Spring and Summer of their yeeres, then live till Autumn, or their govned Winter. When a man shall exhaust his very vitalitie, for the hilling vp of fatall Gold; and shall then thinke, how a Haire, or Fly may snatch him in a moment from it: how it quels his laborious hope, and puts his posting minde into a more safe and quiet pace! Unlesse wee were sure to enjoy it, why should any man straine himselfe, for more then is convenient? I will never care too much, for that I am not sure to keepe. Yet, I know, should all men respect but their ownetime, an Age or two would finde the World in ruine: so that for such actions, men may pleade their charity; that though they live not to enjoy those things themselves, they shall yet be beneficial to posterity. And I rather thinke this an instinct that GOD hath put in Man, for the conservation of things; then an intended Good of the Author to his followers. Thus, as in propagation we are often more beholding to the pleasure of our Parents, then their desire of having vs: so in matters of the World, and fortune, the aimes of our Predecessors
for themselves, have, by the secret work of providence, cast benefits upon us. I will not altogether blame him that I see begins things lasting. Though they be vanities to him, because he knowes not who shall enjoy them: yet they will bee things well fitted, for some that shall succeed them. They that doe me good, and know not of it, are causes of my benefit, though I doe not owe them my thanks: and I will rather blesse them, as instruments; then condemne them, as not intenders.

L. 33. That good counsell should not be valued by the person.

To some, there is not a greater vexation, then to be advised by an Inferiour. Directions are unwelcome, that come to vs by ascensious: as if wealth only were the full accomplishment of a soule within; and could as well infuse an inward judgement, as procure an outward respect. Nay, I haue knowne some, that being advised by such, haue runne into a worser contradict on; because they would not seeme to learne of one below them: or, if they see no other way convenient, they will yet delay the practice, till they thinke the Prompter has forgot how he counsel'd them. They will rather flye in a perillous height, then seeme to decline at the voice of one beneath them. Pittifull! that we should rather mischiefe our selves, then be content to be vnprided:
For had wee but so much humilitie, as to thinke our selues but what wee are, Men; wee might easily beleeue, another might haue braine to equall vs. Hee is sicke to the ruine of himselfe, that refuseth a Cordiall, because presented in a Spoune of wood. That Wisdome is not lastingly good, which stops the eare with the tongue: that will command and speake all, without hearing the voice of another. Euen the Slaue may sometimes light on a way to inlarge his Master; when his own invention failes. Nay, there is some reason we should be best directed by men below our state: For, while a Superior is sudden and fearelesse, an Inferiour premeditates the best; lest being found weake, it might displease, by being too light in the poize. Job reckons it a part of his integrity, that hee had not refused the judgement of his servant.\(^1\) 'Tis good to command, and heare them. Why should wee shame by any honest meanes, to meete with that which benefits vs. In things that bee difficult, and not of important secresie, I thinke it not amisse to consult with Inferiours. Hee that lyes vnder the Tree, sees more then they that sit o'th' top on't. Nature hath made the bodies eye to looke vpward with more ease then downe: So, the eye of the soule sees better in ascensions, and things meanely raised. Wee are all with a kinde of delectation, carried to the things above vs: and wee haue also better meanes of observing them, while we are admitted their view, and yet

\(^1\) See Book of Job, xix. 16.—Smeaton.
not thought as Spies. In things beneath us, not being so delighted with them, we pass them over with neglect, and not-observing. Servants are usually our best friends, or our worst Enemies: Neuters seldom. For, being known to be privy to our retired actions, and our more continual conversation; they have the advantage of being believed, before a removed friend. Friends have more of the tongue, but Servants of the hand: and Actions for the most part, speak a man more truly than Words. Attendants are like to the lockes that belong to a house: while they are strong and close, they preserve us in safety: but weak, or open, we are left a prey to theeues. If they be such as a stranger may pick, or another open with a false key; it is very fit to change them instantly. But if they be well warded, they are then good guards of our fame and welfare. 'Tis good, I confess, to consider how they stand affected; and to handle their Counsels, before we embrace them: they may sometimes at once, both please and poison. Advice is as well the wise mans fall, as the fooles advancement: and is often most wounding, when it stroke us with a silken hand. All families are but diminutives of a Court; where most men respect more their own advancement, than the honour of their Throned King. The same thing, that makes a lying Chamber-maid tell a foule Lady, that she lookes louely: makes a base Lord, sooth vp his ill King in Mischiefe. They both counsell, rather to insinuate themselves, by
floating with a light-lou'd humour; then to profit the 
advised, and imbetter his fame. It is good to know the 
disposition of the Counsellor, so shall wee better iudge of 
his counsell; which yet if wee finde good, we shall doe well 
to follow, howsoever his affection stand. I will loue the 
good counsell, euen of a bad man. Wee thinke not Gold the 
more worse, because 'tis brought vs in a bag of leather: No 
more ought we to contemne good counsell, because it is 
presented vs, by a bad man, or an vnderling.

L. 34. Of Custome.

Custome mis-leades vs all: we magnifie the wealthy man, 
though his parts be neur so poore; the poore man we despise, 
be he neuer so well otherwise qualified. To be rich, is to 
bee three parts of the way onward to perfection. To bee 
poore, is to be made a pavement for the tread of the 
full-mined man. Gold is the only Couerlet of imperfections: 
'tis the Foole Curtaine, that can hide all his defects 
from the World: It can make knees bow and tongues speake, 
against the natue Genius of the groining heart: It supples 
more then Oyle, or Fomentations: and can stiffen beyond the 
Summer Sunne, or the Winters white-bearded cold. In this 
wee differ from the ancient Heathen; They made Jupiter
their chief god; and we haue crowned Pluto.¹ He is Master of the Muses, and can buy their voices.² The Graces waite on him: Mercury is his Messenger: Mars comes to him for his pay: Venus is his Prostitute: He can make Vesta breake her vow: He can have Bacchus be merry with him; and Ceres feast him, when he lists: Hee is the sicke mans Esculapius: and the Pallas of an emptie braine: nor can Cupid cause loue, but by his golden headed Arrow. Money is a generall Man: and without doubt, excellently parted.² Petronius describes his Qualities:

Quisquis habet nummos, secura naviget aura:
   Fortunamque: suo temperet arbitrio.
Vxorem ducat Danaen, ipsumque licebit
   Acriatum iubeat credere, quod Danaen:
   Carmina componat, declamet, concrepat omnes
   Et peragat causas, sitque Catone prior.
   Jurisconsultus, paret, non paret: habeto;
   Atque esto, quicquid Serius aut Labeo.
   Multa loquor: quid vis nummis praesentibus opta,
   Et veniet: clausum possidet arca Louem.³

¹ voice, 4-7.
² God of the Underground, hence, according to Plato, the god of wealth, since all precious metals have to be mined.
³ Satyricon, 137.
The *moneyed-man* can safely saile all *Seas*;
And make his *fortune* as himselfe shall please.
Hee can wed *Danae*, and command that now
*Acrisius* selfe that fatall *match* allow:
He can declaime, chide, censure, *verses* write;
And doe all things, better then *Cato* might.
Hee knowes the *Law*, and rules it: hath and is
Whole *Seruius*, and what *Labeo* could possesse.
In briefe, let *rich men* whats'ere they loue,
"T will come; they in a *lockt Chest* keepe a *Loue*.

The *Time* is come about, whereof *Diogenes* prophesied; when b
he gaue the reason why he would be buried *groueling*; we
haue made the *Earths bottome* powerfull to the *loftie Skies*:
*Gold*, that lay buried in the *buttocke* of the *World*; is now
made the *head*, and *Ruler of the People*: 4 putting all vnder
it, wee haue made it extensiue, as the *Spanish ambition*; and
in the meane, haue underseruedly put *worth* below it. *Worth*
without *wealth*, is like an *able servant* out of *imployment*;
hee is fit for all businesses, but wants wherewith to put
hime selfe into any: hee hath good *Materials*, for a
*foundation*:but misseth wherewith to reare the *Walls* of his

b which, 4.5.7.

4 Diogenes Laertius relates the story, but attributes a
different reason for Diogenes's answer: "'Because . . .
after a little time down will be converted into up.' This
because the Macedonians had now got the supremacy, that is,
had risen high from a humble position." VI, 32. Hicks
translation.
fame. For, though indeed, riches cannot make a man worthy, they can shew him to the world, when he is so: But when we thinke him wise, for his wealth alone, we appeare content, to be mis-led with the Multitude. To the rich, I confesse, we owe something; but to the wise man, most: To this, for himselfe, and his innate worthinesse: to the other, as being casually happy, in things that of themselues are blessings; but never so much, as to make Vertue mercenarie, or a flatterer of Vice. Worth without wealth, beside the native Noblenesse, ha's this in it: That it may be a way of getting the wealth which is wanting: But as for welath without worth, I count it nothing but a rich Saddle, for the State to ride an Asse withall.

Cbesides, 4, 5, 7.

5Cf. Dekker's Old Fortunatus, Act i., 1-275 ff [sic]. Johnson has the same thought in London, i. 176—
This mournful truth is everywhere expressed,
Slow rises Worth by Poverty oppressed.—Smeaton.

L. 35. That Sinne is more craftie then violent.

Before wee sinne, the Devil shews his policie; when we we haue sinned, his basenesse: Hee makes vs first revile Father; and then steps vp, to witnesse how we haue blasphem'd. Hee begs the rod, and the wand, for faults which had not beene, but for his owne inticement. Hee was never such a Souldier, as he is a Politician: He blowes vp more by one
Mine, then hee can kill by tenne assaults: He prevails most by Treaty, and facetious waies. Presents and Parlies winne him more then the cruell wound, or the dragge\textsuperscript{a} of the compulsive hand.\textsuperscript{b} All sinne is rather subtill, then valiant. The Devill is a coward; and will, with thy resisting, fly thee: nor dare he shew himselfe in a noted good mans company: if he does, hee comes in seeming-vertues; and the garments of belied Truth. Vice stands abash't at the glorious Majestie of a good confirmed Soule. Cato's presence stopp'd the practices of the Romans brutish Floralia's.\textsuperscript{1} Satan beganne sirst with hesitations,\textsuperscript{c} and his sly-couch'd Oratorie:\textsuperscript{2} and euer since, hee continues in wiles, in stratagems, and the fetches of a toyling braine; rather perswading vs to sinne, then urging vs: and when we haue done it, he seldome lets vs see our folly, till we be plunged in some deepe extremity: then hee writes it in\textsuperscript{d} capitall Letters, and carries it as a Pageant at a Show, before vs. What could haue made David so heartlesse, when Absalom rose against him, but the gilt of his then presented sins?\textsuperscript{3} when he fled, and wept, and fled againe? It appeares

\textsuperscript{a}dregge, 4,5,7. \textsuperscript{b}hands, 4,5,7. \textsuperscript{c}hesitation, 5,7. \textsuperscript{d}in it, 5; it omitted, 7.

\textsuperscript{1}Cato the Censor (234-149 B.C.). The festival of Flora, goddess of flowers, celebrated April 27-May 1, 2as an excuse for licentiousness; during his consulship the moral Cato banned it.

\textsuperscript{2}Cf. Genesis iii.1; also Milton, Par. Lost, B. IX. 11. 518-576.—Smeaton.

\textsuperscript{3}II Samuel 14-18.
a wonder, that Shimei should raile a\textsuperscript{e} King to his face; and vnpunisht, braue him, and his Host of Souldiers, casting stones and spirting taunts, while he stood incompassed with his Nobles.\textsuperscript{4} Surely, it had bin impossible, but that David was full of the horror of his sinnes, and knew he repeated truth; though in that, he acted but the Devils part, ignobly to insult ouer a man in misery. Calamity, in the sight of worthinesse, prompts the hand, and opens the purse, to relieue. 'Tis a Hellish disposition, that watcheth how to giue a blowe to the man that is already reeling. When wee are in danger, hee galls vs with what we haue done: and on our sicke beds, shewes vs all our sinnes in multiplying Glasses. He first drawes vs into hated Treason; and when we are taken, and brought to the Bar, he is both our accuser, and condemning witnesse. His close policy, is now turn'd to declared basenesse: nor is it a wonder: for vnworthines is is euer the end of vnhonest Deceit: yet sure this Coozenage is the more condemned, for that it is so ruinous, and so easie. Who is it but may coozen, if he mindes to be a Villaine? How poore and inhumane was the craft of Cleomines, that concluding a League for seuen dayes, in the night assaulted the secure Enemie? alledging, The nights were not excluded from slaughter.\textsuperscript{5} Nothing is so like to Satan, as a

\textsuperscript{e}raile at a, 6.

\textsuperscript{4}II Samuel 16:5-13.

\textsuperscript{5}Cleomenes (ca. 525-488 B.C.), King of Sparta, was noted for his cruelty and treachery.
Knaue furnisht with dishonest fraud: the best way to avoid him, is to disdaine the League. I will rather labour for valour, at the sirst, to resist him; then after yeelding, to endeveour a flight. Nor can I well tell which I should most hate, the Devil, or his Machiavill. For though the Devill bee the more secret Enemie, yet the base Politician is the more familiar: and is indeed but a Devill in Hose and Doublet, fram'd so, in an acquainted shape, to advantage his deceit the more.

Nothing is more curious than the horror wherewith the name of Machiavelli was regarded by Englishmen. It was the synonym for every kind of treason and traitorous dealing.—Smeaton.

L. 36. Of Discontents.

The discontented man is a Watch ouer-wound, wrested out of tune, and goes false. Griefe is like Inke powred into Water, that fills the whole Fountaine full of blacknesse and dissyse. Like mist, it spoiles the burnish of the silver mind. It casts the Soule into the shade, and fills it more with consideration of the unhappinesse, then thought of the remedie: Nay, it is so busied in the mischief, as there is neither roome, nor time for the wayes that should giue vs release. It does dissociate Man, and sends him with Beasts, to the lonelinesse of unpathed Desarts, which was by Nature made a Creature companiable. Nor is it the minde alone,
that is thus muddled; but even the **body** is disfaired too: it thickens the **complexion**, and dyes it into an **unpleasing swarthiness**: the **eye** is dimme, in the **discoulored face**; and the whole **man** becomes as if statued into **stone** and **earth**. But, aboue all, those **discontents** sting deepest, that are such as may not with safety be comunicated: For, then the **Soule** pines away, and starues, for want of **counsell**, that should feed and cherish it. **Concealed sorrowes**, are like the **vapours**, that being shut vp, occasion **Earth-quakes**: as if the World were plagued with a fit of the **Collicke**. That man is **truly miserable**, that cannot but **keepe** his miseries; and yet must not **unfold** them. As in the **body**, whatsoeuer is taken in, that is **distastfull**, and continues there **vn-voyded**, does daily **impostume**, and gather, till at last it **kills**, or at least **indangers** to extremity: So is it in the **minde**: Sorrowes entertain'e, and smother'd, doe **collect** still, and **habitate** it so, that all **good disposition** giues way to a **harsh morositie**. Vexations, when they daily **billow** upon the **minde**, they froward even the sweetest **Soule**, and from a **dainty affabilitie**, turne it into **spleene** and **testinesse**. It is good to doe with these, as **Iocasta** did with **Oedipus**, cast them out in their **infancie**, and lame them in their **feet**:¹

¹*Laius, king of Thebes, had been warned that his son would kill him. When a son was born to his wife Iocasta, Laius had her to pierce the boy's feet with a spike and abandon him to die. Felltham had probably read Seneca's play on the subject, rather than Sophocles's.*
or, for more safety kill them, to a not reviving. Why should we hug a poisoned Arrow so closely in our wounded bosomes? Neither griefes, nor joyes, were euer ordained for secrecie. It is against Nature, that we should so long goe with childe with our conceptions; especially when they are such, as are euer striving, to quit the ejecting Wombe.

Strangulat inclusus Dolor, atque; cor aestuat intus; Cogitur &c. vires multiplicare suas.²

Vtold griefes choake, cynder the Heart: and by restraint, their burning forces multiply.

I think, no man but would willingly tell them, if eyther shame of the cause, or distrust of the friend, did not bridle his expressions. Either of these intaile a mans mind to misery. Every Sorrow is a short convulsion; but hee that makes it a close prisoner, is like a Papist, that keepes Good-Friday all the yeere; he is euer whipping and inflicting penance on himselfe, when he needs not. The sad man is an Hypocrite: for hee seems wise, and is not. As the eye fixt upon one object, sees other things but by halues and glancings: so, the soule intent on this accident, cannot discern on other contingencies. Sad objects, even for worldly things, I know are sometimes profitable: but yet, like Willowes, if we set them deepe, or let them stand too

²Ovid, Tristium, V, 1, 63-4.
long, they will grow trees, and overspread, when we intended them but for stayes, to uphold. Sorrow is a dull passion, and deads the actuennesse of the minde. Me thinkes Crates shew'd a braver Spirit, when hee danc'd and laugh'd at his thred-bare Cloake, and his Wallet at his backe, which was all his wealth;\(^3\) than Alexander, when hee wept, that hee had not such a huge Beast, as the Empire of the World, to governe.\(^4\) He contemned, what this other did cry for. If I must haue sorrow, I will neuer be so in loue with it, as to keepe it to my selfe alone: nor will I euer so accept company, as to liue where vexatious shall daily salute mee.

\(^3\)Crates the Cynic of Thebes (fl. 326 B. C.). See Diogenes Laertius VI, 87, 91-2.

\(^4\)Plutarch, "The Life of Alexander."

L. 37. Of Natures recompencing wrongs.

There be few bodily imperfections, but the beautie of the minde can cover, or counteruaile, euuen to their not-seeming. For, that which is unskightly in the body, though it bee our misfortune, yet it is not our fault. No man had euuer power to order Nature in his owne composure: what wee haue there, is such as we could neither giue our selues, nor refuse when it was bequeathed vs: But, what wee finde in the Soule, is either the blurre of the Man, or the blossome for which we praise him: because a minde well
qualified, is oft beholding to the industrie of the carefull
man: and that againe which is mudded with a vicious
inquination, \(^1\) is so, by the vilenesse of a wilfull
selfe-neglect. Hence, when our soule findes a rarenesse in
a tuned soule, we fixe so much on that, as we become
charitable to the disproportion'd body, which we finde
containing it: and many times, the failes of the one, are
foiles, to set off the other, with the greater grace and
lustre. The minds excellency can salve the reall blemishes
of the body. In a man deformed, and rarely qualified, we
use first to view his blots, and then to tell his vertues,
that transcend them: which be as it were, things set of with
more glory, by the pitty and defect of the other. 'Tis fit
the minde should bee most magnified; which I suppose to bee
the reason, why Poets haue ascribed more to Cupid, the Sonne,
than to Venus, the Mother: because Cupid strikes the minde,
and Venus is but for the body.\(^2\) Homer sayes, Minerua cur'd
Vlysses of his wrinkles and baldnesse;\(^3\) not that she tooke
them away by supplements, or the deceiving fucus;\(^4\) but, that
hee was so applauded, for the acutenesse of an ingenuous

\(^1\) The act of polluting.

\(^2\) There are so many conceptions of Cupid (Eros) and
Venus (Aphrodite) in ancient mythology that it is difficult
to know exactly to which ones Felltham is referring here.
He seems to see Cupid as the patron of intellectual love,
Venus as the patronness of sensual lust.

\(^3\) Odyssey, XXIII.

\(^4\) Cosmetics, paint for the face.
minde, that men spared to object vnto him his deformitie: and if it shall chance to be remembered, it will bee allayed with the adjunct of the other's worth. It was said of bald, hooke-nos'ed, crooke-footed Galba, only that his wit dwelt ill. Worth then does vs the best service, when it both hides the faults of Nature, and brings vs into estimation. We often see blemished bodies, rare in mentall excellencies: which is an admirable instinct of Nature, that being conscious of her owne defects, and not able to absterge them, she vses diversion, and drawes the consideration of the beholders, to those parts, wherein shee is more confident of her qualifications. I doe thinke, for worth in many men, we are more beholding to the defects of Nature, then their owne inclinatory Loue. And certainly, for converse among men, beautiful persons haue lesse need of the mindes commending Qualities. Beauty in it selfe, is such a silent Orator, as is euer pleading for respect and liking: and by the eyes of others, is euer sending to their hearts for loue. Yet, euen this hath his inconvenience in it: that it makes them oft neglect the furnishing of the minde with Noblenesse. Nay, it oftentimes is a cause, that the minde is ill. The modest sweetnesse of a Lillied face, makes men perswade the heart vnto immodesty: Had not Dinah had so good a one, she had come home vnrauished.\(^5\) Unlovely features haue more liberty to be good withall; because they are freeer from

\(^5\) Cf. Genesis xxxiv.—Smeaton.
sollicitations. There is a kinde of continuall Combate, betweene Vertue, and Proportions pleasingnesse. Though it bee not a Curse; yet 'tis many times an unhappinesse to bee faire.

Lucretia's fate warnes vs to wish no face Like hers; Virginia would bequeath her grace To Lute-backt Rutila, in exchange: for still,\(^a\)
The fairest Children doe their Parents fill With greatest care; so seldom modestie Is found to swell with Beautie.---

\[^{--}Vetat\ optari^b\ faciem Lucretia qualem\]
Ipsa habuit; cuperet Ruttilae Virginia gibbum
Accipere atque suam Ruttilae dare. Filius autem
Corporis egregij miseres, trepidosque parentes
Semper habet: rara est adeò concordia formae
Atque pudicitia.---\(^6\)

The words be Juvenals. Aboue all therfore, I applaud that man which is amiable in both. This is the true Marriage, where the body and the soule are met, in the similarie Robe of Comelinesse: and hee is the more to be affected, because we may beleeue, he hath taken vp his goodness, rather vpon loue to it, then vpon sinister ends. They are rightly

\(^{a}\)til, 5.7. \(^{b}\)oportari, 5.7.

\(^6\)Satira Decima, 293-298.
vertuous, that are so, without incitation: nor can it but argue, vertue is then strong, when it liues vpright, in the prease of many temptations. And, as these are the best in others eyes, so are they most composed in themselues. For heere Reason and the senses kisse; disporting themselues, with mutuall speculations; whereas those men, whose mindes and bodies differ, are like two that are married together, and loue not: they haue euer secret reluctations, and doe not part for any other reason, but because they cannot.

L. 38. Of Truth, and bitternesse in iests.

IT is not good for a man to bee too tart in his iests. Bitternesse is for serious Potions; not for Healths of merriment, and the iollities of a mirthfull Feast. An offensive man is the Devils Bellowes, wherewith hee blowes vp contentions and iarres. But among all passages of this nature, I finde none more galling then an offensive Truth. For thereby wee runne into two great errors. One is, wee childe that in a loose laughter, which should be graue, and fauour both of loue and pitty. So we rub him with a poysone'd oyle, which spreads the more, for being put in such a fleeting suppleness. The other is, we descend to particulars, and by that meanes, draw the whole company to witnesse his disgrace we breake it on. The Souldier is not noble that makes himselfe sport, with the wounds of his owne
companion. Whosoeuer will jest, should be like him that flourishes at a Show: he may turne his Weapon any way, but not aime more at one, then at another. In this case, things like Truth, are better then Truth it selfe. Nor is it lesse ill then unsafe, to fling about this wormewood of the braine: some noses are too tender to endure the strength of the smell. And though there be many, like tyled houses, that can admit a falling sparke, vnwarm'd: yet some againe, are cover'd with such light, dry Straw, that with the least touch they wil kindle, and flame about your troubled eares: and when the house is on fire, it is no disputing with how small a matter it came: it will quickly proceede to mischief. Exitus ira, furor: Anger is but a step from Rage; and that is wilde fire, which will not bee extinguished. I know, wise men are not too nimble at an injurie. For, as with fire, the light stuffe, and rubbish, kindles sooner then the solid, and more compacted: so Anger sooner inflames a Foole, then a man composed in his resolutions. But wee are not sure alwayes to meete discreet ones: nor can wee hope it, while wee our selues are otherwise in giving the occasion. Fooles are the greater number: Wise men are like Timber-trees in a Wood, heere and there one: and though they bee most acceptable, to men wise,like themselues, yet haue they neuer more need of Wisdome, then when they converse with the ringing elboes: who, like corrupt Ayre, a not, 5.7.
require many Antidotes, to keepe vs from being infected:
But when wee grow bitter to a wise man, wee are then worst:
For, hee sees further into the disgrace, and is able to
harme vs more. Laughter should dimple the cheeke, not
furrow the brow into ruggednesse. The birth is then
prodigious, when Mischief is the childe of Mirth. All
should haue libertie to laugh at a jest: but if it throwes a
disgrace vpon one, like the cracke of a string, it makes a
stop in the Musicke. Flouts we may see proceed from an
inward contempt; and there is nothing cuts deeper in a
generous minde, then Scorne. Nature at first makes vs all
equal: wee are difference'd but by accident, and outwards.
And I thinke 'tis a Jealousie, that she hath infus'd in Man,
for the maintaining of her owne Honour against externall
causes: And though all haue not wit to reject the Arrow:
yet most haue memorie to retaine the offence; which they
will bee content to owe a while, that they may repay it,
both with more advantage, and ease. 'Tis but an unhappy wit,
that stirs vp Enemies against the owner. A man may spit out
his friend from his tongue; or laugh him into an Enemie.
Gall in mirth is an ill mixture; and sometimes truth is
bitternesse. I would wish any man to bee pleasingly merry:
but let him beware, he bring not Truth on the Stage, like a
Wanton with an edge Weapon.

b sometime, 4, 5, 7.

We make our selues more injuries then are offered vs: they many times passe for wrongs in our owne thoughts, that were neuer meant so, by the heart of him that speaketh. The apprehension of wrong, hurts more, then the sharpest part of the wrong done. So, by falsy making of our selues patients of wrong, wee become the true and first Actors. It is not good, in matters of discourtesie, to diue into a mans minde, beyond his owne Comment: nor to stir vpon a doubtfull indignitie, without it: vnlesse wee haue proofes, that carry weight and conviction with them. Words do sometimes fly from the tongue, that the heart did neither hatch, nor harbour. While we thinke to revenge an iniquie, we many times beginne one: and after that, repent our misconceptions. In things that may haue a double sense, 'tis good to thinke, the better was intended: so shall we still both keepe our friends and quietnesse. If it be a wrong that is apparent; yet is it sometimes better to dissemble it, then play the Waspe, and strive to returne a sting. A wisemans glory is, in passing by an offence; and this was Salomons Philosophie.\(^1\) A Foole strooke Cato in the Bath; and when he was sorry for it, Cato had forgot it: For, sayes Seneca, Melius putaut non agnoscre, quàm ignoscere.\(^2\) Hee would

\(^1\)Ecclesiastes 10:4.

\(^2\)Dialogorum, IV, xxxii.
not come so neere Revenge, as to acknowledge that he had beene wronged. Light injuries are made none, by a not-regarding; which, with a pursuing revenge, grow both to height, and burthen. It stands not with the discretion of a generous spirit, to returne a punishment for every abuse. Some are such, as they require nothing but contempt to kill them. The cudgel is not of use, when the beast but onely barkes. Though much sufferance be a stupiditie; yet a little is of good esteeme. Wee heare of many that are not disturbed with a light offence, and wee commend them for it: because, that which wee call remedy, slides into disease; and makes that liue to mischiefe vs, which else would dye, with giving life to safety. Yet, I know not what selfe-partialitie, makes vs thinke our selues behind-hand, if wee offer not repayment in the same coine wee receiued it. Of which, if they may stand for reasons, I thinke, I may giue you two. One is the sudden apprehension of the minde, which will endure anything with more patience, then a disgrace; as if by the secret spirits of the ayre, it conveyed a stab to the aetheriall soule. Another is, because living among many, we would justifie our selues, to avoyd their contempt; and these being most such, as are not able to judge; we rather satisfie them by externall actions, then reyle vpon a judicious verdict, which giues vs in for nobler, by contemning it. Howsoever we may prize the revengefull man for spirit; yet without doubt, 'tis Princely to disdaine a
wrong: who, when Embassadours have offered undecencies, use not to chide, but to deny them audience: as if silence were the way Royall, to reject a wrong. He enjoyes a braue composedness, that seats himselfe, aboue the flight of the injurious claw. Nor does he by this shew his weakenesse, but his wisdome. For, Qui leuiter saeuiunt, sapiunt magis: The wisest rage the least. I loue the man that is modestly valiant: that stirres not till hee must needs; and then to purpose. A continued patience I commend not; 'tis different from what is goodnesse. For though God beares much, yet hee will not beare alwayes.

3Plautus, Bacchides, 374.

L. 40. When Vice is most dangerous.

When Vice is got to the midst, it is hard to stay her, till she comes to the end. Give a hot Horse his head at first, and he will surely runne away with you. Who can stop a man in the thunder of his wrath, till hee hath a little discharg'd his passion, eyther by intemperate speech, or blowes? in vaine he preaches patience, presently after the sense of the losse. What a stir it askes, to get a man from the Taverne, when hee is but halfe drunke! Desire is dispersed into euery veine; that the Body is in all his parts concupiscible. And this dyes not in the way; but by discharge, or recesse. The middle of extremes is worst. In
the beginning, he may forbear: in the end, he will leave alone: in the midst, he cannot but go on to worse; nor will hee, in that heate, admit of any thing, that may teach him to desist. Rage is no friend to any man. There is a time, when 'tis not safe to offer even the best advice. Be counseled by the Romane, Ouid:

\[
\text{Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori;}\\
\text{Difficiles additus impetus omnis habet.}\\
\text{Stultus, ab obliquo qui cim discedere possit,}\\
\text{Pugnat, in adversas ire natator aquas.}^1
\]

When rage runnes swiftly, step aside and see
How hard th'approaches of fierce Fury bee.
When danger may be shun'd, I reckon him
Unwise, that yet against the streame will swim.

Wee are so blinded in the heate of the Chase, that wee beat backe all preseruatiques: or make them meanes to make our vices more. That I may keepe my selfe from the end, I will euer leaue off in the beginning. Whatsoever Precepts strict Stoicisme would giue vs, for the calming of vntemper'd passion, 'tis certaine, there is none like running away. Prevention is the best bridle. I commend the policie of Satyrus, of whom Aristotle hath this Storie; That being a Pleader, and knowing himselfe cholericke, and in that whirre

\[^1\text{De Remedio Amoris, 119-122.}\]
of the mind, apt to rush upon foule transgression; he used to stop his ears with waxe, lest the sense of ill language, should cause his fierce blood in his distended skinne. It is in Man to avoyd the occasion; but not the inconvenience, when hee hath admitted it. Who can retire in the impetuous girds of the Soule? Let a Giant knocke, while the doore is shut, he may with ease be still kept out; but if it once open, that he gets in but a limme of himselfe: then is there no course left, to keepe out the intirer bulk.

2 Satyrus was a distinguished comic actor in Athens, fourth century B. C.

L. 41. That all things are restrained.

I Cannot thinke of any thing, that hath not some enemy, or some Antagonist, to restraine it, when it growes to excesse. The whole world is kept in order by discord; and euery part of it, is but a more particular composed iarre. Not a Man, not a beast, not a creature, but haue something to ballast their lightnesse. One scale is not alwayes in depression, nor the other lifted euer high, but the alternate waue of the beame, keepes it euer in the play of the motion. From the Pismire on the tufted hill, to the Monarch in the raised Throne, nothing but hath somewhat to awe it. Wee are all heere like birds that Boyes let flye in strings: when wee mount too high, we haue that which puls vs downe againe.
What man is it which liues so **happilie**, which feares not something, that would sadden his **soule** if it fell? not is there any whom **Calamity** doth so much **tristitiate**, as that hee neuer sees the flashes of some warming **joy**. **Beasts** with **beasts** are **terrified** and **delighted**. **Man** with **man** is **awed** and **defended**. **States** with **States** are **bounded** and **upheld**. And in all these, it makes greatly for the **Makers glory**, that such as admirable **Harmony** should be produced out of such an **infinite discord**. The **world** is both a perpetuall **warre**, and a **wedding**. Heraclitus call'd **Discord** and **Concord** the **universall Parents**.¹ And to raile on **Discord** (sayes the Father of the **Poets**)² is to speake ill of **Nature**. As in **Musicke** sometimes one string is lowder, sometimes another; yet neuer one **long**, nor neuer all at **once**; So sometimes one **State** gets a **Monarchy**, sometimes another; sometimes one **Element** is violent, now another; yet neuer was the whole **world** vnder one long, nor were all the **Elements** raging together. Every string has his **vse**, and his **tune**, and his **turne**. When the Assyrians fell, the **Persians** rose. When

¹Celebrated Greek philosopher, born at Ephesus, and flourished circa 500 B. C. Called the "Weeping Philosopher," as Democritus was "the Laughing Philosopher," the former lamenting and the latter ridiculing the follies of his fellows.—Smeaton. "All things come into being by conflict of opposites. . . . Of the opposites that which tends to birth or creation is called war and strife, and that which tends to destruction by fire is called concord and peace." Diogenes Laertius, IX, 8. Hicks translation.

²Homer.
the Persians fell, the Grecians rose. The losse of one Man, is the gaine of another. 'Tis vicissitude that maintaines the world. As in infinite circles about one Center, there is the same Method, though not the same measure: So, in the smallest creature that is, there is an Epitome of a Monarchy, of a World, which hath in it selfe Convulsions, Arescations, Enlargements, Erections: which, like props keepe it vpright, which way soever it leans. Surely God hath put these lower things into the hands of Nature, which yet he doth not relinquish; but dispose. The world is composed of foure Elements, and those bee contraries. The yeare is quartered into different seasons. The body both consists, and is nourished by contraries. How divers, even in effect, are the birds and the beasts that feed vs? and how divers againe are those things that feed them? how many severall qualities haue the plants that they browse vpon? which all mingled together, what a well-temper'd Sallad doe they make? The minde too is a mixture of disparities: Ioy, sorrow, hope, feare, hate,and the like. Neither are those things pleasing, which flow to vs, in the smoothnesse of a free prostitution. A gentle resistance heightens the desires of the seeker. A friendly warre, doth indulciate the insuing cloze. 'Tis variety that hits the humours of both sides. 'Tis the imbecillity of declining Age, that commite man prisoner to a sedentary settlednesse. That which is the vigour of his life, is ranging. Heate and cold, driness and moysture,
quarrell and agree within him. In all which, he is but the great worlds Breviary. Why may wee not thinke the world like a Masquing Battell, which God commanded to be made for his owne content in viewing it? Wherein, even a dying Fly may lecture out the worlds Mortality. Surely, we deceive our selues, to thinke on earth, continued ioyes would please. 'Tis a way that crosses that which Nature goes. Nothing would be more tedious, then to be glutted with perpetuall Jollities: were the body tyed to one dish alwayes, (though of the most exquisite delicate, that it could make choise of) yet after a small time, it would complaine of loathing and satiety. And so would the soule, if it did euer epicure it selfe in ioy. Disconten's are sometimes the better part of our life. I know not well which is the more usefull; ioy I may chuse for pleasure, but adversities are the best for profit. And sometimes these doe so farre helpe me, as I should without them, want much of the ioy I haue.

3 The thought here is obviously based on Shakespeare's famous passage in As You Like It (ii. 1-12), "Sweet are the uses of adversity," etc.—Smeaton.

L. 42. Of Dissimulation.

Dissimulation in Vice, is like the braine in Man. All the Sences haue recourse to that, yet is it much controverted, whether that at all bee sensitive, or no: So, all vices fall into dissimulation, yet is it in a dispute, whether that in
it selfe be a vice, or no. Sure, men would neuer act Vice so freely, if they thought not they could escape the shame on't by dissembling. Vice hath such a loathed looke with her, that she desires to bee euer masqued. Deceit is a dresse that shee does continually weare. And howsoever the Worlds corrupted course may make vs sometimes, use it; euen this will condemn it, that it is not of use, but either when we doe ill our selues; or meet with ill from others Men are divided about the question; some disclaime all, some admit too much, and some haue hit the Meane. And surely, as the World is, it is not all condemnable. There is an honest policy. The heart is not so farre from the tongue, but that there may be a reservation; though not a contradiction betweene them. All policy is but circumstantiall dissembling; pretending one thing, intending another. Some will so farre allow it, as they admit of an absolute recessse from a word already passed, and say, that Faith is but a Merchants, or Mechanike vertue. And so they make it higher, by making it a regall vice. There is an order that out-goeth Machiauell: or else hee is honester then his wont, where he confesses, Vsus fraudis in caeteris actionsbus detestabilis: in bello gerendo laudabilis. That fraud which in warre is commendable, is, in other actions detestable.¹ 'Tis certayne there is a Prerogatue

¹Discourses, III, 40.
in *Princes*, which may *legitimate* something in their *Negotiations*, which is not allowable in a *private person*. But euen the grant of this *liberty*, hath encouraged them to too great an *inlargement*. *State* is become an *irreligious Riddle*. *Lewis* the eleventh of *France*, would wish his sonne to learne no more *Latine*, then what should teach him to bee a *dissembling Ruler*.\(^2\) The plaine *heart* in *Court*, is but growne a better word for a *Foole*. *Great Men* haue occasions both more, and of more *weight*, and such as require contrivings, that goe not the *ordinary way*; lest being *traced*, they bee *countermined*, and fall to *ruine*. The ancient *Romans*, did (I thinke) *miscall* it, *Industry*. And when it was against an *enemy*, or a bad *man*, they needs would haue it *commendable*. And yet the prisoner that got from *Hanibal*, by eluding his *oath*, was by the *Senate* (as *Liuie* tels vs) *apprehended* and *sent* backe againe. They *practiz'd* more then some of them *taught*; though in this indeed, there was greater *cause* of performance, because, there was a *voluntary* trust reposed. Contrary to the *opinion* of *Plato*, that allowed a *lye* lawfull, either to saue a *Citizen*, or deceive an *enemy*. There is a *sort*, that the *Poet* bids vs *coozen*.

\(^2\)Feltham scarcely quotes the saying correctly here. Louis said when his son expressed a desire to pursue his studies further in Latin that "Latin would be of no use to him save to teach him how to dissemble as a ruler."—Smeaton.
Fallite fallentes, ex magna parteprofanum
Sunt genus: in laqueos quos posuere, cadent.\(^3\)

Coozen the Coozeners, commonly they be
Profane: let their owne snare their ruine be.

But sure we goe too farre, when our coozenage breeds their mischiefe. I know not well whether I may goe along with Lipsius; Fraus triplex: prima leuis, vt dissimulatio, &c. diffidentia; hanc suadeo. Secunda media, vt conciliation, &c. deceptio: illam tollero. Tertia magna, vt perfidis, &c. injustitia: istam damno.\(^4\) I had rather take Peter Martyrs distinction of good and bad: Good, as the Nurse with the Child, or the Physician with his Patient, for his health's sake: bad, when 'tis any way author of harme.\(^5\) Certainly, the use of it any way is as great a fault, as an imperfection: and carries a kinde of diffidence of God along with it. I beleeue if Man had not falne, he should never neede haue vf'd it: and as he is now, I thinke no Man can liue without it. The best way to avoid it, is to avoid much businesse and vice. For, if men defend not in some

\(^3\)Ovid, _Artis Amatoriae_, I, 645-6.

\(^4\)"Deception is of three kinds: first mild, by dissembling and distrust; I recommend it. Second an intermediate kind, by conciliation and deception; I forbid it. Third a major kind, by perfidy and injustice; I damn that." Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), a major neo-Stoic philosopher.

\(^5\)Peter Martyr Anglerius, fifteenth-century historian and churchman.
sort, as others offend; while you maintaine one breach, you
leave another vnmann'd: and for Vice, she euer thinks in
this darke, to hide her abhorred foulnesse. If I must use
it, it shall be onely so, as I will neither by it, dishonour
Religion, nor be a cause of hurt to my neighbour.

L. 43. Of Censure.

Tis the easiest part to censure, or to contradict a
truth. For truth is but one, and seeming truths are many;
and few workes are performed without errours. No man can
write fixe lines, but there may be something, one may carpe
at, if hee be disposed to cavill. Opinions are as various,
as false. Judgement is from every tongue, a severall. Men
thinke by censuring to be accounted wise; but in my conceit,
there is nothing layes forth more of the Foole. For this
you may euer obserue; they that know least, censure most.
And this I beleue to be a reason, why men of precise liues,
are often rash in this extravagancy. Their retyrednesse
keepes them ignorant, in the course of businesse; if they
weighed the imperfections of humanity, they would breathe
less condemnation. Ignorance giues disparagement a lowder
tongue then Knowledge does. Wise men had rather know, then
tell. Frequent dispraises are at best, but the faults of
vncharitable wit. Any Clowne may see the Furrow is but
crooked, but where is the Man that can plow me a streight
one? The best workes are but a kind of Miscellany; the cleanest Corne will not be without some soyle. No, not after often winnowing. There is a tincture of corruption, that dyes even all Mortality. I would wish men in workes of others, to examine two things before they judge. Whether it be mere good, then ill: And whether they themselves could at first have perform'd it better. If it be most good, we doe amisse, for some errours to condemn the whole. Who will cast away the whole body of the Beast, because it inheld both guts and ordure? As man is not judged good, or bad, for one action, or the fewest number; but as he is most in generall: So, in workes, we should weigh the generality, and according to that, censure. If it bee rather good, then ill, I thinke he deserves some praise, for raising Nature above her ordinary flight. Nothing in this World can be framed so entirely perfect, but that it shall have in it, some delinquencies, to argue more were in the comprisor. If it were not so, it were not from Nature, but the immediate Deity. The next, if we had never seen that frame, whether or no, we thinke we could have mended it. To espy the inconveniences of a house built, is easie, but to lay the plot at first, well; is matter of more pate, and speaks the praise of a good Contriver. The crooked lines helpe better to shew the streight. Judgement is more certaine by the eye, then in the fancy, surer in things done, then in those that are but in cogitation. If wee finde
our selues able to correct a Copy, and not to produce an Original, yet dare to depraue; wee shew more Criticisme, then Ability. Seeing wee should rather magnifie him, that hath gone beyond vs; then condemne his worth, for a few failes. Selfe examination will make our judgements charitable. 'Tis from where there is no judgement, that the heaviest judgement comes. If we must needs censure, 'tis good to doe it as Suetonius writes of the twelue Caesars; tell both their vertues, and their vices unpartially: and leave the vpshot to collection of the private minde. So shall wee learne by hearing of the faults, to avoid them: and by knowing the vertues, practize the like. Otherwise, wee should rather praise a man for a little good, then brand him for his more of ill. Wee are full of faults by Nature, wee are good, not without our care and industry.

L. 44. Of Wisedome and Science.

Science by much is short of Wisedome. Nay, so farre, as I thinke you shall scarce find a more Poole, then sometimes a meere Scholler. He will speake Greeke to Ostler, and Latine familiarly, to women that understand it not. Knowledge is the treasure of the mind; But Discretion is the key: without which, it lyes dead, in the dulnesse of a fruitlesse rest. The practique part of Wisedome, is the best. A natieue ingenuity, is beyond the watchings of
industrious study. Wisedome is no Inheritance, no not to the greatest Clerkes. Men write, commonly more formally, then they practize: and they conversing onely among bookes, are put into affectation, and pedantisme. Hee that is built of the Presse, and the Pen, shall be sure to make himselfe ridiculous. Company and Conversation are the best Instructors for a Noble behaviour. And this is not found in a melancholy study alone. What is written, is most from Imagination, and Fancy. And how avery must they needs be, that are congeriated wholly, on the fumes, perhaps, of distempered braines? For if they haue not judgement, by their Learning, to amend their conversations; they may well want judgement to chuse the worthiest Authors. I grant they know much and I thinke any man may doe so, that hath but memory, and bestowes some time in a Library. There is a flowing noblenesse, that some men be graced with, which farre out-shines the notions of a timed Student. And without the vaine purles of Rhetorique; some men speake more excellently, even from Natures owne indiciousnesse, then can the Scholler by his quiddita of Art. How fond and vntunable are a Fresh-mans brawles, when wee meet them out of their Colledge? with many times a long recited Sentence, quite out of the way. Arguments about nothing; or at best, nicities. As one would be of Martins Religion, and then of Luthers, and so quarrell about their Faith. How easie an invention

aquiddits, 8.
may put false matter into true **Syllogismes**? So, I see how Seneca laughed at them. O *pueriles ineptias! in hoc supercilia subduximus? in hoc barbam dimissimus? Disputationes istae, vtinam tantum non prodessent, nocent.*

O most childish follies: is it for this we knit our brows, and stroke our beards? would God these Disputations only did not profit us; but they are hurtful. In discourse, giue mee a Man that speaks reason, rather then Authors: rather Sense, then a Syllogisme: rather his owne, then anothers. Hee that continually quotes others, argues a barrennesse in himselfe, which forces him, to be ever a borrowing. In the one, a man bewrayes Judgement; in the other, Reading. And in my opinion, 'tis a greater commendation to say, hee is wise, then well read. So farre I will honour Knowledge, as to thinke, this art of the braine, when it meetes with able Nature in the minde, then onely makes a man compleat. Any man shall speake the better, where he knowes, what others have said. And sometimes the consciousnesse of his inward knowledge, giues a confidence to his outward behaviour: which of all other is the best thing to grace a man in his carriage.

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1 Epistularum Moralium, IV, viii.
L. 45. That misapplication makes Passion ill.

I Reade it but of one, that 'tis said, He was a Man after Gods owne heart. And Him, among all others, I finde extremely passionate, and very valiant. Who ever read such bitter Curses, as hee prays may light vpon his Enemies? Let Death come hastily vpon them: and let them goe quicke to Hell. Let them fall from one wickednesse, to another. Let them bee wiped out of the Booke of Life. Let their prayer be turned into sinne. Certainly, should such imprecations fall from a Moderne tonque, we should censure them for want of charity: and I thinke wee mighta doe it jistly. For God hath not given vs Commission to curse his Enemies, as hee did to David.1 The Gospel hath set Religion to a sweeter Tune. The Law was given with Thunder, striking Terror in the Hearers. The Gospel with Musicke, Voyces, and Angellike apparitions. The Law came in like Warre, threatening ruine to the Land of Man. The Gospel like Peace, in the soft pleasures of uniting Weddings. And this may satisfie for his rigour: But if we looke vpon him, in another trimme of the minde: how smooth hee is, and mollifying? how does his soule melt it selfe into his eyes, and his bowels flow, with the full streames of compassion? how fixt hee was to Jonathan?2 how like a weake and tender woman, he laments

aMay, 5:7.

1II Samuel 17:9-10. 2I Samuel 20.
his Rebell Absalom, and weepes oftner, then I thinke we reade of any through the whole Story of the Bible? His valour, wee cannot doubt: it is so eminent in his killing of the Beare and Lyon: in his Duell with that huge Polypheme of the Philistims, and his many other Martiall Acts against them. So that there seems to be in him, the highest pitch of contrarying passions: and yet the man from Gods owne Mouth, hath a testimony of a true approuement. When passions are directed to their right end, they may faile in their manner, but not in their measure. When the subiect of our hatred is Sinne, it cannot bee too deepe: When the object of our Loue is God, it cannot bee too high. Moderation may become a fault. To bee but warme, when God command vs to be hot, is sinfull. We belye Vertue into the constant dulnesse of a Mediocrity. I shall never condemne the nature of those men, that are sometimes violent: but those that know not, when 'tis fit to be so. Valour is then best temper'd, when it can turne out of a sterne Fortitude, into the milde straines of Pitty. 'Tis written to the honour of Tamberlaine, that conquering the Muscovites with expression of a Princely valour, he falls from the joy of the victory, to a lamentation of the many casuall Miseries, they endure, that are tyed to follow the leading of Ambitions Generalls. And all this, from the sight of the field, covered with the soulelesse men.

4I Samuel 17:34-36. 5I Samuel 17:12-54.
Some report of Caesar, that he wept when hee heard how Pompey dy'd. Though Pitty be a downy vertue, yet she never shines more brightly, than when she is clad in steele. A Martill man compassionate, shall conquer both in Peace and Warre: and by a two-fold way, get Victory, with honour. Temperate men haue their passions so ballanced within them, as they haue none of either side in their height and purity. Therefore, as they seldom fall into foule acts: so they very rarely cast a lustre, in the excelling deedes of Noblenesse. I obserue in the generall, the most famed men of the world, haue had in them both Courage and Compassion: and oftentimes wet eyes, as well as wounding hands. I would not rob Temperance of her royalty. Fabius may conquer by delaying, as well as Caesar by expedition. As the casualties of the world are, Temperance is a vertue of singular worth: But without doubt, high spirits directed right, will beare away the Bayes for more glorious actions. These, are best to raise Common-wealths: but the other, are best to rule them after. This, best keepes in order, when the other hath stood the shocke of an innovation; of either, there is excellent vse. As I will not overvalue the moderate: So I will not too much disesteeme the violent.

Plutarch, "The Life of Pompey."

Fabius, surnamed "Cunctator," the delayer, because he never would risk a battle but wore the enemy out by incessant harassments. Alva was a similar type of general.—Smeaton. Third century, B. C. See Plutarch, "The Life of Fabius."
An Arrow aimed right, is not the worse for being drawne home. That action is best done, which being good, is done with the vigor of the spirits. What makes zeale so commendable, but the fervency that it carrieth with it?

L. 46. Of the waste and change of Time.

I Looke vpon the lavish Expences of former Ages, with Pitty and Admiration, That those things men built for the honour of their name, (as they thought) are either eaten vp by the steely teeth of Time: or else, rest as monuments, but of their Pride, and Luxurie. Great workes vndertaken for ostentation, misse of their end, and turne to the Authors shame: if not; the transitions of Time, weare out their ingraved names, and they last not much longer then Caligulaes Bridge over the Baiae. What is become of the Mausoleum, or the Ship bestriding Colossus? where is Marcus Scaurus

1Caligula, the third Roman Emperor, born 12 A. D., succeeded Tiberius in the purple 37 A. D., was the worst of all the Roman imperial rulers, though he only reigned four years. His cruelty, lust, extravagance, and shamelessness are incredible. To imitate Xerxes he built a bridge of boats between Baiae and Puteoli, three miles across, upon which he erected houses.—Smeaton.

2The tomb raised by the Carian queen Artemisia to the memory of her husband Mausolus, which was so splendid that it was reckoned one of the Seven Wonders of the World.—Smeaton.

3A gigantic brazen figure bestriding the entrance to the harbour at Rhodes, which also ranked among the Seven Wonders.—Smeaton.
Theater, the Bituminated walls of Babylon and how little rests of the AEgyptian Pyramids and of these, how divers does report give in their Builders some ascribing them to one, some to another. Who would not pity the toyles of Vertue, when hee shall finde a greater honour inscribed to loose Phryne, then to victorious Alexander? who when he had razed the Walls of Thebes, shee offer'd to re-edifie them, with condition this Sentence might but on them be inletter'd: Alexander pull'd them downe; but Phryne did rebuild them. From whence, some haue tested it into a quarrell for Fame, betwixt a Whore and a Thiefs: Doubtlesse, no Fortifications can hold, against the cruell devastations of Time. I could never yet find any estate, exempted from this Mutability. Nay, those which wee would haue thought had beene help vp with the strongest pillars of continuance, haue yet suffered the extremest changes. The houses of the dead, and the vrned bones, haue sometimes met with rude hands, that haue

4In 58 B. C., Marcus Scaurus became aedile in Rome. He built a temporary theatre which held 80,000 spectators. Three tiers of pillars, 360 in all, decorated the stage. The lowest tier was of white marble, the middle one of glass, the top one of gilt wood. Between the pillars were 3000 statues, besides paintings and other ornaments. The building of the theatre bankrupted Scaurus.

5Walls of Babylon were said to be 200 cubits high, 50 cubits thick, and furnished with 100 brazen gates.—Smeaton.

6A famous courtesan of antiquity, said to have been the most beautiful woman of her age.—Smeaton.
scattered them. Who would have thought when Scanderbeg\(^7\) was laid in his tombe, that the Turkes should after rifle it, and weare his bones for Jewels? Change is the great Lord of the World; Time is his Agent, that brings in all things to suffer his vnstaid Dominion.

---Ille tot Regum parens,
Caret Sepulchro Priamus, &c. flamma indiget,
Ardente Troia---\(^8\)

---He that had a Prince each sonne,
Now finds no graue, and Troy in flames,
He wants his Funerall one.

We are so farre from leaving any thing certaine to posterity, that we cannot be sure to intioy what we haue, while we liue. We liue sometimes to see more changes in our selues, then we could expect could happen to our lasting off-spring. As if none were ignorant of the Fate the Poet askes,

Divitis audita est cui non opulentia Craesi?
Nempe tamen vitam, captus ab hoste tulit.
Ille, Syracusia modo formidatus in vrbe,
Vix humili duram repulit arte famem.\(^9\)

\(^7\)Iskander (Alexander) Beg or Bey, a patriot chief of the Albanians who defeated the Turks in many battles, and inflicted upon them a permanent check in Europe. Born, 1403; died, 1468.---Smeaton.

\(^8\)Seneca, Troades, 54-56.

\(^9\)Ovid, Epistolarum ex Ponto, IV, iii, 37-40.
Who has not heard of Croesus heapes of Gold,
Yet knowes his Foe did him a prisoner hold?
He that once aw'd Sycilia's proud extent,
By a poore Art, could Famine scarce prevent.

We all put into the World, as men put Money into a Lottery.
Some lose all, and get nothing: Some with nothing, get infinite prize; which perhaps ventring a againe, with hope of increase, they lose with griefe, that they did not rest contented. There is nothing that wee can confidently call our owne: or that wee can surely say, we shall either doe, or avoid. We haue not power over the present: Much lesse over the future, when wee shall be absent, or dissolved.

And indeed, if wee consider the World right, wee shall finde some reason, for these continuall Mutations. If every one had power, to transmit the certaine possessions of all his acquisitions, to his owne Succeeders, there would be nothing left, for the Noble deeds of new aspirers to purchase: Which would quickly betray the world, to an incommunicable dulnesse: and ytterly discourage the generous designes of the stirring, and more elementary spirit. As things now are, every man thinkes something may fall to his share: and since it must crowne some indeavours, hee imagines, why not his:

Thus by the various treades of Men, every action comes to be done, which is requisite for the Worlds maintaining. But

aventuring, 6.
since nothing here below is certaine, I will never purchase any thing, with too-great a hazzard. 'Tis Ambition, not Wisedome, that makes Princes hazzard their whole estates, for an honour meerely titular. If I find that lost, which I thought to haue kept; I will comfort my selfe with this, that I knew the World was changeable; and that as God can take away a lesse good: so he can, if he please, conferre me a greater.

L. 47. Of Death.

There is no Spectacle more profitable, or more terrible, then the sight of a dying man, when hee lyes expiring his soule on his death-bed: to see how the ancient society of the body and the soule is divelled;\(^1\) and yet to see, how they struggle at the parting: being in some doubt what shall become of them after. The spirits shrinke inward, and retire to the anguisht heart: as if, like Sonnes prest from an indulgent Father, they would come for a sad Vale, from that which was their lifes maintainer: while that in the meane time pants with afrighting pangs; and the hands and feet, being the most remote from it, are by degrees encoldned to a fashionable clay: as if Death crept in at the nailes, and by an insensible surprize, suffocated the inviron'd heart. To see how the minde would faine vtter it selfe,

\(^1\)To tear, rend, pull asunder. The OED credits Felltham with the first use of this word.
when the Organes of the voice are so debillitated, that it cannot. To see how the eye settles to a fixed dimnesse, which a little before, was swift as the shootes of Lightning, nimbler then the thought, and bright as the polisht Diamond: and in which, this Miracle was more eminent then in any of the other parts. That it, being a materiall earthly body, should yet be conveyed with quicker motion, then the revolutions of an indefinite soule. So suddenly bringing the object to conceits, that one would thinke, the apprehension of the heart were seated in the eye it selfe. To see all his friends, like Conduits, dropping teares about him; while he neither knowes his wants, nor they his cure. Nay, even the Physician, whose whole life is nothing but a study and practice to continue the liues of others: and who is the Anatomist of generall Nature, is now as one that gazes at a Comet, which he can reach with nothing, but his eye alone. To see the Countenance, (through which perhaps there shin'd a louely Maiesty, euen to the captiuing of admiring soules) now altered to a frightfull palenesse, and the terrors of a gasty looke. To thinke, how that which commanded a Family, nay perhaps a Kingdome; and kept all in awe, with the mouing of a spongie tongue, is now become a thing so full of horrour, that children feare to see it: and must now therefore be transmitted from all these enchanting blandishments, to the darke and hideous graue: where, in stead of shaking of the golden septer, it now lyes imprison'd
but in five foot of Lead: and is become a nest of worms, a lumpe of filth, a box of pallid putrefaction. There is even the difference of two seuerall worlds, betwixt a King enamel'd with his Robes and Jewels, sitting in his Chaire of adored State, and his condition in his bed of Earth, which hath made him but a Case of Crawlers: and yet all this change, without the losse of any visible substantiall: Since all the limbes remaine as they were, without the least signe, either of dislocation, or diminution. From hence 'tis, I thinke, Scaliger\(^2\) defines Death to bee the Cessation: of the Soules functions: as if it were rather a restraint, then a missiue ill. And if any thing at all bee wanting, 'tis onely colour, motion, heate, and emptie ayre. Though indeed, if we consider this dissolution, man by death is absolutely diuided and disman'd. That grosse object which is left to the spectators eyes, is now only a composure but of the two baser Elements, Water, and Earth: that now it is these two only, that seeme to make the body, while the two purer, Fire and Ayre, are wing'd away, as being more fit for the compact of an elementall and ascentiue Soule. When thou shalt see all these things happen to one whose conversation had indeared him to thee; when thou shalt see the body put on Deaths sad and ashy countenance, in the dead age of night.

\(^2\)Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), a famous classical scholar of Italian origin who also wrote many original works. He became the leading classicist at the University of Leyden when Lipsius left (1590) and remained there the rest of his life.
when silent darknesse does incompasse the dimme light of thy
glimmering Taper, and thou hearest a solemne Bell toled, to
tell the world of it; which now, as it were, with this sound,
is strucke into a dumbe attention: Tell me if thou canst then
finde a thought of thine, devoting thee to pleasure, and the
fugitable toyes of life? O what a bubble, what a puffe, what
but a winke of life is man! And with what a generall
swallow, Death still gapes vpon the generall world: When
Hadrian askt Secundus, What Death was: He answered in
these severall truths: It is a sleepe eternall; the Bodies
dissolution; the rich mans feare; the poore mans wish; an
event inevitable; an uncertaine Journey; a Thiefe that
steales away man; Sleepes father; Lifes flight; the
departure of the living; and the resolution of all. Who may
not from such sights and thoughts as these, learne, if he
will, both humility and loftinesse? the one, to vilifie the
body, which must once perish in a stenchfull nastinesse; The
other, to advance the Soule, which liues heere but for a
higher, and more heavenly ascension? As I would not care
for too much indulgiating of the flesh, which I must one day
yeld to the wormes. So I would euer be studious for such

3Samuel Johnson in Winter, an Ode, has an analogous
thought--
"Life's a short summer--man a flower
He dies--alas, how soon he dies."--Smeaton.

4A distinguished Sophist of Athens in the late first and
early second centuries A. D. The Emperor Hadrian met him
while in Greece, 123-6.
actions, as may appeare the issues of a noble and diviner Soule.

L. 48. Of Idlenesse.

The Idle man is the barrennest piece of Earth in the Orbe. There is no Creature that hath life, but is busied in some action for the benefit of the restlesse world. Euen the most venomous and most ravenous things that are, haue their commodities as well as their annoyances: and they are euery ingaged in some action, which both profiteth the World, and continues them in their Natures courses. Euen the Vegitables, wherein calme Nature dwels, haue their turnes and times in fructifying: they leafe, they flowre, they seede. Nay, Creatures quite in-animate, are (some) the most laborious in their motion. With what a cheerly face the Golden Sunne charriots through the rounding Skie? How perpetuall is the Maiden Moone, in her iust and horn'd mutations? The Fire, how restlesse in his quicke and catching flames? In the Ayre, what transitions? and how fluctuous are the salted waues? Nor is the teeming Earth wearie, after so many thousand yeeres productions? All which may tutor the couch-stretched man, and raise the modest red to shewing thorow his vn-washt face. Idlenesse is the most corrupting Fly, that can blow in any humane minde. That Ignorance is the most miserable, which knowes not what
to doe. The Idle man is like the dumbe Iacke in a Virginall:
while all the other dance out a winning Musicke, this, like
a member out of joynt, sullens the whole Body, with an ill
disturbing lazinesse. I doe not wonder to see some of our
Gentrie growne (wee-neere) the lewdest men of our Land:
since they are, most of them, so muffled in a non-employment.
'Tis action that does keepe the Soule both sweet and sound:
while lying still does rot it to an ordur'd noysomenesse.
Augustine imputes Esau's losse of the blessing, partly to
his slothfulnesse, that had rather receive meate, then seeke
it. Surely, exercise is the fatt'ning foode of the Soule,
without which, she growes lanke, and thinly-parted. That
the Followers of Great Men are so much debauched, I beleue
to be want of imployment: For the Soule, impatient of an
absolute recessse, for want of the wholsome food of business,
preyes upon the lewder actions. 'Tis true, Men learne to
doe ill, by doing what is next it, nothing. I beleue,
Salomon meant the Field of the Sluggard, as well for the
Embleme of his minde, as the certaine Index of his outward
state. As the one is over-growne with Thornes and Bryers;
so is the other with vices and enormities. If any wonder
how AE gistus grew adulterate, the exit of the Verse will tell

1Genesis 25:29-34.
2Proverbs 25:30-32.
him,---Desidiosus erat. ³ When one would bragge the blessings of the Romane State, that since Carthage⁴ was raz'd, and Greece subjected, they might now be happy, as having nothing to feare: Sayes the best Scipio,⁵ We now are most in danger: for while wee want business, and have no Foe to awe vs, we are ready to drowne in the mud of Vice and slothfulness.

How bright does the Soule grow with use and negotiation! With what proportioned sweetnesse does that Familie flourish, where but one laborious Guide steereth in an order'd Course!

When Cleanthes had laboured, and gotten some coine, he shewes it his Companions, and tells them, that he now, if he will, can nourish another Cleanthes.⁶ Beleeue it, Industrie is neuer wholly vnfruitfull. If it bring not joy with the

³Aegisthus, Murderer of Agamemnon, and the seducer of Clytemnestræ. See the Agamemnon of Aeschylus, the Electra of Sophocles, and the Odyssey of Homer, BB. III. and XI.—Smeaton. Felltham quotes from Ovid, Remedia Amoris, 161-2: "quaeritis, Aegisthus quare sit factus adulter? / in promptu causa est: desidiosus erat." He was lazy.

⁴Carthage was finally destroyed in B. C. 147 by the second Scipio Africanus.—Smeaton.

⁵The great Scipio, the one who defeated Hannibal at Zama, though he cannot be said to have conquered him, as all the advantages were on the side of the Romans.—Smeaton.

⁶Cleanthes, a Stoic philosopher of Assos in Troas, who succeeded Zeno. He was so poor that he used to draw water for a gardener by night, and study in the daytime. Cicero called him "father of the Stoics." (B. 330; d. 240 B. C.)—Smeaton. In this anecdote, Cleanthes is telling his companions that he can support himself by his own labors, whereas many people around him could not. He is also indicating that he does not consider himself above hard work. Diogenes Laertius, VII, 170.
incomming profit, it will yet banish mischiefe from thy
busied gates. There is a kinde of good Angell waiting vpon
diligence, that euer carries a Laurell in his hand, to crowne
her. Fortune, they said of old, should not be pray'd vnto,
but with the hands in motion. The bosom'd fist beckens the
approach of povertie, and leaues beside, the noble head
vngarded: but the lifted arme does frighten want, and is euer
a shield to that noble director. How vnworthy was that man
of the world, that ne'r did ought, but onely liu'd, and dy'd?
Though Epaminondas was seuere, he was yet exemplary, when
he found a Souldier sleeping in his Watch, and ranne him
thorow with his Sword; as if hee would bring the two
Brothers, Death and Sleepe, to a meeting: And when hee was
blam'd for that, as crueltie, he sayes, he did but leaue him
as he found him, dead. It is none of the meanest happinesse,

A great Theban general, who freed Thebes from the power
of Sparta, defeating the Lacedaemonians in the decisive
battle of Leuctra. He then invaded Laconia, and was equally
successful. On his return he was arrested as a traitor to
his country for having violated the law that no citizen
should retain the Supreme Power in his hands more than a
month. All his services seemed unable to save him from
death. He loyally submitted, only asking, as he had a right
to do, that on his tomb the inscription should be put that
he had suffered death for saving his country from ruin. His
judges, who were his enemies, feeling that they would go down
to the execration of posterity for carrying out the law so
vindictively were compelled to move for his pardon. Again
the Spartans and Thebans met, and once more the latter had
to call on Epaminondas. The glorious victory of Mantinea
was the result, but it was dearly bought, for Epaminondas
was mortally wounded therein. (B. 411; d. 363 B. C.)--
Smeaton. See Plutarch, "The Life of Pelopidas" and the
spurious "The Life of Epaminondas" printed in the 1603
edition of North's Plutarch.
to haue a minde that loues a vertuous exercise: 'Tis daily rising to blessednesse and contention. They are idle Divines, that are not heav'ned in their liues, aboue the vn-studious man. Every one shall smell of that he is busied in: as those that stirre among perfumes and spices, shall, when they are gone, have still a gratefull odour with them: so, they that turne the leaues of the worthy Writer, cannot but retaine a smacke of their long-lyu'd Author. They converse with Vertues Soule, whichhee that writ, did spread ypon his lasting Paper. Every good line addes sinew to the vertuous minde: and withall, hells that vice, which would be springing in it. That I haue liberty to doe any thing, I account it from the favouring Heavens. That I haue a minde sometimes inclining to use that liberty well; I thinke, I may, without ostentation, be thankfull for it, as a bountie of the Deitie. Sure, I should be miserable, if I did not loue this businesse in my vacancie. I am glad of that leasure, which giues me leasure to implov mv selfe. If I should not grow better for it; yet this benefit, I am sure, would accrue mee, I should both keepe my selfe from worse, and not have time to entertaine the Devill in.

L. 49. That all things haue a like progression and fall.

There is the same method thorow all the World in generall. All things come to their height by degrees; there
they stay the least of time; then they decline as they rose:
onely mischiefe beeing more importunate, ruines at once,
what Nature hath beene long a rearing. Thus the Poet sung
the fall:

Omnia sunt hominum tenei pendentia filo,

Et subito casu, quae valuer, ruunt.¹

All that Man holds, hangs but by slender twine,
By sudden chance the strongest things decline.

Man may be kil'd in an instant; he cannot be made to liue,
but by space of time in conception. Wee are curdled to the
fashion of a life, by time, and set successions, when all
again is lost, and in the moment of a minute, gone. Plants,
fishes, beasts, birds, men, all grow vp by leasurely
progressions: so Families, Provinces, States, Kingdomes,
Empires, haue the same way of rise by steps. About the
height they must stay a while, because there is a neerenesse
to the middle on both sides, as they rise, and as they fall:
otherwise, their continuance in that top, is but the very
point of time, the present now, which now againe is gone.
Then they at best descend, but for the most part tumble.
And that which is true in the smallest particulars, is, by
taking a larger view, the same in the distended Bulke.
There were first, Men, then Families, then Tribes, then
Common-wealths, then Kingdomes, Monarchies, Empires: which

¹Ovid, Epistolarum ex Ponto, IV, iii, 35-6.
wee finde, haue beene the height of all worldly dignities: And as we finde those Monarchies did rise by degrees; so we finde they haue slid againe to decay. There was the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, the Romane. And sure, the height of the Worlds glory, was in the dayes of the Romane Empire; and the height of that Empire, in the dayes of Augustus. Peace then gently breathed thorow the Universall: Learning was then in her fullest flourish; no Age, either before or since, could present vs with so many towring Ingenuities. And then, when the whole World was made most like vnto God, in the sway of one Monarch; when they saluted him by the Title of Augustus; and they then, like God, began in rule to bee called Imperatores: This, I take it, was the fulnesse of time, wherein GOD, the Saviour of the World, vouchsafed by taking Humane nature vpon him, to descend into the World. And surely, the consideration of such things as these, are not vnworthy our thoughts: Though our Faith bee not bred, yet is it much confirmed, by observing such like circumstances. But then may wee thinke, how small a time this Empire continued in this flourish. Even the next Emperour, Tiberius, beganne to degenerate; Caligula more; Nero yet more then hee; 2 till it grew to bee embroyled and dismembred, to an absolute division. Since, how has the Turke seized one in the East; and the other in the West? how

2See Suetonius, The Lives of the Caesars, which illustrates this degenerative process.
much is it subdivided, by the deduction of France, Britaine, Spaine? Some haue also observed the Site of these Empires, how the first was neerest the East, the next, a Degree further off; and so on in distant remouals, following the course of the Sunne: as if beginning in the morning of the World, they would make a larger Day, by declining toward the West, where the Sunne goes downe, after his rising in the East. This may stand to the Southerne and Westerne Inhabitants of the World; but I know not how to the Northerne: for else how can that bee said to rise any where, which resteth no where, but is perpetually in the speed of a circular motion? For the time, it was when the World was, within a very little, aged 4000. yeeres; which, I beleue, was much about the middle Age of the World: though seeing there are promises that the latter\textsuperscript{a} days shall bee shortned, wee cannot expect the like extent of time after it, which we finde did goe before it. Nor can wee thinke, but that Decay, which hastens in the ruine of all lesser things, will likewise bee more speedy in this. If all things in the World decline faster by farre, then they doe ascend; why should we not beleue the World to doe so too? I know not what certaine grounds they haue, that dare assume to foretell the particular time of the Worlds conflagration. But surely in reason, and Nature, the end cannot be mightily distant. We haue seene the Infancie, the Youth, the Virility, all past:

\textsuperscript{a}later, 5.
Nay, wee haue seene it well stept into veeres, and declination, the most infalible premonitors of a dissolution. Some could beleevue it within less then this 29.\textsuperscript{b} veeres, because as the Flood destroyed the former World, 1656.\textsuperscript{c} veers after the first destroying Adam; so the latter World shall be consumed by fire, 1656.\textsuperscript{d} veeres after the second saving Adam; which is Christ. But I dare not fixe a certainty,\textsuperscript{3} where God hath left the World in ignorance. The exact knowledge of all things is in God onely. But surely, by collections from Nature and Reason, Man may much helpe himselfe, in likelihood and probabilities. Why hath Man an arguing and premeditating soule, if not to think on the course and causes of things, thereby to magnifie his Creator in them? I will often muse in such like Theames: for, besides the pleasure I shall meete, in knowing further; I shall finde my Soule, by admiration of these wonders, to loue both Reason, and the Deitie better. As our admiring of things euill, guides vs to a secret hate and deception: so, whatsoeuer wee applaud for goodnesse, cannot but cause some raise in our affections.

\textsuperscript{b}nine and twenty, 3-8.
\textsuperscript{c}one thousand sixe hundred fifty and sixe, 3-8.
\textsuperscript{d}one thousand sixe hundred fifty and sixe, 3-8.

\textsuperscript{3}It is a good thing Felltham did not. He was able to issue an eighth edition of the Resolves in 1661, five years after the Second Coming was supposed to have occurred.
L. 50. Of Detraction.

IN some unlucky dispositions, there is such an envious kinde of Pride, that they cannot endure that any but themselves should bee set foorth for excellent: so when they heare one justly praised, they will either seeke to dismount his Vertues; or if they be like a cleere light, eminent; they will stab him with a Buff of Destruction: as if there were something yet so foule, as did obnubilate even his brightest glorie. Thus when their tongue cannot justly condemne him, they will leaue him in suspected ill, by silence. Surely, if we considered detraction, to be bred of envie, nested onely in deficient minds; we should finde, that the applauding of vertue, would winne vs farre more honour, then the seeking slyly to disparage it. That would shew wee lou'd what wee commended, while this tels the World, we grudge at what we want in our selues. Why may we not thinke the Poet meant them for Detractors, which sprung of the teeth of Cadmus poisoned Serpent?¹ I am sure their ends may paralell; for they vsually murther one another in their fame: and where they finde not spots, they devise them. It is the basest Office Man can fall into, to make his tongue the Whipper of the Worthy man. If we doe know vices in men,

¹The dragon which guarded the Sacred Fountain of Mars in Boeotia was slain by Cadmus, and its teeth sown in the plain. From these sprung up armed men, who began to fight among themselves, until only five were left, who assisted Cadmus in building Thebes.—Smeaton. Ovid, Metamorphoses, III, 26-130.
I think we can scarce shew our selues in a nobler vertue, then in the charity of concealing them: so it bee not a flattery, preswading to continuance. And if it bee in absence, euen sometime that which is true, is most vnbeseeing the report of a Man. Who will not condemne him as a Traitor to reputation and societie, that tells the private fault of his friend, to the publike and depraving World? When two friends part, they should locke vp one anothers secrets, and interchange their keyes. The honest man will rather be a graue to his neighbours failes, then any way vncurtaine them. I care not for his humour, that loues to clippe the wings of a loftie fame. The Counsell in the Satyre I doe well approoue of,

---Absentem qui rodit amicum,
Qui non defendit alio culpante, solutos
Qui captat risus hominum, famamque dicacis,
Fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
Qui neguit, hic niger est, hunc tu Romane, caveto.²

---Who bites his absent Friend,
Or not defends him blam'd, but holds along
With mens loose laughter, and each Praters tongue,
That feignes what was not, and discloakes a soule;
Beware him, Noble Romane, hee is foule.
And for the most part, he is as dangerous in another vice as

²Horace, Sermones, 1, 4, 81-85.
this. He that can *detract unworthily*, when thou canst not answer him, can *flatter* thee as *unworthily*, when thou canst not chuse but *heare* him. 'Tis vsuall with him to *smooth* it in the *Chamber*, that keepes a *railing tongue* for the *Hall*. And besides all this, it implyes a kinde of *cowardice*; for who will iudge him otherwise, that but then *unbuttons* his tumour'd *brest*, when hee findes none to oppose the bignesse of his *looke* and *tongue*? The *valiant mans tongue*, though it neuer boasteth vainely, yet is euuer the greatest *Coward* in *absence*: but the *Coward* is neuer *valiant* but then: and then too, tis without his *heart*, or *spirit*. There is nothing argues *Nature* more *degenerate*, then her secret repining at anothers *transcendencie*. And this, besides the ill, plunge her into this *folly*, that by this *act*, she is able lesse to *discerne*. Hee that pretending *vertue*, is busie in the *staines* of men, is like to him that seekes *lost gold* in *ashes*, and blowing them about, hides that more, which he better might have found with *stilnesse*. To *ouer-commend* a man, I know is not good: but the *Detractor* wounds *three*, with the *one Arrow* of his *viperous tongue*. Indeed tis hard to speake a *man* true, as he is: but howsoever, I would not deprawe the fame of the *absent*: 'Tis then a time for *praise*, rather then for *reprehension*. Let *praise* be voiced to the *spreading Ayre*; but *chidings* whisper'd in the *kissed eare*: Which action, teaches vs, euen while we *chide*, to *loue*. If there bee *Vertues*, and I am cal'd to speake of him that ownes
them, I will tell them forth unpartially. If there bee
vices mixt with those, I will bee content the World shall
know them by some other tongue then mine.

L. 51. Against Compulsion.

AS nothing prevaleth\textsuperscript{a} more then Courtesie: so
compulsion often is the way to lose. Too much importunity,
does but teach men how to deny. The more we desire to gaine,
the more doe others desire that they may not lose. Nature
is euer jealous of her own supremacie: and when shee sees
that others would vnder-tread it, she calls in her powers,
for resistance. Certainly, they worke by a wrong Engine,
that seeke to gaine their ends by constraint. Crosse two
Louers, and you knit but their affection stronger. You may
stroke the Lyon into a bondage: but you shall sooner hew
him to pieces, then beate him into a chaine. The Fox may
praise the Crowes meate from her Bill:\textsuperscript{1} but cannot with his
swiftnesse overtake her wing. Easie Nature, and free
libertie, will steale a man into a winy excesse: when urged
healths doe but shew him the way to refuse. The noblest
Weapon wherewith Man can conquer, is loue, and gentlest
courtesie. How many haue lost their hopes, while they haue

\textsuperscript{a}prevails, 3-9.

\textsuperscript{1}Aesopica 124, "The Crow and the Fox."
sought to rauish with too rude a hand? Nature is more apt to be led by the soft motions of the musicall tongue, then the rusticke threshings of a striking arme. Love of life, and Jollities, will draw a man to more, then the feare of death, and torments. No doubt, Nature meant Caesar for a Conqueror, when she gaue him both such courage, and such courtesie; both which put Marius\textsuperscript{2} into a muze. They which durst speake to him, (he said) were ignorant of his greatnesse; and they which durst not, were so of his goodnesse. They are men the best composed, that can be resolute, and remisse.

For, as fearefull Natures are wrought vpon, by the sternnesse of a rough comportment: so the valiant are not gain'd on, but by gentle affabilitie, and a shew of pleasing libertie. Little Fishes are twitched vp with the violence of a sudden pull; when the like action cracks the line, whereon a great one hangs. I haue knowne denvals, that had neuer beene giuen, but for the earnestnesse of the requester. They teach the petitioned to be suspicious; and suspition teaches him to hold and fortifie. Hee that comes with You must have mee, is like to prowe but a fruitlesse Wooer. Vrge a grant to some men, and they are inexorable; seeme carelessse, and they will force the thing vpon you. Augustus got a friend of

\textsuperscript{2}Caius (or Gaius) Marius (157-86 B. C.), an uncle by marriage of Julius Caesar. He converted the Roman army from a militia to a body of full-time professional soldiers. He served as consul seven times during his life, fulfilling a prophecy. See Plutarch, "The Life of Caius Marius."
Cinna, by giving him a second life, whereas his death could at best but have removed an Enemy. Hear but his exiled Poet.

Flectitur obsequio curvatus ab arbore ramus:
Franges, si vires experiere tuas.
Obsequio tranantur aquae, nec vincere possis
Flumina, sicontra quam rapit undavates.
Obsequium Tygres domat, tumidosque Leones:
Rustica paulatim taurus aratra subit.\(^4\)

The Trees crookt branches, gently bent grow right,
When as the hands full vigor breaks them quite.
Hee safely swimmes, that waues along the Flood,
While crossing streames is neither safe nor good.

Tygers and Lyons, mildnesse keeps in awe:
And, gently vs'd, Buls yoak't, in Ploughs will draw.

Certainly, the faire way is the best, though it bee something the further about. 'Tis lesse ill for a Journey to be long, then dangerous. To vexe other men, I will thinke, is but to tutor them, how they should againe vex mee. I will never wish to purchase ought unequally: What is got against reason, is for the most part wonne, by the meeting of a Foose

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\(^3\) Cornelius Cinna was one of the conspirators who murdered Julius Caesar. For Augustus's pardon of him see the spurious "The Life of Caesar Augustus," published in the 1603 edition of North's Plutarch.

and Knaue. If ought be sought with reason, that may come with kindness; for then Reason in their own bosomes, will become a pleader for mee: but I will bee content to lose a little, rather then bee drawne to obtaine by violence. The trouble and the hazzard we avoyd, may very well sweeten, or out-weigh a slender losse. Constraint is for extremities, when all wayes else shall faile. But in the generall, Fairnesse ha's preferment. If you grant, the other may supply the desire; yet this does the like, and purchaseth loue; when that, onely leaues a loathsome hate behind it.

L. 52. Of Dreames.

DReames are notable meanes of discouering our owne inclinations. The wise man learnes to know himselfe as well by the nights blacke mantle, as the searching beames of day. In sleepe, we haue the naked and naturall thoughts of our soules: outward objects interpose not, either to shuffle in occasional cogitations, or hale out the included fancy. The minde is then shut vp in the Burrough of the body; none of the Cinqueports of the Isle of Man,¹ are then open, to in-let any strange disturbers. Surely, how we fall to vice, or rise to vertue, we may by observation finde in our dreames.

¹The five senses.—Smeaton. For the most extended allegorical treatment of man as an island, see Phineas Fletcher, The Purple Island, or the Isle of Man (1633).
It was the wise Zeno,\(^2\) that said, he could collect a man by his dreams. For then, the soul stated in a deep repose, bewrayed her true affections: which in the busy day, she would either not shew, or not note. It was a custom among the Indians: when their kings went to their sleep, to pray with piping acclamations, that they might have happy dreams; and withall consult well for their subjects benefit: as if the night had been a time, wherein they might grow good, and wise. And certainly, the wise man is the wiser for his sleeping, if he can order well in the day, what the eye-less night presenteth him. Every dream is not to be counted of: nor yet are all to be cast away with contempt. I would neither bee a Stoicke, superstitious in all; nor yet an Epicure, considerate of none. If the Physician may by them judge of the disease of the body, I see not, but the Divine may doe so, concerning the soul. I doubt not but the genius of the soul is waking, and motive even in the fastest closures, of the imprisoning eye-lids. But to presage from these thoughts of sleep, is a wisdom that I would not reach to. The best use wee can make of dreams, is observation: and by that, our owne correction, or encouragement. For 'tis not doubtful, but that the mind is working, in the dullest depth of sleep. I am confirmed by Claudian,

Omnia quae sensu volvuntur vota divrno,
Tempore nocturno, reddit amica quies.
Venator, defessa toro cùm membra reponit,
Mens tamen ad silvas, &c. sua lustraredit.
Judicibus lites, aurigae somnia currus.
Vanaque nocturnis metà cavetur equis.
Furto gaudet amans; permutat navita Mercès:
Et vigil slapsas quaerit avarus opes.
Blandaque larqitur frustra sitientibus aegris,
Irriquus gelido pocula fonte sopor.
Me quoque Musarum studium, sub nocte silenti,
Artibus assiduis, sollicitare solet.  

Day thoughts, transwinged fro th'industrious brest,
All seeme re-acted in the nights dumbe rest.
When the tyr'd Huntsman, his repose begins,
Then flyes his mind to woods, and wild beast dens.
Iudge dreame cases: Champions seeme to runne
With their night Coursers, the vain bounds to shun
Loue hugs his rapes, the Merchant traffique mindes
The Miser thinkes he some lost treasure findes.
And to the thirsty sicke, some potion cold,
Stiffe flattering sleepe, inanely seemes to hold,
Yea, and in th'age of silent rest, euen I
Troubled with Arts deepe musings, nightly lye.

Dreams doe sometimes call vs to a recognition of our inclinations, which print the deeper in so undisturbed times. I could wish men to giue them their consideration, but not to allow them their trust, though sometimes 'tis easie to picke out a profitable Morall. Antiquity had them in much more reverence, and did oft account them prophecies, as is easily found in the sacred volume: and among the Heathen, nothing was more frequent. Astyages had two, of his daughter Mandana, the Vine, and her vrine. Calphurnia, of her Caesar; Hecuba of Paris; and almost every Prince among them, had his Fate shewed in interpreted dreames. Galen tells of

That Thomson must have read this Essay is, I think, almost certain, for traces exist in the Castle of Indolence, particularly in canto i. stanza 6—

A pleasing land of drowsyhed it was,
Of dreams that wave before the half-shut eye,
And of, etc.—Smeaton.

Any direct influence of Felltham on Thomson is highly unlikely, as an investigation of the poem will show.

King of Media, father of Mandane, whom he gave in marriage to Cambyses, an ignoble person, because he was informed in a dream that he would be dispossessed of the crown by his daughter's son.—Smeaton. He reigned from 595-560 B. C. The account of the dreams is in Herodotus I, 107-8.

Wife of Caesar.—Smeaton. A dream forewarned Calpurnia of Caesar's assassination. She tried to persuade him not to go to the Senate on the Ides of March, 44 B. C., but he would not listen to her. See Plutarch, "The Life of Julius Caesar."

Wife of Priam of Troy and mother of Paris, Hector, Cassandra, etc. Before the birth of the first-named she dreamt she had given birth to a burning torch, which set fire to Troy.—Smeaton.

Galen (B. 104; d. 193 A. D.).—One of the greatest writers of medicine in antiquity, who lived in the age of the Antonines, and was a close friend of Marcus
one, that dream'd his thigh was turn'd to stone, when soone after it was strooke with a dead Palsie. The aptnesse of the humours to the like effects, might suggest something to the minde, then apt to receiue. So that I doubt not but either to preserve health, or amend the life; dreames may, to a wise observer, be of speciall benefit. I would neither depend vpon any, to incurre a prejudice, nor yet cast them all away, in a prodigall neglect and scorne. I find it of one that having long beene troubled with the paining spleene: that he dream't, if he opened a certain veine, between two of his fingers, hee should be cured: which hee awaked, did, and mended. But, indeed I would rather beleeue this, then be drawne to practize after it. These plaine predictions are more rare Foretellings, vsed to be lapp'd in more obscured foldes: and now that art is lost, Christianity hath settled vs to lesse inquisition; 'tis for a Roman Soothsayer to reade those darker spirits of the night, and tell that still Dictator, his dreame of copulation with his mother, signified his subiecting of the world to himselfe.9 'Tis now so out of vse, that I thinke it not to be recovered. And were it not for the power of the Gospel, in crying downe the vaines of men, it would appeare a wonder, how a Science

Aurelius. Galen, who wrote upwards of 300 volumes, said he owed much to Hippocrates.—Smeaton.

9Julius Caesar. This dream and its interpretation are reported in Suetonius, I, vii.
so pleasing to humanity, should fall so quite to ruine.

L. 53. Of Bounty.

There is such a Royalty in the minde, as betrayes a man to basenesse, and to poverty. Excesses, for the most part, haue but ill conclusions. There is a dunghill mischiefe, that awaites even the man of the bounteous soule: and they that had store of a native goodnesse, grow at last to the practice of the foulest villanies. They are free as the descending raine, and power a plenty on the generall world. This Munisicence consumes them, and brings them to the miseries of an emptyed Mine. Yet in this fall of their melted demeanes, they grow ashamed to be publikely seene come short of their wonted revelling. So, rather then the world shall see an alteration, they leave no lewdnesse privately vnpractized. 'Tis a noted truth of Tacitus, Treasure spent ambitiously, will be supply'd by wickednesse. Aerarium ambitione exhaustum, per scelera suppleendum erit.\(^1\) 'Tis pitty, that which beares the name of Noble, should be parent of such hated vilenesse. What is it Ambition will not practize, rather then let her port decline? Vaine-glory ends in lewdnesse, and contempt. The lavish mind loues any

\(^1\) Annals, 2, 38. Felltham may have been quoting from memory, since the first phrase should read, "aerarium, quod si ambitione exhauserimus. . . ."
indirection better, then to flag\(^2\) in state. A fond popularity bewitches the soule, to strow about the wealth, and meanes: and to feed that dispersie humour, all ways shall be trodden, though they never so much unworthy the man. Surely, wee nickname this same floudding man, when we call him by the name of Braue. His striving to bee like a God in bounty, throwes him to the lowest estate of man. 'Tis for none but him that has all, to giue to all abundantly. Where the carrying streame is greater, then the bringing one, the bottome will be quickly waterlesse; and then what commendation is it, to say there is a plenty wasted? Hee has the best Fame, that keeps his estate vniggardly: The others fluxe, is meerely out of weaknesse. Hee overvalues the drunken and reeling loue of the vulgar, that buyes it with the ruine of himselfe, and his family. He feares he is not lou'd, vnlesse that he bee loose and scattering. They are fooles that thinke their mindes ill woven, vnlesse they haue allowance from the popular stampe. The wise man is his owne both world and Judge; he giues what he knowes is fit for his estate, and him, without ever caring how the wauing Tumult takes it. To weake mindes, the People are the greatest Parasites: they worship and knee them to the spending of a faire inheritance: and then they crush them with the heavy load of pitty. 'Tis the inconsiderate man that ravels out a spacious fortune. He never thinketh how

\(^2\)Sink.
the heape will lessen, because hee looses, but by graines, and parcels. They are ill stewards, that so showre away a large state. Sayes Democritus,\(^3\) when he saw one giving to all, and that would want nothing which his minde did craue; Mayest thou perish unpittied, for making of the Virgin Graces, Harlots. Hee made his liberality, like a Whore, to court the Publique; when indeed shee ought to winne by modesty. For, as the Harlots offers, but procure the goodmans hate: So when bounty prooues a Curtezan, and offers too vndecently, it failes of gaining loue, and gets but the dislike of the wise. He does bounty injury, that shewes her so much, as hee makes her but be laugh'd at. Who giues or spends too much, must fall, or else desist, with shame. To liue well of a little, is a great deale more honour, then to spend a great deale vainely. To know both when, and what to part withall, is a knowledge that befits a Prince. The best object of bounty, is either necessity, or desert. The best motiue, thy owne goodnesse: And the limit, is the safety of thy state. For this I will constantly thinke, The best bounty of man, is not to be too bountifull. It is not good to make out kindness to others, to be cruelty to our selues and ours.

\(^3\)Democritus of Abdera, "the laughing philosopher" (ca. 469-361 B. C.)
L. 54. Of Man's inconstancy.

NO Weathercocke vnder Heauen, is so variable as inconstant Man. Every breath of wind, fannes him to a various shape: As if his minde were so neere a kinne to Ayre, as it must with every motion, be in a perpetuall change. Like an instrument cunningly plaid on, it does rise, and fall, and alter, and all on a sodaine. We are Feathers blown in the bluster of our own loose passions, and are meerely the dalliance of the flying winds. How many in an instant haue murthered the men they haue lou'd? as if accident were the Fate of things, and the Epicure\(^1\) had barked truth. How ardently can we affect some, even beyond the desire of dying for them, when immediately one sodaine Ebullition of Choller, shall render them extremely offensive? nay, stepe them in our hate and curses? Behold the hold which Man doth take of Man! 'tis lost in a moment, with but the clacking of the tongue, a nod, or frowne, or any such like nothing. Wee cancell leagues with friends, make new ones with our enemies, and breake them ere concluded. Our Favorites with the places alter. And our hate hath

\(^{aa} 6.\)

1Epicurus considered that "some things happen of necessity, others by chance, others through out own agency. . . . necessity destroys responsibility . . . chance or fortune is inconstant . . . our own actions are free, and it is to them that praise and blame naturally attach." Diogenes Laertius, X, 133. Hicks translation.
wings to alight, and depart. In our day, how infinitely does the variation of humours disrelish the ill-tasting palate? what to day wee raven on, is the rise of the next daves stomache. In our recreations, how inconstantly loving? sometimes effecting the noisefull hound; sometimes the stiller sport of the wing; though ever ingaged to a giddy variety. In our apparell how mutable? as if fashion were a god, that needes would be adored in changes. Our whole life is but a greater, and longer childhood. What man living would not die with anguish, were hee bound to follow another, in all his vnsteadfast motions; which though they be ever turning, yet are never pleasing, but when they proceed from the nativ.Usage of the soule? which argues her change not more out of object, then her selfe, and the humors where with she is composed. They first flowing to incite Desire, then powred out vpon an object, dye in their birth, while more succeed them. Like Souldiers in a running skirmish, come up, discharge, fall off, flye, and reinforce themselues. Onely order is in their proceedings, while confusion doth distract the man. Surely, there is nothing argues his imperfection more. For though the Nobler Elements be most Motiue, and the Earth least of all, which is yet basest: yet are they never mutable, but as the object that they fix on makes them, nor doe they ever wander from that quality, where with Nature did at first invest them. But man, had he no object, hee would change alone; and even to such things,
as Nature did not once intend him. Minde thus temper'd, wee use to call too light, as if they were unequally mixt, and the two nimble Elements had gotten the predominance. Certainly, the best is a noble constancy. For, perfection is immutable. But for things imperfect, change is the way to perfect them. It gets the man of wilfulnesse, when it will not admit of a lawfull change, to the better. Therefore Constancy without Knowledge, cannot bee alwayes good. In things ill, 'tis not vertue, but an absolute Vice. In all changes, I will have regard to these three things: Gods approbation, my owne benefit, and the not-harming of my Neighbour. Where the change is not a fault, I will never think it a disgrace; though the great Exchange, the World, should judge it so. Where it is a fault, I would be constant, though outward things should wish my turning. Hee hath but a weake warrant for what he does, that hath onely the fortune to find his bad actions plausible.

L. 55. Of Logicke.

Nothing hath spoyl'd Truth more, then the Invention of Logicke. It hath found out so many distinctions, that it inwraps Reason in a mist of doubts. 'Tis Reason drawne into too fine a thred; tying vp Truth in a twist of words, which being hard to vnloose, carry her away as a prisoner. 'Tis a net to intangle her, or an art instructing you, how to tell a reasonable lye. When Diogenes heard Zeno, with subtle
Arguments, proving that there was no Motion: he soudainely starts vp, and walkes. Zeno askes the cause? Sayes hee againe, I but confute your reasons. Like an overcurious workeman, it hath sought to make Truth so excellent, that it hath marr'd it. Vives sayes, He doubts not but the Devill did invent it; it teaches to oppose the Truth, and to bee falsely obstinate, so cunningly delighting, to put her to the worse, by deceit. As a Concettist, it hath laid on so many colours, that the counterfeit is more various then the patterne. It giues vs so many likes, that wee know not which is the same. Truth in Logicaull arguments, is like a Prince in a Masque, where are so many other presented in the same attire, that wee know not which is hee. And as wee know there is but one Prince, so wee know there is but one Truth; yet by reason of the Masque, Judgement is distracted, and deceived. There might be a double reason, why the Areopagitae banish't Stilpo, for proving by his Sophistry, Minerva was

1Felltham dramatizes the incident. It was simply reported that "when somebody declared that there is no such thing as motion, [Diogenes] got up and walked about." Diogenes Laertius, VI, 39. Hicks translation.

2See L. 29, note 7.

3The Court of Areopagus in Athens was named for the place where it sat, the Hill of Ares. It tried only the gravest offences, such as murder, sacrilege, and arson.

4A celebrated philosopher of Megara, who flourished about 336 B. C. After spending a debauched youth he reformed, and opened a school at Megara. He was one of the chief Stoic philosophers.--Smeaton. Felltham does not report the story quite correctly. Stilpo said that Athena (Minerva) was not a god. When he was brought to trial, he reaffirmed his
no Goddesse. One, to shew their dislike to the Art: another, that it was not fit, to suffer one to wanton with the Gods. Sure, howsoever men might first invent it, for the helpe of truth, it hath prou'd but a helpe to wrangle: and a thing to set the minde at iarre in it selfe: and doing nothing but confound conceit, it growes a toy to laugh at. Let me giue you but one of our owne.

Nascitur in tenebris animal, puer, inscius, infans, 
Conferat Oxonium se, cito fiet homo. 5

A thing borne blinde, a child, and foolish too,
Shall be made man, if it to Oxford goe.

Aristarchus 6 his Quip, may fall vpon our Times: Heretofore (sayes he) there were but seven wise men; and now it is hard to find the number of fooles. For every man will be a

statement that she was not a god—she was a goddess. Diogenes Laertius, II, 116.

5This is presumably an original epigram by Felltham, "one of our owne." Most probably Felltham did not attend either of the universities.

6Probably Aristarchus of Samothrace, who lived in the second century B. C. He headed the Alexandrian Library for about 35 years and is, according to Sandys, the founder of scientific scholarship. The Seven Wise Men or Seven Sages were, according to ancient tradition, men of practical wisdom who lived between 640-550 B. C. Different ancient authors give different lists of them, but all of the lists include Solon, Thales, Pittacus of Mitylene, and Bias of Priene. They all advocated moderation and submission to the state. "Know thyself" and "Nothing in excess" are among the sayings attributed to them.
Sophister, and then hee thinkes hee's wise; though, I doubt, some will never bee so, but by the helpe of Logicke. Nature her selfe makes every man a Logician: they that brought in the Art, haue presented vs with one that hath over-acted her: and something strain'd her, beyond her genuine plainenesse. But I speake this of Logicke at large, for the pure Art is an excellency. Since all is in vse, 'tis good to retaine it, that we may make it defend vs, against it selfe. There is no way to secure a Mine, but to countermine. Otherwise, like the Art of Memory, I thinke it spoyles the Naturall. How can it bee otherwise, when the Invention of Man, shall striue with the investigation of supreame Nature? In matters of Religion, I will make Faith my meanes to ascertaine, though not comprehend them: For other matters, I will thinke simple Nature the best Reason, and naked reason the best Logicke. It may helpe me to strip off doubts, but I would not haue it helpe to make them.

L. 56. Of thoughtfulnesse in misery.

The vnfortunate mans wisedome, is one of his greatest miseries. Unlesse it be as well able to conquer, as discerne, it onely shewes him but the blacker face of mourning. 'Tis no commendation, to haue an insight deepe in Calamity. It can shew him mischief which a foole sees not; so helpe him to vexation, which hee cannot tell how to cure. In Temporall things, 'tis one great happinesse to be free
from miseries: A next to that, is not to be sensible of them. There is a comfort, in seeing but the shell of sorrow. And in my opinion, he does wisely, that when griefe presents herself, lets her weare a vizor, fairer then her naked skinne. Certainly, 'tis a felicity to be an honest foole, when the piercing eye of his spirit, shall not see into the bowels of his attendant trouble, I beleue our eyes would be euuer winterly, if we gaue them the flowe but for every iust occasion. I like of Solon's course, in comforting his constant friend: when taking him vp to the top of a Turret, overlooking all the piled buildings, hee bids him thinke, how many Discontents there had bee ne in those houses since their framing, how many are, and how many will be. Then, if he can, to leaue the worlds calamities, and mourn but for his owne.¹ To mourn for none else, were hardnesse, and injustice. To mourn for all, were endlesse. The best way is, to vncontract the brow, and let the worlds mad spleene fret, for that wee smile in woes. Sorrowes are like putrs'd graues, the deeper you dig, the fuller both of stench, and horrour. Though consideration and a foole be contraries, yet nothing increaseth misery like it. Who ever knew a foole dye of a discontenting melancholy? So poore a condition is Man falne to, that even his glory is become his punishment: and the rayes of his wisedome, light him but to

¹Solon, of Athens (ca. 640-558 B. C.), who reorganized the Senate and gave a law code to the city. See Plutarch, "The Life of Solon."
see those anguishes, which the darknesse of his minde would cover. Sorrowes are not to be entertain'd with hugges, and lengthned complements; but the cast of the eye, and the put by of the turning hand. Search not a wound too deepe, lest you make a new one. It was not spoken without some reason, that fortunate, is better then wise; since whosoever is that, shall be thought to be this. For vulgar eyes judge rather, by the event, then the intention. And he that is unfortunate, though he be wise, shall finde many, that will dew him, with at least supposed folly. This onely is the wise mans benefit; as he sees more mischiefes: So he can curbe more passions: and by this meanes hath wit enough, to endure his paines in secrecy. I would looke so farre into crosses, as to cure the present, and prevent the future: But will never care for searching further, or indearing cares by thoughtfulnesse. They are like Charons Caue in Italy,\(^2\) where you may enter a little way, without danger, and further perhaps with benefit, but going to the end, it stifles you. No ship but may be cast away, by putting too farre, into tempestuous Seas.

\(^2\)Regarded as a passage to the Underworld. Aeneid, VI, 240 ff.

L. 57. Of ill Company.

WVE haue no enemie like base Company: it kils both our fame, and our soules. It giues vs wounds, which never will
admit of healing: and is not only disgracefull, but mischievous. Were't thou a King, it would rob thee of thy Royall Majesty; who would reverence thy sway, when, like Nero, thou should'st Taverne out thy time with Wantons, triumph with Minstrels in thy Chariot, and present thy selfe vp on a Common Stage, with the buskin'd Tragedian, and the Pantomime? 'Tis like a ship new trimmed, wheresoever you but touch it soyles you: and though you be cleane, when you enter, even a little motion will fill you with defiled badges. And then the whiter the Swan is, the more is the black apparent. How many haue dyed ignominiously, and haue vsed their last breath, onely to complaine of this, as the Witch that had inchanted them, to the evils that they now must smart for: 'tis an Engine where with the Deuill is ever practicing, to lift Man out of Vertues seat, 'tis the spirituall Whore, which toyes the good man to his soules vndoing. Certainely, if there be any Dalilah vnder Heaven, it is in bad Society. This will binde vs, betray vs; blinde us, undoe vs. Many a man had beene good but is not, if he had but kept good company. When the Achates of thy life shall be ill, who will not imagine thy life to be so too:

1Suetonius, V, xx-xxii, xxiv, xxvi.

2The OED credits Felltham with the first use of this word as a transitive verb.

3Judges 16:6-20.

4The faithful friend of Aeneas, hence any faithful friend.
even waters change their vertues, by running thorow a changed veine. No man but hath both good and bad in his nature, either of which fortifie, as they meet with their like; or decline, as they finde a contrary. When Vice runnes in a single streame, 'tis then a passable shallow: but when many of these shall fall into one, they swell a deeper channell to be drown'd in. Good and wise associates, are like Princes in defensive Leagues; one defends the other against devices of the common Foe. Lewd ones are like the mistaken Lanthorne in 88. which vnder pretence of guiding, will draw vs vnto hazzard, and losse among our Enemies. Nor was the fiction of the Syrens any other in the Moral, then pleasant wits, vitiated in accustom'd lewdnesse, who for that, were feigned to be Monsters of a parted Nature, and with sweet tunes, intice men to distraction. Could my name be safe, yet my soule were in danger; could ny soule be free, yet my fame would suffer; were my body and estate secure, yet those other two (which are the purest excellencies of Man) are ever laid at the stake. I know,

5During July of 1588, as the Spanish fleet sailed up the Channel, the British fleet followed closely, watching and waiting. On July 21, it is recorded that "The lord Admirall [Charles Howard] all that night following the Spanish lanterne in stead of the English, found himselfe in the morning to be in the midst of his enimies Fleeete, but when he perceived it, hee cleanly conveyed himselfe out of that great danger." Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation, 12 vols. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), IV, 213.

6See Homer, Odyssey, XII.
Physicians may converse with sick one, uninfected: but then, they must have stronger Antidotes, then their nature: gives them: else they themselves shall soon stand in need, of what themselves once were, Physicians. One rotted Apple, will infect the floor. The putrid Grape, corrupts the whole sound Cluster. Though I be no Hermite, to sit away my dayes in a dull Cell; yet will I chuse rather to have no Companion, then a bad one. If I have found any good, I will cherrish them, as the choice of men: or as Angels, that are sent for Guardians. If I have any bad ones, I will study to lose them: lest by keeping them, I lose my selfe in the end.

L. 58. That no man alwayes sinnes vnpunisht.

When David saw the delights of the wicked, hee is forced to flye to the stop, with a, Fret not thy selfe, O my soule! The Jollities of the villanous man, stagger the religious mind. They liue, as if they were passing throrow the world in state: and the stremee of prosperity turning it selfe, to rowle with their applauded wayes: When if we doe but looke to despised vertue, how miserable, and how stormy is her Sea: Certainly, for the present, the good man seemes to be in the disgrace of Heaven; He smarts and pines, and sadieth his incumbred soule, and liues as it were, in the frowne, and the nod of the traducing world. When the

1Psalms 37:1, Proverbs 24:19.
Epicure considered this, it made him to exclude the Providence. And surely to view the vertuous, with but Natures eyes, a man would thinke, they were things that Nature envied, or that the whole world were deluded, with a psyonous dye, in making onely the vertuous happy. 'Tis onely the daring soule, that digesting vice in grosse, climbes to the seat of honour. Innocence is become a stairea to let others rise to our abuse, and not to raise our selues to greatnesse. How rare is it to find one raised for his sober worth & vertue? What was it but Iosephs goodnesse, that brought him to the stockes and Irons? whereas if he had coap'd with his Inticer, 'tis like he might haue swamme in Gold, and liu'd a lapling to the silke, and dainties. The world is so much Knaue, that 'tis growne a vice to be honest. Men haue remoued the Temple of honour, and haue now set it, like an arbour in a Wildernesse, where, vnlesse we trace those devious waves, there is no hope of finding it. Into what a sad complaint, did these thoughts drive the weighty Tragedian?

Res humanas ordine nullo
Fortuna regit spargitque manu
Munera caeca, peiora fovens.

a starre, 6,7.
2 Diogenes Laertius, X, 134-5.
Vincit sanctus dira libido;
Fraus sublimi regnat in aula;
Tradere turpi fasces populus
Gaudet: eosdem colit, atque odit.
Tristis virtus perversa tulit
Praemia recti: Castos sequitur
Mala pauperias, vitioque potens,
Regnat Adulter. 4

Bent to worse, all humane wayes
Quite at randome, Fortune swayes,
Her loose favours blindly throwing.
Cruell lust the good man kils;
Fraud the Court triumphant fils;
People honour ill bestowing.
Then they hate, even those they kisse.
Sad worth ill rewarded is;
And the chaste ate poore, while Vice
Lords it by Adulteries.

Were these Ages chain'd to ours? or why complaine we that
the world is worse, when 1500. b yeeres space cannot (for
ought I see) alter the condition? But, what is past, we
forget, what is to come we know not: so wee onely take a
spleene at the present. 'Tis true, Vice braues with a

b fifteen hundred, 3-8.
4 Seneca, Hippolytus, 977-987.
boldned face, and would make one thinke, it onely she that
the doting world had chose, to make a Favorite on. But, if
we haue time for observation, we shall see her balting with
a Crutch, and shame. Haue we not seene the vices of the
aged Father, punisht in the sonne when he hath been aged too?
I am perswaded there be few notorious vices, but even in this
world, haue a certaine punishment, although we cannot know
it. God (for the most part) doth neither punish, nor blesse
at once, but by degrees and warnings. The world is so full
of changings, that 'tis rare for one man, to see the
compleated race of another. We liue not long enough to
observe how the Judgements of the Justest God, doe walke
their rounds in striking. Neither alwayes are we able.
Some of Gods corrections are in the night, and closetted.
Every offence meets not with a Market lash. Private
punishments sometimes gripe a man within, while men looking
on the outer face of things, see not how they smart in
secret. And sometimes those are deepe wounds to one man,
that would be balme and Physicke to another. There are no
Temporall blessings, but are sometimes had in the nature of
perverted curses. And surely all those creatures that God
hath put subordinate to Man, as they (like inferiour
servants) obey him while he is a true steward: so when he
growes to iniure his great Master, they send vp complaints
against him, and forsake him; chusing rather to be true to
their Maker, God; then assisting to the wilenesse of his
falsest steward, Man. So that though men by lewd wayes, may
start into a short **preferment**, yet sure there is a **secret**
chains in **Nature**, which drawes the **Universall** to revenge a
**vice**. Examples might be infinite; every **Story** is a
**Chronicle** of this **Truth**, and the whole **World** but the **practice**.
How many **Families** doe wee daily see, wherein a **whipping hand**
scourgeth the streame of all their **lineall blood**? as if there
were **curses hereditarie** with the **Lands** their **Fathers** left
them. I confess, they have a **valour** beyond mine, that dare
forrage in the wildes of **vice**. Howsoever I might for a
while, in my selfe, **sleepe** with a **dumbe conscience**; yet I
cannot thinke, the **All of Creatures** would so much crosse the
**current** of their **natures**, as to let mee goe vnpunished. And,
which is more then this, I finde a **soule** within my **soule**,
which tells mee, that I doe **unnobly**, while I loue **Sinne** more
for the **pleasure** of it, than I doe **Vertue**, for the **animalc**
**sweetnesse** that she yeelds in her selfe.

_Camiable, 8._

L. 59. **Of Opinion.**

**Not** any **Earthly pleasure** is so essentially **full** in it
selfe, but that euene **bare conceit** may returne it much
**distastfull**. The **World** is wholly set vpon the **Gad and
waving**: meere **Opinion** is the **Genius**, and as it were, the
**foundation** of all **temporall happinesse**. How often doe wee
see men pleased with **Contraries?** as if they parted the
fights and fraves of Nature; every one maintaining the Faction which hee liketh. One delighteth in Mirth, and the friskings of an Averie soule: another findeth something amiable in the saddest looke of Melancholy. This man loues the free and open-handed; that, the grasped fist, and frugal sparing. I goe to the Market, and see one buying, another selling, both are exercised in things different, yet eyther pleas'd with his owne; when I standing by, thinke it my happinesse, that I doe not eyther of these. And in all these, nothing frames Content so much as Imagination. Opinion is the shop of pleasures, where all humane felicities are forged, and receive their birth. Nor is their end unlike their beginning: for, as they are begot out of an averie phantasme; so they dye in a fume, and disperse into nothing. Euen those things which in them carry a shew of reason, and wherein (if Truth bee Judge) wee may discerne solidity, are made placide or disgustfull, as fond Opinion catches them. Opinion guides all our passions and affections, or at least, begets them. It makes vs loue, and hate, and hope, and feare, and vary: for, every thing we light vpon, is as wee apprehend it. And though wee know it bee nothing, but An uncertaine pre-judgement of the Minde, mis-informed by the outward sences; yet wee see it can worke wonders. It hath vntongued some on the sudden; and from some hath snatcht their naturell abilities. Like Lightening, it can strike the childe in the wombe, and kill it ere 'tis worlded; when the Mother shall remaine vnhurt. It can cast a man
into speedy diseases, and can as soone recure him. I haue knowne some, but conceiting they haue taken a Potion, haue found the operation, as if they had taken it indeed. If wee beleue Plinie, it can change the Sex: who reports himselfe to haue seene it; and the running Montaigne speakes of such an other.¹ Nor is it onely thus powerfull, when the object of the minde is at home in our selues; but also when it lights on things abroad, and apart. Opinion makes Women faire, and Men louelv: Opinion makes Men wise, valiant, rich, nay, any thing. And whatsoever it can doe on one side to please, and flatter vs; it can doe the same on the other side, to molest and grieue vs. As if euery man had a severall seeming truth in his soule, which if hee followes, can for a time render him, either happy, or miserable. Heere lyes all the difference: If we light on things but seeming, our felicitie fades; if on things certaine and eternall, it continues. 'Tis sure, we should bring all opinions to Reason, and true Judgement, there to receiue their doome of admittance or ejection: but eu'en that, by the former is often seduced, and the grounds that wee follow, are erronious, and false. I will never therefore wonder much at any man, that I see swayed with particular affections, to things sublunary. There are not more objects of the minde, then dispositions. Many things I may loue, that I "

¹Both Pliny's account and Montaigne's own are in Montaigne, Essays, I, 21, "Of the Power of the Imagination."
can yeeld no reason for: or if I doe, perhaps Opinion makes me coine that for a reason, which another will not assent vnto. How vaine then are those, that assuming a libertie to themselues, would yet tye all men to their Tenents?² conjuring all men to the trace of their steps: when it may bee, what is Truth to them, is error to another as wise. I like not men that will bee Gods, and haue their Judgements absolute. If I haue libertie to hold things as my mind informes me, let me neuer desire to take away the like from another. If faire arguments may perswade, I shall with quiet shew what grounds doe leade mee. If those cannot satisfie, I thinke I may wish any man to satisfie his owne conscience. For that, I suppose, will beare him out, in the things that it iustly approues. Why should any man to violent for that, which is more diverse, then the wandring judgements of the hurrying Vulgar, more changing then the loue of inconstant women: more multi-various then the sports and playes of Nature, which are euery minute fluctuous, and returning in their new varieties? The best guide that I would chuse, is the reason of an honest man: which I take to bee a right informed Conscience: and as for Bookes, which may relye on, they shall bee to mee, as discourses but of private men, that must be iudged by Religion, and Reason; so not to tye mee, vnlesse these and my conscience ioyne, in the consent with them.

L. 60. That we are govern'd by a Power aboue vs.

That which wee either desire or feare, I observe, doth seldom happen: but something that wee thinke not on, doth for the most part intervene, and conclude: or if it doe fall out as wee expect, it is not till wee haue given over the search, and are almost out of thought of finding it. Fortunes befall vs vnawares, and mischiefes when wee thinke them scaped. Thus Cambyses, when Cyrus had been King of the Boyes, hee thought the predictions of his rule fulfilled, and that hee now might sit and sleepe in his Throne; when suddenly hee was awaked to ruine. So, Sarah was fruitfull, when she could not beleeue it: and Zacharie had a Sonne, when he was stooped into yeeres, and had left hoping it. When Dioclesian thought himselfe diluded by the Prophecie, having kil'd many wilde Bores, at last hee lights on the right Aper, after whose death hee obtained the Empire. As

1It was Astyages, not Cyrus, who was warned in a dream that his daughter's son by Cambyses would usurp his throne. He thought to have the infant boy exposed to die, but the young prince was secretly taken and reared by a cowherd. A few years later while playing, some boys chose this cowherd's foster son to be their king in their games. The young Cyrus had a nobleman's son whipped because he would not obey the orders of the "king." The affair came to the notice of Astyages. The truth of the boy's parentage was revealed, but Astyages thought that the prophecy had been fulfilled in Cyrus's having played king and let the boy live. In due time, however, Cyrus did revolt against his grandfather and depose him. Herodotus, I, 114-130.

2Genesis 17:15-22. 3Luke 1:5-64.

4Diocletian was a Roman emperor of the third century, A. D. According to a prophecy addressed to him in his early
if God, in the generall would teach, that wee are not wise enough to chuse for our selues, and therefore would leade vs to a dependencie on him. Wherein hee does like wise Princes, who feede not the expectations of Favourites that are apt to presume; but often crosse them in their hopes and feares; thereby to tye them faster in their duty and reverence, to the hand that giueth. And certainly, we shall finde this infallible: Though God giues not our desires, yet hee alwayes imparts to our profits. How infinitely should we intangle our selues, if wee could sit downe, and obtaine our wishes? Doe wee not often wish that, which wee after see would bee our confusion? and is not this, because wee ignorantly follow the flesh, the body, and the blinded appetite, which looke to nothing, but the shell and out-side? Whereas God respecteth the Soule, and distributeth his faueur, for the good of that, and his glorie. God sees and knowes our hearts, and things to come in certainty: Wee, but onely by our weake collections, which doe often faile of finding truth, in the Cloud of the Worlds occasions. No man would be more miserable, then hee that should cull out his owne waves. What a specious shew carried Mydas his wish with it, and how it paide him with ruine at last: 

Surely, God youth, he was to gain the purple upon killing the wild boar, Aper. When Diocletian saw the throne within his grasp, he killed Arrius Aper, prefect of the praetorian guards, in an attempt to fulfill the prophecy.

Ovid, Metamorphoses, XI, 92-145.
will worke alone, and Man must not bee of his counsell. Nothing pulls destruction on him sooner, then when hee presumes to part the Empire with God. If wee can be patient, God will bee profitable: but the time and meanes we must leaue to him, not challenge to our selues. Neither must our owne indevours wholly bee laid in the couch to laze. The Morall of the Tale is a kinde of an instructive Satyre, when the Carter prayed in vaine to Jupiter, because hee did not put his shoulder to the Wheele. Doe thy part with thy industry, and let God point the event. I haue seene matters fall out so unexpectedly, that they haue tutor'd mee, in all affaires, neither to despaire, nor presume: Not to despaire; for God can helpe mee: Not to presume; for God can crosse mee. It is said of Marius, that one day made him Emperour; the next saw him rule; and the third he was slaine of the Souldiers. I will never despaire, 'cause I haue a God: I will never presume, 'cause I am but a Man. Seneca ha's counsell, which I hold is worth the following:

Nemo confidat nimium secundis,
Nemo desperet meliora lapsus;
Miscet haec illis, prohibetque; Clotho
Stare fortunam. ⁶

Let none falne despaire to rise,
Nor trust too much prosperities.
Clotho mingling both, commands

⁶Thyestes, 615-618.
That neither stands.


AS it is in Spirituall proceedings, better neuer to haue beene righteous, then after righteousnesse, to become Apostate: So in temperall, it is better neuer to haue been happy, then after happinesse, to bee drown'd in calamities. Of all objects of sorrow, a distressed King is the most pittifull; because it presents vs most the frailety of Humanity; and cannot but most midnight the soule of him that is falne. The sorrowes of a deposed King, are like the distorquements\(^1\) of a darted\(^a\) Conscience; which none can know, but hee that hath lost a Crowne. Who would not haue wept, with our Second Edward, when his Princely teares were all the warme water, his Butchers would allow to shaue him with: when the hedge was his cloth of State; and his Throne, the humble, though the honour'd ground. Miserie after Joy, is killing as a sudden Dampe; terrible, as fire in the night, that startles vs from a pleasing repose. Sudden Changes, though to good, are troublesome, especially if they bee extreme: but when they plunge vs into worse, they are then the Strapadoes of a humane soule. A palpable darknesse in a Summers day, would bee a dismall thing. Diseases, when they doe happen, are most violent in the strongest constitutions.

\(^a\)departed, 7.

\(^1\)Writings, contortions. Only citation, OED.
Hee that meets with plaques after a long prosperitie, hath been but fatted, like a beast, for slaughter; he is more mollified, onely to make the paines and pangs of Death more sensible: as if wee should first supple a limme with oyles and vnguents, and then dab it with aqua fortis, toothed waters, and corroding Minerals. It is better never to haue been faire, then after a rare beautie, to grow into uglinesse. The memorie of thy blessednesse, makes thy miserie more deplorable; which like dead Beere, is neuer more distastfull, then after a Banquet of sweet-meates. Nor is this misery meerely opinionate, but truly argued from the measure of pitty, that it meetes with from others. For you may period vpon this; That where there is the most pitty from others, there is the greatest miserie in the partie pittied. Toward those that haue been always poore, pitty is not so passionate: for they haue had no elevation to make their depression seeme the greater wonder. The tann'd Salue, that hath euer tugg'd at the Oare, by a long vse, hath mingled misery with Nature; that hee can now endure it vncomplaining. But when a soft Wanton comes to the Galley, euer stroke is a wounding Speare in the side. I wonder not to heare deposed Dionysius say, They are happy, that haue

2Cf. Tennyson's Locksley Hall.
"'tis truth the poet sings.
That a sorrow's Crown of Sorrow is remembering happier things."--Smeaton.
beene vn-blest from their youth. It was the opinion of Diogenes, that the most lamentable spectacle that the World had, was an old man in misery: whervnto, not onely a present impotencie, but also a remembrance of a passed youth, gaue addition. Euen the absence alone of foregone joy, is troublesome: how much more, when they winde downeward, into smartfull extremities? Death and Darkness both are but Privations; yet we see how deepe they terrifie. Waxe, when it takes a second impression, receiues it not without a new passion, and more violence: so the minde, retaining the prints of joy, suffereth a new Creation, in admitting a contrarie stampe. For Bajazet to change his Seraqlio for a Cage; for Valerian to become a Footstoole to his proud

3Dionysius was the son of the first tyrant of Syracuse; was expelled by Dion and the Corinthians B.C. 357, and obliged to repair to Corinth to keep a school. Like his father, he was a man of violent temper and great cruelty. This was the man who, after inviting Plato to his court, because the philosopher gave him unpalatable advice, sold him as a slave.--Smeaton.

4Felltham enlarges upon the account in Diogenes Laertius: "To the question what is wretched in life he [Diogenes the Cynic] replied, 'An old man destitute.'" VI, 51. Hicks translation.

5The Turkish emperor Bajazet I (nicknamed "Ilderim," or lightning) reigned in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. When he was defeated by Tamerlane, he was, according to legend, placed in an iron cage and exhibited all over Asia.
foe; are Calamities that challenge the tributes of a bleeding eye. I shall pitty any man that meetes with miserie; but they that finde it after continuall blessednesse, are so much the more to bee bewailed, by how much they are vnaquainted with the gloominesse of downefalls. That which Sophonisba return'd when her Husband sent her poysone, the day after her Wedding, as it shew'd resolution in her, so it incited compassion in others: Hoc nuntia, melius me moriturum fuisse, si non in funere meo nupsissem. Tell him, I had dide more willingly, if I had not met my Graue in Marriage.7

6The Emperor Valerian was captured in Syria by his Persian enemy Sapor (A. D. 260) and forced to spend the rest of his life in captivity, insulted in every way possible by his captor. When he died, his skin was stuffed and displayed in Sapor's palace.

7Sophonisba, daughter of Hasdrubal, who married first Syphax and then Masinissa. The Romans were averse to the last marriage, and insisted on Masinissa parting [sic] with her. He advised her to poison herself which she did, making the remark stated in the text.—Smeaton. Livy, XXX, 15.

L. 62. Of the temper of Affections.

Every Man is a vast and spacious Sea: his passions are the Winds, that swell him in disturbant waues: How he tumbles, and roares, and fumes, when they in their furie trouble him! Sometimes the West of pleasure, fanning in

aSometime, 6,7.
luxurious gales; sometimes the madid South, sorrowfull, and full of teares: sometimes the sharpe East, pearcing with a testy spleene: sometimes the violent and blustering North, swelling the cheeke, with the Angers' boyling bloud. Any of these, in extremes, make it become vnnaugable, and full of danger to the Vessell that shall coast vpon it. When these are too lowd, 'tis perillous: but when againe they are all laid in the stillnesse of an immotieu Calme, 'tis uselesse: and though it bee not so ready to hurt, yet it is farre from availing, to the profit of a Voyage: and the passengers may sooner famish, by being becalmed, then coast it ouer for the advantage of their Mart. Surely, the man that is alwayes still and reposed in his owne thoughts, though they bee good, is but a piece of deadned charitie. I care not for the planed Stoicke, there is a Sect betweene him and the Epicure. An vnmoveuy man, is but a motiue statue; harmlesse, and unprofitable. Indeed furie is farre the worser extreme; for, besides the trouble it puts on the companie, it alwaies deliuers the author into successiue mischiefes. Hee that is raging in one thing, seedes his business with many inconveniences. Furie is like false position in a Verse, at least nine faults together.

Sayes Claudian,

---Caret eventu nimim furor:---

b sometime, 6,7.

1De Bello Getico, 72.
Rage knowes not when, nor how to end.

I like neither a devouring Storke,² nor a Jupiters Log.³ Man is not fit for conversation, neither when his passions hurry him in a hideous distemper; nor when they are all laid in a silent and vnstirring calme. The Sea is best in a pretty pleasant Gale: and so is Man, when his passions are alieue, without raging. GOD implanted passions in the Soule, as hee gaue his Talents in the Gospell, neither to be lavisht out impetuously, nor to bee buried in Napkins.⁴ Wee may warme vs at these fires, though we burne not. Man without any, is no better then a speaking Stone. Cato's best Emperour was, quipoiuit imperate affectus;⁵ he does not say, deponere.⁶ Moderate passions, are the most affable expressions of humanity; without which, the Soule findes nothing like it selfe to loue. A Horse too hot and fiery, is the danger of his Rider: one too dull, is his trouble: And as the first will not endure any man; so the last will be indur'd by no man. One will suffer none to backe him; the other admits each childe to abuse him. A good temper is a sure expression

²Cranes and storks are often confused from ancient times to the Renaissance. Perhaps Felltham is thinking here of the cranes said to wage war against the Pygmies. Pliny, Natural History, X.

³Perhaps a reference to Jupiter's Staff, a plant of the sage family.


⁵"He who has found a disposition to rule."

⁶"To abdicate."
of a well-compos'd Soule. Our wilde passions are like so many Lawyers, wrangling and bauling at the Barre; Discretion is the Lord Keeper of Man, that sits as Judge, and moderates their contestations. Too great a spirit in a man born to poore meanes, is like a high-heel'd shooe, to one of means stature: It advanceth his proportion, but is ready to fit him with falls. The flat sole walkes more sure, though it abates his gracefulnesse: yet, being too low, it is subject to bemyre the foote. A little elevation is the best mediocrity: 'tis both raised from the Earth, and sure: and for his tallnesse, it disposeth it to an equall competencie.

I will neither walke so lifted, as to occasion falling; nor so dejected, as at euery step to take soile. As I care not for being powder, or the cap of the Company; so I would not bee Earth, or the Fooles Foot-ball.

L. 63. That Religion is the best Guide.

NO man liues conveniently, vnlesse hee propounds something, that may bound the whole way of his actions. There must bee something for him to flye to, beyond the reach of his cavilling senses, and corrupted Reason: otherwise, he shall wauer in his wayes, and ever bee in a doubtfull vnsettlednesse. If hee takes policie, that is both endlesse and uncertaine: and many times depends more vpon the circumstance, then the maire Act. What to day is good, is to morrow vnsaving: what benefits one, may be the vndoing of
another; though to an eye that is not curious, the matter may appeare the same. How like the Asse it show'd, when hee thought by leaping in his Masters lap, to bee made much on, because hee had seene the Dog doe the like, before him.¹

Besides, Policie is not a Flowre growing in every mans Garden. All the World is not wit and Stratagem. If it were, Policie is but a fight of wit, a braine Warre: and in all Warres, how doubtfull, how inconstant is Victory? Oedipus² his cunning in resoluing the Sphinxes Riddle, did but betray

¹See Aesopica 91. In this version the ass does not leap into his master's lap; he is merely playful, like the dog, and accidentally kicks his master, for which act he is beaten.

²Son of Laius, King of Thebes, and Jocasta. His father was informed he would perish by the hand of his son. He ordered the child to be killed, but the servant sent to do this had not the heart to fulfill it. After boring the feet of the infant and hanging it to a tree by a thong, he left it. Found by the shepherds of Polybus, King of Corinth, the wife of the latter Periboca, reared the child, who was named Oedipus— or "swollen foot." He grew up celebrated in manly exercises. The oracle of Apollo at Delphi having told him not to return home, otherwise he would kill his father, as he believed Polybus to be his father, he did not return to Corinth. Travelling towards Phocis, he met Laius in a narrow defile, and the king having ordered him to stand aside, Oedipus not only refused but slew the monarch and his armour-bearer. He next solved the riddle of the Sphinx, a terrible monster which ravaged Thebes, slaying all who could not explain her riddle, and ignorant of his own identity, married his mother Jocasta. A terrible plague having broken out, enquiries were set on foot, which ended in the discovery regarding Oedipus. He thereupon retired to Coloneus where he died. The subject is treated by Sophocles in his great trilogy, Oedipus Tyrannus, Oedipus Coloneus, and The Antigone.—Smeaton.
him to the fatall marriage of his Mother. Palamedes found out Vlysses fained madnesse; and Vlysses after, by hidden gold, and forged Letters, found meanes to have him stoned; euen while he made shew of defending him. No man has a Monopoly of craft alone. Againe, in private men it is infinitely shorten'd; both in respect of meanes and lawfullnes. Euen those that have allowed deceit lawfull in Princes, haue yet condemn'd it as vicious in private persons. And beleue it, Policy runnes smoothest, when it turnes vpon a golden hinge; without the supply of meanes, 'tis but like a Clocke without a weight to set it going: Curious workmanship, but it wants a mouer. If a man takes Nature, she is both obscure and insufficient: and will with a pleasing breath, waft vs into Mare mortuum.\(^4\) Nay, she that before Man fell, was his sufficient Genius, is since become his Parasite, that smoothing his senses, serves them, as the tyrannous Emperour did his servants, let them fall into a chamber fill'd with Roses; that being smother'd in them, they might meet the bitternesse of Death, in sweetnesse. Nor is Nature for the

\(^3\)A Grecian warrior, son of Nauplius, King of Euboca. He was sent by the Greek princes to bring Ulysses to the Convention of Warriors prior to setting out for the Trojan War. Ulysses who had lately married Penelope, did not want to go, and feigned insanity, which Palamedes discovered by placing Telemachus, the infant son of Ulysses, in the furrow which the latter was ploughing. The hero turned the plough aside. Ulysses took his revenge on Palamedes by accusing him of treason, and effecting his ruin and death.—Smeaton.

\(^4\)The sea of death.
most part, without the ouer-bearing of predominant humours. Cicero is in one place doubtfull, whether she be a mother, or a step-dame; she is sometimes so weighing a man to extremities. Nor, if she were able, could we haue her pure alone. Custome hath so mingled her with Art, that we can hardly sever her: if we doe, we shall so differ from the world, as we shall but by it, make our selues a prey to the nature that is arted with the subtilties of time and practice. Eyther of these are but sinking floores, that will fayle vs, when our weight is on them: Reason is contradicting, and so is Nature, and so is Religion, if we measure it by either of these. But Faith being the rule of that, placeth it aboue the cavills of Imagination, and so subjecteth both the other to it. This being aboue all, is that onely, which giving limits to all our actions, can confine vs to a settled rest. Policie governes the World; Nature, Policie; but Religion, All. And as wee seldom see the Kingdomes govern'd by Vice-roy's, flourish like those where the Prince is present in person: So, we neuer finde Policie or Nature, to keepe a man in that quiet, which Religion can. The two first I may vse as Councellours; heare what they say, and weigh it: but the last must bee my Soveraigne. They are to Religion, as Apocrypha to the Bible: They are good things, may bee bound vp, and read with it: but must bee rejected, when they crosse the Text.
God is the Summit of Mans happiness: Religion is the way. Till wee arriue at him, we are but vapours, transported by unconstant Winds.


L. 64. Of the Soule.

HOW infinitely is Man distracted about himselfe? Nay, euen about that which makes him capable of that distraction; his Soule? Some haue thought it of the nature of fire, a hot subtil body, dispersing it selfe into raves, and fiery Atomes; as Democritus, and some of the Stoicks. Others haue thought it aire; as Diogenes, and Varro, and others. Epicurus makes it a Spirit mixt of fire and ayre. Some would haue every Element a parent of a Soule separately: so every Man should haue many distinct Soules, according to the Principles of his composition. Some haue call'd it an undeterminate vertue; some, a selfe-moving number; some, a Quint-essence. Others haue defin'd it to be nothing but a Harmony, conflated by the most even conposure of the foure

1Diogenes Laertius, VII, 156.
3Varro (116-27 B. C.) was one of the most learned of the Romans. In his eighty-nine years he became the most voluminous writer in classical Latin literature, but very little of his work survives.
4Diogenes Laertius, X, 63-66.
Elements in man. And for this, one might thus argue: The body is before the soule; and till the body be perfect, the soule appeares not: as if the perfection of the body, in his euen contemperation, were the generation of the soule within it. The soule also changeth with the body: Is it not childish in Infancie, luxurious and vnbounded in Youth, vigorous and discerning in the strength of Man, froward and doting in the declining age of his life? For, that which in old men wee call transcending wisdome, is more collections by long observation, and experience of things without them, then the genuine vigour of judgement in themselues. Hence some wise Princes haue been carefull, neither to chuse a greene head, nor one that is wore with age, for Counsell. Next, we see the soule following the temperature of the body; nay, euen the desires of it, generated by the present constitution of the body: as in longing after things that please our humours, and are agreeable to their defect of excesse: Doth not the distemper of the body insaniate the soule? What is madnesse, but Mania, and the exuberancie and pride of the blood? And when againe they meane to cure the soule, doe they not beginne with Doses, and Potions, and Prescriptions to the body? Johannes de Combis cites Augustine, saying, Anima est omnium similitudo: because it can fancie to it selfe, the shape of whatsoever appeares. But for all these, I could never meete with any, that could giue it so in an absolute Definition, that another or himselfe could conceiue it: which argues, that to all these,
there is something sure immortall and transcending, infus'd from a supernall Power. Cicero is there divine, where he sayes, Credo Deum immortalem, sparsisse animos in humana corpora: and where he sayes againe, Mihi quidem nurquam persuaderi potuit, animos, dum in corporibus essent mortalibus, vivere: cum exissent exijs, emori:5 I could never thinke soules to live in mortall bodies, to dye when they depart them. Seneca does raise it higher, and askes, Quid aliud voces hunc, quam Deum, in corpore humano hospitantem? What other canst thou thinke it, but a God, Inning in the flesh of Man?6 The Conscience, the Caracter of a God stampt in it, and the apprehension of Eternitie, doe all proue it a shoot of everlastingnesse. For though I doubt whether I may bee of their opinion, who utterly take away all reason from Beasts: yet I verily beleue, these are things, that were never instincted in them. Man hath these things in grant onely: whereby the soule doth seeme immortall; and by this seeming, is proved to be so indeed: Else seeming should bee better then certainty; and falshood better then Truth; which cannot bee. Therefore they which say the Soule is not immortall; yet that 'tis, good men should thinke is so, thereby to be awed from vice, and incited to vertue: even by that Argument, argue against themselues. They that beleue it not, let them doe as

5Cato Maior de Senectute Liber, C, 77, 80.
6Epistulæ, XXXI, 9-10.
Philosophers wish them to doe, that deny the fire to be hot, because they see not the means that make it so: let them bee cast into it, and then heare if they will deny: so let them that deny the immortality of the Soule, bee immersed in the horrours of a vulnered conscience, then let them tell mee what they beleue. 'Tis certaine, Man hath a Soule; and as certaine, that it is immortal. But what, and how it is, in the perfect nature and substance of it; I confesse, my humane reason could never so informe me, as I could fully explaine it to my owne apprehension. O my GO D! what a clod of moving ignorance is Man! when all his industry cannot instruct him, what himselfe is; when he knowes not that, whereby hee knowes that he does not know it. Let him studie, and thinke, and invent, and search the very inwards of obscured Nature; hee is yet to seeke, how to define this inexplicable, immortal, incorporeall Wonder: this Ray of Thee; this emanation of thy Deitie. Let it then be sufficient, that GO D hath given me a Soule, and that my eternall welfare depends vpon it: though he be not accountable eyther how I had it, or what it is. I thinke both Seneca and Cicero, say truest, when they are of opinion, that Man cannot know what the Soule is. Nor indeed neede any man wonder at it: Since he may know, whatsoever is created by a Supiour Power, suffers a Composure, but cannot know it: because it was done, before it selfe was. Man, though hee hath

\[7\text{Wounded.}\]
Materials, cannot make any thing, that can either know how it was made, or what it is, being made: yet is it without defect, in respect of the end 'tis intended for. How then can Man thinke to know himselfe, when both his Materials and Composure, are both created and formed by a supreme Power, that did it without, his cooperation? Why should I striue to know that, which I know I cannot know? Can a man dissect an Atome? can hee graspe a flame? or hold and seize on Lightening? I am sure I haue a Soule: and am commanded to keepe it from sinne. O thou, the G O D of that little God mee, my Soule: let me doe that, and I know, thou are not such an Enemie to Ignorance in Man, but that thou art better pleased with his admiration of thy Secrets, then his search of them.

L. 65. Of Courtesies.

Nothing inslaueth a gratefull Nature, like a free benefit. Hee that conferres it on mee, steales mee from my selfe: and in one and the same Act, makes me his Vassule, and himselfe my King. To a disposition that hath worth in it, 'tis the most tyrannical War in the World: for, it takes the minde a prisoner: and till the Ransome be paid by a like returne; 'tis kept in fetters, and constrained to loue, to servre, and to be ready, as the Conquerer desires it. Hee that hath requited a Benefit, hath redeemed himselfe out of prison: and, like a man out of debt, is free. For,
Courtesies to Noble mindes, are the most extreme extortions that can bee. Fauours thus imparted, are not Gifts, but Purchases, that buy men out of their owne libertie. Violence and compulsion, are not halfe so dangerous. These besiege vs openly, giue vs leave to looke to our selues, to collect our forces, and re-fortifie, where we are sensible of our own weaknesses: nay, they sometimes befriend vs, and raise our fortitude higher, then their highest braues. But the other, undermine vs, by a fawning Strategem: and if wee be Enemies, they make vs lay downe our Weapons, and take up loue. Thus the Macedonian proved himselfe a better Physician for calumny, by his bounties;¹ then his Philosophers, by their gray advisements. They make of an Enemie, a Subject; of a Subject, a Sonne. A Crowne is safer kept by benefits, then Armes. Melius beneficys Imperium custoditur, quàm Armis. The Golden Sword can conquer more then steele ones: and when these shall cause a louder cry, that shall silence the barking tongue. There is nothing addes so much to the greatnesse of a King, as that hee hath wherewith to make friends at his pleasure. Yet even in this, playes but the Royaller Marchant, that putting no condition in his Bargaine, is dealt with in the same way: so for a petty Benefit, hee often gets an inestimable friend. For, Benefit, binding up our bodies, take away our soules for the

¹Philip. See the spurious "The Life of Philip of Macedon" printed in the 1603 edition of North’s Plutarch.
giver. I know not that I am ever sadder, then when I am forced to accept courtesies, that I cannot requite. If ever I should affect injustice, it should bee in this, that I might doe courtesies, and receive none. What a braue height doe they flye in, that like Gods, can binde all to them, and they bee tyed to none! But indeed, it is for a God alone. How heroicall was it in Alexander Severus, who vsed to chide those hee had done nothing for, for not asking? demanding of them, if they thought it fit, hee should bee still in their debt; or that they should haue cause to complains of him when hee was gone. Certainely, as it is a transcending happiness to bee able to shine to all; so, I must reckon it one of the greatest miseries vpon Earth, wholly to depend upon others fauours: and a next to this, is to receiue them. They are graines cast into rich ground, which makes it selfe sterile, by yeelding such a large increase. Gifts are the greatest Vsurie; because a two-fold retribution is an urged effect, that a Noble nature prompts vs to. And surely, if the generous man considers, hee shall finde hee payes not so much for any thing, as he does for what is giuen him. I would not if I could, receive fauours of my friends, vnlesse I could re-render them. If I must, I will ever have a ready minde, though my hand bee shortned. As I thinke there bee many, will not have all they may: So I thinke there are few, can requite all they have: and none,

—2 Roman emperor, third century A. D. Dion Cassius, LXXX.
but sometimes must receive some. God hath made none Absolute. The Rich depends upon the Poore, as well as does the Poore on him. The World is but a more magnificent building: all the stones are gradually concimented, and there is none that subsisteth alone.

L. 66. Of a mans selfe.

We ever carry our greatest enemy within us. There was never a sounder truth, than Nemo laeditur nisi a seipso. Had we the true reynes of our owne passions and affections, outward occasions might exercise our vertues, but not injure them. There is a way to be wise and good, in spight of occasions. We goe abroad and fondly complaine, that wee meete with wrongs; as if we could cross the Proverbe, and proue that they may be offered to a willing preparednesse. Others cannot draw vs into inconvenience, if we helpe not our selues forward. 'Tis our inside that vndoes vs.

Therefore sayes Machiavelli, A Prince ought to know the tempers of men, that hee may fit them with baites, and winde them to his owne ends. A Curtezan cannot hurt thee, vnlesse there lyes a Letcher in thy heart. When men plot vpon vs, to intrappe and snare vs, they doe but second our owne inclinations; and if they did not see a kinde of invitement from our selues, they would never dare to beginne. When

\[\text{our inclinations, 5.7}\]
Cyrus besought the Lacedemonians to enter League with him, rather than Artaxerxes; hee onely tells them, he had a greater heart then his Brother, and could beare his drinke better: For he knew, they loved men generous and hardy: so by making himselfe like them, hee thought to winne their liking.¹
When men happen vpon things that goe against the Genius of the minde, then they worke in vaine: but when others flatteries shall ioyne with the great Flatterer, a mans selfe; hee is then in the way to be wrought vpon. 'Tis sure, there is sometimes a selfe-constancie, that is not temptable. In Athens there may be one Phocion, to refuse the gold of Harpalus and Alexander.² But this indeed is rare, and worthy his magnifying. Nil magnum in rebus humanis, nisi animus magna despiciens. Otherwise, it is we onely, that ruine our selues: if not totally, yet primarily. If wee doe ill compulsuely, wee are cleered by the violence. In the judgement of an vpright soule, a man is not guiltie of that which hee cannot avoid, (I meane, in Ciuill matters.) There is no mischiefe that wee fall into, but that we our selues are at least a coadjutiue cause, and doe helpe to further

¹Artaxerxes Mnemon, King of Persia in the early fourth century B. C., and Cyrus the Younger, his brother. Urged by his mother Cyrus tried to take the throne away from his elder brother and sought the aid of the Spartans in doing so. Artaxerxes's force outnumbered his brother's at least four to one, and Cyrus was defeated and executed. Xenophon, Anabasis.

²Phocion was a general and statesman noted for his incorruptibility. For his two refusals see Plutarch, "The Life of Alexander the Great" and "The Life of Phocion."
the thing. A man's own heart is as arch a Traitor, as any he shall meet withall: we trust it too much, and know it too little: and while we think it sure-footed, it slides, and does deceive vs. That we are the Authors of our own ill, the successe will tell vs: For, Conscience is always just, and will not chide vs wrongfully: and when we have done an ill, though by others procurement, yet she rates vs even to a loathing of our selues. Sayes the Comicke,

---Iam aderit tempus, cum se etiam
ipse oderit. 3

The day will come, when he shall hate himselfe.

The wise man should ever therefore keepe a double watch; one, to keepe his heart from extravagancies; the other, to keepe the Enemie from approaches. Occasion, and our Nature, are like two inordinate Lovers; they seldom meete, but they sinne together. If we keepe them asunder, the harme is prevented: or if they doe meete, and the heart consent not, I am in some doubt, whether the offence be punishable, though the act be committed. It is no fault in the true man, to let the Thiefe have his purse, when he can doe no other. In the old Law, the ravished Woman was to be free'd: for, sayes the Text, There is in her no cause of death. Qui volens injuste agit, malus est: qui vero ex necessitate, non dico prorsus

3Plautus, Bacchides, 416-417.
malum: 'Tis not the necessitated, but the willing ill that staines. Euen Actuall Sinnes haue so farre dependancie on the hearts approbation, as that alone can vitiate or excuse the Act. While wee keepe that steddy, our Enemies can much lesse hurt vs. The reason is, it is not in Man to compell it. The minde of Man, from Man, is not capable of a violation: and who then can I taxe for mine owne yeelding, but my selfe? No man hath power ouer my minde, vnlesse I my selfe doe giue it him. So that this I shall thinke certaine; No man falls by free action, but is faulty in something: at least by some circumstance, though excusable in the most, and most important. I know, calumny and conjecture may injure Innocence it selfe. In matter of censure, nothing but a certaine knowledge, should make vs giue a certaine Judgement. Fame and Ayre are both too weake foundations for unspotted Truth to build on: onely deeds are lyable to the downe-right Tax: Because they carry the heart along: which in every action is a witnesse, either for or against vs. Surely, Man is his owne Devill, and does oftentimes tempt himselfe. All the precepts of moderation wee meete with, are but given vs to beware our selues: and vndoubtedly, hee that can do it, is rising toward Deitie. Harke but to the Harpe of Horace:

Latius regnes, avidum domando

Spiritum, quàm si Libyam remotis
By curbing thy insatiate minde,
Thou shalt sway more, then couldst thou bind
Farre Spaine to Libya: or to thee
cause either Carthage subject bee.

One eye I will sure haue for without; the other I will hold
within mee: and lest I see not enough with that, it shall
euer bee my prayer, that I may bee deliuered from my selfe.
A me me salva Domine! shall be one petition I will adde to
the Letany of my beseechings.

Carmina, 2, 2, 9.

L. 67. Of the worst kinde of perfidie.

The Dead, the Absent, the Innocent, and him that trusts me, I will neuer deceiue willingly. To all these wee owe a
Nobler Iustice; in that they are the most certaine tryals of humane equity. As that Griefe is the truest, which is without
a witnesse; so is that honesty best, which is for it selfe, without hope of reward, or feare of punishment. Those
vertues that are sincere, doe value applause the least. 'Tis when wee are conscious of some internall defects, that wee
looke out for others approbations. Certainly, the World
cannot tempt the man that is truely honest. And he is
certainly a true man, that will not steal, when he may, without being impeached. The two first are hindered, that they cannot tax my injurie; and deceit to them is not without cowardice, throwing Nature into the lowest degree of basenesse. To wrong the third, is savage, and comes from the Beast, not Man. It was an Act like Nature in Xenocrates, when the pursued Sparrow flew into his bosome, to cherish, and dismiss it. How blacke a heart is that, which can give a stabbe, for the innocent smiles of an Infant? Surely Innocence is of that puritie, that it hath more of the God in it, then any other qualitie; it intimates a freedome from generall Vice. And this is it, which makes the injurie to it so detestable: and sometimes gives the owners a divine and miraculous force: as wee may reade in the Turkish Storie, of a childe that strooke an intending Murtherer into a swoune, with offering to imbrace him. The last I cannot defraud without ingratitude; which is the very lees of Vice: and makes my offence so much the greater, by how much he was kinder, in making mee master of himselfe. Assuredly, as Nature hath endued Man with a more earnest desire to doe right to these; because a true performance doth in these things most magnifie him: so she hath made the contrarie appeare the most odious; because they are breaches that most destroy humanitie. It came from him that had but Nature, Cicero;

1. Greek philosopher of the fourth century, B. D. Head of the Academy. He gave as his reason for the act, "... a suppliant must not be betrayed." Diogenes Laertius, IV, 10. Hicks translation.
Perditissimi est hominis, fallere eam, qui laesus non esset, nisi credidisset. None but the most villanous man, will deceiue him that had beene safe, but for trusting.

2 Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino, 112.

L. 68. Against Insultation.

IT cannot bee safe to insult ouer any. As there is no Creature so little, but may doe vs a Mischief; so is no Man so low, but may occasion our smart. The Spider can impoyson; the Ant can sting; even the Fly can trouble our patience. Into all sensitiue Creatures, Nature hath put a kinde of a vindictiue justice; that in some measure they are able to returne an Injurie. If they doe not alwayes, 'tis onely because they are not able. Man hath both a more able, and more impatient soule: and though Reason teaches him not to be furious, yet withall, it teaches him not bee dull.

Extremities of Injurie, often awake extremities of Revenge: especially, if we meet with contempt from others, or finde despaire in our selues: for Despaire makes a Coward bold and daring. Nor stands it but with reason, that a strong patience urged beyond it selfe, should turne into the strongest rage. The Bow that is hardest to bend, sends out an Arrow with most force. Neglect an Enemie, but contemne him not. Disdaime will banish Patience, and bring in Furie; which is many times a greater Lord, then hee that rules a
Kingdome. Contempt vnbridles Feare, and makes vs both to will, to dare, and to execute. So Lipsius\(^1\) has it,
Contemptus excutit timoris fraenum, \& efficit, vt non velis solum, sed audeas \& tentes. It is not good too farre to pursue a Victorie. Sigismena\(^2\) said true, Hee hath conquer'd well, that hath made his Enemies flye: wee may beate them to a desperate resistance, that may ruine vs. He is the wrong way high, that scores a man below him, for his lownesse.\(^a\) They are but puft mindes, that bubble thus aboue Inferiours. Wee see, tis the froth onely, that gets to the top of the Water. Man cannot bee so much aboue Man, as that his difference should legitimate his scorne. Thou knowest not what may shew it selfe, when thy Contempt awakes the Lion of a sleeping minde. All Disdaine but that of Vice, detracteth from the worth of Man. Greatnesse in any man, makes not his Injurie more lawfull, but more great. And as hee that suffers, thinkes his disgrace more noted for the others Eminencie: so hee thinkes his owne honour will be the more, when hee hath accomplisht his Revenge; whereby, in some kinde, he hath raised himselfe to bee his Superiours equall. Man is Animal generosissimum:\(^3\) and though he be content to subject himselfe to anothers commands, yet hee yet hee will not endure his braues.\(^b\) A lash given to the

\(^a\)lowlinesse, 4, 5, 7. \(^b\)braines, 6.

\(^1\)Justus Lipsius, Renaissance neo-Stoic philosopher.
\(^2\)Probably Sigismund, King of Hungary, who fought against Bajazet in the late fourteenth century.
\(^3\)The most generous creature.
Soule, will provoke more, then the Bodies cruel torture. Derision makes the Peasant braue the Prince. When Augustus saw one like himselfe, and ask'd him in a scoffe, if his Mother were neuer at Rome: The Boy answers, No; but his Father was. When Julian in a mocke, ask'd the reverend and aged, blinde Ignatius, why hee went not into Galile, to recover his sight: Sayes hee, I am contentedly blinde, that I may not see such a Tyrant as thou art. Wee are all heere fellow servants: and wee know not how our grand Master will brooke Insolencies in his Familie. How darest thou, that art but a piece of Earth, that Heaven ha's blowne into, presume thy selfe, into the impudent usurpation of a Majestie vnshaken? Thou can'st not sit vpon so high a Cog, but mayst with turning, prove the lowest in the Wheele: and therefore thou maist thinke, the measure that thou would'st then haue given mee. If wee haue Enemies, 'tis better wee deserve to haue their friendship, then either to dispise, or irritate them. No mans weaknesse shall occasion my greater weaknesse, in proudly contemning him. Our Bodies, our Soules haue both the like originall Composure: If I haue any thing beyond him, 'tis not my goodnesse, but Gods: and he by time and meanes, may haue as much, or more. Take vs alone, and

4Indicating that the boy knew who his father was, while perhaps Augustus did not.

5Many early Christian writers sought to defame Julian the Apostate with stories such as this, which is probably apochryphal.
wee are but Twinnes of Nature. Why should any despise another, because hee is better furnisht with that which is none of his owne?

L. 69. Of Assimilation.

Thorow the whole World this holds in generall, and is the end of all; That every thing labours to make the thing it meetes with, like it selfe. Fire converts all to fire. Ayre exsiccates and drawes to it selfe. Water moystens, and resolveth what it meetes withal. Earth changeth all that wee commit to her, to her owne nature. The World is all vicissitude and conversion. Nor is it onely true in Materials and Substances; but even in Spirits, in Incorporeals; nay, in these there is more aptnesse; they mixe more subtilly, and passe into one another with a nimbler glide. So wee see infection sooner taken by breath then contaction; and thus it is in dispositions too: The Souldier labours to make his Companion valiant. The Scholler endeuours to haue his Friend learned. The bad Man would haue his company like him-selfe. And the good Man striues to frame others vertuoue. Every Man will be busie in dispensing that qualitie, which is predominate in him. Whence this Caveat may well become vs, to beware both whom and what wee chuse to liue withall. Wee can converse with nothing, but will worke vpon vs; and by the vnpercieued stealth of Time, assimilate vs to it selfe. The choice
therefore of a man's Companie, is one of the most weighty Actions of our lives: For, our future well or ill being, depends on that Election. If we choose ill, every day declines us to worse: we have a perpetually weight hanging on us, that is ever sinking us down to Vice. By living under Pharaoh, how quickly Joseph learned the Courtship of an Oath: 

Italie builds a Villaine: Spaine superbiates: Germanie makes a Drunkard, and Venice, a Letcher. But if we choose well, we have a hand of Vertue, gently lifting us to a continually rising Noblenesse. Antisthenes used to wonder at those, that were curious in buying but an earthen Dish, to see that it had no cracks, nor inconveniences, and yet would be careless in the choice of Friends; so take them with the flaws of Vice. 

Surely, a man's Companion is a second Genius, to sway him to the white, or bad. A good Man is like the Day, enlightening and warming all he shines on, and is always raising upward, to a Region of more constant puritie, then that wherein it finds the Object. The bad Man is like the night, darke, obtruding feares, and dimitting unwholsome vapours, upon all that rest beneath. 

Nature is so farre from making any thing absolutely idle, that euen to stones, and dullest Medals, shee hath giuen an


2. This story is told not of Antisthenes, but of Diogenes the Cynic. Diogenes Laertius, VI, 30. It is also attributed to Aristippus. Diogenes Laertius, II, 78.
operation: they grow, and spread, in our generall Mothers veins; and by a cunning way of incroachment, coozen the Earth of it selfe: and when they meete a Brother'd Constitution, they then unite and fortifie. Hence growes the height of friendship, when two similiary Soules shall blend in their commixions. This causes, that wee seldom see different dispositions bee entirely loving.

Oderunt billarem tristes, tristemque jocosici:
Sedatum celeres, agilem, gnavumque remissi:
Potores Bibuli media de nocte Falerni,
Oderunt porrecta negantem pocula—-3

Sad men hate mirth: the pleasant sadnesse shunne:
Swift men, the slow: the slothfull, those that runne.
Who drinkes at midnight, old Falernian Wine,
Scornes him that will not take his Cups.----

It is likenesse that makes the true-loue-knot of Friendship.
When wee finde another of our owne disposition, what is it, but the same soule, in a divided Body? What finde wee, but our selves intermutually transposed, each into other? And Nature, that makes vs loue our selues, makes vs with the same reason, loue those that are like vs. For this, is a Friend a more sacred name then a Brother. What availes it to have the Bodies from the same Original, when the Soules within them differ? I beleue, that the applause which the

3Horace, Epistulae, 1, 18, 89-92.
Ancients gave to equal friendship, was to be understood of
the likeness of minds, rather than of estate, or yeares: for
we finde no season, nor no degree of Man, but hath beene
happy with this Sunne of the World, Friendship. Whereas in
jarring dispositions, we never as yet found it true. Nay,
I thinke, if the mindes bee consonant, the best friendship
is betweene different fortunes. He that is low, looke\vspace{1mm} with a greater loving reverence: and he that is high,
looke\vspace{1mm} downeward more affectionately, when hee takes it to
bee for his honour, to favour his Inferiour, whom hee
cannot chuse but love the more for magnifying him. Something
I would looke to outwards; but in a friend, I would
especially chuse him full of Worth, that if I be not so my
selfe, he yet may worke me like him. So for company, Bookes,
or whatsoever, I would, if I haue freedome, chuse the best:
though at first I should not fancy them, continuall vse will
alter me, and then I shall gaine by their graces. If
judgement direct mee right in my choice, custome winning
upon my will, will never faile in time to draw that after it.

L. 70. Of Poets and Poetrie.

Surely hee was a little wanton with his leisure, that
first invented Poetry. 'Tis but a Play, which makes Words
dance, in the evennessse of a Cadencie: yet without doubt,

\textsuperscript{a}Misnumbered LXXI in 2-8.
being a *Harmonie*, it is nearer the *mimde* then *Prose*: for
that it selfe is a *Harmonie* in height. But the *Words* being
rather the *drossy part*, *Conceit* I take to be the *Principal*.
And heere though it digresseth from *Truth*, it flyes aboue her,
making her more rare, by giving *curious rayment* to her
*nakednesse*. The *Name* the *Grecians* gaue the men that *wrote*
thus, shew'd how much they *honor'd* it: They *call'd* them
*Makers*. And had some of them had power to put their *Conceits*
in *Act*, how neere would they haue come to *Deitie*? And for
the *vertues* of men; they rest not on the bare *demeanour*, but
slide into *imagination*: so proposing things aboue vs, they
*kindle* the *Reader* to *wonder* and *imitation*. And certainly,
*Poets* that write thus, *Plato* never meant to banish. His
owne *practice* shewes, hee excluded *not all*. Hee was content
to heare *Autimachus* recite his *Poem*, when all the *Herd* had
left him.

1 and he himselfe wrote both *Tragaedies*, and other
*pieces*. Perhaps hee found them a little to busie with his
*gods*: and hee being the first that made *Philosophie Divine*,
and *Rationall*, was *modest* in his owne *beginnings*. Another
*Name* they had of *honour* too, and that was *Vates*. 2 Nor know
I how to distinguish between the *Prophets* and *Poets* of
*Israel*. What is *Jeremies Lamentation*, but a kinds of
*Saphicke Elegie*? *Dauids Psalmes* are not onely *Poems*, but
*Songs*, *snatches* and *raptures* of a *flaming spirit*. And this

1Plutarch, "The Life of Lysander."

2Prophet, soothsayer.
indeed I observe, that the honour of Poets; I never found them covetous, or scrapingly base. The Jews had not two such Kings in all their Catalogue, as Salomon, and his Father; Poets both. There is a largeness in their Souls, beyond the narrowness of other men: and why may we not then thinke, this may imbrace more, both of Heaven, and God? I cannot but conjecture this to bee the reason, that they, most of them, are poore: They finde their mindes so solaced with their owne flights, that they neglect the studie of growing rich: and this, I confesse againe, I thinke, turnes them to vice, and unmanly courses. Besides, they are for the most part, mighty louers of their Palates; and this is knowne an impoverisher. Antigonus, the Tented Field, found Antigoras cooking of a Conger himselfe. And they all are friends to the Grape and Liquor: though I thinke, many, more out of a ductible Nature, and their loue to pleasant Company, then their affection to the Juice alone. They are all of free Natures; and are the truest Definition of that Philosophers Man, which gives him, Animal risibile. Their grossest fault is, that you may conclude them sensuall: yet this does not touch them all. Ingenious for the most part they are. I know there be some Riming fools, but what hauе they to

3 Antagoras was a Greek poet of the third century B. C. He was very fond of the good life. Antigonus was a general under Alexander the Great and became King of Asia upon Alexander's death. Erasmus, Apothegms (Leyden, 1547), p. 359.

4 The laughing animal.
doe with Poetrie? When Salust would tell vs, that Sempronia's wit was not ill; sayes hee,—Potuit Versus facere, & jocum movere: She could make a Verse, and breake a Jest.5 Something there is in it, more then ordinarie: in that it is all in such measured Language, as may be marr'd by reading. I laugh heartily at Philoxenue his Jest, who passing by, and hearing some Mason mis-sensing his liues, (with their ignorant sawing of them) falls to breaking their Bricke amaine: They aske the cause, and hee replyes, They spoile his worke, and he theirs.6 Certainly, a worthy Poet is so far from beeing a foole, that there is some wit required in him that shall be able to reade him well: and without the true accent, numbred Poetrie does lose of the glosse. It was a speech becoming an able Poet of our owne, when a Lord read his Verses crookedly, and he beseeche his Lordship, not to murder him in his owne lines. Hee that speakes false Latine, breaks Priscians head;7 but hee that repeats a Verse ill, puts Homer out of joynt. One thing commends it beyond Oratorie: it euer complyeth to the sharpest Iudgements. He is the best Orator that pleaseth All; even the Crowd and Clownes. But Poetrie would bee poore,

5Bellum Catilinae, 25.

6Diogenes Laertius IV, 36, and Erasmus Apotheqms, p. 678.

7Priscian was a Roman grammarian of the sixth century A. D. Cf. "Some free from rhyme or reason, rule or check,/ Break Priscian's head and Pegasus's neck." Pope, The Dunciad, II, 161-2.
that they should all approve of. If the Learned and Judicious like it, let the Throng bray. These, when 'tis best, will like it the least. So, they contemne what they understand not: and the neglected Poet falls by want. Calphurnius makes one complaine the misfortune.

Frang puer calamos, & inanes desere Musas:
Et potius glandes, rubicundaque; collige corna.
Duc ad mulctra greges, & lac venale per Vrbem
Non tacitus porta: Quid enim tibi Fistula reddet,
Quo tater famem? certè, mea carmina nemo
Praeter ab his Scopulis ventosa remurmurat Eccho. 8

Boy, breake thy Pipes, leaue, leaue thy fruitlesse Muse:
Rather the Mast, and blood-red Cornill chuse.
Goe leade thy Flockes to milking; sell and cry
Milke through the Citie: What can Learning buy,
To keepe backe hunger? None my Verses minde,
But Eccho babbling from these Rockes and Winde.

Two things are commonly blamed in Poetrie: nay, you take away That, if Them: and these are Lyes, and Flatterie. b But I haue told them in the worst words: For, 'tis onely to the shallow insight that they appeare thus. Truth may dwell more cleerely in an Allegorie, or a moral'd Fable, than in a bare


bFlatteries, 4,5,7.
Narration. And for Flatterie, no man will take Poetrie litterally: since in commendations, it rather shewes what men should bee, then what they are. If this were not, it would appeare vncomely. But we all know, Hyperbole's in Poetrie, doe beare a decency, nay a grace along with them. The greatest danger that I finde in it, is that it wantons the Blood, and Imagination; as carrying a man in too high a Delight. To prevent these, let the wise Poet strive to bee modest in his Lines. First, that hee dash not the Gods: next, that he injure not Chastity, nor corrupt the Ear with Lasciuiousnesse. When these are declined, I thinke a graue Poem the deepest kinde of Writing. It wings the Soule vp higher, then the slacked Pace of Prose. Flashes that doe follow the Cup, I feare mee, are too spritely to bee solid: they runne smartly upon the loose, for a Distance or two; but but then being foule, they giue in, and tyre. I confesse, I loue the sober Muse, and fasting: From the other, matter cannot come so cleere, but that it will be misted with the fumes of Wine. Long Poetry some cannot bee friends withall: and indeed, it palles vpon the reading. The wittiest Poets haue beene all short, and changing soone their Subject; as Horace, Martiall, Tuvenall, Seneca, and the two Comaédians. Poetry should be rather like a Coranto, short, and nimbly-lefty; than a dull Lesson, of a day long. Nor can it but bee deadish, if distended: For, when 'tis right, it centers Conceit; and takes but the spirit of things: and therefore foolish Poesie, is of all writing the most
ridiculous. When a Goose dances, and a Foole versifies, there is sport alike. Hee is twice an Asse, that is a ryming one. Hee is something the lesse vnwise, that is vnwise but in Prose. If the Subject bee Historie, or contexted Fable, then I hold it better put in Prose, or Blanks: for ordinary discourse neuer shewes so well in Meeter, as in the straine that it may seeme to be spoken in: the commendation is, to doe it to the life: Nor is this any other, then Poetry in Prose. Surely, though the World thinke not so, hee is happy to himselfe, that can play the Poet. He shall vent his Passions by his Pen, and ease his heart of their weight: and he shall often raise himselfe a joy in his Raptures, which no man can perceiue, but he. Sure, Ouid found a pleasure in't, even when hee writ his Tristia. It gently delivers the minde of distempers; and workes the thoughts to a sweetnesse, in their searching conceit. I would not loue it for a Profession: and I would not want it for a Recreation. I can make my selfe hamelesse, nay, amending Mirth with it; while I should perhaps bee trying of a worser Pastime. And this I beleue in it further, Unlesse Conversation corrupts his easiness, it lifts a man to Nobleness; and is never in any rightly, but it makes him of a Royall and capacious Soule.

9About A. D. 8, Ovid was exiled from Rome and Augustus's court. He wrote the Trista in exile to comfort himself and hasten the dragging hours. See especially IV, 10, 111-122.
L. 71. Of Feare and Cowardice.

They that are made of fearefull dispositions, of all others, may seeme the least beholding to Nature. I know not any thing, wherein they can be more vnfortunate. They enjoy nothing without a frightened minde; no, not so much as their sleepees. They doubt what they haue done, lest it may hurt them; they tremble at the present; and Miseries that but may come, they anticipate, and send for, and inferr in a more horrid habit, then any Enemie can devise to put them in. Nay, it were well, if they did but feare more miseries then the bolder people: But it plainely appeares, that the Coward really meetes more dangers, than the valiant man. Every base Nature will be ready to offer injuries, where they thinke they will not be repaide. Hee will many times beate a Coward, that would not dare to strike him, if he thought him valiant. When the Passenger gallops by, as if his feare made him speedy; the Curre followes him with an open mouth, and swiftnes: let him walke by, in a confident neglect; and the Dog will never stirre at him. Surely, 'tis a weaknesse that euery Creature (by a native instinct) takes advantage of: and Cowards haue soules of a coarser mixture, then the common spirits of men. Evils that must bee, they meet with before their time: as if they strived to make themselues miserable, sooner, then, God appointed them. Evils that are

\textsuperscript{1}Cf. Theophrastus, Characters "Of the Fearful."--Smeaton.
but probable, they ascertaine. They that by an even poize, might sit safe, in a Boate on a rough Sea, by rising vp to avoid drowning, are drowned. For this is sure; It coozens the weake mind infinitely both in making of her falsely beleeeue, shee may avoyde dangers by flying, and in counterfetting whatsoeuer is ill. All Diseases are belyed by feare, and conceit: and we know some, out of feare of Death, haue dy'd. In a Battell wee see the valiant man escape oft safe, by a constant keeping his ranke; when the Coward, shifting dangers, runnes by avoyding one, into the severall walks of many. Multes in summa pericula, misit venturi timor ipse mali.\(^2\) Certainly, I haue studied in vaine, in thinking what a Coward may be good for. I never heard of any Act becomming vertue, that ever came from any. All the Noble deeds that haue beat their Marches through succeeding Ages, haue all proceeded from men of courage. And I beleue many times, their confidence kept them safe. An vnappalled looke does daunt a base attempter. And oftentimes, if Man has nothing but a couragious eye, it protects him. The braue soule knowes no trembling. Caesar spake like Caesar, when hee bade the Mariners feare nothing; for they carried him and his Fortunes. And indeed valour casts a kind of honour vpon God; in that we shew that we beleue his goodnesse, while wee trust our selues in danger, vpon his care onely: Whereas the Coward eclipses his sufficiencie,

\(^2\)Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 7, 104-5.
by unworthily doubting, that God will not bring him off. So unjustly accusing either his power, or his will, he would make himselfe his owne Saviour, and becomes his owne confounder. For when man mistrusts God, 'tis just with God to leave Man. Marcus Antonius would not believe, that Avidius Crassus could ever have deposed him: and his reason was, The Gods had greater care of him, then to let Crassus wrong him undeservedly. And this winning him love, establishes him: whereas, Fear on the other side frustrates a sufficient defence. Themistocles compar'd a Coward to the Swordfish, which hath a weapon, but wants a heart. And then what use can the quaking hand put it to? Nay, when he may flye, cowardize hinders him from playing the Coward: He would runne away, and Fear arrests him, with a senseless amazement, that betrays him, to the pursuit of his foes. No armour can defend a fearfull heart. It will kill it selfe, within. Cleomenes was so farre out of charity with this pale passion, as the Spoyles he wanne from Cowards, he would neither sacrifice to the Gods, nor let the Lacedemonian Youth

3A great Athenian statesman. He was so vicious in youth that he was disinherited. This roused his ambition. He distinguished himself against Xerxes, winning the battle of Salamis. He then fortified Athens with walls, built the Piraeus and beautified the city. In the end his popularity aroused jealousy, and he was banished. He then sought an asylum at the Court of Persia, where he died.—Smeaton.

4The last great king of Sparta, third century B. C. See Plutarch, "The Life of Cleomenes."
behold them. There are two miseries, for which it is famous beyond all other passions. Love, Anger, Sorrow, and the like, are but for a time, and then over; but this is perpetuall: A disease of a life long, which every day slaues a man to whatsoever ill hee meetes with. It vassailes him to the world, to beasts, and men. And like a surly Tyrant, inforceth whatso'ere it proposeth. For this, does Martiall Epigram vpon it.

Quid si me tonsor cùm stricts novacula supra est,
Tunc libertatem, Divitiasque roget?
Promittam, nec enim rogat ille tempore Tonsor,
Latro rogat. Res est imperiosa, Timor.5

Suppose my Barber, when his Razor's nigh

My throat, should then aske wealth, and liberty;
I'de promise sure. The Barber askes not this,
No, 'tis a Thiefe, and feare imperious is.

Next, whereas other passions are grounded vpon things that are, as Envie vpon Happinesse, Rage vpon Injury, Loue vpon Beauty, and so the rest. This is as well vpon things that are not; It coynes mischiefes that neither be, nor can bee. Thus having no object to bound it, it runs in infinitum, and cannot be secured by any condition of life. Let the Coward haue a guard, and he feares that: Let him haue none, and he will feare for want of it. I haue knowne some, as happy

5XI, lviii, 5-8.
as the world could make them; and their owne needesse feares, haue made their liues more sowre, then his that hath beene streighted in all. I haue pittied them; to thinke that a weake, vexatious, and vnprofitable passion should quite ruine the blessings of a faire estate. Some things I may doubt, and indeavour to shunne: but I would never feare them to a servility. If I can keepe but reason Lord, feare will serue, and benefit me: but when that gets the Throne, it will domineere insultingly. Let me rather haue a mind confident. Let me rather haue a mind confident, and vndaunted with some troubles; then a Pulse still beating feare, and the flush of Prosperity.

L. 72. That Man is neither happy nor miserable, but by comparison.

There is not in this world, either perfect misery, or perfect happinesse. Comparison more then Reality, makes men happy, and can make them wretched. What should we account miserable, if wee did not lay it in the ballance with some thing, that hath more felicity? If we saw not some men vaulting, in the gay trimme of Honour, and Greatnesse, wee should never thinke a poore estate so lamentable. Were all the world vgly, Deformity would be no Monster. In those countreves where all goe naked, they neither shame at their being uncovered, nor complaine that they are exposed to the violence of the Sun, and winds. 'Tis without doubt, our
eyes gazin at others aboue, cast vs into a shade, which before that time, wee met not with. Whatsoever is not paine, or sufferance, might well bee borne without grumbling: did not other objects fuller of contentednesse, draw away our soules from that wee haue, to those things which wee see, wee haue not. 'Tis Envy, and Ambition that makes us farre more miserable, then the constitution which our liberall Nature hath allotted vs. Many never finde themselues in want, till they haue discovered the abundance of some others. And many againe, doe beare their wants\(^a\) with ease, when they find others below themselues in happinesse. It was an answer bewraying a Philosopher, which Thales gaue to one, that asked him how Adversity might best be borne; By seeing our enemies in worse estate, then our selues.\(^1\) We picke our owne sorrowes, out of the joyes of other men: and out of their sorrowes, likewise, we assume our joyes. When I see the toyling Labourer sweat thorow both his skinnes, yet can search get so much, as his importunate belly consumes him; I then looke vpon by selfe with gladnesse. But when I eye the Distributors of the Earth, in their royalty: when I thinke of Nero in his Journey, with his thousand chariots, and his Mules all shod with silver;\(^2\) then, what a poore Atome doe I

\(^a\)want, 4, 5, 7.

\(^1\)Seventh century, B. C. Founder of the first Greek school of philosophy. For this comment, see Diogenes Laertius, I, 36.

\(^2\)Suetonius, Nero, xxx.
count my selfe, compar'd with these huge piles of State?

Tolle felices, removetò multo
Divites auro, removeto centum
Rura qui scindant opulenta bobus,
Pauperi surgeit animi iacentes.
Est miser nemo, nisi comparatus.

Void the blest, and him that flowes
With weighty gold, and fifty Ploughes
Furrowing wealthy pastures goes.

Poore minds then will spring. For none
Is poore but by comparison.

It was comparison, that first kindled the fire to burne Troy withall. Give it to the fairest, was it, which jarr'd the Goddesses. Paris might haue given the Ball with lesse offence, had it not beene so inscribed. Surely, Iuno was content with her beauty, till the Troian Youth cast her, by advancing Venus. The Roman Dame complained not of her husbands breath, while she knew no kisse, but his. While we no ioyes aboue our owne, we in quiet count them blessings. Wee see, even a few companions can lighten our miseries: by which we may guess the effect of a generalitie. Blacknesse, a flat Nose, thicke Lips, and goggle Eyes, are beauties, where not shapes nor colours differ. Hee is much impatient, that refuseth the general Lot. For my selfe, I will reckon that miserie, which I finde hurts mee in my selfe; not that
which comming from another, I may avoyd, if I will. Let mee examine whether that I enjoy, be not enough to felicitate mee, if I stay at home. If it bee, I would not haue anothers better fortune put mee out of conceit with my owne. In outward things, I will looke to those that are beneath mee; that if I must build my selfe out of others, I may rather raise content then murmur. But for accomplishments of the minde, I will euer fixe on those aboue mee; that I may, out of an honest emulation, mend my selfe, by continuall striving to imitate their Noblenesse.

L. 73. Of Pride and Choler.

The Proud man and the Cholericke, seldome arriue at any heights of vertue. Pride is the choler of the minde; and choler is the pride of the Body. They are sometimes borne to good parts of Nature, but they rarely are knowne to adde by industry. 'Tis the milde and suffering disposition, that oftenest doth attaine to Eminencie. Temper and Humility are advantagious Vertues, for businesse, and to rise by. Pride and Choler make such a noise, that they awake dangers; which the other with a soft tread, steales by, undiscovered. They swell a man so much, that hee is too bigge to passe the narrow way.¹ Temper and Humilitie are like the Fox when he went into the Garner; hee could creepe in at a little hole,

¹Matthew 7:14.
and arrive at Plenty: Pride and Choller are like the Fox
offering to goe out when his belly was full; which inlarging
him bigger then the passage, made him stay, and be taken
with shame. They that would come to preferment by Pride,
are like them that ascend a pair of Staires on horsebacke;
tis ten to one, but both their Beasts will cast them, ere
they come to treade their Chamber. The mindes of proud men,
have not that cleerenesse of discerning, which should make
them iudge aright of themselues, and others. 'Tis an
uncharitable vice, which teaches men how to neglect and
contemne. So depressing others, it seeketh to raise it
selfe: and by this depression angers them, that they bandy
against it, till it meets with the losse. One thing it hath
more then any vice that I know: It is an Enemie to it selse.
The proud man cannot indure to see pride in another.
Diogenes trampled Plato: though indeed 'tis rare to finde
it in men so qualified. The maine thing that should mend
these two, they want; and that is, the Reprehension of a
Friend. Pride scornes a Corrector, and thinkes it a

2 Aesopica, 24, "The Fox with the Swollen Belly."

3 Cf. Addison's Cato, Act i., sc. 4; "Pride, rank pride,
and haughtiness of soul: I think the Romans call it
Stoicism."—Smeaton.

4 Diogenes trampled upon his carpets and said, 'I
trample upon Plato's vainglory.' Plato's reply was, 'How
much pride you expose to view, Diogenes, by seeming not to
be proud.' Others tell us that what Diogenes said was, 'I
trample upon the pride of Plato,' who retorted, 'Yes,
Diogenes, with pride of another sort.'" Diogenes Laertius,
VI, 26. Hicks translation.
disparagement to learner: and Choler admits no counsell that crosses him; crossing angers him, and anger blindes him. So, if ever they heare any fault, it must either bee from an Enemie in disdaine, or from a Friend, that must resolve to lose them by't. M. Drusus, the Tribune of the People, cast the Consull, L. Philippus into prison, because he did but interrupt him in his speech.\(^5\) Other Dispositions may have the benefits of a friendly monitor; but these by their vices doe seeme to give a defiance to Counsell. Since, when men once know them, they will rather be silent, and let them, rest in their folly, then by admonishing them, runne into a certaine Brawle. There is another thing shewes them to bee both base: They are both most awed by the most abject passion of the minde, Feare. We dare neither be proud to one that can punish vs; nor chollericke to one much aboue vs. But when we have to deale with such, wee clad our selues in their contraries; as knowing they are habits of more safety, and better liking. Every man flyes from the burning house: and one of these hath a fire in his heart, and the other discouers it in his face. In my opinion, there bee no vices that incroach so much on Man as these: They take away his Reason, and turne him into a storme: and then Vertue her selfe cannot boord him, without danger of defamation. I would not liue like a beast, pusht at by all

\(^5\)Florus, II, iii, 17. Actually the two men were bitter political enemies, and Drusus merely used the interruption as an excuse for imprisoning Philippus.
the world for loftinesse: nor yet like a Waspe; stinging
upon euery touch. And this moreouer shall adde to my
misliking them, that I hold them things accursed, for sowing
of strife among Brethren.

L. 74. That great benefits cause ingratitude.

As the deepest hate, is that which springs from the most
violent Loue; So, the greatest Discourtesies oft arise from
the largest favours.\footnote{Cf. Romeo and Juliet, Act i. v. 139.—Smeaton.} Benefits to good Natures, can never
bee so great, as to make thankes blush in their tendering:
but when they be weighty, and light on ill ones, they then
make their returne in Ingratitude. Extraordinarie favours
make the giver hated by the Receiuer, that should loue him.
Experience hath proved, that Tacitus wrote Truth: Beneficis
vsque adeò laeta sunt, dum videntur posse exolvi, vbi
multum antevenere, pro gratia, odium redditur.\footnote{Annals, 4, 18.} Benefits
are so long gratefull, as wee thinke wee can repay them: but
when they challenge more, our thankes convert to hate. It
is not good to make men owe vs more then they are able to
pay: except it bee for vertuous deserts, which may in some
sort challenge it. They that haue found transcending
courtesies, for Offices that haue not beene sound; as in
their first actions they haue beene stained, so in their
progress they will prove ungrateful. For when they have served their turne of his benefits, they seldom see their Patron without thraldome, which (now by his gifts being lifted into happinesse) they grieve to see, and strive to be quit of: And if they bee defensive favours, for matter of fact, they then will their thraldome, shew them their shame: and this prickes them forward to wind out themselves; though it bee with incurring a greater. The Malefactor which thou sauest, will, if hee can, condemn thee. Some haue written, that Cicero was slaine by one, whom his Oratorie had defended, when hee was accused of his Fathers murther.  I knew a French Gentleman invited by a Dutch to his House; and according to the vice of that Nation, hee was wellcom'd so long with full Cups, that in the end the drinke distemper'd him: and going away, in stead of giving him thankes, he quarrels with his Host; and strikes him. His friend blaming him, he answered, It was his Hosts fault, for giving him liquor so strong. It pass'd for a jest: but certaine, there was something in it more. Men: that haue beene thus beholding to vs, thinke wee know too much of their vilenesse: and therefore they will rather free themselves by their Benefactors ruine; then suffer themselves to be had in so low an esteeme.  The tribune Popillius. See Plutarch, "The Life of Cicero."

3 The tribute Popillius. See Plutarch, "The Life of Cicero."

4 Cf. Milton, Comus, l. 177.—Smeaton.
are such as hinder *Justice*, they seldom yield a fruit that is *commendable*: as if *vengeance* followed the *Bestower*, for offering an injurie to *equitie*, or for not suffering the Divine *Edicts* to have their due fulfillings. Beware how thou robb'st the *Law* of a *Life*, to give it to an ill-*deserving* man. The wrong thou dost to that, is greater then the benefit that thou dost conferre vpon him. Such *pitty* wounds the *Publike*, which is often reuenged by him thou didst bestow it vpon. *Benefits* that are good in themselves, are made ill by their being *mis-placed*. Whatsoever favours thou impartest, let them bee to those of *desert*. It will bee much for thy *Honour*, when by thy *kindnesse*, men shall see that thou affectest *Vertue*: and when thou layest it on one of *worth*, grudge not that thou hast plac'd it there: For, beleue it, hee is much more *Noble* that *deserves* a *Benefit*, then hee that *bestowes* one. *Riches*, though they may *reward* *Vertues*, yet they cannot *cause* them. If I shall at any time doe *courtesie*, and meet with a *neglect*, I shall yet thinke I did *well*, because I did *well intend* it. *Ingratitude* makes the *Author* *worse*, but the *Benefactor* rather the *better*. If I shall receive any *Kindnesses* from others, I will thinke, that I am tyed to *acknowledge*, and also to *returne* them. Small ones, out of *Courtesie*, and great ones out of *duty*. To neglect them, is *inhumanitie*; to requite them with *ill*, *Satanicall*. 'Tis only in *rancke grounds*, that much *raigne* makes *weeds* spring: where the *soyle* is cleane, and well planted, there is the
more fruit return'd, for the showres that did fall upon it.

L. 75. Of Vertue and Wisdome.

There are no such Guards of Safety, as Vertue and Wisdome. The one secures the Soule; the other, the Estate, and Body. The one defends vs against the stroke of the Law; the other, against the mutabilities of Fortune. The Law has not power to strike the vertuous: nor can Fortune subvert the Wise. Surely, there is more Divinitie in them, then we are aware of: for, if we consider rightly, we may observe, Vertue or Goodnesse to bee habituall, and Wisdome the distributive or actuall part of the Deitie. Thus, all the Creatures flowing from these two, they appeared to bee valdè bona,¹ as in the Text. And the Sonne of Syrach couples them more plainly together: for hee sayes, All the Workes of the Lord are exceeding good; and all his Commandements are done in due season.² These onely perfect and defend a man. When vnjust Kings desire to cut off those they distaste, they first lay traines to make them fall into Vice: or at least, give out, that their Actions are already criminaall: so rob them of their Vertue; and then let the Law seize them. Otherwise, Vertues garment is a Sanctuarie so sacred, that even Princes dare not strike the man that is thus roabled.

¹Exceedingly good. Perhaps a reference in II Peter 1:5.
²Perhaps a combination of Psalm 111:2 and 7.
"Tis the Livery of the King of Heaven: and who dares arrest one that weares his Cloth? This protects vs when wee are vnarmed: and is an Armour that we cannot, vnlesse we be false to our selues, lose. Demetrius could comfort himselfe with this, that though the Athenians demolished his Statues, yet they could not extinguish his more pyramidicall vertues, which were the cause of raising them.\textsuperscript{3} Phocion\textsuperscript{4} did call it the Divine Law, which should be the square of all our Actions: Vertue is the Tenure, by which we hold of Heaven: without this wee are but Outlawes, which cannot claime protection. Sure, Vertue is a Defendresse, and valiants the heart of man. Horace reports a wonder, which hee imputes to his integrity:

Innocent and spotlesse hearts,
Need nor Moorian Bow nor Darts:
Quivers cram'd with poison'd shot,
O Fuscus; they need not.

Boyling Sandes, vnnavigable,
Scythia's Mount inhospitable,
Media, Inde, and Parthia, they
Dare passe, without dismay.

\textsuperscript{3} Demetrius was an Athenian statesman of the late fourth century B. C. For the building of the statues, see Diogenes Laertius V, 75; for their destruction, V. 76-77; and for the merit of Demetrius, V, 82.

\textsuperscript{4} An Athenian general of the fourth century B. C. See Plutarch, "The Life of Phocion."
For, when I prais'd my Lelage,
And carlesse walk'd beyond my way,
   A fierce Wolfe from a Sabine Wood,
       Fled mee, when nak'd I stood.

Integer vitae scelerisque: purus,
Non eget Mauri Iaculis nec Arcu,
Nec venenatis gravida Sagittis,
       Fusce pharetra.

Siue per Syrtes iter aestuosas,
Siue facturus per inhospitalem
   Caucasum, vel quae loca fabulosus
       Lambit Hydasves.

Namque; me sylva Lupus in Sabina,
Dum mean canto Lalagen, & ultra
   Terminum curis vigor expeditus;
       Fugit inermem.5

In sometime Vertue giues not freedome, shee yet giues such
   Cordials, as frolicke the heart, in the presse of adversitie.
She beames forth her selfe to the gladding of a bruised
   soule: and by her light the dungeon'd prisoner dances.
Especially she is braue, when her Sister Wisdome's with her.
I see not but it may be true, that The wise man cannot fall.

5Carmina 1, 22, 1-12.
Fortune, that the Ancients\textsuperscript{a} made to rule all; the wisest of the Ancients have subjected to Wisdome. 'Tis shee that giues vs a Safe Conduct thorow all the various casualties of Moralitie. And therefore when Fortune means to ruine us, she flatters vs first from this Alter: she cannot hurt vs, till wee be stript of these Habiliments: then shee doth both wound and laugh. 'Tis rare to see a man decline in Fortune, that hath not declin'd in Wisdome before. It is for the most part true, that,

\begin{quote}
Stultum facit Fortuna guem vult perdere:\textsuperscript{6}
\end{quote}

Fortune first fooles the Man she means to foile.

She dares not, she cannot hurt vs while we continue wise. Discretion swayes the Starres, and Fate: for Wealth, the Philosophers forefight of the scarcitie of oyle, thewes it can helpe in that defect. For Honour, how many did it advance in Athens, to a renown'd Authority? When all is done, The wise man onely is the cunning' st Fencer. No man can either giue a blow so soone, or ward himselfe so safely. In two lines has the witty Horace summ'd him.

Take all; There's but one Ioue aboue him. Hee

Is Rich, Faire, Noble, King of kings, and free.

\textsuperscript{a}Ancient, 5, 7.

\textsuperscript{6}Publilius Syrus, 612.
Surely, God intended we should value these two above our lives; to live, is common; to be wise and good, particular; and granted but to a few. I see many that wish for honour, for wealth, for friends, for fame, for pleasure: I desire but these two, Virtue, Wisedome. I find not a Man that the world ever had, so plentifull in all things, as was Salomon. Yet wee know, his request was but one of these; though indeed it included the other. For without Virtue, Wisedome is not, or if it be, it is then nothing else; but a cunning way of undoing our selues at the last.

7Epistulæ, i, i, 106-7.
8I Kings 4:29-34.

L. 76. Of Moderation.

Nothing makes Greatnesse last, like the Moderate use of Authority. Haughty and violent minds, never blesse their owners with a settled peace. Men come downe by domineering. Hee that is lifted to sudden preferment, had need be much more careful of his actions, then he that hath enjoy'd it long. If it be not a wonder, it is yet strange; and all strangers wee obserue more strictly, then wee doe those that haue dwelt among vs. Men obserue fresh Authority, to informe themselues, how to trust. It is good that the advanced Man remember to retaine the same Humility, that hee
had before his Rise: and let him looke backe, to the good intentions that sojourn'd with him in his low estate.

Commonly, we thinke then of worthy deedes; which we promise our selues to doe, if we had but meanes. But when that meanes comes, we forget what we thought, and practice the contrary. Whosoever comes to place from a meane being, had need have so much more vertue, as will make good his want of Blood. Nobility will checke at the leape of a Low man.

Salust has observed of Tully, when hee was spoken of for Consul: That, Pleraque; Nobilitas, invidia aestuabat, & quasi pollui Consulatum credebat, si eum, quamvis egregius, homo novus, adeptus foret.¹ To avoid this, it is good to be just and plausible. A round heart will fasten friends; and link men to thee, in the chaines of Loue. And beleev ir, thou wilt find those friends firmest (though not most) that thy vertues purchase thee.² These will loue thee when thou art but man againe: Whereas those that are wonne without desert, will also be lost without a cause.

Smoothnesse declineth Envie. It is better to descend a little from State, then assume any thing, that may seeme about it. It is not safe to tenter Authority. Pride increaseth enemies: but it puts our friends to flight. It was a iust Quip, that a proud Cardinall had from a friend,

¹Catilina, XXIII.

²Cf. the advice of Polonius to Laertes, Hamlet, I. iii., 59-80.—Smeaton.
that vpon his Election went to Rome, on purpose to see him: where finding his behauiour stretched all to Pride, and state, departes, and makes him a Mourning Sute; wherein next day he comes againe to visit him: who asking the cause of his blacks, was answer'd, it was for the death of Humility, which dy'd in him, when he was Elected Cardinall. Authority displayes the Man. Whatsoever opinion in the world, thy former vertues haue gained thee, is now vnder a Jury, that will condemne it, if they slacke heere. The way to make Honour last, is to doe by it, as men doe by rich Jewels; not in common them to the every day eye: but case them vp, and weare them but on Festivals. And, be not too glorious at first; it will send men to too much expectation, which when they faile of, will turne to neglect. Thou hadst better shew thy selfe by a little at once; then in a windy ostentation, powre out thy selfe together. So, that respect thou gamest, will be more permanent, though it be not got in such haste. Some profit thou mayest make of thinking from whence thou camest. Hee that beares that still in his minde, will be more wary, how he trench vpon those, that were once aboue him.

With Earthen Plate, Agathocles (they say)

Did vse to meale: so serv'd with Samo's Clay.

When Jewell'd Plate, and rugged Earth was by,

He seem to mingle wealth, and poverty.

One ask'd the cause; he answers: I that am
Sicilia's King, from a poore Potter came.

Hence learne, thou that art rais'd from mean estate,
To sudden riches, to be Temperate.

Fama est, sictibus caenasse Agathocles Regem;
Atque abacum Samio saepe onerasse luto:
Fercula gemmatis cūm poneret Horrida vasis,
Et miserer opes, pauperiemque simul:
Quaerenti causam, respondit: Rex ego qui sum
Sicaniae, sigulo sum genitore fatus.
Fortunam reverenter habe; quicumque repente
Dives ab exili progrediere loco. 3

It was the Admonition of the dying Otho, to Cocceius:
neither too much to remember, nor altogether to forget, that
Caesar was his Uncle. 4 When we looke on our selues in the
shine of prosperity, we are apt for the puffe and scorne.
When we thinke not on't at-all, wee are likely to be much
imbased. An estate evened with these thoughts, indureth:
Our advancement is many times from Fortune, our moderation
in it, is that, which shee can neither giue, nor depriue vs
of. In what condition soever I liue, I would neither bite,
nor fawne. Hee does well that subscribes to his that writ,

3Ausonius, Epigramma VIII.

4Plutarch, "The Life of Otho." Otho was a Roman emperor
for a short time in A. D. 69. Cocceius Nerva was emperor
from A. D. 96 to 98.
During Felltham's time, this aphorism was attributed to Ausonius, but it is probably not by him. "I hate it when an inferior fears me and a superior despises me."

L. 77. Of Modestie.

There is Modestie, both a Vertue, and a Vice, though indeed, when it is blameable, I would rather call it a foolish bashfulness. For then it betrays vs to all inconveniences. It brings a fool in Bonds, to his utter undoing; when out of a weake flexibility of Nature, he has not courage enough to deny the request of a seeming friend. One would thinke it strange at first, yet is it provedly true: That, Modesty vndoes a Maid. In the face, it is a Lure to make even lewd men loue: which they oft expresse with large gifts, that so worke upon her yielding nature, as she knowes not how to deny: so rather then be vngratefull, shee oft becomes vnchaste: Even blushing brings them to their Devirgination. In friendship, 'tis an odious vice, and lets a man run on in absurdities, for feare of displeasing by telling the fault. 'Tis the foole onely, that puts Vertue out of countenance. Wise men ever take a freedome of reprooving, when Vice is
bold, and daring. How plain was Zeno with Nearchus? how blunt Diogenes with Alexander? How serious Seneca with the savage Nero? A Spirit modestly bold, is like the Wind, to purge the Worlds bad ayre. It disperses Exhalations from the muddy Earth, which would, vnstirr'd infect it. We often let Vice spring, for wanting the audacity and courage of a Debellation. Nay, wee many times forbear good Actions, for feare the world should laugh at vs. How many men, when others have their store, will want themselves, for shaming to demaund their owne? and sometimes in extremes, wee vnwisely stand vpon points of insipid Modesty. But, Rebus semper pudor absit in arctis. In all extremes flye Bashfulnesse. In any good Action that must needs be bad, that hinders it: of which straine, many times, is the fondnesse of a blushing shamefastnesse. But to blush at

1Zeno (fl. 464-460 B. C.) was the father of the Stoic philosophy. He plotted to overthrow Nearchus the tyrant. When he was arrested he denounced the tyrant's own friends, wishing to make him destitute of supporters. He also told Nearchus that he had something which he would have to whisper in his ear. Coming close, he bit into the tyrant's ear and would not let go until stabbed to death. Diogenes Laertius, IX, 26-27.

2Referring to the remark of the Cynic to the great conqueror of the world when the latter asked him if he could do anything for him, "Yes, to stand from between me and the sun," was the reply.—Smeaton. Diogenes Laertius, VI, 39; also Plutarch, "The Life of Alexander the Great."

3When Nero sent an order to Seneca to destroy himself, the latter, who was seated at table when it arrived, calmly observed that he had long expected the order and welcomed it with joy, as it would enable him to enjoy the society of the immortals the sooner.—Smeaton.
Vice, is to let the world know, that the heart within, hath an inclination to Vertue. Modesty a vertue, is an excellent curbe to keepe vs from the stray, and offence. I am perswaded, many had beeene bad that are not; if they had not beeene bridled by a bashfull nature. There are divers that haue hearts for vice, which haue not face accordingly. It chides vs from base company, restraines vs from base enterprizes; from beginning ill, or continuing where we see it. It teaches to loue vertue onely: and directs a man rather to mixe with a chaste soule, then to care for pressing of the ripened bosome. It awes the uncivil tongue: chaines vp the licentious hand; and with a silent kind of Maiestie, (like a watch at the dore of a Theises Den) makes Vice not dare peepe out of the heart, wherein it is lodged. It withholds a man from vaine-boasting: and makes a wise man not to scorne a foole. Surely the Graces sojourne with the blushing man. And the Cynicke would needes haue Vertue bee a Blush-colour. Thus Aristotles daughter shew'd herselfe a better Moralist, then Naturalist: when, being asked which was the best colour, she answered: That which Modesty produced in Men ingenuous. Certainly, the heart of the blushing man, is neerer Heaven then the brazed forehead. For it is a branch of Humility, and when that dyes, vertue is upon the vanish. Modesty in Women, is like the Angels flaming sword, to keepe vile man out of the Paradise of their chastity. It was Livia's

4Diogenes. Diogenes Laertius, VI, 54.
modesty, that tooke Augustus: and she that wanne Cyrus from a Multitude, was a modest one. For though it be but exterior, and face-deepe onely, yet it invites affection strongly Plautus had skill in such commodities:

Meritricem pudorem gerere magis decet, quàm purpuram,
Magis guidem meritricem pudorem quàm aurum gerere
condecet.5

Even in a Whore, a Modest looke, and fashion,
Prevails beyond all gold, and purple dyes.

If that be good which is but counterfet, how excellent is that which is real? Those things that carry a just infamy with them, I will justly be ashamed to be seen in. But in actions either good, or not ill, it may as well be a Crime. 'Tis fear and Cowardize, that pulls vs back from Goodness. That is base blood, that blushes at a virtuous action. Both the action, and the moral of Agesilus6 was good: when in his Oblations to Pallas, a lowse bit, and he pulls it out, and kills it before the People, saying: Trespassers were even at the Altar to be set upon. I know, things unseemly, though not dishonest, carry a kind of shame along. But sure, in resisting villany, where Courage is asked, Bashfulnesse is at best, but a weak, and a treacherous vertue.

5Poenulus, 304-5.

6King of Sparta in the early fourth century B. C.
Of Suspicion.

Suspicious are sometimes out of judgement. He that knowes the world bad, cannot but suspect, it will be so still: but where men suspect by judgement, they will likewise by judgement, keepe that suspect from hurting them. Suspicion, for the most part, proceeds from a selfe-defect: and then it gnawes the minde. They that in private listen others, are commonly such as are ill themselves. The wise, and honest, are never fooled with this quality. He that knowes he deserves not ill, why should he imagine that others should speake him so? We may obserue how a man is disposed, by gathering what he doubts in others. Saint Chrysostome has given the rule; Sicut difficile aliquem suspicatur malum, qui bonus est: Sic difficile aliquem suspicatur benum, qui ipse malus est. Nero would not beleue, but all men were most foule Libidinists. And we all know, there was never such a Roman Beast as hee. Suspecting what we see not, wee intimate to the world, either what our acts haue beene, or what our Dispositions are. I will be warie suspecting another of ill, lest by so doing, I proclaime my selfe to be guilty: But whether I be, or not, why should I striue to heare my selfe ill spoken of? Jealousie is the worst of madnesse. We seeke for that, which wee would not find: or if wee doe, what is it wee haue got, but matter of

1Suetonius, Nero, xxix.
vexation? which we came so basely by, as we are asham'd to take notice of it. So we are forced to keep it boyling in our brests: like new wine, to the hazzard of the Hogshead, for want of venting. Jealousie is a ginne that wee set to catch Serpents, which as soone as wee haue caught them, sting vs. Like the foole, that finding a boxe of poysone, tastes, and is poysone'd indeed. Are we not mad, that being quiet, as we are, must needs goe search for discontentments? So farre should we be from seeking them, as to be often carelessse of those wee finde. Neglect will kill an injury, sooner then Revenge, Said Socrates, when he was told that one rail'd on him; Let him beate me too, so I be absent, I care not. One that will question every disgracieu word, which he heares is spoken of him, shall haue few friends, little wit, and much trouble. One told Chrysippus, that his friend reproached him privately, Saies he, Aye, but chide him not, for then he will doe as much in publique. We shall all meet with vexation enough, which we cannot avoid. I cannot thinke any man loues sorrow so well, as out of his discretion, to invite it to lodge in his heart. Pompey did well to commit those Letters to the fire, before hee read them, wherein he expected to finde the cause of his griefe.

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2This remark is attributed to Aristotle in Diogenes Laertius, V, 18.

3Stoic philosopher of the third century B. C.

4Some of the noblemen in Rome wanted a change of government. These letters were from Sertorius advocating sedition. Plutarch, "The Life of Pompey."
I will never undertake an unworthy watch for that which will but trouble. Why should we not be ashamed to do that, which we shall be ashamed to be taken in? Certainly, they that set spies upon others; or by listening, put the base office of intelligencer upon themselves, would blush to be discovered in their projects: and the best way to avoid the discovery, is at first to avoid the act. If I hear any thing by accident, that may benefit me; I will, if I can, take only the good: but I will never lie in wait for mine own abuse; or for others that concern me not. Nor will I flame at every vain tongues puff. He has a poor spirit, that is not planted above petty wrongs. Small injuries I would either not hear, or not mind: Nay, though I were told them, I would not know the author: For by this, I may mend my selfe, and never malice the person.

L. 79. Of Fate.

Certainly, there is a Fate that hurries Man to his end beyond his own intention. There is uncertainty in wisdome, as well as in folly. When Man plotteth to save himselfe, that plotting delivers him into his ruine. Decrees are past upon vs: and our own wit often hunts vs into the snares, that above all things we would shunne. What we suspect, and would fly, we cannot: What we suspect not, we fall into. That which sau'd vs now, by and by kills vs. We use means of preservation, and they prove destroying ones. Wee take
courses to ruine vs, and they proue means of safety. When Agrippina's death was plotted, her woman thought to saue her selfe, by assuming of her Mistris name: and that onely was the cause of her killing. Florus tells of one, to whom, Victoriam praèlio error dedit: an error in the fight, gaue victorie. How many haue, flying from Danger, met with Death? and on the other side, found protection, even in the very lawes of mischiefe?

Et cum Fata volunt, bina venea juvunt.

And when Fate lifts, a doubled poysone saues.

Some men in their sleepe are cast into Fortunes lap: while others with all their industrie, cannot purchase one smile from her. How strange a Rescue from the sackage of an Enemie had that Citie, that by the Leaders crying backe, backe, when hee wanted roome for the fetching of his blow, to breake a Chaine that hinder'd him, was by mis-apprehending the Word, put backe in a violent flight? There is no doubt, but Wisdome is better then Folly, as light is better then darknesse. Yet, I see saith Salomon, it happens to the wise and foole alike. It fell out to be part of Mithridates

1Agrippina was the mother of Nero, who several times tried to have her killed, finally succeeding.

2Annaei, IV, 7, "Bellum Cassi et Bruti."

3Ausonius, Epigramma X, 12.

4Ecclesiastes 2:14.
misery, that he had made himselfe unpoisonable. All humane
wisdom is defective: otherwise it might helpe vs, against
the flash and storme. As it is, it is but lesser folly;
which perseruing sometimes, failes vs often. Graue directions
doe not alwayes prosper: nor does the Fooles bolt euer misse.
Domitian's reflectiue Galleries, could not guard him from
the skarfed arme.\(^5\) Nor did Titus his freenesse to the two
Patrician aspirers, hurt him: For, his confidence was, That
Fate gaue Princes Soveraignety.\(^6\) Man is meerely the Ball of
Time: and is sometime taken from the Plow to the Throne; and
sometimes againe from the Throne to a Halter: as if wee could
neither avoid being wretched, or happy, or both.

Non soliciite possunt cura
Mutare rati stamina fusi.
Quicquid patimur, mortale genus,
Quicquid facimus, venit ex alto.
Servatgue sua decreta Colus
Lachesie, dura revoluta manu,

\(^5\)Domitian (A. D. 51-96), emperor of Roman, grew anxious
about his life. He lined the walls of his chambers with
phengite, a hard, white, translucent stone, so that he could
see in its surface all that went on behind his back.
Stephanus, one of the plotters against Domitian, wore a
heavy bandage on his left arm for some days, pretending that
he had injured it. Telling the emperor that he wished to
discover to him a conspiracy, he stabbed him. Suetonius,
VIII, xiv, xvii.

\(^6\)Titus (A. D. 41-81), Emperor of Rome. Two patricians
were found guilty of aspiring to the throne; Titus satisfied
himself with this warning. Suetonius, VIII, ix.
Omnia certo tramite vadunt;
Primúsque dies, dedit extremum. 7

Our most thoughtfull cares cannot
Change establisht Fates firme plot.
All we suffer, all wee proue,
All we act comes from aboue.
Fates Decrees still keepe their course:
All things strictly by their force,
Wheele in vndisturbed wayes;
Ends are set in our first dayes.

Whatsoeuer Man thinkes to doe in contrariety, is by GOD turned
to be a helpe of hastening the end he hath appointed him. It
was not in the Emeproure power to keepe Ascletarius from the
Doggs, no though it was foretold him: and hee bent himselfe
to crosse it. 8  We are govern'd by a Power, that we cannot
but obey: our mindes are wrought against our minds, to alter
vs. Man is his owne Traitor, and maddeth to vndoe himselfe.
Whether this bee Nature order'd and relinquisht; or whether
it be accidentall; or the operating power of the Starres: or
the eternall connexion of causes; or the execution of the

7 Seneca, Oedipus, 1002-1009.

8Ascletarius was an astrologer during the reign of
Domitian. To test his art, the emperor asked him how he was
to die. The astrologer told him that he would be torn to
pieces by dogs. To falsify the prophecy, Domitian had his
killed immediately and his body burned. A violent wind
carried the body from the pyre, however, and it was eaten by
dogs. Suetonius, VIII, xv.
will of God; whether it takes away all freedome of will from Man; or by what means we are thus wrought vpon, I dispute not. I would not thinke any thing, that should derogate from the Maiesty of God. I know, there is a Providence ordering all things as it pleaseth; of which, Man is not able to render a reason. We may beleue S. Jerome, Providentia Dei omnia gubernatur; & qua putatur poena, Medicina est. But the secret progressions, I confesse, I know not. I see, there are both Arguments and objections on euery side. I hold it a kind of Mundane Predestination, writ in such Characters, as it is not in the wit of man to reade them.

In vaine we murmur at the things that must be: in vaine we mourne for what we cannot remedy. Why should we rave when we meete with what we looke not for? Tis our ignorance that makes vs wonder our selues to a dull stupefaction. When we consider but how little we know, we need not be disturbed at a new event.

Regitur Fatis mortale genus,
Nec sibi quisptam spondere potest
Firmum, & stabile: perque casus
Volvitur varies, semper nobis
Metuenda Dies. ⁹

All Mankinde is rul'd by Fate,
No man can propose a state

⁹Seneca, Octavia, 947-951.
Firme and stable: various Chance,  
Alwaits rowling, doth advance  
That Something which we feare.

Surely out of this, we may raise a Contentment Royall, as knowing we are alwayes in the hands of a Noble Protector: who neuer giues ill, but to him that has deseru'd ill. Whatsoever befals me, I would subscribe to with a squared soule. It were a superinsaniated folly, to struggle with a Power, which I know is all in vaine contended with. If a faire endeavours may free mee, I will practise it. If that cannot, let mee waite it with a calmed mind. Whatsoever happens as a wonder, I will admire and magnifie, as the Act of a Power aboue my apprehension. But as it is an alteration to Man, I will never thinke it marvellous. I euery day see him suffer more changes, then is in himselfe to imagine.

L. 80. Of Ostentation.

Vaine-glory, at best, is but like a Window-Cushion, specious without, and garnished with the tased pendant: but within, nothing but hey, or toam, or some such trash, not worth looking on. Where I haue found a Flood in the tongue, I haue often found the heart empty. 'Tis the hollow Instrument that sounds loud; and where the heart is full, the tongue is seldom liberall. Certainly, he that

\[^{a}\text{Hallow in 6; obviously a misprint.}\]
boasteth, if he be not ignorant, is inconsiderate, and knowes not the slides and casualties that hang on Man. If hee had not an unworthy heart, hee would rather stay till the World had found it, then so vndecently bee his owne Prolocutor. If thou beest good, then maist bee sure the World will know thee so. If thou beest bad, thy bragging Tongue will make thee worse; while the actions of thy life confute thee. If thou wilt yet boast the good thou truely hast, thou obscurest much of thine owne worth, in drawing of it vp by so vnseemely a Bucket, as thine owne tongue. The honest man takes more pleasure in knowing himselfe honest, then in knowing that all World approues him so. Vertue is built vpnon her selfe. Flourishes are for Networkes; better Contextures need not any other additions. Phocion\(^1\) call'd bragging Laosthenes, The Cypresse Tree: which makes a faire show, but seldome beares any fruit. Why may hee not bee emblem'd by the coozening Fig-tree, that our Saviour curst?\(^2\) Tis hee that is conscious to himselfe of an inward defect, which by the brazen Bell of his Tongue, would make the World beleue, that he had a Church within. Yet, fool that hee is: this is the way to make men thinke the contrary, if it were so.

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\(^1\)One of the greatest of Athenians, illustrious alike as soldier, administrator, philosopher and patriot. He was the enemy of Philip of Macedon, but the friend of his son. He was forty-five times governor of Athens, but like most of her great men was put to death, to satisfy the clamour of the fickle mob, 318 B. C.—Smeaton.

\(^2\)Mark 11:12-26.
Ostentation after, overthrowes the Action, which was good, and went before. Or at least it argues that Good not done well. Hee that does good for Praise onely, failes of the right end. A good worke ought to propound, Hee is vertuous, that is so for vertue sake. To doe well, is as much applause as a good man labours for. Whatsoeuer good worke thy hand builds, is againe pull'd downe by the folly of a boasting tongue. The blazings of the proud will goe out in a stench and smoke: Their bragging will convert to shame. St. Gregorie has it wittily: Sub hoste quem prosternit, moritur, qui de culpa quam superat, elevatur. Hee both loseth the good he hath done, and hazzardeth for shame with men, For Clouds of Disdaine are commonly raised by the wind of Ostentation. He that remembers too much his owne Vertues, teacheth others to object his Vices. All are Enemies to assuming Man. When hee would haue more then his due, hee seldome findeth so much. Whether it bee out of Jealousie, that by promulgating his Vertues, we vainely thinke he should rob vs of the Worlds loue; or whether we take his exalting himselfe, to be our depression; or whether it bee our envie; or that wee ate angry, that he should so undervalue goodnesse, as despising her inward approbation, hee should seeke the uncertaine warrant of Men: or whether it be as Instinct instampt in Man, to dislike them; 'Tis certaine, no man can endure the puffes of a swelling minde. Nay, though the Vaunts bee true, they doe but awaken scoffes: and in stead of a clapping hand, they finde a checke with scorne. When a
Souldier brag'd too much of a great skarre in his forhead, hee was asked by Augustus, if he did not get it, when hee looked backe, as hee fled? Certainly, when I heare a vaunting man, I shall thinke him like a Peece that is charged but with Powder; which neere-hand giues a greater Report, then that which hath a Bullet in't. If I haue done any thing well, I will neuer thinke the World is worth the telling of it. There is nothing added to essentiall vertue, by the hoarse clamour of the blundering Rabble. If I haue done ill, to boast the contrarie, I will thinke, is like painting an old face, to make it so much more vgly. If it be of any thing past, the World will talke of it, though I be silent. If not, 'tis more Noble to neglect Fame, then seeme to beg it. If it bee of ought to come, I am foolish, for speaking of that which I am not sure to performe. We disgrace the worth of Vertue, when we goe about any way to seduce voices for her approbation.

L. 81. Of Hope.

HVmane life hath not a surer friend, nor many times a greater enemie, then Hope. Tis the miserable mans god, which in the hardest gripe of calamity, never failes to yeeld him beames of comfort. 'Tis the presumptuous mans Devill, which leads him a while in a smooth way, and then makes him breake his necke on the sudden. Hope is to Man, as a Bladder to a learning Swimmer; it keepes him from sinking, in the
bosome of the waues; and by that helpe hee may attaine the exercise.: but yet it many times makes him venter beyond his height, and then, if that breakes, or a storme rises, hee drownes' without recoverie. How many would dye, did not Hope sustaine them? How many haue dy'de, by hoping too much? This wonder wee may finde in Hope; that she is both a Flatterer, and a true friend. Like a valiant Captains, in a losing Battell, it is ouer incouraging Man, and never leaves him, till they both expire together. While breath pants in the dying Body, there is Hope fleeting in the waning\(^a\) Soule.\(^1\) 'Tis almost as the Ayre, by which the mind does liue. There is one thing which may adde to our value of it: That it is appropriate vnto Man alone. For surely, Beasts haue not hope at all; they are onely capable of the present; whereas Man, apprehending future things, hath this giuen him, for the sustentation of his drooping Soule. Who would liue rounded with calamities, did not smiling Hope cheere him, with expectation of deliuerance? The common one is in Tibullus:

\[\text{Iam mala finissem Letho; sed credula vitam} \]

\[\text{Spes fovet, & melius cras fore semper ait,} \]

\[\text{Spes alit agricolas: spes sulcis credit avatris} \]

\[\text{Semina, quae magno faenore reddat Ager.} \]

\(^a\)waverings, 6.

\(^1\)Cf. Pope, Epistles, I., I. 95, "Hope springs eternal," etc.—Smeaton.
Haec laqueo volucres, haec captat arundine pisces,
Cum tenues hamos abdidit ante cibus.
Spes etiam valida solatur compede vinctum;
Crura sonant ferro, sed cavit inter opus.2

Hope flatters Life, and sayes shee'l still bequeath
Better; else I hadb cur'd all ills by Death.
She blythes the Farmer, does his graine commit
To Earth, which will large vse replentieth it.
She snares the Birde: and Fishes as they glide,
Strikes with small hooks, that coozening baits do hide:
She cheeres the shackled Prisner, and while's thigh
Rings with his Chaine, he workes, and sings on high.

There is no estate so miserable, as to exclude her comfort.
Imprison, vexe, fright, torture, shew Death with his
horridest brow; yet Hope will dart in her reviving rayes,
that shall illumine and exhilarate, in the tumour, in the
swell of these. Nor does shee more friend vs with her
gentle shine, then shee often fooles vs with her sleeke
delusions. She dandles vs into killing Flames: sings vs
into Lethargies: and like an ouer-hasty Chyrurgien, skinneth
dangers, that are full, and foule within. She coozens the
Thiefe of the Coine hee steales: and cheates the Gamester
more then even the falsest Dye. It abusest universall Man,

bhad I, 5.7.

2Carmina, II, 6, 19-26.
from him that stoopes to the lome wall, upon the naked Common, to the Monarch in his purpled Throne. It vndoes the melting Prodigall; it deliuers the Ambitious to the edged Axe, and the rash Souldier, to the shatterings of the fired Vomit. Whatsoever good wee see, it tels vs wee may obtaine it; and in a little time, tumble our selues in the Downe of our wishes: but it often performes like Domitian, promising all with nothing.\(^3\) 'Tis (indeed) the Rattle which Nature did provide, to still the froward crying of the fond childe, Man. Our Life is but a Runne, after the Drag of something that doth itch our senses: which when wee haue hunted home, we finde a meere dilusion. We thinke we serue for Rachel, but are deceiu'd with bleare-ey'd Leah.\(^4\) Iacob is as Man, Laban is the churlish, envious, vngratefull World: Leah is the pleasure it payes vs with: blemisht in that which is the life of beautie, perisht euen in the Eye; emblem'd too by the Sexe of Frailety, Women.\(^5\) We see a Box, wherein we beleeeue a Pardon; so wee are merry in the brinke of Death. While we are dancing, the Trapdoore falls vnder vs, and hope makes vs jocund, till the ladder turnes, and then it is too late to care. Certinelly, it requires a great deale of Judgement, to balance our hopes even. Hee that hopes for

\(^3\)The emperor Domitian often gave the appearance of offering friendship to those he was about to execute. Suetonianus, VIII, xi.

\(^4\)Genesis 29:15-30.
nothing, will never attain to any thing. This good comes of over-hoping, that it sweetens our passage thorow the World, and sometimes so sets vs to worke, as it produces great actions, though not alwayses pat to our ends. But then againe, hee that hopes too much, shall coozen himselfe at last; especially, if his industry goes not along to fertile it. For, hope without Action, is a barren undooer. The best is to hope for things possible, and probable. If wee can take her comforts, without transferring her our confidence, we shall surely finde her a sweet companion. I will bee content, my hope should travaile beyond Reason; but I would not haue her build there. So by this; I shall reape the benefit of her present Service, yet prevent the Treason shee might beguile me with.

L. 82. That sufferance causeth Loue.

IN Noble Natures, I nevere found it faile, but that those who suffered for them, they ever lou'd intirely. 'Tis Justice living in the Soule, to indeare those that haue smarted for our sakes. Nothing surer tyes a friend, then freely to subbumerate the burthen which was his. Hee is vnworthy to be freed a second time, that does not pay both affection and thanks, to him that hath vnder gone a mischiefe, due to himselfe. He hath in a sort made a purchase of thy Life, by saving it: and though he doth forbeare to call for it, yet I beleue, vpon the like, thou owest him. Sure,
Nature being an enemie to all injustice, since shee cannot recall a thing done, labours some other way, to recompence the passed injurie. It was Darius his confession, that he had rather haue one whole Zepirus then tenne such Babylons as his mangling wanne. Volumnius vvould needs haue dy'de upon Lucullus corps, because hee was the cause of his undertaking the Warre. And Achilles did alter his purpose of refraining the Grecian Campe, to revenge Patroclus his Death, when hee heard that hee was slaine in his borrowed Armour. Sure, there is a Sympathie of soules; and they are subtilly mixed by the Spirits of the Ayre; which makes them sensible to one anothers sufferances. I know not by what hidden way; but I finde, that loue increaseth by adversitie. Ovid confesses it:

---Adverso tempore creuit Amor:

---Loue heightens by depression.

Wee often finde in Princes, that they loue their Favourites, for beeing Skreenes, that take away the envie of the People, which else would light on them: and we shall see this loue appeare most, when the People beginne to lift at them: as

1Zopyrus mutilated himself in order to get the Babylonians to trust him. He then betrayed the city to his real master, Darius. Herodotus, III, 153-160.

2See Plutarch, "The Life of Lucullus."

3Iliad, XVI.

4Epistolarum ex Ponto, IV, vi, 24.
if they were then tyde to that, out of Justice and Gratitude, which before was but matter of Fauour, and in the way of Courtesie. To make two friends intire, wee neede but plot, to make one suffer for the others sake. For this is alwayes in a worthie minde, it grieues more at the trouble of a friend, then it can doe for it selfe. Men often know in themselues how to manage it, how to entertaine it: in another they are uncertaine how it may worke. This feare troubles love, and sends it to a neerer search, and pity. All creatures shew a thankfulness to those that haue befriended them. The Lion, the Dog, the Storke, in kindnesses are all returners: whole Nature leanes to mutuall requitais: and to pay with numerous use, the favours of a free affection. And if we owe a Retribution for unpainefull Courtesies, how much should we reflow, when they come arrayed in sufferings? Though it bee not to our selues a benefit of the largest profit; yet it is to them a service of the greatest pains: and it is a great deale more Honour to recompence after their Act, then our Receipt. In Courteies, 'tis the most Noble, when we receive them from others, to prize them after the Authors intention, if they be meane, but after their effect, if they be great: and when we offer them to others, to value them lesse good, but as the sequell proues them to the Receiver. Certainly, though the world hath nothing worth loving, but an honest man: yet this would make one loue the man that is vile. In this case I cannot exempt the ill one out of my affection: but I will rather wish he
may still be free, then I in bonds to lewdnesse, nor will I, if my industrious care may void it, ever let any indure a torment for me: because it is a courtesie, which I know not how to requite. So till I meet with the like opportunity, I must rest in his debt, for his passion. It is not good to receive favours, in such a nature, as wee cannot render them. Those Bonds are cruellyyes, which make man ever subject to debt, without a power to cancell them.

L. 83. That Policy and Friendship are scarce compatible.

AS Policy is taken in the generall, wee hold it but a kinde of crafty wisedome, which boweth every thing to a selfe-profit. And therefore a Politician is one of the worst sorts of men, to make a friend on. Give me one, that is vertuously wise, not cunningly hid, and twined to himselfe. Policy in friendship, is like Logake in truth: something too subtile for the plainenesse of disclosing hearts. And whereas this works ever for appropriate ends; Loue ever takes a partner into the Benefit. Doubtlesse, though there bee that are sure, and straight, to their friend; yet in the generall, hee is reckon'd, but a kind of postpositum; or an Heire that must not claime till after. Wee haue found out an Adage, which doubles our loue to our selues; but with all, it

^friends, 5.
robs our neighbor. Proximus ipse mihi,\(^1\) is urged to the ruine of friendship. They that loue themselves overmuch, haue seldome any expressiue goodnesse. And indeed, it is a quality that fights against the twist of friendship. For what loue ioynes, this divides, and distanceth. Scipio\(^2\) would not beleeeue it was ever the speech of a wise man, which wils vs, so to loue, as if we were to hate immediately. The truth of affection projecteth perpetuity. All that loue which can presently leave, was never well begun. He that will not in a time of need, halue it with a streighted friend, does but usurpe the name, and iniure it. Nor is hee more to be regarded, that will kicke at every faile of his friend: A friend invited Alcibyades to supper: He refused; but in the middle of their meale, hee rushes in with his servants, and commands them to catch vp the Wine, and carry it home to his house: they did it, yet halfe they left behind. The Guests complained of this uncivil violence: but his friend with this milde speech, excused him, saying: He did courteously, to take but halfe, when all was at his service.\(^3\) Yet in these lenitiues\(^b\) I confesse Politicians

\(^b\)lenities, 3-8.

\(^1\)Probably a paraphrase of Terence, Andria, IV, i, 12: "Proximus sum egomet mihi." "I am my own nearest relative."

\(^2\)Scipio Africanus, the famous statesman-soldier of the time of the Punic Wars.

\(^3\)Plutarch, "The Life of Alcibiades."
are most plausible. There are that will doe as Fabius said of Syphax, keepe correspondency in small matters, that they may bee trusted, and deceiue in greater, and of graver consequence. But these are to be banisht the League. The politicke heart is too full of crakkes, and angles, for the discovery of a plaine familiar. It is vncertaine finding of him, that vseth often to shift his habitation: and so it is a heart, that hath devires, and inversions for it selfe alone. Things that differ in their end, will surely part in their way. And such are these two: The end of Pollicy, is to make a mans selfe great. The end of loue, is to advance another. For a friend to converse withall, let mee rather meet with a sound affection, then a crafty braine. One may faile me by accident, but the other will doe it out of fore-intent: And then there is nothing more dangerous, then studied adulation; especially, where it knowes 'tis trusted. The soundest affection, is like to bee betweene those, where there cannot be expectation of sinister ends. Therefore haue your Poets feigned, the intiest loue, among humble Shepheards: where wealth and honour haue had no sway in their vnions.

4Syphax betrayed a friendship with Scipio. Fabius is an ancient historian upon whose work Livy relied. See Livy, XXIX, 23.
L. 84. Of Drunkenness.

Said Musaeus, 1 The reward of Vertue, is perpetuall drunkennesse. But he meant it, of celestiall exhillaration: and surely so, the good man is full of gladding vivisications, which the world does never reach vnfo. The other drunkennesse, arising from the Grape, is the floating of the sternelesse Sences in a Sea, and is as great a Hydra, 2 as ever was the Multitude. That disposition differ, as much as faces, Drinke is the clearest prover. The Cup is the betrayer of the mind, and does disappear the soule. There is but one thing which distinguisheth Beast, and Man; Reason. And this it robs him of: Nay, it goes further, even to the subverting of Natures Institution. The thoughts of the heart, which God hath secluded from the very Devill, and Spirits, by this doe suffer a search, and denudation. Quod in corde sobrii, in lingua ebrii. Hee that would Anatomize the soule, may doe it best, when Wine has numm'd the sences. Certainly, for confession, there is no such racke as Wine; nor could the Divell ever find a cunninger bait to angle both for Actes, and meaning: Even the most benighted cogitations of the soule, in this floud, doe tumble from the swelled tongue;

1 A legendary Greek poet, said to be the pupil of Orpheus. Plato speaks of him, and a body of verse attributed to him is extant.

2 The nine-headed monster that Hercules destroyed as his second labor. Ovid, Metamorphoses, IX, 192-3.
yet madly we pursue this Vice, as the kindler both of wit; and merth. Alas! it is the blemish of our times, that men are of such slow conceit, as they are not company one for another, without excessiue draughts to quicken them. And surely 'tis from this barrennesse, that the impertinencies of drinke, and smoake, were first tane in at meetings. It were an excellent way, for men of quality, to convert this madnesse, to the discussion and practice of Arts, either Military, or Civill. Their places of resort might be so fitted with instruments, as they might be like Academies of instruction, and proficiency. And these they might sweeten, with the adding of illusiue Games. What severall Playes and exercises, had their continuall use with the flourishing Romans? was there not their Compitales, Circenses, Scaenicos, Ludicros, and the like? all which, were as Schooles to their Youth, of vertue, Actuuenesse, or Magnanimity: and how quickly, and how eagerly were their Bacchanalia banished, as the teachers onely of detested vice? Indeed, Drunkennesse besots a Nation, and bestiates even the bravest spirits. There is nothing which a man that is soaked in drinke is fit for, no not for sleepe. When the

exercise, 4,5,7.

These are the festivals in honor of the deities of the crossroads, the circus games, theatrical performances, and public spectacles.

The lewd festival of Bacchus, celebrated at Rome every three years, was suppressed by a decree of the Senate, 186 B. C.
Sword and fire rages, 'tis but man warring against man: when Drunkenness reignes, the Devil is at war with man, and the Epotations of dumbe liquor damnes him. Macedonian Philip would not warre against the Persians, when he heard they were such Drinkers: For hee said, they would ruine alone. Doubtlesse, though the Soule of a Drunkard should be so drowned, as to be insensate; yet his Body, me thinkes, should irke him to a penitence and discession. When like an impoysoned bulke, all his powers mutiny in his distended skinne, no question but hee must bee pained, till they come againe to settling. What a Monster Man is, in his Inebriations! a swimming Eye; a Face both roast and sod; a temulentie Tongue, clammed to the roofo and gummee; a drumming Eare; a feavered Body; a boyling Stomache; a Mouth, nasty with offensiue fumes, till it sicken the Braine with giddy verminations; a palsyed hand; and legs tottering vp and downe their moystened burthen. And whereas we eate our dishes severall, because their mixture would loath the taste, the eye, and smell; this, when they are halfe made excrement, reverts them, mashed in an odious vomit. And very probable 'tis, that this was the poyson which kil'd the valiant Alexander. Protaes gaue him a quaffe of two gallons, which set him into a disease he dyed of. Tis an ancient Vice; and Temperance is rare. Cato vs'd to say of Caesar, that He alone came sober to the overthrow of the State. But you

\[\text{rage, 5,7.} \quad \text{damne, 4,5,7.}\]

\[\text{Cato was a bitter enemy of Caesar, but he admired the}\]
shall scarce find a man much addicted to drinke, that it 
ruin'd not. Either it dotes him into the snares of his 
enemies, or ouer beares his Nature, to a finall sinking. 
Yet there be, whose delights are only to tunne in: and 
perhaps, as Bonasus, they never straine their bladder for't.® 
But surely, some ill fate attends them, for consuming of the 
Countreys fat. That 'tis practis'd most of the meanest 
people, proues it for the baser vice. I knew a Gentleman 
that followed a Noble Lady, in this Kingdome, who would 
often complaine, that the greatest inconvenience he found in 
Service, was, his being vrged to drinke. And the better hee 
is, the more he shall finde it. The eyes of many are vpon 
the Eminent: and Servants, especially those of the 
ordinarie ranke, are often of so meane breeding, as they are 
ignorant of any other entertainement. We may obserue, it 
euer takes footing first in the most Barbarous Nations. The 
Scythians were such lovers of it, as it grew into their name: 
and vnlesse it were one Anacharsis, how barren were they, 
both of wit and manners?® The Grecians, I confesse, had it: 
dictator sobriety. 

®Bonosus was an officer of the Roman army during the 
reign of Aurelian. His most notable trait was that of being 
able to drink to excess without becoming drunk or losing his 
self-command. Aurelian kept him at court to urge foreign 
visitors to drink to excess and thereby divulge state secrets. 

®Anacharsis was a Scythian of princely rank who went to 
Athens during the time of Solon. He was greatly admired by 
the Athenians for the simplicity of his life and for his 
great talents. Herodotus, IV, 46, 76, 77.
but when they fell to it, they mightily decayed in braine. The **Italians** and **Spaniards**, which I take to be the most **civiliz'd**, I finde not tainted with this **spot**. And though the **Heathen** (in many places) Templ'd and adored this **drunken god**; yet one would take their **ascriptions** to him, to be matter of **dishonour**, and **mockes**: As his **troupe** of **furied Women**: his **Chariot** drawne with the **Linx** and **Tyger**: and the **Beasts** sacred to him, were onely the **Goat** and **Swine**. And such they all proue, that frequently honour him with excessiue **draughts**. I like a **Cup**, to **briske** the **spirits**; but **continuance** dulls them. It is lesse labour to **plow**, then to **pot it**; and **urged Healths** do infinitely adde to the **trouble**. I will never drinke but **Liberties**, nor euer those so long, as that I lose mine owne.

---Deare Bacchus, Ile not heave  
The shak'd Cup 'gainst my **stomacke**: not yet reaue  
Ope' arbor's **Secrets**. Let thy **Tymbrels** fierce,  
And **Phrygian Horne** be mute: blind **selfe-loues** curse,  
Braues without braine; Faith's **closetings**, alas!  
Doe follow thee, as if but cloath'd with **Glasse**.

Horace reades it thus:--- **Non ego te candide Bassareô!**  
**Invitum quatiam:** nec **varijs obsita frondibus**  
**Sub Divum rapiam.** **Saeua tene Berecynthio**  
**Cornu tympana; quae subsequitur caecus amor sui,**  
**Et tollens vacuum, plus mimio gloria verticem,**
Let me rather be disliked for not being a Beast, then be good-fellowed with a hug, for being one. Some laugh at mee, for being sober: and I laugh at them for being drunke. Let their pleasures crowne them, and their mirth abound: the next day they will sticke in mud. Bibite, & pergra camini & Cimmerii: Ebrietatem, stupor, dolor, imbecillitas, morbus, & mors ipsa comitantur.

Carmina, 1, 18, 11-16.

L. 85. Of Marriage, and single life.

Both Sexes made but Man. So that Marriage perfects Creation. When the Husband and the Wife are together, the World is contracted in a Bed: and without this, like the Head and body parted, eyther would consume, without a possibility of reuiving. And though we finde many enemies to the name of Marriage; yet 'tis rare to find an Enemie to the use on't. Surely he was made imperfect, that is not tending to propagation. Nature in her true worke, never made any thing in vaine. Hee that is perfect, and marries not, may in some sort be said to be guilty of a contempt against Nature; as disdaining to make use of her endowments. Nor is that which the Turkes hold, without some colour of Reason: They say, Hee that marries not at a fitting time, (which they hold is about the age of 25. yeeres) is not just,
nor pleasenth not God. I beleue it is from hence, that the Vow of chastitie is many times accompanied with such inconveniences as we see ensue. I cannot thinke God is pleased with that, which crosseth his first Ordination, and the current of Nature. And in themselves, it is a harder matter to roote out an inseparable sway of Nature, then they are aware of. The best chastity of all, I hold to bee Matrimonial chastitie: when Paires keepe themselves in a moderate intermutualnesse, each constant to the other: For still it tendeth to vnion, and continuance of the World in posterity. And 'tis fit euen in Nature and Policy, that this proprietie should be inviolable: First, in respect of the impurenesse of mixt Posterity. Next, in respect of peace and concord among Men. If many Men should be interested in one Woman, it could not be, but there would infinite Jarres arise. Some haue complained of Christian Religion, in that it tyes men so strictly in this point, as then matches happen ill, there is no meanes of remedy. But surely if liberty of change were granted, all would grow to confusion: and it would open a gap to many mischiefes, arising out of humour onely, which now by this necessity are digested, and made straight againe. Those I observe to agree best, which are of free natures, not subject to the fits of choller. Their freedome shuts out Jealousie, which is the canker of wedlocke; and withall, it diuideth both joy and sorrow. And when hearts alike disclose, they ever linke in loue. Nay, whereas small and domesticke Jarres, more fret marriages,
then great ones and publike; these two will take them away. Freedome reveals them, that they ranckle not the Heart to a secret loathing: and Mildnesse heats them, without Anger, or bitter words: so they cloze againe after discussion, many times in a straighter Tye. Povertie in Wedlocke, is a great decayer of loue and contentation; and Riches can finde many wayes, to divert an inconvenience; but the minde of a Man is all. Some can be servile, and fall to those labours which another cannot stoope to. Above all, let the generous minde beware of marrying poore: for though hee cares the least for wealth, yet hee will bee most galled with the want of it. Selfe-conceited people never agree well together: they are wilfull in their brawles, and Reason cannot reconcile them. Where either are only opinionately wise, Hell is there: vslesse the other be a Patient meerely. But the worst is, when it lights on the Woman: shee will thinke to rule, because she hath the subtiller braine; and the Man will look for't as the privilege of his Sex. Then certainly, there will be mad worke, when Wit is at warre with Prerogatiue. Yet againe, where Marriages prooue vnfortunate, a Woman with a bad Husband, is much worse, then a Man with a bad Wife. Men haue much more freedome, to court their Content abroad. There are, that account Women onely as Seed-plots for posteritie: others worse, as onely quench for their fires. But surely there is much more in them, if they bee discreete and good. They are Women but in body alone. Questionlesse, a Woman with a wise Soule, is the fittest Companion for Man:
otherwise God would have given him a Friend rather than a Wife. A wise Wife comprehends both Sexes: she is Woman for her body, and she is Man within: for her soul is like her Husbands. It is the Crowne of Blessings, when in one Woman a Man findeth both a Wife and a Friend. Single life cannot have this happiness; though in some minds it hath many it preferred before it. This hath fewer Cares, and more Longings: but marriage hath fewer Longings, and more Cares. And as I think, Care in Marriage may be commendable; so I think Desire in Single life, is not an evil of so high a bound, as some men would make it. It is a thing that accompanies Nature; and Man cannot avoid it. Some things there are, that conscience in general Man condemns, without a Litterall Law: as Injustice, blasphemy, Lying, and the like: But to curbe and quite beate down the desires of the flesh, is a worke of Religion, rather than of Nature. And therefore saies S. Paul, I had not known Lust to have beene a sinne, if the Law had not said, Thou shalt not lust.\(^1\)

Votive Abstinence, some cold constitutions may endure, with a great deale of vexatious penitence. To live chaste without vowing, I like a great deale better: nor shall we finde the Devil so busie to tempt vs to a single sinne of unchastity: as he will, when it is a sinne of unchastitie and perjurie too. I finde it commended, but not imposed. And when Jephtha's Daughter dyed, they mourned, for that she

\(^1\text{Romans 7:7.}\)
dy'de a Maid. The Grecians, the Romans did, and the Spaniards at this day doe (in honour of marriage) priuiledge the wedded. And though the Romans had their Vestals, yet after their thirty yeeres continuance, the cruelty of enforced chastitie was not in force against them. Single life I will like in some, whose mindes can suffer continency: but should all liue thus, a hundred yeeres would make the world a Desart. And this alone may excuse me, though I like of Marriage better. One tends to ruine, the other to increasing of the glory of the world, in multitudes.

2 Judges 11:34-40.

I. 86. Of Charitie.

Charitie is communicated goodnesse, and without this, Man is no other then a Beast, preying for himselfe alone. Certainly, there are more men liue vpon Charity, then there are, that doe subsist of themselues. The World, which is chained together by intermingled loue, would all shatter, and fall to pieces, if Charity should chance to dye. There are some secrets in it, which seeme to give it the chaire from all the rest of vertues. With Knowledge, with Valour, with Modestie, and so with other particular Vertues, a man may bee ill with some contrarying vice: But with Charity wee cannot bee ill at all. Hence I take it, is that saying in Timothie; The end, or consummation of the Law, is loue
out of a pure heart.¹ Habere omnia Sacramenta, & malus esse potest: habere autem Charitatem, & malus esse non potest: said Saint Augustine of old. Next, whereas other virtues are restricting, and looking to a man's self. This takes all the world for its object: and nothing that hath sense, but is better for this displayer. There be among the Mahometans, that are so taken with this beauty, that they will with a price redeeme ingaged Birds, to restore them to the liberty of their plumed wing. And they will oftentimes, with cost feed fishes in the streaming water. But their opinion of deserving by it, makes it as a Superstitious folly: and in Materials, they are nothing so zealous. Indeed, nothing makes vs more like to God, then Charitie. As all things are filled with his goodnesse, so the Universall is partaker of the good mans spreading Loue. Nay, it is that which gies life to all the Race of other virtues. It is that, which makes them to appeare in Act. Wisdome and, Science are worth nothing, vnlesse they be distributive, and declare themselues to the world. Wealth in a Misers hand is vselesse, as a lockt-up Treasure. Tis charity onely, that maketh riches worth the owning. We may observe, when charitable men haue ruled, the World hath flourished, and enjoyed the blessings of Peace and prosperity: the times haue beene more pleasant and smooth: nor haue any Princes sate more secure or firme in their Thrones, then

¹Timothy 1:5.
those that have been clement and benigne: as Titus, Trajan, Antonine, and others. And we may observe againe, how rugged, and how full of bracks those times have beene, wherein cruel ones have had a power. Cicero sayes of Sylla's time,—Nemo illo invito, nec bona, nec patriam, nec vitam, retinere potuerit. And when the Senate in Councell, was frighted at the cry of seuen thousand Romans, which he had sent to execution at once; he bids them minde their businesse, for it was onely a few Seditiaries, that hee had commanded to be saline. No question but there are, which delight to see a Rome in flames and like a ravisht Troy, mocking the absent day with earthly fires, that can linger Men to Martyrdome, and make them dye by piecemeale. Tyberius told one that petitioned to be quickly kill'd; that hee was not yet his friend. And Vitellius would needs see the Scriviner dye in his presence, for he said hee would feed his eyes. But I wonder, whence these men have their minds. God, nor Man, nor Nature ever made them thus. Sure, they borrow it from the Wildernesse, from the imboasted Savage, and from tormenting spirits. When the Legge will neither beare the Body, nor the Stomach disperse his receit, nor the Hand be

2C. Verrem, III, 81.

3Tiberius, Roman emperor of the first century A. D., was noted for his licentiousness and cruelty.

4Vitellius was emperor of Rome for nine months in A. D. 69. He was known for his gluttony and cruelty. The incident is recorded in Suetonius, VII, xiv.
be serviceable to the directing **Head**, the whole must certainly **languish**, and dye: So in the **body** of the **world**, when **Members** are sullen'd and **snarle** one at another, down falls the **frame** of all.

**Quod mundus, stabili fide,**
**Concordes variat vices:**
**Quot pugnantia semina**
**Foedus perpetuum tenent:**
**Quod Phaebus roseum diem,**
**Curru provehit aureo:**
**Vt quas duxerit Hesperus,**
**Phoebe noctibus imperet:**
**Vt fluctus avidum mare**
**Certo fine coercet,**
**Ne terris liceat vagis**
**Latos tendere terminos:**
**Hanc rerum seriem ligat,**
**(Terras, ac Pelagias regens,**
**Et Coelo imperitans) Amor.**

That the **world** in constant force,
Varies his concordant course:
That seeds iarring, **hot** and **cold**,
Doe the Breed perpetuall hold:
That the **Sunne** in's golden **Car**,
Does the **Rosie Day** still rere.
That the **Moone** swayes all those **lights**,
Hesper yshers to darke nights.
That alternate Tydes be found
Seas high-prided wavues to bound;
Lest his fluid waters Mace,
Creeke broad Earths invallyed face.
All the Frame of things that be,
Loue (which rules Heaven, Land, and Sea)
Chaines, keepes, orders, as you see.

Thus Boëtius. The world containes nothing, but there is some quality in it, which benefits some other creatures. The Ayre yeelds Fowles; the Water Fish, the Earth Fruit. And all these, yeeld something from themselues, for the vse and behalfe, not onely of Man, but of each other. Surely, he that is right, must not thinke his charity to one in need, a courtesie: but a debt, which Nature at his first being, bound him to pay. I would not water a strange ground, to leaue my owne in drought: yet I thinke to evrey thing that hath sense, there is a kind of pitty owing. Salomons good Man, is mercifull to his Beast: nor take I this to be onely intentionall; but expressiue: God may respect the mind, and will; but man is nothing better for my meaning alone. Let my minde be charitable, that God may accept me. Let my actions expresse it, that man may be benifited.

deed, 6.

5Consolation of Philosophy, 2, Metrum 8, 1-15.
6Proverbs 12:10.
L. 87. Of Travaile.\\(^1\)

A Speech which often came from Alexander, was; that he had discovered more with his eye, then other Kings did comprehend in their thoughts. And this he spake of his Travaile. For indeed, Men can but guesse at places by relation onely. There is no Map, like the view of the Countrey. Experience is the best Informer. And one Journey will shew a man more, then any descriptions can. Some would not allow a man to moue from the shell of his owne Countrey. And Claudian\(^2\) mentions it as a happinesse, for birth, life, and buriall, to be all in a Parish. But surely, Travaile fulleth the Man, he hath liu'd but lockt vp in a larger Chest, which hath never seene but one Land. A Kingdome to the world, is like a Corporation to a Kingdome: a man may liue in' t like an unbred man. Hee that searcheth forraigne Nations, is becoming a Gentleman of the world. One that is learned, honest, and travail'd, is the best compound of man; and so corrects the Vice of one Countrey, with the Vertues of another, that like Mithridate, hee growes a perfect mixture, and an Antidote.\(^3\)

\(^1\)"Travel." Seventeenth-century spelling does not distinguish between the two words.

\(^2\)The last great classical Latin poet, late fourth century-early fifth century A. D. He wrote a number of idyls.

\(^3\)Pliny, Natural History, XXV, 3.
Spaine, are as the Court of the world. Germany, Denmarke, and China, are as the Citie. The rest are most of them Countrey, and Barbarisme; who hath not seene the best of these, is a little lame in knowledge. Yet I thinke it not fit that every man should travaile. It makes a wise man better, and a foole worse. This gaines nothing but the gay sights, vices, exoticke gestures, and the Apery of a Countrey. A Travailing foole is the shame of all Nations. Hee shames others, by bringing home their follies alone. They onely blab abroad domestick vices, and import them that are transmarine. That a man may better himselfe by Travaile, hee ought to obserue, and comment: noting as well the bad, to avoid it, as taking the good, into use. And without Registering these things by the Pen, they will slide away unprofitably. A man would not thinke, how much the Charactering of a thought in Paper, fastens it. Littera scripta manet, has a large sense. Hee that does this, may, when he pleaseth, rejourney over all his voyage, in his Closet. Graue Natures are the best proficients by Travaile: they are not so apt to take a Soyle; and they obserue more; but then they must put on an outward freedome, with an inquisition seemingly carelesse. It were an excellent thing in a State, to haue alwayes a select number of Youth, of the Nobility, and Gentry; and at yeeres of some Maturity,

Part of an anonymous mediaeval hemistich: "Littera scripta manet; verb at inane perit." "The writing remains, while the spoken word dies on the sound."
send them abroad for Education. Their Parents could not better dispose of them, then in dedicating them to the Republique. They themselves could not be in a fairer way of preferment; and no question but they might prove mightily serviceable to the State, at home; when they shall return well versed in the world, languaged and well read in men; which for Policy, and Negotiation, is much better than any booke-learning, though never so deepe, and knowing. Being abroad, the best is to converse with the best, and not to choose by the eye, but by Fame. For the State, instruction is to bee had at the Court. For Traffique, among Merchants. For Religious Rites, the Clergie; for Government, the Lawyers; and for the countrey, and rurall knowledge, the Boores, and Peasantry, can best helpe you. All rarities are to be seene, especially Antiquities; for these shew vs the ingenuity of elder times in Act: and are in one, both example, and precept. By these, comparing them with Moderne Invention, wee may see how the world thrives in ability, and brayne. But above all, see rare men. There is no Monument, like a worthy man alive. We shall bee sure to finde something in him, to kindle our spirits, and inlarge our minds with a worthy emulation of his vertues. Parts of extraordinary note, cannot so lye hid, but that they will shine forth, through the tongue and behaviour, to the inlightning of the ravisht beholder. And because there is lesse in this, to take the sense of the eye, and things are more readily taken from a living patterne; the Soule shall more easily draw in
his excellencies, and improve it selfe with greater profit. But vnlesse a man has judgement to order these aright, in himselfe, at his returne, all is in vaine, and lost labour. Some men, by Travaile will be changed in nothing: and some againe, will change too much. Indeed, the morall outside, wheresoever we be, may seeme best, when something fitted to the Nation wee are in, but wheresoever I should goe, or stay, I would ever keepe my God, and Friends, unchangeably. Howsoere he returnes, he makes an ill Voyage, that changeth his Faith with his Tongue, and Garments.

L. 88. Of Musicke.

Diogenes spake right of Musicke, when he told one that brag'd of his skill; that Wisedome govern'd Cities; but with Songs, and Measures, a house would not be order'd well.\(^1\) Certainly, it is more for pleasure, then any profit of Man. Being but a sound, it onely workes on the mind for the present; and leaues it not reclaimed, but rapt for a while: and then it returns, forgetting the onely eare-deepe warbles. It is but wanton'd Ayre, and the Titillation of that spirited Element. Wee may see this, in that 'tis onely in hallowed Instruments, which gather in the stirred Ayre, and so cause a sound in the Motion. The advantage is gaines upon the Mind, is in respect of the neerenesse it hath to

\(^1\)Diogenes Laertius, VI, 104.
the spirits composure, which being AEthereall, and harmonious, must needs delight in that which is like them. Besides, when the ayre is thus moued, it comes by degrees to the eare, by whose winding entrance, it is made more pleasant, and by that in-essent Ayre, carried to the Auditory nerue, which presents it to the common sense, & so to the intellectuall. Of all Musicke, that is best which comes from an articulate voyce. Whether it be that man cannot make an Instrument so melodious, as that which God made, living Man: or, because there is something in this, for the rationall part, as well as for the eare alone. In this also, that is best, which comes with a carelesse freeness, and a kind of a neglectuie easinesse; Nature being alwayse most louely, in an unaffected, and spontaneous flowing. A dexterious Art, shewes cunning, and industry; rather then judgement, and ingenuity. It is a kinde of disparagement, to be a cunning Fiddler. It argues his neglect of better employments, and that hee hath spent much time vpon a thing unnecessary. Hence it hath beene counted ill, for great Ones, to sing, or play, like an Arted Musician. Philip ask'd Alexander, if hee were not ashamed, that he sang so artfully. And indeed, it softens the mind; The curiosity of it, is fitter for Women then Men, and for Curtezans then Women. Among other descriptions of a Roman Dame; Salust puts it downe for one, that shee did ---Psallere, & saltare, elegantius, quàm necesse est probae. But yet againe 'tis pitty, that these should

²Catilina, XXV.
bee so excellent, in that which hath such power to fascinate. It were well, Vice were barr'd of all her helpes of wooing. Many a minde hath beene angled vnto ill, by the Eare. It was Stratonice, that tooke Mithridates with a Song. For as the Notes are framed, it can draw, and incline the minde. Liuely Tunes doe lighten the mind: Graue ones giue it Melancholy. Lofty ones raise it, and advance it to aboue. Whose dull blood will not caper in his veins, when the very ayre he breathes in, frisketh in a tickled motion? Who can but fix his eye, and thoughts, when he heares the sigh, and dying groanes, gestur'd from the mournfull instrument? And I thinke he hath not a mind well tempet'd, whose zeale is not inflamed by a heavenly Anthem. So that indeed, Musicke is good, or bad, as the end to which it tendeth. Surely, they did meane it excellent, that made Apollo, who was God of Wisedome, to be God of Musicke also. But it may bee, the AEgyptians, attributing the invention of the Harpe to him, rarity and pleasingnesse, made them so to honour him. As the Spartans vsed it, it served still for an excitation to Valour, and Honourable actions: but then they were so carefull of the manner of it, as they fined Terpander, and nayled his Harpe to the post, for being too inventiue, in adding a string

3See Plutarch, "The Life of Pompey." Stratonice was one of Mithridates's wives. She was of low birth, but she became one of the king's favorites because of her accomplishments in music.
more than usual: Yet had he done the State good service, for he appeased a Sedition by his play, and Poetry. Sometimes light Notes are useful; as in times of general joy, and when the mind is pressed with sadness. But certainly, those are best, which inflame zeal, incite to courage, or induce to gravitie. One is for Religion; so the Jews. The other for War, so the Grecians, and Romans. And the last for Peace, and Morality: Thus Orpheus civilized the Satyres, and the bad rude men. It argues it of some excellency, that 'tis used only by the most aerial creatures; loved, and understood by Man alone; the Birds next, have variety of Notes. The Beasts, Fishes, and reptiles, which are of grosser composition, have only silence, or untuned sounds. They that despise it wholly, may well be suspected, to be something of a Savage Nature. The Italians have somewhat a smart censure, of those that affect it not: They say, God loves not him, whom he hath not made to love Music. Aristotle's conceit, that Love doth neither Harpe, nor sing, I do not hold a dispraise. We find in Heaven there be Hallelujahs sung. I believe it, as a helper both to good and ill; and will therefore honour it, when it moves to Virtue, and beware it, when it would flatter into Vice.

4 Terpander (fl. early seventh century B.C.) was a citizen of Lesbos and an adopted citizen of Sparta. He actually replaced the lyre of four strings with one of seven.
L. 89. Of Repentance.

Hee that will not repent, shall ruine, nor is hee to be pittied in his sufferings, that may escape a torment, by the compunction of a heart, and teares. Surely, that God is mercifull, that will admit offences to be expiated, by the sigh, and fluxed eyes. But it is to be wondred at, how Repentance can againe infavour vs with an offended God; since when a sinne is past, griefe may lessen it, but not vnsinne it. That which is done, is unrecallable; because a sinne does intend in infinitum. Adultery once committed, maugre all the teares in man, for the Act, remains Adultery still: yea, though the guilt, and punishment be remitted: nor can a Man vnact it againe. When a Maid is robbed of her Virgin honour, there may see some satisfaction, but no restitution. Certainly, there are secret walkes of goodnesse, and Purity; whereby all things are revolved in a constant way, which by the supreme power of God, they were at first invested in. And when Man strays from his Instinct, the whole course of Nature, is against him, till hee bee reduced into his first ranke, and order. And this, I thinke, may excuse God of changeableness, when we say hee turnes to Man, vpon his Penitence: for indeed, 'tis Man that changes, God is still the vn-altered same. And the first Immutability of things, never leaues a man, till hee be either settled againe in his place, or quite cut off from troubling of the Motion. And as he is not rightly reinserted,
till hee does Cooperate with the Noble revolution of all: so he is not truely penitent, that is not progressiue, in the Motion of aspiring goodnesse. When he is once thus againe, though he were a straggler from the Round, and like a wry Coq in the wheele, yet now, he is streighted, and set againe in his way, as if he had never been out. Sayes the Tragedian:

Remeemus illuc, unde non decuit prius
abire---1

Returne we, whence it was a shame to stray: and presently after,

Quem poenitet peocasse, poenè est innocens.2

He that repents, is well-neere innocent.

Nay, sometimes a failing and returne, is a prompter to a surer hold. St. Ambrose obserues, that Peters Faith was stronger after his fall, then before: so as hee doubts not to say, that, by his fall, hee found more grace, then he lost. A man shall beware the steps hee once hath stumbled on. The Devill sometimes coozens himselfe, by plunging man into a deepe offence. A sudden ill Act, growes abhorred in the mind that did it. He is mightily carelesse, that does

1Seneca, Agamemno, 241-2.
2Ibid., 243.
not grow more vigilant, on an Enemy that hath once surprised him. A blow that smarts, will put us to a safer ward. But the danger is, when we glide in a smoothed way: for then, we shall never returne of our selues alone. Questionlesse, Repentance is so powerfull, that it cannot be but the gift of Deity. Said the Roman Theodosius: That living then dye, is usual, and natural: but that dead men live againe by Repentance, is a worke of Godhead onely. How farre, how secure, should we runne in Vice, did not the power of goodnesse, checke vs in our full blowne saile? without doubt, that is the best life, which is a little sprinkled with the salt of Crosses. The other would be quickly rank, and tainted. There are, whose paths are washt with Butter, and the Rose-bud crownes them: but doubtlesse, 'tis a misery to liue in oyled vice, when her waves are made slipperie with her owne slime: and the bared tracke inviteth to a ruinous race. Heaven is not had without repentance; and repentance seldom meetes a man in jollity, in the careere Lust, and the blood loose ryot. A Father said of David; Hee Hee sinned as Kings use to doe; but hee repented, sighed, and wept, as Kings haue vsed not to doe. I would not be so happy, as to want the meanes whereby I might be penitent. I am sure no man can liue without sinne: and I am sure no sinner can be saved without it. Nor is this in a mans owne choyce, to take it vp when he please. Surely, Man that

\( ^3 \) Cf. Thomson, Seasons—Spring, 1. 996.—Smeaton.
would never leave to sinne, would never of himselfe begin to repent. It were best, if possible, to live so, as wee might not neede it: but since I can neither not need it, nor giue it my selfe, I will pray him to giue it me, who after hee hath given mee this, will giue mee both release and glory.

L. 90. Of Warre, and Souldiers.

After a long Scene of Peace, Warre ever enters the Stage: and indeed, is so much of the worlds Phisickes, as it both a Purge, and blood-letting. Peace, Fulnesse, Pride, and Warre, are foure Fellies, that being let into one another, make the wheele, that the Times turne on. As we see in Bees, when the Hvue multiplies, and fils, Nature hath alwayes taught it a way of ease, by swarmes: So the World and Nations, when they grow over-populus, they discharge themselves by Troupes, and Bands. 'Tis but the distemper of the body Politicke, which (like the Naturall) Rest, and a full dyet hath burthen'd with repletion: and that heightens humours, either to sickness, or Evacuation. When 'tis eased of these, it subsides againe to a quiet rest, and temper. So Warre is begotten out of Peace graduately, and ends in Peace immediately. Between Peace, and Warre, are two Stages: Luxury, Ambition: betweene warre and peace, none at all. The causes of all warres, may be reduced to fiue heads: Ambition, Avarice, Revenge, Providence, and Defence. The two first, were the most vsuall causes of warre among the
Heathen. Yet what all the conquer'd call'd Pride, and Covetousnesse; both the Romans and Grecians were taught by their high bloods, to call, Honour and increase of Empire, The originall of all, Tibullus will needs haue gold.

Quis fuit, borrendos primus qui protulit enses?
Quam ferus, & verè ferreus ille fuit?
Tunc caedes hominum generi, tunc praelia nata,
Tunc brevier dirae mortis aperta via est.
At nihil ille miser meruit; nos ad mala nostra,
Vertimus, in saevas quod dedit ille feras.
Divitis hoc vitium est auri: nec bella fuerunt,
Faqinus adstabat dum Scyphus ante dapes.  

Of killing Swords who might first Author be?
Sure, a steele mind, and bloudy thought had hee.
Mankinds destruction; Wars. were then made knowne,
And shorter wayes to death, with terrour showne.
Yet (curs'd) hee's not i'th fault; we madly bend
That on our selues, hee did for beasts intend.
Full gold's i'th fault: no Warres, no iarres were then,
When Beech bowles onely were in vse with men.

That which hath growne from the propagation of Religion, was never of such force, as since the Mahumetan Law, and Catholick cause, haue ruffled among the Nations. Yet

\[1\] Carmina, I, 10, 1-8.
questionlesse to lay the foundation of Religion in blood, is to condemn it, before we teach it; The Sword may force Nature, and destroy the Body, but cannot make the mind believe that Lawfull, which is begun is unlawfulness: Yet without doubt in the interpreters, the opinion has animated much: we see how it formerly fired the Turke, & is yet a strong motive to the Spanish attempts. Unless he throwes abroad this to the world, to blanch his Rapine and his cruelty. For that of Revenge; I see not but it may be lawfull for a Prince, even by Warre, to vindicate the honour of himselfe, and People. And the reason is, because in such cases of injury, the whole Nation is interested: and many times the recompence is more due to the Subjects, then the Soveraigne. That of Providence may well haue a passe: as when Princes make Warre to avoid Warre: or when they see a storme inevitably falling, 'tis good to meet it, and break the force: should they ever sit still while the blow were given them, they might very well vndoe themselves by Patience; we see in the body, men often bleed to prevent an imminent sicknesse. For that of Defence, both Religion, and all the Rules of Nature plead for't. The Commanders in Way ought to be built upon these three Vertues: they should be Wise, Valiant, Experienc'd. Wisedome in a Generall, many times ends the Warre without Warre. Of all Victories, the Roman thought that best, which least was stain'd with blood. And they were content to let Camillus triumph, when he had not
fought. In these times, it is especially requisite, since Stratagems and Advantages are more in use, then the open and the daring valour. Yet valiant he must be; else he growes contemptible, loses his command, and by his owne feare, infects his Troupes with cowardize. To the eternall honour of Caesar, Cicero reports, that in all his commands of the Field, there was not found an Ito, but a Veni: as if he scorn'd in all his Onsets, to be any thing, but still a Leader. Always teaching by the strongest Authority, his owne forwardnesse, his owne examples. And though these be Excellencies, they be all, without Experience, lame. Let him be never so learned, his Books cannot limit his designes in severall: and though he be perfect in a Paper-plot, where his eye has all in view; hee will faile in a Leaguer, where he sees but a limme at once: Besides, Experience puts a credit on his Actions, and makes him farre more prompt in undertakings. And indeed, there is a great deale of reason, why wee should respect him, that with an untaynted valour, has growne old in Armes, and hearing the Drumme beat. When every minute, Death seemes to passe by, and shunne him; he is as one that the supreme God has car'd for, and, by a particular Guard defended in the Halie of death. 'Tis true, tis a life tempting to exorbitancy; yet this is more in the

2 Plutarch, "The Life of Camillus."

3 Not a "go," but "come." Caesar led his troops personally and would not ask them to go where he himself would not.
common sort, that are pressed as the reffuse, and burthen of the Land, then in those that by a Nobler breeding, are able to command. Want, Idlenesse, and the desperate face of blood, hath hardened them to Outrages. Nor may we wonder, since even their life is but an order'd Quarrell, raised to the feud of killing. Certainly, it was with such that Lucan was so out of charity.

Nulla fides, Pietasque; viris, gui castra sequuntur,
Venalesque manus; ibi fas, vbi maxima merces.4

Nor Faith, nor Conscience, common Souldiers carry.
Best pay, is right: their hands are Mercinary.

For the weapons of War, they differ much from those of ancient times: and I beleue, the invention of Ordnance hath mightily saved the liues of men. They command at such distance, and are so vnresistable, that men come not to the shock of a Battell, as in former Ages. We may obserue, that the greatest numbers, haue falne by those weapons, that haue brought the Enemies neerest together. Then the pitched field was the tryall, and men were so ingaged that they could not come off, till blood had decided victory. The same Advantages are still, and rather greater now, then of old: The Wind, the Sunne, the better Ground. In former Warres, for all their Armes, the Ayre was ever cleere: but now their Peeces mist,

4Pharsalia, 10, 407-8.
and thicken it, which beaten upon them by disadvantages, may soon indanger an Armie. Surely Warres are in the same nature with offences, Necesse est ut veniant, They must be; yet Vae inducenti, They are mightily in fault that cause them. Even Reason teaches vs to cast the blood of the slaine, upon the vniust Authors of it. That which gives the minde security, is a just cause, and a just deputation. Let mee haue these, and of all other, I shall thinke this, one of the noblest, and most manly ways, of dying.

L. 91. Of Scandall.

Tis unhappinesse enough to himselfe, for a man to be rotten within. But when by being false, hee shall pull a staine on a whole Society, his guilt will gnaw him with a sharper tooth. Even the effect is contrary, to the sway of Nature, and the wishes of the whole extended Earth. All men desire, that vexing their foes, they may gratifie and glad their friends: onely he that scandals a Church, or Nation, makes his friends mourn, and his Enemies rejoynce. They sigh for his just shame, vniustly flung on them: these smile, to see an adversary falne, and the blow given to those that would uphold him. And though the Authour liues where he did, yet his soule has beene a Traytor, and helped the contrary side. One ill man may discomtenence even the warranted, and maintained cause of a Nation: especially if he has been good. Blots appeare fouler in a strict life,
then a loose one; no man wonders at the *Swines* wallowing: but to see an *Ermine* myr'd, is *Prodigie*. Where doe *Vices* shew so foule, as in a *Minister*, when he shall be heav'ly in his *Pulpit* alone? Certainly, they wound the *Gossipel*, that preach it to the *World*, and liue, as if they thought to goe to *Heauen* some other way then that they teach the *people*. How vnseemely is it, when a *grau Cassocke* shall be lin'd with a *wanton* *Reueller*, and with *crimes*, that make a *loose one* odious? Surely God will be seuerest against those, that will weare his *Badge*, and seem his *servants*, yet inwardly side with the *Devill*, and *Lusts*. They spot his *Honor*, and cause *prophane* ones jest at his *Holiness*. We see, the *Prince* suffers in the *failes* of his *Ambassadour*: and a *Servants ill action* is some *touch* to his *Masters reputation*: nor can he *free himselfe*, but by deliuering him vp to *Jusitce*, or *discarding* him: otherwise, hee would bee iudg'd to *patronize* it. *Other offences* God *may* punish, this, he *must*, lest the *enemies of his Truth* triumph against him. *David* had his *whip* for this: Because by this he had caused the *Enemies of God to blaspheme*, the *Child* must dye. When he had *Anthem'd* the *purenesse* of the *God of Israel*, and proclaimed the *Noble Acts* he did of old; and seem'd as one *indear'd* to the *Almighty Loue*: how would the *Philistims* rejoyce; when he should thus become *Apostate*, and with a *wild licenciousnes*, mix his *lust* with *murther* and *ingratitude*?\(^1\) Surely, the *vices* of *Alexander* the sixth, did

\(^1\)II Samuel 12:14-27.
mightily discolour Papacie: 2 till then, Princes were afraid of Bulls and excommunications: but it was so usual with him, to curse upon his own displeasure, and for advancing of his spurious Race; that it hath made them slighted, ever since his passions so impublik'd them. What a stain it was to Christendome, that the Turke should pull a Christian Emperours violation Covenant from his bosom, in the Warre, and present in the Almighty, as an Act of those, that profess'd themselves his Servants? Beware how thy Actions fight against thy Tongue or Penne. One ill life will pull downe more, then many good Tongues can build. And doubtlesse, God, that is jealous of his Honour, will vindicate these soiles, with his most destructive arme. Take heed, not of strictnesse, but of falling foulely after it. As hee that frames the strongest Arguments against himselfe, and then does fully answer them, does the best defend his Cause: So hee that liues strictest, and then forgoes his hold, does the worst disgrace his Patron. Sinnes of this nature, are not faults to our selues alone, but by a kinde of argumentative way, dishonour God in the consequent. And euen all the Church of sincerest good men, suffer in a seeming-good mans fall. This is to bee religiously lewd. If thou beest vnsound within, soyle not the glorious Roabe of Truth, by putting it upon thy beastlinesse. When

2 The crimes of Alexander VI, the Borgia pope, were notorious. They included among other sins incest and murder.
Diogenes saw a Wanton vaunting in a Lions skinne, he calls vnto him, that he should forbeare to make Vertues garment blush. And indeed, Vertue is ashamed, when she hath a Servant vile. When those that should be Sunnes, shall be eclipsed, the lesser Stars will lose their light and splendour. Euen in the Spaniards Conquests of the Indians, I dare thinke, their crueltie and bloodinesse, haue kept more from their faith, then all their force hath wonne them. Some would not beleue, Heaven had any blessednesse, because they heard there were some Spaniards there. So hatefull can detected Vice make that which is euen goodnesse it selfe: and so excellent is a soule of integrity, that it frights the lewd from luxurie to reverence. The beastly Floralians were abash'd and ceas'd at the uprigh Cato's presence. A second to eternall goodnesse, is, a wise man, vnccorrupt in life: his soule shines, and the beames of that shine, attract others that admire his worth, to imitate it. The best is, to let the same spirit guide both the hand and tongue. I will neuer proresse, what I will not striue to practise: and will thinke it better to bee but crooked timber, then a straight blocke, and after lye to stumble men.

3Diogenes Laertius, V, 45.

4Cato the Censor abolished the festival of Flora, a licentious celebration held each year between 28 April and 1 May.
L. 92. That Divinity does not crosse Nature, so much as exceed it.

They that are Divines without Philosophie, can hardly maintain the Truth in disputations. 'Tis possible they may have an infused faith, sufficient for themselves: but if they have not Reason too, they will scarce make others' capable of their instruction. Certainly, Divinity and Morality are not so averse, but that they well may live together: for, if Nature be rectified by Religion; Religion againe is strengthened by Nature. And as some hold of Fate, that there is nothing happens below, but is writ aboue in the Stars, onely we have not skill to finde it: so, I beleue, there is nothing in Religion, contrary to Reason, if we knew it rightly. For conversation among men, and the true happinesse of Man, Philosophy hath agreed with Scripture. Nay, I thinke I may also adde, for defining of God, excepting the Trinity, as neere as Man can conceive him. How exact hath it made Justice? How busie to finde out Truth? How rightly directed loue? exalting with much earnestnesse, all those Graces, that are any way amiable. Hee that seekes in Plato, shall finde him making God the Solum summum Bonum; to which a pure and vertuous life is the way.¹ For defining God, my opinion is that Man, neither by Diuinity nor Philosophy, can, as they say, Quidditatiuè, tell what he is.

¹Diogenes Laertius, III, 71-72, 78.
It is fitter for Man to **adore** and **admire** him, then in vaine to study to **comprehend** him. God is for Man to stand amazed and wonder at. The clogg'd and drossie Soule, can never sound him, who is the **unimaginable Fountaine of Spirits**; and from whom, all things, by a **graduate Derivation**, haue their **light**, **life**, and **being**. In these things they agree; but I finde three other things, wherein Diuinity over-soareth Nature. In the **Creation** of the World, in the **Redemption** of Man, and in the **way** and **Rites**, wherein God will bee worshipped. In the **Creation** of the World: No Philosophie could euer reach at that which Moses taught vs. Heere the Humanities were all at a **stand** and **Iarre**: all their conjectures being rather witty, and **conceit**, then **true** and **reall**. Some would haue all things from **Fire**; some, from **Ayre**; some, from **Water**; some, from **Earth**; some, from **Numbers**; some, from **Atomes**; from **Simples**, some; and some, from **Compounds**. Aristotle came the neerest, in finding out the truest **Materia Prima**: but because he could not beleue this made of **nothing**, he is content to erre, and thinke it was **eternall**. Surely, this **Conceit** was as farre from **Reason**, as the other: his **Reason** might haue fled unto **Omnipotencie**, as well as to **Eternity**. And so indeed, when Philosophie hath gone as farre as she is able, she arriveth at Almightynesse, and in that **Abisse** is lost: where, not knowing the **way**, she goeth but by guesse, and cannot tell when shee or **right** or **wrong**. Yet is shee rather **subordinate**, then **contrarie**. **Nature** is not **crosse**, but runnes into **Omnipotencie**: and like
a petty River, is swallowed in that boundlesse Maine. For the Redemption of Man, even the Scripture calls it a Mystery: and all that Humanity could ever reach of this, was, onely a flying to the generall name of Mercy, by the vrgings of the Conscience. They all knew they had fayled, and falne. Their owne bosomes would tell them thus: but the way how they might bee restored, neuer fell into their Heathen thoughts. This was a worke that GOD declared onely to his owne Peculiar, by the immediate Revelation of his Word and Will. For the Manner how God would bee worshipped, no Naturalist could euer finde it out, till hee himselfe gaue directions from his sacred Scripture. In the first Chapter to the Romans, Saint Paul grants, that they may know GOD, through the visibilities in his Workes: but for their ignorance in this, hee sayes, The wrath of GOD is revealed against them: Because that when they knew GOD, they glorified him not as GOD: but turned the Glory of the incomparable GOD, to the similitude of the Image of a corruptible Man, and of Birds, and of foure-footed Beasts, and of creeping things. And these three things the Scripture teacheth vs: which else wee could neuer have learned, from all the Bookes in the World. Thus we see for morality, Nature still is something pert and vigorous: but in the things of God it is confirmed, that shee is thick-sighted, and cannot see them. Can a Fly comprehend man, vpon the top of Monarchy? no more can Man

\(^2\)Verses 21-32.
comprehend God, in the height of Omnipotencie. There are as well Mysteries for Faith, as Causes for Reason. This may guide me, when I have to deal with Man; but in Divine affaires, Reason shall waite on Faith, and submit to her Prerogatiue. The Conscience is great; but God is far greater then it.

I. 93. Of tediousnesse in Discourse.

A Prating Barber came to trimme King Archelaus,1 and asked him, Sir, how will you please to have me cut your haire? Sayes the King, Silently. And certainly, though a Man ha's nothing to doe, but to heare and answer; yet a limitlesse tongue is a strange vnbitted Beast, to worry one with. And the misery is, they that speake much, seldom speak well: for they that know how to speake aright, know not how to dwell in Discourse. It cannot bee but ignorance, when they know not, that long speeches, though they may please the speaker, yet they are the torture of the hearing eare. I haue pittyed Horace, when he was put into his sweat, and almost slaine in the via sacra, by the accidentall detention of a Babblers tongue.2 There is nothing tyres one, like the sawing of ones eares, when words shall clatter, like a windowe loose, in wind. A talkatiue Fellow is the

1King of Macedonia in the late fifth century B. C.
2Cf. Horace, Satires, B. I. x.
vnbrac'd Drumme, which beates a wise man out of his wits. Surely, Nature did not guard the tongue with the double fence of teeth and lips, but that she meant it should not move too nimbly. I like it in Isocrates, when of a Scholler full of words, hee asked a double Fee: one, to learne him to speake well; another, to teach him to hold his peace. They which talke too much to others, I feare me, seldom spake with themselves enough: and then, for want of acquaintance with their owne bosomes, they may well be mistaken, and present a Foole to the People, while they thinke themselves are wise. But there are, and that severally, that be much troubled with the disease of speaking. For, assuredly, Loquacity is the Fistula of the minde; ever running, and almost incurable. Some are blabs of secrets; and these are Traytours to Societie; they are Vessels vnfit for vse; for they be boared in their bottomes. Some will boast the favours they haue found; and by this means, they often bring goodnesse into suspect, lose loue, and injure Fame.

Sed tacitus pasci si posset Corvus haberes
Plus dapis, & vixae multo minus, invidiaque. 4

But could the Crow be silent fed, his diet Might daintier be, lesse envied, and more quiet.

3Isocrates (436-338 B. C.), an Athenian orator.
4Horace, Epistulae 1, 17, 50-51.
You shall finde too, that will cloy you with their own Inventions: and this is a fault of Poets, which vnlesse they meete with those that loue the Muses, is as a dainty Oration, deliuer'd to one in a Language that hee vnderstands not. His Judgement found this fault, that made his Epigram inviting his Friend to supper, promise, that hee

------no Verses would repeate.

Some will preamble a Tale impertinently: and cannot bee delivered of a Test, till they haue travailed an houre in Triuials; as if they had taken the whole Tale by Stenography, and now were putting on it out at large: thus they often spoyle a good Dish, with improper Sawce, and vnsavourie farcements. Some haue a veine in counselling; euen till they stop the eare, they powre it in. Tedious Admonitions dull the Advised, and make the giuer contemptible. 'Tis the short Reproofe, that stayes like a stab in the Memorie: and many times, three words doe more good, then an idle Discourse of three houres. Some haue varieties ofStories, even to the tyring of an Auditor; and these are often, euen the graue follies of Age: whose vnwatcht tongues stray into the waste of words, and giue vs cause to blame their memories, for retaining so much of their Youth. There are too, that haue a leaping Tongue, to iigge into the tumult of discourse; and vnlesse you haue an Aristius⁵ to take you off, you are in

⁵Aristius Fuscus, the friend of Horace who rescues him from the bore.
much danger of a deepe vexation. A Rookery in a Spring morning, is neither so ill nor noisefull, as is one of these. But this is commonly a feminine. Doubtlesse, the best way for speech, is to bee short, plaine, materiall. Let me heare one wise man sentence it, rather then twenty Fooles, garrulous in their lengthened tattle. Est tempus quando nihil, est tempus quando aliquid: nullum autem est tempus, in quo dicenda sunt omnia. Hugo Victorinus.\^6

Hugo of St. Victor's Church, Paris. He was an opponent of Abelard. The quotation is in De Institutione Novitiorum, XVI.

L. 94. Of Liberty, and Restraint.

IT was but a Flourish of Cicero's Oratorie, when hee said, Ad Decus & Libertatem nati sumus. The greatest Prince that euer was produc'd by Woman, comes insanquin'd into the World, and is a poore resistlesse Slaue, to the first arme that he falls into. But if hee meant it of the Noble Spirit of Man, then I thinke 'tis true: for it still advanceth to that Sunne, from whence it hath both life and vigour. And thus, wee see all things doe aspire to libertie, and the affecting of an vncontrolled Freedome. Every Creature is prompted by Nature, to bee like that, from whence it is derived. Looke ouer all the World, and you shall finde, that every thing, as farre as the Abilitie will giue it Liue, does Snail in after Deitie, and with a kinde of rising
Emulation, slowly Apes Almightyness. But this Libertie of Humane spirit, is that which cannot bee restrained, and therefore the restraint of the Body, is that which wee will speak of. This is commonly by Imprisonment, or by Service. That of Imprisonment, is nothing such a mischiefe, as the most doe thinke it. The greatest is, in that, the Eye is debarred the delight of the Worlds Variety. Nor indeede is this totall, but in part, and local onely. In this, a blinde man is the most miserable Prisoner of all: Whatsoever place does hold him, hee is still in the Worlds Dungeon, wandering in the Nights uncomfortable shade. And indeed, the most burthensome imprisonment, is to be Prisoner to a Disease; as to the Gout, the Palsey, and the like; because, for the most part, these hold vs, not without paine, and the mighty trouble of our friends, about vs. For the other, I see not, but a local restraint, without want, and enforced imployment, may very easily bee converted to a happinesse: vnlesse Men will let their mindes long against the Tyde of Reason. It is no other, but a place of retyring, and sequestration from the World, which many of the wisest haue voluntarily put vpon themselues. Demosthenes would shaue his Beard by halfe, to keepe himself within, by a willing necessity.\(^1\) Dioclesians two and twentie Yeeres Emperie, could not put him out of loue with his retyring

\(^1\)Plutarch, "The Life of Demosthenes."
place:^2 Nor Charles the Fifth, his many Kingdoms.\(^3\) There are Examples of extraordinary gaine; that Men haue made of such Confinements. Assuredly, while a Man is tossed among Men, and businesse, hee cannot so enjoy himselfe, as when he is something secluded from both of these. And it is a miserie, when a man must so apply himselfe to others, as hee cannot haue leasure to account with himselfe. Besides, be he never so at large; he does but runne ouer the same things; hee sees but the like World in another place. It bee ha's but light, and any prospect, he may see by that, what the rest is, and enjoy it, by his boundlesse Minde. For the Restraint by Service, if it bee with imposed Toyl, then is it farre worse, then the being circum-mured onely: This Man differeth not in the act of his life from a Beast: Hee must ply his Taske, and haue his Foode, but onely to make him fit for his Taske againe: hee is like one that is Surety for a Bankrupt. The gods sell all for labour; and hee has entred Covenent, to worke for one that playes: so is become a Principall for another mans debt, and payes it. This surely is the greatest Captivity, the greatest Slauerie. The attendant Services of Nobilitie, are farre easier to the Man, and Minde: though the perpetuall fight of full Estates aboue

\(^2\)Diocletian was emperor of Rome in the late third and early fourth centuries A. D. Although he hated public life, he was a genius at organization and did much to bolster the sagging empire, although he is remembered primarily as a cruel persecutor of Christians.

\(^3\)Charles the Wise, king of France, 1364-80.
them, may well indanger those mindes that haue not Ballast in them. To see Heaven, and come no neerer, then to waite at the doore, is a terrible Torment to the Spirit. A naked Beauty seene, would tempt one chaste, to erre. Yet withall, 'tis something like Loue, a kinde of bitter-sweet, it both pleaseth and displeaseth the Minde at once: It is pleased to see it: but 'tis displeased, that it cannot enjoy it. Besides, if there be toyle, a wise man may take lesse of it: and an honest man, by the plea of his duty, makes his minde content in dispatches. Courage and Ability, make businesse much the easier. One asked the Cynicke, how hee could liue a Servant to Zeniades: but he returnes; That a Lyon does not serue his Keeper, but his Keeper him. Yet for all this, Nature pleades for Liberty: and though Commands may be often easie, yet they sometimes grate, and gall. So that if wee appeale to the minde of Man, that will say, it is better being a King, though but in a Tub; then to bee a Servant in the roofed Palace. There are helpes, that may abate Inconveniences: but Liberty will ouer-sway with Man. When one was applauding Calisthenes, that hee went braue, and dined with the King; Diogenes replyes, That for all that, Calisthenes dyned when Alexander pleased; and Diogenes, when it pleased Diogenes. If this be not rather

4Diogenes Laertius, VI, 74-75. Zeniades bought Diogenes as a slave, and then set him over his whole household and his children.

5Diogenes Laertius, VI, 45.
opinionative then real, it is questionlesse an unhappinesse to serue. If I haue my liberty, I would rest in the priviledges that accrue it. If I want it, I would joy in the benefits that accrue the want: so in either estate, I may finde Content my Play-fellow.

L. 95. Of the causes that make men different.

Homo homini quid praestat? was the former times just Wonder: and indeed, it would almost pose the thought, to weigh the difference of the spirits of Men. It hath beene a Question, whether all Soules are equall at their first Infusion; and if it bee of that Soule purely, which at the same instant, is both created and infused; then, no question, but they are alike. Nothing comes immediately from GOD, but is pure, perfect, and uncorrupt. But, because the sensitiue part in Man, beares a great sway, it many times falls out, that by the deficiencie of the Organicall parts, the Soule is eclipsed and imprisoned so, as it cannot appeare in the vigor it would shew, if the Bodies composition were perfect, and open. A perfect Soule, in an imperfect Body, is like a bright Taper, in a darke Lanthorne: the fault is not in the Light, but in the Case, which curtaines it with so dull an outside, as will not let the shine bee transparent. And wee may see this, even in those that we haue knowne both

1"A man who excels other men."
able and ingenious; who after a hurt received in some vitall part, haue growne mopish, and almost insensible. When the vitall passages of the sensitiue and vegetatiue are imperfect, though they extinguish not the intellectuall, because it is impossible, that a thing mortall, should destroy a thing immortall: yet their defect keepes it so vnder, as it appeareth not to the outward apprehension. Not that Man hath three distinct soules: for the intellectuall in Man, containeth the other two: and what are different in Plants, Beasts, and Man; are in Man one, and co-uned a together. Otherwise, hee were a Plant, and severally, a brute, and rationall. But as the solid chrystalline Heaven, and first Mouer, containes the Region of the Fire, and Ayre; and the Regions of the Fire and Ayre, the Globe of the Earth and Waters; yet all make but one World: So the intellectuall contains the Sensitiue, and the Sensitiue the Vegetatiue; yet all in Man, make but one soule. But the differences of Man may all bee referred to two causes; eyther Inward, or outward: Inward, are defects in Nature, and Generation: eyther when the active part, the Seed, is not perfect; or or when the nutrimentall and Passiue powers faile of their sufficiency, are too abundant, or corrupted. And when Man is of himselfe, from the wombe, the malignity of some humour may interpose the true operation of the spirits internall. Certainly, those men that wee see mounting to

a co-united, 5.7.
Noblenesse of Minde, in Honourable Actions, are pieces of Nature's truest worke; especially in their inward Faculties. Externall defects, may be, and yet not alwayes hinder the internall powers: as, when they happen remoted from the noblest parts, else they are often causes of debillitation. And these are commonly, from the Temperature of the Aire, from Education, from Dyet, and from Age, and Passion. From the Aire, we see the Southerne people are lightsome, ingenuous, and subtile, by reason of the heat, that rarifies the spirits. The Northerne are slower, and more dull, as having them thickned with the chill colds condensation.

Temperie Coeli, Corpusque, Animusque Invatur.  

Both Soule and Body, change, by change of Ayre.

Education hath his force seene in every place; if you travaile but from Court, to the Countrey: or but from a Village, to an Academie: or see but a horse well manag'd, and another Resty, in his owne fierceness. Dyet, no question alters much; even the giddy Ayrinesse of the French, I shall rather impute to their Dyet of Wine, and wilde Fowle, then to the difference of their Clime, it being so neere an adjoyer to ours. And in England, I believe our much use of strong Beere, and grosse Flesh, is a great occasion of dregging our spirits, and corrupting them, till they shorten life. Age, is also a changer. Man hath his

\(^2\)Ovid, Epistolarum ex Ponto, II, vii, 71.
Zenith, as well in wit, as in ability of body, he grows from sense, to reason; and then again declines to Dotage, and to Imbecility. Youth is too young in braine; and Age againe, does drain away the spirits. Passion blunte the edge of conceit: and where there is much sorrow, the minde is dull, and unperceiving. The Soule is oppressed, and lies languishing in an unsociable lonelinesse, till it proves stupid, and inhumane. Nor doe these more alter the Minde, then the Body. The lamenting Poet puts them both together.

*Iam mihi deterior canu aspergitur aetas:*

*Iamque, meos vultus ruga senilis arat.*

*Iam vigor, & quasse lanquest in corpore vires:*

*Nec Invent Lusus qui placuere, invant.*

*Nec me, si subito videas, cognoscere possis,*

*AEtatis facta est tanta ruina meae.*

*Confiteor, facere hoc annos: sed & altera causa est;*

*Anxietas animi, continuusque Labor.*

Now, colder yeeres, with snow my haires enchace: And now the Aged wrinkle plowes my Face. Now through my trembling joynts, my vigour failes, Mirth too, that cheer'd my Youth, now nought availes. So ruin'd, and so altered am I growne, That at first sight, I am not to be knowne. Age one cause is: but that which more I finde,

3Ovid, Epistolarum ex Ponto, I, iv, 1-8.
Is paine perpetuall, and a troubled minde.

Certainly, the best is, to weigh every man, as his meanes have beene: a man may looke in vaine for Courtship, in a Plowman; or Learning in a Mechanicke. Who will expect a lame man should be swift in running: or, that a sicke man should deliver an Oration, with a grace, and cheerefulnesse? If I find any man failing in his Manners, I will first consider his meanes, before I censure the man. And one that is short of what hee might bee, by his sloth and negligence, I will thinke as iustly blameable, as hee that out of industrie has adorn'd his behauiour, aboue his meanes, is commendable.

L. 96. Of Divination.

What is it Man so much couets, as to pry into Natures Closet, and know what is to come? yet, if we but consider it rightly, wee shall finde it a profitable Providence, which hath set our estate in future, something in darke and shade. If Man doubt of what Death would deliuer him to, hee would (I thinke) eyther liue more lewdly, or more unhappily. If wee knew Death were onely an end of Life, and no more; every man for his owne ends, would bee a disturber of the Worlds peace. If wee were certaine of Torment; Thought and Feare, would make our present Life a Death continuall, in the Agitations of a troubled Soule. If wee were sure of Ioy
and Glory, we should bee carelesse of our living well. Certainly, God hath made Man to dwell in doubt, that he might bee awed to God, by Fear and Expectation. Wee are led along by Hope, to the Ends that are appointed vs; and by an uncertaine way, wee come at last to a certaine End; which yet wee could neither know, nor avoid. The great Creator wisely put things to come, in the Mist and Twilight, that wee might neither bee ouer-joyed with the certainty of good; nor ouer-much terrified with the assurance of an unavoidable Ill. Though Praescience, and Divination be a God-like Quality, yet, because it can onely tell of danger, and not prevent it, the wiser sort haue ever had the Art in neglect, in dislike. If Fate bee certaine, it can bee no good to know it, because wee cannot prevent it. If it bee uncertaine, wee search in vaine to finde our that which may bee. So, eyther way we hazzard for unhappinesse. Bis miser esse cupit, qui mala, quae vitars non possunt, amat praescire. I remember, Cicero reports it of Cato, that hee wondred how South-savers could forbeare Laughter, when they met one another; they knew they vsed so to gull the People. One thing there is, that (if it were certaine) doth mightily disparage it; and this is, That it sets a Man ouer to second Causes, and puts him off from Providence.¹ But it cannot be certaine and determinate. Man is not wise enough, to scent out the abstruse steps of Deitie. It is observed

¹Cf. Bacon's Essay on Superstition.—Smeaton.
by one, that what Nigidius² vsed for defence of his Art, by
turning of a Wheele, and marking it twyce with Inke, hath
cast it all into a vast incertainetie. And indeed, the
minute of Generation, Coupeption, and Production, are so
hard to know iustly; the Point of place so hard to finde:
the Angles, the Aspects, and the Coujunctions of the Heavens
so impossible to bee cast right in their influences, by
reason of the rapid and Lightning-like Motion of the Spheares;
that the whole Art, thorowly searched and examined, will
appeare a meere fallacie and delusion of the wits of Men.
If their Calculations bee from the seven Motiue Spheares
onely, how is there such difference in the liues of Children
borne together when their oblique motion is so slow, as the
Moone (though farre more speedy then any of the rest) is yet
aboue seuen and twenty dayes in her course? If their
calculations be by their diurnall Motion, it is impossible to
collect the various influences, which every tittle of a
minute giues. Besides, in close Roomes, where the Windowes
are clozed, the Fire, Perfumes, conourse of People, and the
parentall humours, barre their operation from the Childe.
But suppose there were a Fate transferr'd from the Starres
to Man; who can reade their significations? Who hath told
their particular predictions? Are they not all meerely the
uncertaine conjectures of Men, which rarely hit, and often
faile? So in Beasts, in Birds, in Dreames, and all viary

²Nigidius Figulus, a Pythagorean philosopher of the
first century B. C.
Omens, they are onely the guessiue interpretations of dim-ey'd Man: full of doubt, full of deceit. How did the Tuscan Southsayers, and the Philosophers that were with Julian, differ about the wounded Lion, presented him, when hee went to invade the Persians? How, about the Lightning that flew Iovinianus, and his two horses? Yet of the rest, I beleue there is more from the Stars, then these other observations: but this is then for generall inclinations, not for particular Events: Those are sure in the hands and Cabinet of the Almighty: and none but Prophets that hee inspires, are able to reveale them. The securest way is to live well: then we may be sure of a faire end, and a passable way. Hee that liues vertuously, needs not doubt of finding a happy Fate. Let my life please God, and I am sure, the succees shall please mee. Vertue and Vice are both Prophets; the one, of certaine good; the other, or of Paine, or Penitence.

3Ammianus, XXIII, 5, 8-14. The Etruscan soothsayers said that the lion and the soldier struck by lightning were evil omens and urged Julian to call off his campaign. The philosophers in his retinue said that the portents meant success in the expedition.

L. 97. That 'tis best increasing by a little at once.

There is so such prevalent workeman, as sedulity, and diligence. A man would wonder at the mighty things, which haue beene done by degrees, and gentle augmentations. And
yet there are, that are over-ready in the ways of pleasing, and labour. When Diligence reaches to humour, and flattery, it grows poore, and vnnoble: And when to Pride, and Curiosity, it then loses his praise. So the Priest of Ammon would needs salute Alexander as a god: and Protogenes spent seven yeeres, in drawing Ialysus, and his Dogge: And a King of Persia, would needs for a present, adulterate Roses with an artfull smell. When these two are avoyded, Diligence, and Moderation are the best steps, wherby to climbe to any excellency. Nay, it is rare if there be any other way. The Heavens send not downe their raine in floods, but by drops, and dewy distillations. A man is neither good, nor wise, nor rich at once: yet softly creeping vp these hils, hee shall every day better his prospect; till at last, he gains the top. Now he learns a Vertue, and then he damnes a Vice. An houre in a day may much profit a man in his Study; when he makes it stint and custome. Every yeere something laid vp, may in time make a Stocke great. Nay, if a man does but saue, hee shall increase; and though when the gains are scatter'd, they bee next to nothing: yet together, they will swell the heape. A poore man once found the tagge of a Point, and put it in the lap of his skirt: one asked him, what he

1 Because he claimed no earthly father. Plutarch, "The Life of Alexander the Great."

2 Protogenes was a famous Greek painter of the fourth century B.C. His most distinguished work was a painting of the hero of Rhodes, Ialysus. Pliny, Natural History, XXXV, 10.
could doe with it? He answers, What I finde all the yeere, (though it bee never so little) I lay it vp at home, till the yeere ends; and with all together, I every New-yeeress day, adde a Dish to my Cupboard. Hee that ha's the patience to attend small profits, may quickly grow to thrive and purchase: they be easier to accomplish, and come thicker.

So, hee that from every thing collects somewhat, shall in time get a Treasurie of Wisdome. And when all is done, for Man, this is the best way. It is for God, and for Omnipotencie, to doe mighty things in a moment: but, degreeingly to grow to greatnesse, is the course that he hath left for Man. And indeed, to gaine any thing, is a double worke. For, first, it must remoue the hinderances; next, it must assume the advantage. All good things that concerne Man, are in such a declining Estate, that without perpetuall vigilancie, they will reside, and fall away. But then there is a Recompence, which ever followes Industrie: it euer brings an Income, that sweetens the toyle. I haue often found hurt of Idlenesse; but never of a lawfull businesse. Nay, that which is not profitable in it selfe, is yet made so, by being imployment: and when a Man has once accustomed himselfe to businesse, he will thinke it pleasure, and be ashamed of Ease. Polemon, ready to dye, would needs be laid in his Graue aliue: and seeing the Sunne shine, hee cals his friends to haste to hide him; lest (as he said) it should see him lying. Besides, when we gaine this way, Practice
growes into Habit: and by doing so a while, we grow to doe so for euer. It also constitutes a longer lastingnesse. We may obserue, those Creatures that are longest in attaining their height, are longest in declining. Man is twenty yeeres increasing, and his life is fourescore: but the Sparrow, that fledge in a moneth, is dead in a yeere. Hee that gets an Estate, will keepe it better, then hee that findes it. I will never thinke to bee perfect at once. If I finde my selfe a gainer at the yeeres end, it shall something comfort mee, that I am proceeding. I will every day labour to doe something, that may mend mee, though it bee not much, it will bee the surer done. If I can keepe Vice vnder, and winne vpon that which is good (though it bee but a little at once) I may come to be better in time.

L. 98. Of God, and the Ayre.

For Man to pray aright, is needfull: but how to pray so, is difficult. We must neither mis-conceive of God, nor are we able rightly to conceive him. We are told, he is a Spirit: and who can tell what a Spirit is: Can any man tell that, which no man ever saw? Man is able onely to comprehend visible Substances; what is invisible, and spirituall, he can but guesse and roue at. Spirit is a word found out, for Man to maske his Ignorance in: and what hee does not know, he calls it by that name. When we speake of God, wee are to beleeeue an vbiuity: but then, how are wee able to conceive
that this \textit{vbiguity} is? I speake to \textit{Reason}, not \textit{Faith}: for I know, \textit{this} beleeueth what it sees not: yet something to helpe \textit{Nature} and \textit{Reason}, I would wish a man to consider the \textit{Ayre}. It is every where: not a \textit{vacuum} in the whole \textit{Natura Rerum}:\footnote{"Nature of things."} nay, you cannot evade it: Digge the most condensed \textit{Earth}, and it is at the point of your \textit{Spade}: you can see nothing, but before you see it, is open to the \textit{Ayre}; and yet this \textit{Ayre}, although you know, you cannot see. It is also \textit{inviolable}: cast a \textit{stone}, and you make no \textit{hole} in't: nay, an \textit{Arrow} cannot pierce it: it closeth againe, and there is no tracke left. Nay, there bee \textit{Philosophers} that will tell you, the \textit{progressiue Motion} of a \textit{stone} cast, when the \textit{hand} ha's left it, is from the \textit{Ayre} it selfe: that shutting suddenly after, and \textit{Nature} impatient of a \textit{vacuity}, it does with a \textit{coactiue power}, thrust it still forward, till it passes against \textit{institutuine Nature}, who made it, to incline to the \text{Center}. Nor is it \textit{corruptible}. We speake falsy, when we say, the \textit{Ayre infecteth}. They are vnwholsome \textit{Vapours}, and \textit{Exhalations}, that \textit{putri'd things} breathe out; and these, beeing carryed by the \textit{motiue Wind} and \textit{Ayre}, flye about, and \textit{infect}, through their \textit{rarity} and \textit{thinnesse}. The \textit{Ayre} is felte ever \textit{clarifies}: and is alwayes working out that \textit{taint}, which would mix with it. Next, we can doe nothing, but the \textit{Ayre} is privy to't: even the acts of \textit{lightlesse Closets}, and the \textit{thick-curtain'd Beds}, are none of them done without it.
When Diogenes saw a Woman bow so much to the Altar, as she left her back-parts bare; he asks her, if she were not ashamed, to be so immodest to the gods behinde her.² Nay, our very thoughts, which the Devill (though he be the subtillest of all malevolent Spirits) cannot know, are not framed without this Ayre. Every breath we take, it goes vnto our heart, to coole it. Our Veines, our Arteries, our Nerues, our inmost Marrow, are all vivified by their participation of Aire; and so indeed is every thing that the World holds; as if this were the Soule that gaue it liuelihood. Fishes, though they breathe not perceptibly, yet we see, the want of Ayre kills them: as when a long Frost shuts vp a Pond in Ice. Even Plants, which are but Vegetaties, will not grow in Caues, where the motiue and stirring Ayre is barred from them. Wee may often obserue, moreover, that Heat and Moisture is the onely cause of all Generation: and these are the qualities proper to the Ayre alone. Now, I would not wish a Man to compare God, the Creator, with this Element, which is but a Creature: but let him consider of these properties, and then by way of eminencie, let him in his Soule set God aboue, and see if by this way, he climbe not neerer Deitie, then he shall by any other. If this bee so vniversall, why may he not by this, thinke of a Spirit more diffusiue and ubiquiarie? That which Ovid writ of Poets, may be applyed to all the wise, and come

²Diogenes Laertius, VI, 37-38.
something neere this purpose.

_{Est Deus in nobis, sunt & commercia Coeli,  
Sedibus AEthereis, Spiritus ille venit.}^3

In vs God dwels, Heaven our acquaintance is,  
His Spirit flowes through Ayerie Influences.

Certainly by this way, it is not so difficult for _Reason_ to conceit in _Omnipresence_: and if we haue this, we may by it peere at his _Omniscience_ and _Omnipotence_ too: for the one is as hard to conceiue, as the other. Saint _Augustine_, when hee has told vs, that God is not an _Object perceiueable_ by any of the _Outward senses_, sayes; _Tamen aliquid est, quod sentire facile est, explicare non possibile_. So the _wayses_ of _God_ in _Scripture_, are compared to the flight of an _Eagle_ in the _Ayre_, which no man can either trace or know. Surely therefore, when wee are to speake to him, the best is, humbly to intreat his _Spirit_ to inspire ours in the way, and apprehension that may best please him. He is best able, by his secret _immission_, to direct vs the way hee does best approue of. And this cannot chuse but comfort the _Good_, when they know, the _Searcher_ of the _Heart_ and _reynes_ is with them, and beholds them. From this, I will learne to cheere my selfe in _sufferings_, and to refraine from _ill_, even in _private_. How can man thinke to act his _ill_ _vnseeene_, when _GOD_ shall, like the _Ayre_, be _circumspicious_ round about him?

^3_Ars Amatoriae_, III, 549-550.
It is not possible, that such a Majestie should either not defend the Innocent, or permit an ill unpunished.


They that preach Contentment to All, doe but teach some how to dwell in miserie: vnlesse you will grant Content Desire, and chide her but for murmuring. It is not a fault to striue to better our Estates: which yet we should never doe, if wee rested fully content with what wee enjoyed for the present. God hath allotted Man a motive Minde, which is euer climbing to more perfection, or falling into a lower Vice. Certainely, that Content which is without desiring more, is a kind of fault in any. Perfection is set in that height, that 'tis impossible mortall bodied man, should euer reach the Crowne: Yet he ought still to be aiming at it, and with an industrious prosecution, perseuere in the rising way. Wee cannot be too covetous of Grace; we may well labour for more accomplishments: and by lawfull wayes, and for good intents, there is no doubt, but 'tis lawfull to desire to increase, even in temporall wealth. Certainly, a man should be but a dull Earth, to sit still and take the present: without either Joy, or Complaint: without either feare, or appetite. In this, I like not Aristippus' his Doctrine, who

1Founder of the Cyrenaic school of philosophy, fourth century B. C.
is hot in persuading men, neither to be troubled at what is past; nor to thinke of what is to come. This were quite to valifie Providence: who is one of the Principall Guardes of Man. For, though it bee true, that nothing is so certaine, but that it may sometimes faile: yet, we see, it seldom does: and euene Probabilitie is almost certaine. Let not a Man so sleepe in Content, as that hee neglect the meanes, to make himselfe more happy and blessed: Nor yet when the contrary of what hee look't for comes, let him murmur or repine at that providence, which dispos'd it to crosse his expectation. I like the man, that is neuer content with what hee does enioy: but by a Calme and faire Course, has a Mind still rising to a higher happinesse: but I like not him, that is much discontent, as to repine at any thing, that does befall him. Let him take the present patiently, joyfully, thankfully. But let him still bee soberly in Quest for better: and indeed, it is impossible to find a life so happy heere, as that we shal not find somthing, we wold ad; somthing, we wold take away. The world it selfe, is not a Garden, wherein all the Flowers of Ioy are growing: nor can one man inioy them, if it were, that all were heere: we may, questionlesse conclude; that there is no absolute Contentment heere below. Nor can we in reason thinke there should bee: since whatsoeuer is created, was created tending to some end: and till it ariues at that, it cannot be fully ano, 5.
at rest. Now we all know, God to be the end, to which the soule tends: and til it be dismanacled of the clogging flesh, it cannot approach the presence of such purity, such glory: when it meets with God, and is united to him, who is the Spring, and Source of all true happiness; then it may be calm, and pleas'd, and quiet: till then, as Physicians hold of health, that the best is but Neutrality: So it is of Happinesse, and Content, in the Soule: Nay, the most absolute Content man and enjoy, in his corruptible raggs of earth, is indeed, but lesser discontentment: That which we find here most perfect, is rather meere Utopian, and Imaginative, then real, and substantial: and is sooner found falling from a Poets pen, then any way truly enjoyed by him, that swims in the deepest stream of pleasure; and of these, in stead of many, you may take that one of Martials:

Things that can bless a Life, and please,
Sweet Martiai, they are these:
A store well left, not gain'd with toyle:
A house thine owne, and pleasant soyle,
No strife, small state, a mind at peace:
Free strength, and limbs free from disease,
Wise Innocence, friends, like, and good,
Unarted-meat, kind neighbourhood,
No drunken rest, from cares yet free:
No sadning spouse, yet chaste to thee:
Sleepes, that long nights abbreuiate,
Because 'tis, liking, thy wish't State:
Nor fear'd, nor ioy'd, at death or fate.

Vitam quae fuciunt beatiorem,
Iucundissime Martialis, haec suni:
Res non parta labore, sed relicta:
Non ingratus Ager, Focus perennis,
Lis nunqual, Toqa rara, Mens quieta,
Vireg ingenuae, Salubre Corpus,
Prudent Simplicitas, pares amici,
Convictus facilis, sine arte mensa,
Nox non ebria, sed soluta Curis:
Non tristis torus, attamen pudicus:
Sommus, qui faciat breues tenebras.
Quod sis, esse velis, nihilque malis:
Summam nec metuas diem, nec optes.\(^2\)

But where shall you find a man thus seasoned? if hee be for a while, it lasts not: but by one, or other accident, hee is tossed in the wauing world. And this made Diogenes resolue; vnto Fortune, to oppose his confidence, and resolution; to the Law, Nature; and to his affections, Reason.\(^3\) This was good, but not well: wee haue Grace, and Scripture for a better guide then Nature. I would be so content with what I I haue, as I would euer thinke the present best: but then I

\(^2\) Epigrammata, X, xlvii.

\(^3\) Diogenes Laertius, VI, 38.
would thinke it best, but for the present: because, whensoever
I looke forward, I still see better; to arriue at which my
Soule will long, and couet. The Soule that by halfe an
eye sees God, will never be but winging, till she alights on
him.

*Cf. Cervantes, Don Quixote, V. IV., chap. 23. "When
one is contented there is no more to be desired, and when
there is no more to be desired there is an end of it."--
Smeaton.

L. 100. How hee must liue, that liues well.

Whosoeuer neglects his duty to himselfe, his neighbour,
or his God; halts in something, that should make life
commendable. For our selues: wee need order: for our
neighbour, Charity: and for our God, our Reuerence, and
Humility: and these are so certainly linked one to another,
as he that liues orderly, cannot but bee acceptable, both to
God, and the world. Nothing iarres the worlds Harmony, like
men that breake their rankes. One turbulent Spirit will
diffentiate even the calmest kingdom. Wee may see the
beauty of order, in nothing more, then in some princely
Procession, and though indeed, the circumstances, and
complements belonging to State, bee nothing to better
government; yet by a secret working in the mindes of men,
they adde a Reuerence to State: and awe, the (else loose)
rabble. See a King in Parliament, and his Nobles set about
him: and see how mad he showes, that wildly dances out of his room. Such is Man, when he spurnes at the Law he liues under: Nay, when he giues himselfe leave to transgresse, hee must needes put others out of their way: and hee that disorders himselfe first, shall trouble all the Company. Did every Man keepe his owne life; what a Diapason would a World, a Kingdome, a Cittie, a Family bee? But beeing so infinitely disjoynted, it is necessary some should helpe it, and bee charitable. If no man should reparer the breaches, how soone would all lye flatted in Demolishments? Loue is so excellent, that though it be but to ones selfe alone, yet others shall partake, and finde the benefit. Posterity will bee the better, for the Bagges that the Covetous hoorded vp for himselfe. But when a man shall bee ever striving to doe the World a Courtesie, his Loue is so much the more thanke-worthy, by how much, the good is larger. Without Charity, a man cannot be sociable: and take away that, and there is little else, that a man has to doe in the World. How pleasant can good company make this life beneath? Certainly, if there bee any thing sweet in meere Humanitie, it is in the intercourses of beloved Societie, when every one shall bee each others Counsellour, each others friend, and Mine, and solace. And such a pleasant life as this, I take to bee best pleasing, both to GOD and Man.¹ Nor

¹Cf. Coleridge, Ancient Mariner, Part III., stanzas 22-23, "He prayeth well who loveth well," etc.—Smeaton.
yet can this be truely pleasant, vnlesse a Man bee carefull
to giue to GOD the honour that hee owes him. When a Man
shall doe these, and performe his duty to his Maker; he
shall finde a Peace within, that shall fit him for whatsoever
falls. Hee shall not feare himselfe: for hee knowes his
course is Order. He shall not feare the World: for hee
knowes hee hath done nothing, that has anger'd it. Hee shall
not bee afraid of Heauen: for hee knowes, hee there shall
finde the fauour of a Servant, of a Sonne: and bee protected
against the Malice and Spleene of Hell. Let me liue thus,
and I care not, though the World should flout my Innocence:
I wish but to obey Saint Bernard, then I know I cannot but
bee happy, both below, and after. Tu gui in Congregatione

es, benè viue, ordinabilitèr, sociabilitèr, &

humilitèr : ordinabilitèr tibi,
sociabilitèr proximo,

humilitèr Deo.

* * *

Omnia Deo.

FINIS.
A CRITICAL VARIORUM EDITION OF OWEN FELLTHAM'S RESOLVES

Volume III

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of English

by
Ted-Larry Pebworth
B.A., Centenary College of Louisiana, 1957
M.A., Tulane University of Louisiana, 1958
August, 1966
RESOLVES

Divine, Moral, Political

[The Revised Short Century]

1661
Most Humbly These
To The

RIGHT HONORABLE

My most Honored Lady, the Lady

MARY

Countess Dowager of THOMOND. ¹

Let it please you (Madam) to believe,

That it is not out of the opinion of any worth, that
all or any of these ensuing Pieces, can be capable of; but
out of the sense of Duty, that they have been aspired, to
the Patronage of your Name, and Dignity. Being (most of them)
Composed under the Coverture of your Roof, and so born
Subjects under your Dominion; It would have been the
incurring of too apparent a Premunire, against Equity and
Justice, to intitle any other, to their owning or Protection;

¹Mary, wife of Barnaby O'Brien, sixth Earl of Thomond. Felltham served as steward in the household of the O'Briens from about 1632 until his death, 1668. Barnaby died in 1657, whereupon his brother succeeded to his title, and Mary became Dowager Countess. The seat of the O'Briens was Great Billing, Northamptonshire, and the Dowager Countess had a house in London near the Strand, where presumably Felltham died. In addition to dedicating the whole eighth edition of the Resolves to Mary, Felltham composed for her a Form of Prayer, first published in the miscellaneous works included in the twelfth edition of the Resolves, 1709.
or to set up any foreign Power, to be Supreme and Paramount, to that of your Ladiships, over them.

And yet (Madam) you have further Prerogative, whereby, with me, you may challenge a higher Command; and that is, your Native Ingenuity, which, with those of your Acquaintance, so prevails upon their Judgement and Estimations; that you seem to have an Empire of Affection, destin'd, to that vivacity of spirit, which renders your Conversation grateful, to all, that have the Honour to know you.

These, and many other Obligations, that are upon me to your Ladiship, with the desire I have, to leave to Posterity, some Memorial of my Thankfulness (though in it self, not worthy of your Merit, or the World) have emboldened me into this Dedication; and the humbly begging of your pardon, for the breaking out of this Presumption, in

(MADAM)

Your most obedient, and most humble Servant,

OWEN FELLTHAM.
To the Reader.  

The Reader may please to be informed, That the latter part of these Resolves, formerly Printed as the first Century, the Author, upon their perusal, could not himself be satisfied with them. For, however all seem'd to pass currant, and did arise to several Impressions: yet, being written when he was but Eighteen, they appear'd to him, to have too many young weaknesses, to be still continued to the World: though not for the Honesty; yet, in the Composure of them.

If any shall allledge their general Acceptation. That, to him, is no prevailing Argument; for, the Multitude, though they be the most in number, are the worst and most partial Judges. And that hath made him, in this Impression, to give them a new Frame, and various Composition; by altering many, leaving out some, and adding of others new. That now, upon the matter, they quite are other things. And that they, and

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1 This is the only preface in 8. The final paragraph has been omitted here, since it concerns the poems, letters, and other minor works, printed under the general title of Lusoria, appended to the eighth edition.

2 Reproduced above as the Short Century.

3 This altered century, actually numbering only eighty-five resolves, is reproduced below as the Revised Short Century.
the rest, which shall be found in this Volume, are now Publisht, hath the same Reason which at first was given. They were not written so much to please others, as to gratifie and profit himself. Nor does he plead the importunity of Friends, for the Publication of them. If they be worthy of the common view, they need not that Apology: If they be not; he should have but show'd, that he had been abus'd, as well by his friends, as himself.

The truth is, He hath not the vanity to expect from others, any great applause. He hath often us'd to say, They were written to the middle sort of people. For the wisest, they are not high enough; nor yet so flat and low, as to be only fit for fools: whosoever pleaseth only these, is miserable. He writ, as did Lucilius, mention'd by the Orator, Scripta sua, nec ab Doctissimis, nec ab Indoctissimis, legi voluit. Too profound, or too shallow, he holds not proportionate to the Work.

Sure it is, the Invitation he had, to write and publish them, was not so much to please others, or to shew any thing he had, could be capable of the name of Parts; but, to give the world some account, how he spent his vacant hours: and that (by passing the Press, they becoming in a manner Ubiquitaries) they might every where be as Boundaries, to hold him within the limits of Prudence, Honour, and Vertue.

4Cicero, De Oratore, II, 25.
RESOLVES

Divine, Moral, Political,

R.S. 1. Of Idle Books.¹

IDLE BOOKS are the licentiate follies of the Age; that, like a corrupt air, infect wheresoever they come. Some are simple; and these, besides making the Author ridiculous, seldom hurt the Reader with more than loss of time: For if he hath any sense he will grow wiser by the folly that is presented him: as drunkards are often cured by seeing the beastliness of others that are so. He hath extreme ill luck, that takes pains to be laugh'd at, when he might at once both have spared his labour, and preserved his credit. But he that hath not Judgment to censure his own, will hardly come to be mended by admonition. And besides; the least caution is to be given of these. For a man will no more dwell in one of these than a Travailer of quality, will lodg in an Alchouse or Booth. It was Cicero's, Lectionem sine ulla delectatione negligo.² He hated reading where no pleasure dwelt. As bobwebs these, by them that are Neat

¹See above S. 1. Of Idle Bookes.
²Tusculanae Disputationes, II, 7.
will be swept away, and if they hang still, they catch but only flyes.

Another sort are wanton and lascivious; and these like rank flesh unsalted, when they should prove wholesome food, they carry a taint that poysons, so in the end they enliven only Vermine; and do beget but stench. 'Tis true, Wit is naturally readier at this then any other Theme. Yet the best is never obscene. As the dry light is the purest, so is wit, then it is terse and pruce without the fulsomness of ungentile language. The old Law forbad the touch of any thing that was unclean. A man may know that hand to have need of washing, from betwixt whose fingers the Ink that drops is foul. Vicious or a Clowne is his Character at best: but for the most part ill-bred persons are the most debauch't. Civility is the Correction of manners: And though if such works should be quaint in Language, yet are they but as unsavoury breaths perfumed, there is only a more pretious stink, which certainly shewes either what the Conversation hath been, or what the Inclination is: For more then speech, is the pen, the minds interpreter. As the breaking out of Itch and Blains shew the body is not cleer: so loose and unrins'd expressions are the purulent and spurcitious exhalations of a corrupted mind, stain'd with the unseasonednesse of the flesh.

Yet doubtlesse if we respect humane society, writings that are scandalous are worse then these. 'Tis a kind of barbarousnesse in death unto the dead: for though both be
alive at the publishing: Yet Printing is a kind of perpetuity, and carryeth to future ages both the Authors malice and the parties infamie that is traduced. A book, that brands a person with Indignities, is his Lots wife in a pillar of salt: It remains a Monument of disgrace. The malitious writer is like the Bee, Animam in vulnere ponit: he puts his soul into the wound he makes, and drowns himself for ever after: For the venom which he vents himself, lazes his reputation with others. Multi cum aliis maledicunt, sibi ipsis convitium faciunt, was an observation of Seneca's. 'Tis unnoble to tradice the absent, though provok't by passion: but to display a mans malice in writing, is deliberate wickednesse; to which (with his own disgrace) he serts his hand and seal; and does an injury for which he cannot make amends sufficient, for admit he does retract in publick he is not sure all that saw his first book shall read his last. And then what case is he in that dyes in divulging premeditated wrong. As witches passe by all the wholesome simples of the earth, and gather only poysous and banefull of their Sorceries: So the spiteful pen picks out only the vices and corruptions of men, but leaves their vertues buried and untouched, which justly but remembred might ballance all their failings. Like Toads they gather up only the venome of the garden: and as our gold-finders they have the honour in the night and darknesse to dive in stench and Excrements. But above all to abuse the dead is most deadly. The dead is as the Fatherlesse and Widow,
whose cause because they want defenders God himself will vindicate. How below the gallantry of man is it, to tyrannize upon the undefensible and senselesse? The brave soul scorneas advantages. Is it reasonable in Armes to fight against the naked? To meet an enemy without a Weapon is his protection, if I be provided. The dead are tamely passive, and should the dishonour of them be tolerated, what fame could rest unblasted in the grave? Certainly that pen is ill made, that instead of cutting a cleer letter, leaves a blot. When Agesilaus was presented with Lysanders treasonable Letters, and was about to read them in the head of his Army, he was told Lysander was dead: and this took him off his purpose. He beats the air and Combats Ghosts, that wounds the departed from life.

Next to these are the Hereticall. These seed the world with Tares, like ill plants in a good ground, if they be let grow to seed, they sow themselves, and perpetuate their corruptions to after generations. The Heretique must needs be obstinate and arrogant, for by presuming on his own sense, he grows Incorrigible. He is the highest Papa11: man in the World. For he sets up himself above the Church and all her Doctors. While he cryes down others for Infallible, he lifts himself up to be so. His presumption must needs be vast, that builds more on his own Tenet, then upon the mature judgment of all the successive Fathers. As if God

3Plutarch, "The Life of Lysander."
had revealed more to him, then to all the pillars and propagators of his Church. If he will have liberty given him to maintain his own opinions. Why should not Reason tell him that others will expect the like for themselves. Saint Augustine tells us that he is an Heretique Qui pro alicujus temporalis Commodi, & maxime gloriae principatusque; sui gratia, falsas ac novas opiniones, gignit aut sequitur. That for some temporal profit, and for the glory of his own preheminence, either Authors or Persists in some new and false opinions. Usually they are for ends and Interest; And then how infinitely does he offend, who will byasse Gods Truths, and descend and bow them to his corrupted Benefit: He raises himself above God, under the pretence of serving him, and sins more in his grave, and dead, then when he was alive. For he poisons from generation to generation. And, which is worst of all, he offends till the World's end, in a book which cannot Repent.

But above all, the profane are to be avoys. The very reading is an unhappinesse, but a second perusall, guilt, and approbation; The Heretick misunderstands Religion, but the Profane does scorn it. Such the very Heathen admitted not to sacrifice; The Profane saies one, is hee, Qui nihil habet sacri, qui sacra negligit, violat, Conculcat. Who hath nothing of Religion in him, but neglects, destroys and spurnes at all that's sacred. He is indeed the practicall

4De Utilitate Credendi, 1.
Atheist, that contemning Heaven, hath more then the meer
Pagan forgot himself to be man. It is a strange kind of
saucinesse for man to Jest with God. He that is well-bred
cannot but abominate such rudenesse. He is a Clown to
Heaven, that makes himself too familiar with the Deity. He
vapours away his soul in air that by his pen or tongue would
cast a disgrace upon God. If man compacted of Infirmities
be so Jealous of his Honour, that with the hazard of his life,
he dares duell him that staines it; How will God that made
man with this Jealousie, be zealous of his own honour by
punishing such as wildly do despise it? How infinitely will
the superstition of the Jewes cry down the loose neglect of
our times? Profanenesse is but a little lesse daring
blasphemy; and at hearing this, they us'd to be so extasi'd
and impassion'd, as presently to tear their garments: so St.
Paul, and St. Barnabas, in Acts the 14th. Such Reverence
had they to the Name of God, that they held it an offence to
think of him in any Noysome place. Every day was the mouth
to be wash'd, lest Gods Name should come out of a foul place.
And in a stool-Room they were all left-handed because with
the right they wrote the name of God and Angels. Shall the
Clay grow insolent against the potter, or the worm offer to
perk it up at the face of Man? Beware of the profane and
scorner. He that neglects God will make no scruple of
betraying Man. If he sits loose to Heaven, he will never

5Verses 8-18.  
6Toilet.
hold firm to Earth, but for himself will forsake his Friends, having done so already to God, that yet gives him all. Any of these are the plague in paper, which he is in much danger of catching that comes but between the sheets. Nor can he offend alone. A corrupt Book is an Amphisbaena: A Serpent headed at either end; one bites him that reads, the other stings him that writes. For if I be corrupted by his pen, the guilt grows his, as well as mine, although the grave holds him. I will not write, lest I hurt my self, and posterity. I will not read least I hurt my self and Predecessors; They that dye of the pestilence are not lesse infectious laid forth, then when they are alive. The body of that wickednesse shewes poyson, which continues working longer then life, and when all the sense is gone. A foolish Sentence dropt upon paper setts folly on a Hill and is a monument to make Infamy eternall.

R. S. 2. Of Humility.¹

HEE that means to build lasting, must lay his foundation low: As in moory grounds they erect their Houses upon piles driven deep into the ground: So when we have to doe with men that are boggy and rotten, our Conversation would be unfound and tottering, if it were not founded upon the Graces of Humility; which by reason of their slendernesse pierce

¹See above S. 2. Of Humilitie.
deep and remain firm. The **proud man**, like the **early shoots** of a **new-fell'd Coppice**, thrusts out full of sap, **green** in **leaves** and **fresh** in **colour**; but bruises and **breaks** with every wind, is nipt with every little cold, and being top-heavy, is wholly unfit for use. Whereas the **humble man** retains it in the **root**, can abide the Winters killing blasts, the ruffling concussions of the wind, and can indure far more then that which does appear so flourishing. Like the **Pyramis**, he hath a large foundation, whereby his height may be more Eminent, and still the higher he is, the lesser doth he draw at the top; as if the nearer Heaven, the smaller he must appear. And indeed, the higher Man approacheth to **Celestials**, and the more he doth consider God, he sees the more to make himself **vile** in his own esteem. When the **Falcon** flyes highest, she lessens her self most, and by so doing, hath the more command of her game. And then this usually falls out, That he which **values** himself least, shall by others be **prized** most. **Nature** swells when she meets a **check**; but submission in us to others, begets **submission** in others to us. **Force** does but **compel** our **bodies**; when ** Civility** and **Mansuetude** does **calm** and **captivate** even the **rugged temper** of the **rude** and **boysteros** and, like a gentle **Lenitive**, dissipates and asswages the **Tumors** of the most **elated Mind**. **Humility** is the **foot-stool**, without which Man can hardly get up to the **bed of Honour**. The **proud man** is certainly a **fool**; I am sure, let his parts be what they will, in being **proud**, he is so. One thing may assuredly perswade us of the
Excellency of Humility. It is ever found to dwell most with men that are most gallant. 'Tis a flower that prospers not in lean and barren soils, but in a ground that's rich, it flourishes and is beautiful. Give me a man that's humble out of judgement, and I can find him full of all parts. Charles the fifth,² was as brave in holding the candle to his departing visitants, as when he was troop'd about with his victorious officers. The legislative monarch Moses, that was the first and greatest divine, states-man, historian, philosopher, and poet, who as a valiant general, led Israel out of Egypt, was renown'd with miracles, that could roll up the waves to pass his men, and tumble them down again upon his enemies, was a type of Christ, styled a friend of God, and (as Ecclesiasticus tell us) beloved both of God and men:³ yet was he meek above all that were upon the face of the earth. And least our proud dust should think it a disparagement to be humble, we are commanded by our Saviour to learn it of him, who tells us the benefit will be, rest to our souls. We are sent to the pismire for industry, to the lyon for valour, to the dove for innocence, to the serpent for wisdom; but for humility unto God himself, as an attribute more peculiar to his excellence: And certainly, if we shall but contemplate him, we shall find him able for all, either that we can, or, cannot conceive: yet by his up-holding and sublevaminous providence, according to his

²Probably Charles (1500-1558), Holy Roman emperor, father of Phillip II of Spain.
³45:1.
meer will he orders, guides and governs all. No man ever lost esteem with wise men, by stooping to an honest lowness when there was occasion. I have known a great Duke to fetch in wood to his Inferiors fire; and a General of Nations, descending to a Foot-mans office in lifting up the boot of a Coach: yet never thought it an eclipse to either of their dignities. The Text does give it to the Publicans dejectedness rather then to the Pharisees boasting.\(^4\) That ship wants Ballast that floats upon the top of the waters: and he may well be suspected to be defective within, that would pull on respect to himself by his undue assuming it. What is that man worse that lets his inferior go before him? The folly is in him that takes it when not due: but the prudence rests with him, that in the sereneness of his own worth does not value it. It shows of State, the meanest marches first. I am not troubled, if my Dog out-runs me. The Sun chides not the morning Star though it presume to usher day before him. My place is only where I am at present; but that wherein I am not, is not mine. While the proud man bustles in the storm, and begets himself Enemies, the humble peaceably passes in the shade unenvy'd. The full sayl over-sets the Vessel, which drawn in, may make the voyage prosperous. Who is't that pitties Haman, when only Mordecaies uprightness in the gate shall sicken him.\(^5\) He


\(^5\)Esther 3-6; especially 3:1-3; 5:9.
sure is queasie stomack't, that must pet, and puke, at such a trivial circumstance. Humility prevents disturbance. It rocks debate a sleep, and keeps men in continued peace. Men rest not while they ride in state, or hurry it in a furious charge; but when they humble themselves to the Earth, or a Couch, refreshing sleep does then becalm their toyle and cares. When the two Goats on a narrow Bridge met over a deep stream, was not he the wiser that lay down for the other to pass over him, then he that would rather hazard both their lives by contending? he preserv'd himself from danger, and made the other become debtor to him for his safety. I will never think my self disparag'd, either by preserving peace, or doing good. He is charitable, that out of Christian ends can be content to part with his due: but he that would take it from me, wrongs not me so much as he does himself. I have ever thought it Indiscretion to vye it in continued strife: Prevailing is but victory in part; his pride may still remain unconquer'd. If I be subdued; beside my shame, I purchase his contempt to boot. When yeelding out of prudence, triumphs over all, and brings him in to be mine. I had rather be accounted too much humble, then esteemed a little proud. That tends to vertue and wisdom; this to dishonour and vice. Even the Gold the stiffest is the basest; but the pure, by being ductible, keeps whole.

6See above. S. 2, note 2.
R. S. 3. Of Religion and Morality.¹

TO render a man perfect, there is requisite both Religion and Nature; that is, Faith and Morality. But some will tell me, there needs but one; Religion comprehends both: And certainly, the Christian Religion purely practiced, will do so; for it rectifies and confirms the Law of Nature; and purging man from corruption by faith, presents him justified, and a fulfiller of the Law, which Nature cannot do. Religion more properly respects the service of God; yet takes care of Man too. Morality looks most to our conversation with men: yet leaves us not when we come to God and Religion. I confess, I understand not, why some of our Divines have so much cry'd down Morality. A Moral man with some, is but another word for a Reprobate: Whereas truly, Charity and probability would induce us to think, That whosoever is morally honest, is so out of conscience in obedience to the commands of God, and the Instinctments of Nature, so framed and qualified by God himself, rather then out of sinister, lower; or less noble ends: And therefore, I hold it to be most true, that as true Religion cannot be without Morality; no more can Morality that is right, be without Religion. I look upon it as the Primitive and Everlasting Law and Religion of man: which, instamped in his soul at his

¹See above S. 3. To Perfection, what is most necessarie.
Creation, is a Ray arising from the Image of God. Till the Law was given, what Religion had he but his own Morality, for almost 2000 years? It was the world's Religion. What was it else that taught man to pray, and humble himself to a Deity; when he had done amiss, to make Offertories to appease an angred God-head; and to think of ways of expiation? And when the Law was promulgated in Tables of stone to show the perpetuity of it; Was it not the same reduced to literal Precepts, which even in the world's Infancy was written in the hearts of man? The Judicial and Ceremonial Law of the Jews, we see abolisht at our Saviours coming. But the Decalogue, because 'tis Moral, holds. We find it also barely Preceptive and Imperial. Do this, or, Do not do this, without a reason given (unless in some out of the consequence) because being Moral there needed none. The reason was in each man's heart before: not only among the Jews, but the Gentiles also. It was the Universal Religion of the world, which God at first gave man: So pregnant in the minds of all; That it was sufficient in some good measure to curb the loose exorbitancies of depraved Nature, and lead her up towards her duty. What Barbarous Heather condemns not in his Conscience, what the Law prohibits; or applauds not what is does command? Of this the great Apostle spake, where he tells us; That when the Gentiles, which have not the Law, do yet naturally the things contained in the Law,
they are a law to themselves.² Even Reason, which is Nature, leads a man up to Religions Palace, though it show us not all the private rooms within it. It brings us into the Presence, though not into the Privy Chamber. It ushers us to Faith; which rightly stated, is little more then rarified and pure Celestial Reason. For of Faith, there is reason to be given: And though it be set in a heighth, beyond our Humane Perspicience, I can believe it rather super-elevated, then contradictory to our Reason. When Man comes to Faith, he then runs out of himself; but not at all against himself. By his vertue, he but lifts up Nature to a higher scale. Religion and Vertue, is but Nature better bred, more immediately deducing it Original from God the Author and Fountain of all that is good: suitable to this, is that which the Orator tells us, where (de legibus) he makes Vertue nothing else, but perfect Nature raised to its full sublimity. And besides the School-men, I have met with a Divine, declaring, That Religio est omnium Moralium virtutum Nobilissima, Religion is the Noblest of all Moral vertues. And it is Cornelius à Lapide. Reason can tell us, That having offended, (without satisfaction) we are lyable to punishment. It can set us to search for a Saviour, though it cannot find him for us in his gratious Contrivances, and sublime Immensities: Even the Gospel in its larger part is Moral; the Law is the Compendium of Morality, and the Gospel

²Romans 2:14.
is the Compendium of the Law. Upon loving God above all, and our Neighbour as our selves, hang all the Law and the Gospel. And this as the concreated Rule with Man, is that which the Apostle calls the Royal Law; which if we fulfill, we do well. I find in most Religions, some Tenents that are destructive to Humanity, though not in the first sanction and frame of Religion; yet in time brought in by particular Professors, who have lost posterity their disciples. The very Series and Foundations of Religion, by such as these have been dispens'd with, under the pretence of publike Interest to bring in particular Designs. But the true Christian Religion and the true Morality dares not do a wrong, nor so much as plead necessity, where, by suffering, it may be avoyded. Even in all Religions, when they be cut out into Sects, they run to division, and destroy. Like little Rills from large Rivers, they suffer not the stones to rest, but rattle and make a noise with their shallowness, while the main Stream, by reason of his deepness, is both smooth and silent. Men that are of depraved and harsh dispositions, are aptest to become Sectaries; and when such come once to be dipt in Religion, (for to be well washed, clenseth) they are usually more virulent then any other sort of men. If they had the grounds of Morality, even the goodness of Nature would make them in-oppressive, and dictate to them, That it were Nobler to undergo a self-denying or some Sufferance,

then by Singularity and the Morosity of an Eager spleen give a publick Disturbance, perhaps to the unhindging of the frame of Government. Certainly, however the pretext be Religion, and that misleading Meteor, Liberty; yet in the Violators of a just Authority, 'tis either an ill Nature, or a sinister end, which draws them to persist in't. If there were Charity, (without which all Religion is vaine) no man would preferre a self-immunity, before a generall peace. Therefore let men be never so specious in the formall profession and Verbalities of Religion, when I see them act things against Morality and such as are destructive to Humane Society; I shall be content to call it Craft or Policy, but by no means Religion to be imitated. To circumvent men into Snares of either Life or Estate or Liberty; To insidiate and intrap the unsuspitious and well-meaning man, To grow great and Rise by my Neighbours fall, to which I have contributed; To undoe a man for acting Honesty and Conscience; To delude the world by vows and promises; To falsyfie Oaths and publick Manifestoes; To be prodigall of the bloud and lives of others; To lift them out of the world for ends; To inappropriate my self into that which is not mine; To pretend one thing and act the Contrary: These and the like being against the Rules of Morality, let them carry what face they will, Religion may be the Paint but never the Complexion of such Actions. He that is not Morally Honest, whatsoever glosse his Religion bears, he wears it but in Water-colours, which either a warm breath or
a wet storm will melt away or blemish. Methinks I find the soundnesse of Heathens putting the blush upon the practice of Christians, who stain their sincere profession by the underhand complications of fraud and collusion. How natural was it in the Romans to have their bloods rise at Lucius Marcus; for that by subtilties wiles and craft he went about to facilitate his Victories against the Macedonian Perseus? When Meander of Samos flying to the Spartans from the Persian Forces, declared what wealth he had brought along, and how much he would give to Cleomenes their Governour; Cleomenes presently repairs to the Senate: And tells them, It would be well if they banisht their Samian quest, lest he might persuade some Spartan to be wicked. The name of Great had not been undeservedly given to Alexander for telling one that persuaded him to take the Advantage of a dark night to set upon his Enemy Darius: No, says he, I had rather repent my Fortune then blush at my Victory: And in a Christian it deserv'd a high applause, Conrade the first Emperour of Germany; who when Misicus (who persisted in his Fathers Rebellion) not being able to defend himself against the Emperours puissance, fled to Waldericus Duke of Bohemia, and he after promising protection

5Plutarch, "The Life of Aemilius Paulus."
6Herodotus, III, 148.
7Plutarch, "The Life of Alexander the Great."
8Reigned 911-918.
and assistance (to work his own ends) privately treated with the Emperour for delivering him into his hands. The Emperours Heroick Heart, disdaining so base a Treachery or to gain an Enemy by Complyance with so great unworthiness; sent Word to Misiche That he would do well either to submit himself to him, or provide himself of a surer Sanctuary; for that his pretending friend would betray him. Doubtlesse there is a morall Gallantry in Nature that will lead a man to any thing but poornesse and Indirection. And certainly, 'tis more safe to trust a poor good Natur'd Publican then any supercilious and high pretending Pharisee. I shall surely much suspect that Religion, which hath not got the maistry of Pride, Intemperance, and Deceit. There is a genuine Cleernesse that looks braver then all the nick-nam'd strong abilityes of over-reaching. To be a Man answerable to Davids Quaeries in his 15th Psalme (which do all point at our Converse with men.) In the beginning it makes him dwell in Gods Tabernacle, in the end it setts him immoveable. The Apostle seems to couple both together when he tells us; That fearing God and working Righteousnesse, makes a Man acceptable in what Nation soever he be.\(^9\) The Immolation of Beasts and the other costly Oblations in the Law were the Highest outward dutyes of Religion that we read of. Yet never prized like the Intirenesse of an honest Heart endeavouring in all things to bear a good Conscience

\(^9\)The Apostle Peter, Acts 10:35.
towards God and towards Men. If we believe Solomon, the Prophets, and the Apostles; they will tell us, That to do Justice and Judgment is more acceptable then sacrifice. 'Tis Charity and unspottednesse that is the pure and undefiled Religion. And indeed God hath no need of our Service, were it not for our own avail. But man hath. And pursuant to this, there are VI Commandements relating to Man, and but IV to God: Yet indeed because they cannot be divided they all make up one Law. The World consisted of two sorts of people, Jews and and Gentiles. The true worship of the Deity was discovered but to one. But the Morall Law relating to man was Naturally imposed on both; and when both parties confirm it, why should any decry it. I take that to be good Divinity, though I have it from the Roman Persius.

Quin damus id Superis de magna quod dare lance
Non possit magni Messalla lippa propago:
Compositum Jus, Fasqve; Animi, Sanctosque; recessus
Mentis, & incoctum generosos  pectus Honesto.10

Let's give God what Messalla's blear ey'd Race,
Cannot in their huge incense-Charger place;
Resolved Right; Pure Thoughts; A mind rais'd high;
A soul ingrain'd with Noble Honesty.

10Satira, II, 71-74.
R. S. 4. Of Truth and Lying.¹

I Find to him that the tale is told, Belief only makes the difference, betwixt the Truth, and Lyes. For a Lye beleived is true; and Truth uncredited, a Lye. But certainly, there rests much in the Hearers Judgment, as well as in the Tellers Falshood. It must be a probable Lye, that makes the Judicious, Credulous; And the Relatour too, must be of some Reputation: otherwise, strange stories detect some deformity in the mind. And in that, (as in certain naturall protervities in the body) they are seldome taking, but often begett a dislike. They may a little florish a mans Invention: but they much more doubtlesse will cry down his Judgment, and discover a mind that floats and is unballanced. There is a generation of men, whose unweighed custome makes them clack out any thing their heedlesse fancy springs; That are so habited in falshood, that they can out-lye an Almanack, or, which is more, a Chancery Bill; and though they ought to have good memories, yet they lye so often, that they do at last, not remember that they lye at all. That besides creating whole scenes of their own, they cannot relate any thing cleer, and candidly: but eyther they must augment, or diminish. They falsifie so long the science of Arithmetick, that by their Addition, and Substraction, they quite destroy the noble Rule of Fellowship. Like Samsons Foxes, with their Fire-brands, they leave a flame in every field they passe

¹See above S. 4. Of Lyes and Vntruths.
through. **Falshood**, like dust cast in the eyes of **Justice**, keeps her from seeing **Truth**. It often creeps even to the **Barr** at **Tribunals**; and there **perverteth Judgment**. A **severe penalty** were well **inflicted**, where the **Advocate** should dare to **obtrude** an **untruth**. How can that **Judge** walk right, that is **bemisted** in his way? We can never come at either **peace**, or **justice**, if we be not lighted through the dark by **Truth**: and **Peace** never abides long in any **Region** where **Truth** is made an **Exile**. Certainly a **Lyar** though never so **plausible**, is but a **defective** of the **present tense**; being once **discovered**, he is look't at, not only as **inconsiderate**, but **dangerous**. He is a **Monster** in **Nature**; for his **Heart** and **Tongue**, are **incongruous**, and **dissentive**; As if upon a **Humane body** the head of a **Dog** were set on. The heart is much **unpurified**, which bubbles up such frothy **Vanities**. And besides he that often **lyes in discourse**, when he **needs not**, will be sure to do it ever when he **needs**. So his **Interest** being only **inward to himself**, all that is **without him** is not set by. And **doubtlesse Humanity** hath not a worse **Companion**, then he that **singularly loves himself**. Think not to live long in peace if thou **conversest** with a **lying man**. Nor canst thou think to live long in **Reputation**: You can neither **freely** relate any thing after him, nor passe a **right judgment** upon any thing he **speaks**. If you believe him, you are **deceived**; If you do not believe him, he takes it as an **affront**. The way is either to passe him by, as not minded; or check him a
little obliquely in his own way. As when one gold Galba,\(^2\)
he had bought a Lamprey in Scitily five-foot-long, He
answered him: That was no wonder, for there they were so
long that the Fishermen used them for Ropes: A Lyar is the
Ball of Contention that can set even Goddesses together by
the ears: I could sooner pardon some Crimes that are
capitall, then this Wild-fire in the tongue; that whipp's,
and scorches wheresoever it lights. It shows so much
Sulphur in the mind of the Relator, that you will easily
conclude, It is the breath of Hell. I wonder not that the
Ingenious bloud does boyl so high at having the Lye given.
For surely, a Lyar is both a Coward, and a Traytor. He
fears the face of man, and therefore sneaks behind the
littlenesse of a Lye to hide himself. A Traytor he is, for
God having set him to defend his Truth, he basely deserts
the hold, and runs to his enemies Colours. He dares not
keep the Post he is assigned to, by owning of his Truth.
But like a Coyner (pretending Gold) he stamps the great
Kings Image, Truth, upon Copper, and coorse Allay. What is
that Man good for, that cannot be trusted in his own
voluntary Relations. One would break that Dyall into Atomes,
whose false lines only serve but to mislead. Whose every
stealing Minute attempts to shame the Sunne. Speech is the
Commerce of the World, and Words are the Cement of Society.
What have we to rest upon in this world, but the professions

\(^2\)Emperor of Rome, A. D. 68-69.
and Declarations that men seriously and solemnly offer? When any of these fail, a Ligament of the World is broke: and whatever this upheld as a foundation, falls. Truth is the good mans Mistresse, whose Beauty he dares Justifie, against all the furious Tilttings of her wandring enemies; 'tis the Buckler under which he lies securely covered, from all the stroaks of Adversaries. It is indeed a Deity; for God himself is Truth; and never meant to make the Heart and Tongue disjunctives. Yet because Man is vanity, and a Lye, we ought to weigh what we hear. He hath an easy faith that without Consideration believeth all that is told. The fish will soon be catcht, that will be nibling at every cast-in-bayt to swallow it. But for him whose weaknesse hath abandon'd him into a Lyar; I look upon him as the dreggs of mankind. A Proteus\(^3\) in conversation, wizarded and in disguise: As a thing that hath bankrupted himself in Humanity, that is to be contemned, and as a counterfeit to be nayl'd upon a post that he may deceive no more. If there be truth of Tongue, I may hold a Traffique with men of all other vices: but take away that, and I tread upon a bog, and quick-sands; And, like the Prophet Isaiahs Idolater, Cap. 44.22. when I expect deliverance as from a God, I carry a lye in my hand.

Though I speak not alwayes all that is truth, yet would

\(^3\)The ancient one of the sea who knew all things. He assumed disguises to prevent being questioned. Odyssey, IV.
I never speak any thing false. A Man may be over-born and kill'd: but Truth is a thing Immortal; and going out of the world with him, gives him courage even under the Axes stroke. I would not value life so dearly, as to purchase it with the poorness of a lye. And we ought to take discourse from others, as we use to chuse some fruits, not by their out-side, but by their weight, and poizing them.

Nec cito Credidaris: Quantum cito credere ladat, Exemplum vobis, non leve, Procris erit.\textsuperscript{4}

Believe not rashly: Harm from thence hat flows, Dear Procris Fate, in sad example shows.

\textsuperscript{4}Ovid, \textit{Ars Amatoria}, III, 685-6.

R. S. 5. Of Preparing against Death.\textsuperscript{1}

The life of man is the Incessable walk of time; wherein, every moment is a step, and pace to Death. Even our growing to perfection, is a progress to decay. Every thought we have, is a sand running out of the glass of life. Every letter that I now write, is something cut off from the measure of my being here.

But since no man can be happy, in the life that is affrighted with the fear of dying; It ought to be our principal care, either to put off Death; or, overcome the fear of it.

\textsuperscript{1}See above S. 5. Three things aggravate a Miserie.
Else, while we have life, we shall not enjoy it: but dayly with the fear of dying, dye. To put off Death, is not in Man to do. Fixt Fate (without him) dooms him once to dye. The Decree is past, and no Appeal is left. To avoid Death totally therefore, 'tis in vain, to try: We may sometime Court him into a forbearance: But the shole worlds wealth is a bribe too small to win him to acquittance. Yet the fear of Death is not Invincible. It is a Gyant to the weak, but a Pigmy to the well-resolved. We may master that, and then though we cannot totally overcome Death, we may contemn him; or, so brave him, as to make him smile, not frown upon us. It is therefore fit, we take heed of such things as are like Multiplying-glasses, and shew fears either more numerous, or bigger, far then they are. Such are Inexspectation, Unacquaintance, want of Preparation.

Inexspectation. The sodain blow astonishes: but forseen, is either warded, or avoided. A surprise alone is torture. In it, I have not time to think, till the time of thinking be too late. "Tis falling from a precipice in the dark. A man is at the bottom, before he knows he is from the top. The soul is over-whelm'd with horror, which is infinitely blacker by it's not being look'd for. Belshazzers knees had never beat each other, if he had expected the hand to appear. 2 When Accidents like Thieves, unthought on, set upon us; the consternation gives the deeper wound. It is 2Daniel 5:5-6.
worse for the time then hanging; for it choaks the spirits, as to help; but lets them live, to cruciate and vex without remedy. Like Spirits in the night, they flash Hell-fire into our face, and drive us from our wits and hopes: And our terrors are the more, because we dedicated that time to rest, without exspecting ought that should affright us.

Unacquaintance. Familiarity takes away fear: when matters not usual prove Inductions to terror. The first time the Fox saw the Lyon, he feared him as death; The second, he feared him, but not so much; The third time, he grew more bold, and passed by him without quaking. The practis'd Seaman smiles at storms, that others dare not look on. A Lyon is not frightful to his Keeper; and Mastiffs are not fierce, but when they meet with strangers. Every report of a Musket startles the new-come Souldier; but ranging through the fury of two or three Battats, he then can fearless stand a breach, and dares undaunted look Death in the face.

Lastly, Want of Preparation. Must not he be over-come, that, un-arm'd, meets his weapon'd Enemy? God, that by his Providence, is akin to wise men, and so does usually protect the prudent, is not obliged to preserve the fool. He that does first abandon himself, by his own exumple teaches others to do so too. When I am prepared for the worst, the worst cannot dismay me: but unprepared, I must lye lown and yield.

3Aesopica 10, "The Fox Who Saw the Lion."
Even premeditation alone, is a piece of defence. Negligence not only invites the Foe, but leaves open all our Ports, and Avenues for him to enter at. The difference is not much between not meeting an evil, and being prepar'd for't.

Lest, then, I make my death seem more terrible to me, then indeed it is, I will first dayly expect it. It were madness, to think, I should never arrive at that, to which I am every minute going. If an Enemy, that I cannot resist, shall threaten that within such a space, he will assault and plunder me, but will not tell me the precise time; shall I not every hour look for him? It was Plato's opinion, That the wise mans life, was the meditation of death. And to expect it, is to give the blow a meeting, & break the stroke: Not to expect it, is a stupidity; since the world hath nothing that is like a Reprieve. The Philosopher will tell us well as the Divine; That, Omne Humanum Genue, quodcunque erit, morte damnatum est. All Humanity that either is, or shall be, once shall dye. And surely then, he is but dead already, that does not look for death. A Glass though it be brittle, (if safely kept) may last long. But Man preserv'd declines. His Childhood, Youth, Virility, and Age, they are but several stages posting him to death. He may flourish till about fifty, and may dye any day before: But after that, he languishes like an October Fly, till at last he weakly withers to his grave.

Secondly, I will grow to be acquainted with it, by considering what it is. And certainly, well lookt into, he
is rather lovely, then a Monster: 'Tis Fancy gives him those hideous shapes we think him in. It is a soft and easie Nothing; the cessation of Life's functions, Action's absence, and Nature's smooth repose. Certainly, it is no more to dye, then to be born. We felt no pain coming into the world; nor shall we in the act of leaving it. Though in the first, one would believe there were more of trouble then in the latter. For we cry coming into world, but quietly and calmly leave it. When Socrates was advised by his friends, That if not for his own sake, yet for that of his children and acquaintance, he would have a care to preserve himself from death: He presently tells them; That as for his children, God that gave them, would have a care of them: and for his friends, (if he dyed) he should in the other world find the like, or better: and those that here he left, would but a very little while stay from him. What is there, that in Death is terrible, more then our unwillingness to dye? Why should I be angry, when my Prince repeals my banishment, and admits me home to my Country, Heaven? When the Soul, (like a Swallow, slipt down a Chimney) beats up and down in restless want and danger; Death is the opened Casement that gives her rest and liberty from penury, fears, and snares. 'Tis Nature's play-day, that delivers man from the thraldom of the world's School to the freedom of his Fathers family. The Philosopher will tell us (take it which way you will)

4 Plato, Crito.
whether the **Soul** perishes, or be translated, there is either no **ill**, or much **good**, in **Death**. But when we know the Soul is **Immortal**, and purchased to be a **Vessel** of **Everlasting Honour**, what should **affright us**? unless we **fear** to be **happy**. When my **death** approaches, I am growing to **Immortality**, commencing **Doctor**, and beginning to understand all those **crabbed Criticisms** that puzzles here **Mortality**. It frees me from the **scorns** of **life**, and **malice** and the **blows** of **Fate**, and puts me in a condition to become **invulnerable**. It mounts me up beyond the **wiles** and **reaches** of this unworthy world. It lays me in the ranck with **Kings**, and lifts me up to **Deity**.

Lastly, I will endeavour to be prepared. Neither **surprise**, nor **strangeness** can **hurt** me, if I be ready for both. He defeats the **Tyrant** of his feast, that is so **prepar'd** as not to shrink at **torment**. The way to **dy** **undauntedly**, is to do that **before**, which we ought to do when **dying**. He that **always** **waits** upon God, is **ready** whenever he **calls**. I will labour to set my **accounts** even, and endeavour to **find** God such to me in my **life**, as I would in **death** he should appear. If I cannot put off **Humanity** **wholly**, let me put off as much as **I can**; and that which I must **wear**, let me but loosely **carry**. When the **affections** are glewed to the world, **Death** makes not a **Dissolution**, but a **Fraction**; and not only **separates** the **soul**, but **tears** it away. So the pain and the hazard is more. He is a **happy man** that **lives** so, as **Death** at all times may find at leisure to **dye**. And if we consider,
that we are always in God's hand; that our Lease is but during pleasure, and that we are necessitated once to dye. As we shall appear Infidels, not to trust a Deity, so we must be fools, to struggle where we can neither conquer, nor defend. What do we do living, if we be afraid of travelling that highway which hath been pass'd through by all that have liv'd, and must be by all that shall live? We pray, undress, and prepare for sleep, that is not one night long; and shall we do less for Death, in whose arms we must rest prisoners, till the Angel with his Trumpet summons him forth to resign us? This will not make life more troublesome, but more comfortable. He may play that hath done his task. No Steward need fear a just Lord, when his accounts are even and always ready drawn up. If I get the Son and Heir to be mine, the Father will never hold off. Thus living, I may dye at any time, and be afraid at no time: Who dyes Death over every day. If he does not kill Death out-right: at least he makes him tame with watching him.

R. S. 6. Against Extreme Longings.¹

EXTreme Longings in a Christian (for the things of this world) I seldom see succeed well: Surely, God means so to temper his, as he would not have them violent in the search of a temporal blessing: or, else he knows our frailty such,

¹See above S. 7. Extreme Longings seldome seen to succeede well.
as we should be more taken with the fruition of a benefit, then the Author. Prosperities are strong pleaders for sin: but troubles are the secret Tutors of goodness. How many would have been lost, if they might have but found the enjoyment of their own desires. The too earnest pursuit of temporals, is a kind of mental Idolatry, wherein we prize our desires beyond our duty; and, neglecting our submission to a Providence, we over-value our own frail ends, and set them up as another kind of Deity. So we sometimes have our wishes, but with such success, as Pyrrhus had in his wars: who in two Battails against the Romans, gain'd his victories with so great loss, that he told his applauding friends, One victory more would absolutely undo him.\(^2\) Agrippina's, Occidat modo Imperet,\(^3\) proved a prophesie of her own destruction. When it comes to that, We must have children or we dye; we expose our selves to be our servante drudges, and on our knees, and in our bosoms, nurse up their illegitimate Issues. We lay our selves open to unlawful practices, for obtaining what we covet; and, like teeming women, we miscarry if we fail of what we long for. Death had not flown in among the Quails, if Israel had not been too much impetuous after them.\(^4\) Let him that eats too

\(^2\)Plutarch, "The Life of Pyrrhus."

\(^3\)"He perishes in the same manner that he commands." Agrippina's death at the hands of her son Nero is recounted in Suetonius, Nero, XXXIV.

\(^4\)Numbers 11:31-32.
greedily, beware he does not surfet. I have known a Falcon upon her down, come (missing her quarry) spit her self upon the Falconers pole. Our senses are not cleer when they are born along in a hurry. Who rides upon speed, sees matters but in pass; his eye is so sodainly snatcht from the object, that he neither knows whither he goes, nor what he leaves. When we are too eager upon what we desire, we become like children, froward, and crying, till we pull the rod upon us. 'Tis but blind and beastial metal to be rampant after what we affect. Like a ship in a storm, when our Anchor (Moderation) is gone, we float before the raging winds. When we proceed calmly, we have time to look about us, and may walk secure: But, prickt on fiercely, we bait our own sharp hook, and put our selves into a posture of being deceived.

-----Quisquis trepidus pavet, val optat,
Quod non sit stabilis, suique; Furis;
Abjecit Clypeum, locoque; motus,
Nectit, qua valeat trahi, Catenam.5

Who not himself, unsteady steers;
But passionately hopes, or fears;
Quits his defence. He loosely sits,
And his own Chain, to draw him, knits.

Is the judgement of the grave Boetius. When God commands

5Consolation of Philosophy, 1, Metrum 4, 15-18.
sobriety and patience, shall Man presume to shew himself intemperate? He that makes haste to be rich, shall not be without sin. So, though the thing we aim at, be good in itself; yet who can tell, whether it shall be good to us? St. Augustine will tell us, That he which prays for the things of this life, is sometimes gratiously heard, and often gratiously refused. The Physician better than the sick, knows what befits his health. He that is not heard to his sense, is often to his safety. Undistractedly to use the means is good; but to give up our selves to passion, is undoing. If the thing I covet be good, I cannot trust it into better hands then Providence and Industry. But he that is violent in his quest, takes himself from those protections; and rows upon his own vain fancy. That which the wise man says of Anger, may hold of all other Passions, They rest in the bosom of Fools. What, shall the faculties of the Noble Soul, made to contemplate Heaven, and the Sacred Deity, stoop so low, as to be wholly taken up with temporal and terrestrial vanities? 'Tis like an Emperour catching Flyes. Saturn, that is the highest Planet, is the slowest in his motion. Sure he, that in a brave serenity can bear up himself from being a slave to himself; that can be content sometimes, to take the Cloud for his guide, as well as the fire; that looks upon what he would have, with a quietness in his appettition; that can calmly wish, and want: It is he, that may be written Man: If I can, I will never extremly covet. When I dote upon any thing here below, like
a souldier I break my rank, and if I presently be not awed in again, by my Commander, Reason; I am in the way of being either kill'd, or prisoner. Besides, 'tis so like either the weakness of a Woman, or the rudeness of a Clown that indeed, I thereby proclaim to all men, that I want both strength, and breeding.

R. S. 7. Of Prayer.¹

IT is not an easie matter for men of inferior ranck, to get access or freedom of conference with one that is an Earthly Prince. Admission to all, would weigh him down to a slave. He cannot be a Center large enough to receive all the lines that come from the vast Circumference. But had he an Ear for all, he could not have wherewith to grant and satisfie all. Nor were men sure to speed, although they were admitted. He that to all should grant what is asked, would quickly leave himself nothing at all to grant: he might perhaps inrich some others; but he should be sure to impoverish himself. How great then is the freedom and the Prerogative of the devout Christian, who hath a reverence and an affection to the greatness and the goodness of his God? Though he often lives here in a sleight esteem among men, yet by his prayers and the ardent effusion of his groans and wishes he can freely confer with the King of

¹See above S. 9. Of Prayer.
Heaven. Prayer penetrates through all the clouds and spheres. It makes a man a kind of Intimate with God, and by a towering flame mounts him to the bosom of the great Creator; who not only hears his Intreaties, but delights in his requests; invites him to come, and promises a pleasing or happy return; which he shews in fulfilling his desires, or better: fitter for him. In respect of whom the greatest Monarch is more mean than the basest Vassal, in regard to the most mighty and most puissant Emperor. Man does not near so much exceed the worst of Creatures, as God above doth him. What if I be not known to the Nimrods2 of the world, the Pharachs and the Ptolemies of this AEgypt: I can speak to Him, to whom they all as well as I must bow. My admission is as easie as theirs, and by my humble Prayers (unless my own offences hinder) I never am debarr'd access. 'Tis the Colloquy that continues the friendship 'twixt God and Man. We see those that are daily attendant upon great Persons, by the benefit of their access and conference, have a greater prevalency with them, than those perhaps of greater parts, that live as strangers to them. And we cannot think, but he which prays often, by that means comes acquainted with God: If the Nobleness of Man be such, that he will be more civil, and tenderer to him, that is obsiquieus and respective to him, by continued addresses, and expressing his sole dependance to be upon him; than he will to one that looks not after him:

2Genesis 10:8-10.
Surely, God will much more take notice of him, that by assiduous and frequent applications makes himself familiar with his Deity. It would encourage one in Prayer, to read what St. Augustine hath Metaphorically enough delivered us, Oratio Deum ungit, sed Lachrima compungit; haec Lenit, illa Cogit: Prayer, anoynts God; but Weeping, pierceth Him: that appeaseth, this compels Him. However, it is so Essential a part of Religion, that I think I am not amiss, if I say, There can be none without it: We read not of any Religion, the Thief had, besides his Prayer on the Cross: Yet we see, by the mercy of our Saviour, it presently convey's him from a bad life to Paradise. And surely, Man of all other creatures, would be the most miserable without it. When he is shut up in Prison; when he is in any accidental danger; when he hath fain into displeasure, by his offence and disobedience; where is his friend, where his support, where his reconciler, if this be wanting? I had rather be deprived of all the solaces of this life; yea, and the Ordinances that tend to a better, then be debarr'd of recourse to my God by Prayer. Next to Christ, it is Mans Mediator, to re-instate him in the favour of an offended Deity. 'Tis the Moses that opens the Rock, and brings Israel food in the Wilderness. 'Tis the Sun, that gives Jeremy light in the Dungeon. It puts a muzzle on the

Lyons jaws, that else would tear a Daniel.\(^5\) 'Tis the Angel, that walking with the Children in the furnace, keeps them from so much as singing in the midst of fiercest flames.\(^6\) It attaches the Sun's swift steeds; and, like a Sentinel, commands them stand, in the speed of their full career.\(^7\) With reverence be it spoken, 'Tis a kind of Charm cast upon the Almighty, so powerful, that it prevails upon Omnipotency, and makes God that we sue unto, to become a suitor unto us; Let me alone (as if he were held) was beg'd of Moses, when Moses importuned him.\(^8\) Certainly; because God saw it so absolutely necessary for his children, He would not leave it in the power of Man to take it from them. Rennes Empire in all her ten Persecutions, could not take this from Christians.\(^9\) This they could make use of in the dark without a Tongue, and in the midst of all their Enemies while their Tormentors stood and watcht them Load a man with chaines, let him lye upon the rack or Grid-irons, leave him but a live heart, and Prayer shall dwell there out of the Tyrants reach, and comfort him. And doubtlesse then it speaks God heaviest Judgment, when men are seared up by a spirit that cannot pray. Who can apprehend any thing more miserable then a Judas or a Spira, both shut out from Prayer.

\(^7\)Joshua 10:12-13.  \(^8\)Exodus 32:10.  
\(^9\)See Gibbon's famous remarks on the ten persecutions, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Chapter XVI.
It deprives the Soul of hope; and then is Despair let in, with that Immortall worm, the terrors of eternall guilt. He gives up himself to perdition that neglects to give himself to Prayer. Man was never so great an Independent, but every minute he must need his God. And if he makes himself a stranger, can be expect to be heard as a Friend. Other sacrifices of the Law have sometimes mett with a checque; but this from a sincere heart is an offering that is ever pleasing: and importunity does not give offence. If it prevaild upon the unjust Judge, will not the most righteous God be gain'd upon? And indeed, what is it can send us away empty but our own sins? For if it carry us not safely through all the rodes of danger, the fault is in our selves not it. Like a faithfull Companion when friends, wealth, health, honour, and life, is leaving us, this holds us by the hand and leads us to overlook the shades of Death. When speech is gone, it lifts up hands and eys; and, instead of Language, groans.

R. S. 8. The Vertuous Man is a wonder.¹

IF it were true when David lived, There is none that doth good, no not one;² How can it be lesse in these times, when the long Series of Practise, hath heightned, and

¹See above S. 10. A Vertuous Man is a Wonder.
²Psalm 14:1,3.
habituated Man in vice, beyond that of passed ages. The Vertuous man therefore doubtlesse must be a Wonder. That Fire is of an unusuall composure, that it made to burn in Water: And so must his Temper be, that can hold his Heat and Brightnesse, compassed with Corruptions waves, and courted by those temptations every where, that (like the ambient air) encircles him. That I see men wicked, it is no marvel at all. Bate a man Education, and 'tis Naturall for him to be so. Folly is bound up with the life of a child. And since Vice is a Declination, surely Man is born to ill, as heavy things sink downward. And then how much easier is it falling down the Hill, then climing it? When the handsome curtezan Theodata, vaunted to Socrates, how much she was to be esteem'd before him; because shee could gain many proselytes from him, but he none at all from hir: He reply'd, it was no wonder; for she led men down the easy and descending road of Vice, while he compell'd them to the thorny and ascentive path of Vertue. They that are tyded down the stream of loosenesse, have much the advantage of those that follow goodnesse. Vertue dwells at the head of the River; to which we cannot get but by rowing against the Current. Besides those inclinations that sway the soul to ill, the way is broader, and more strewed with guilded pleasures. He that walks through a large field, hath only a narrow path to guide him right in the way. But on either side what a wide room hath he to wander in? What Latitude can bound a prophane Wit, or a lascivious Fancy? the loose
tongue lett's fly at all, while the sober David setts a Watch at his lips, and examines all his Language ere it passes. 3
Every Vertue hath two vices, that close her up in curious limits: and if she swerve, though never so little, she sodainly steps into Error. Life is a passage 'twixt Scylla and Charibdis; 4 missing the Channel, our Bark is presently suckt into ship-wreck: Religion hath Superstition, and Profanesse. Fortitude hath Fear, and Rashnesse: Liberality, Avarice, and Prodigality: Justice, Rigor, and Partiality; and so the like in others; which have made some to define Vertue to be nothing else but a mean between two extreams. The truth is, the track of Vertue is a nice way, 'tis walking upon an edge. And were there not a star within that guides and shoots in rayes of comfort; Nature would hardly take the pains to be vertuous. Vertue is a warre wherein a man must be perpetuall sentinell, 'Tis an Obeliske that requires many Trophies to the erecting it; and, though founded in the Earth (man,) his spire does reach to Heaven. Like the Palm-tree though it hath pleasant fruit; It is hard to come by, for the stem is not easy to clime. Vir bonus, cito nec fieri, nec intelligi porest: nam ille alter fortasse tanquam Phoenix, anno quingentesimo nascitur. 5 A good man is neither quickly made, nor easily understood: for like the Phoenix, he by accident is born, but one in 500 years. And this was

3Psalm 141:3. 4Odyssey, XII.
5Epistula 42, 1.
Seneca's opinion. To which not unsuitable, is that of Ausonius.

Judex ipse sui, totum se explorat ad unguem, &c.
Offensus pravis, dat Palmam et Framia Rectis, &c.
Vir bonus & Sapiens, qualem vix repperit ullam
Millibus à multis hominum, consultses Apollo.⁶

Who's his own Judge himself doth all Indite, &c.
Who hates the Bad, rewards and crowns the Right, &c.
'Mongst many thousands, Learn'd Apollo can,
Thus wise and good, scarce find one single man.

And indeed Vertue hath this in it, It is a ship that rides among the Rocks; is exercised in Sufferings, and in Difficulties. It is a Scava's shield, throng'd with the arrows of the Enemie.⁷ Who had known of Mutius Scaevola, if his hearts Resolution, had not left his hand insensible of flames?⁸ Where had been the memory of our Martyrs, if their Pagan persecutors had not given them the glory of their Torments?

Non est ad Astra mollis è terris via----.
Imperia dura tolle, quid Virtus erit?

⁶Eclogue III, 1-4.
⁷Caesar, Bello Civili, III, 53.
⁸Livy, II, 12.
From Earth to Heaven, the way's nor soft nor smooth.---

In easy things, brave Vertue hath no place.

Like mid-June swine, we can quickly rowle and tumble us in the mire of Vice; but to be a Vertuous man, is toyle and expugnation, 'tis winning of a City by inches; for we must not only make good our own ground, but we must Repell our Enemies, who will assault us, even from every room we passe by. If in Vice there be a perpetuall Grassation, there must be in vertue a perpetuall Vigilance: and 'tis not enough to be incessant, but it must be universall. In a Battail we fight not but in complete Armor. Vertue is a Cataphract: for in vain we arme one Limb, while the other is without a defence. I have known a man slain in his eye, while (all else armed) he hath but peered at his Enemy. 'Tis the good man is the World's miracle; he is not only Natures mistresse, but Arts master-piece, and Heavens mirrour. To be soaked in Vice is to grow but after our breed. But the good man I will worthily magnifie; He is beyond the Mausolaeum or Ephesian Temple. To be an Honest man is to be more then Nature meant him. His birth is as rare as the change of Religion, but in certain few periods of time. Like the only true Philosophers stone he can unalchimy the Allay of life, and by a certain celestial superfaetation, turn all the brasse of this world into Gold. He it is that can carry on

9 The tomb of King Mausolus of Caria and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus were two wonders of the ancient world.
his Bark against all the Ruffing winds, that can make the thorny way pleasant, and un-intangle the incumbrances of the Earth. A wise a vertuous man, though he be in misery, he is but like a black Lant-horn in the night. He may seem dull and dark to those that are about him, but within he is full of Light and Brightnesse, and when he lifts to open the door, he can shew it.

R.S. 9. Of Venial Sinnes.¹

What sinne is there which we may account or little or venial, unless comparatively? If we look at the Majesty offended; that is Infinite. If we look at the corruption offending, that would be infinite. And then as to the very Entity of sinne; How can there be a lesse in infinites? since every infinite must needs run out beyond the line of Degrees. What therefore doth aggravate or diminish sinne, arises out of circumstance; the very first originall of sin being equally in all privation. In the main, I find there are but two opinions of sin: One concludes, every sin Mortal; The other holds, some to be but Venial: The first cryes up Gods Justice, the other may let in his Mercy. The reformed way (as sinne) says, Every sin in it self is Mortal; So that every thought we think, every action we commit, either is no sin; or else is such as without a Saviour sinks

¹See above S. 11. Of Veniall Sinnes.
us into Hell for ever: there to be Tormented to Eternity.

The Church of Rome is not so highly severe. Some sins they can allow to be but Venial; such as oblige not man to the Punishment of Eternal death: which indeed is a Life endlesse, in endlesse torment. But yet they allow them to be such as deserve Punishment, although such as are easily pardonable: remissible of course, or expiable by an easy penitence. And three ways they tell us they become venial.

First is that which is Venial in it's kind: As an Idle Word.

Secondly, Sinne may become Venial by event: As a Mortal sinne by true Repentance may become Venial.

Thirdly, a sinne may be veniall either by Infirmity or Ignorance, when those (they say) that are done out of either of these, neither need a Saviours passion to satisfy for them, nor oblige man in himself to be bound to a perpetuity of punishment: but by a short penitence or a little sindging in a Purgatory-fire, they shall vapour away as things that never were done. I intend not here to dispute the Truth of either of these opinions. I believe if we take sinne either way, we shall quickly find enough that (both out of duty and prudence) may fright us from committing it: If all be mortall, we need no more; All arguments are lesse then that, to which nothing more can be added: if the punishment be eternall, whatever is said more, is lesse. But take sinne in the milder sense, and should we grant it veniall: Yet certainly there is cause enough to be ware: for albeit some
have made so slender account of sinnes that are Veniall, as to rank them but with straws and trifles easily committed and as easily wiped off. Blots with the same breath made and expunged. Yea the Noble St. Augustine (Sermon de sanctis 41, et in sententiis cap. 46. informs us, Non justiiam impedire nec animam occidere venialia Peccata; That veniall sins, neither hinder Justice, nor destroy the Soul. Yet I find diverse that upon deliberation have signed them with so black a brand, that every wise Christian will think them Rocks as dangerous as those that split the ship, and perish all the fraught. A Tiffeny with lesse then pin-holes will let in water as well as the wide-spaced Cive. They say, a Venial sinne may become Mortall 4 manner of ways: 1st. Out of Conscience. For, be the matter never so slight, as but to lift a Rush from the ground, yet done against Conscience it packs the Author to Hell. Yea though the Conscience be Erroneous.

2ly. Out of Complacency. It is the same St. Augustines: Nullum Peccatum adeò est veniale, quod non fiat mortale dum placet. No sinne can be so venial, but that delight in it will make it Mortall.

3ly. Out of Disposition. Because by often falling into venial sins a man is disposed unto mortall, by the proclivity, and tendency of his own Corruptions: Wherefore St. Gregoryes caution may be of very good use unto us, Vitasis Saxa grandia; Vide ne obruaris Arena. Let the Mariner that hath scap'd the Rocks, take heed he be not wrack't upon the Sands.
4ly. Out of Progression. For though Sinne at first puts up a pleasing head, and shews but a modest veniality: yet, if it be not check't, it quickly swells to what is sad and mortall. And besides these, they are content to admit of seven severall dangerous effects of those sins that thus they smooth for venials.

First, they say even the petty venial does oblige a man to punishment: Nay, if a man dyes with Mortall and Venial sins together, he shall be punisht eternally for both.

2ly. It soyles the soule, 'tis the dust of that Charcole which with its flying Atomes blacks the beauty of the minds fair countenance. And though in the Elect, Grace wipes it off, as to guilt; yet it does not do it, as to punishment, but he must be cleans'd in Purgatory.

3ly. Like water cast on fire it deads the heat of Charity. 'Tis the Cold that chills the enlivening warmth of Vertue: As piercing winds they hinder the fruit of piety from ripening, and by degrees insensible, they steal us into drewsinesse and Lethargy.

4ly. It wearies and loads the soul, that she cannot be so active in good as she ought. Like Bells and Vervels they may jingle and perhaps seem to adorn; but indeed they hinder our flight, are but specious Fetters, and proclaim us in anothers property.

5ly. They keep us back from glory: and whereas without them, we might passe the neerest way to Heaven, they make us go about by Purgatory; where we must stay and bathe; and
file, and burn off all our Rust.

6ly. They diminish our glory: for, while we should be doing what increases it, we trifle upon these, and lessen it. Every good Action contributes a Ray to the lustre of a Christians Crown, but neglect alone exposes it to famish from it's brightnesse.

7ly. They are often occasions of mortall sinns: They are Natures kisses that betray us to Incontinence. They are the sparkles and the Rednesse of that Wine which oft intice to Drunkennesse. Therefore take now which side you please, with all these considerations where is the offence that justly we can count little? That Gale that blows me to a wrack among the Rocks, be it never so gentle is to me the same with a Tempest, and certainly in some respects more dangerous. All will labour to withstand a storm, but danger unsuspected is not car'd for. There be far more deaths contracted out of the unperceiv'd irregularities of dyet, then by open and apparent surfeits. If they be lesse in quality, they are more in number; and their multitude equals them, to the others greatnesse. Nolite contemnere venialia quia minima sunt, sed timete guia plura; Despise not venial sins, because they are small: but rather regard them because they are many, was St. Augustines Counsel of old. The Aggregation of Atomes, made at first the Worlds huge Masse. And the Aggregation of drops did drown it when it was made. Who will think that wound small, that gives a sodain Inlet, if not to death, to disease? If great Sins be killing, the
small ones take us Prisoners, and then we are at the mercy of the Enemy. Like the Ashes from the Mount Vesuvius, though singly small and nothing; yet in conjoin'd quantities they embarren all the fields about it; The grasse though the smallest of plants yet numerously increasing, it covers all the face of the Earth: the mizling rain makes fouler way, then the violence of a right down showre. Great sins and publick I will avoyd for they scandal and wonder. Lesser and private for their Danger and Multitude; both, because they displease my God, and will ruine me. I cannot if I love him but abhor what he loaths. I cannot if I love my self but beware of what will destroy me.

R. S. 10. Of Memory and Forgetfulness in Friendship.

Forgetfulness in Friendship may sometimes be as necessary as Memory: For 'tis hard to be so exactly vigilant, but that even the most perfect shall sometimes give and sometimes take offence. He that expects every thing to be fully compleat, remembers not the frailty of Man. Who remembers too much, forgets himself and his friends. And though perhaps a man may endeavour to be Tyte in all his ways; Yet he makes himself too Papall, that thinks he cannot erre, or that he acts not what displease thin other. If Love can cover a multitude of infirmities, Friendship which is the growth of

\(^1\text{See above S. 12. Of Memorie and Forgetfulness.}\)
Love surely ought to do it more. When Agesilaus found some that repined at his Government, he would not see their Malignity: But commanding them to the warrs with himself, he suffered them to enjoy both offices and places both of Trust and profit in the Army. And when they were complain'd on for the ill manning thereof, he would take their part and excuse them. And by this means, of dangerous and underhand-enemies he form'd and smooth'd them into open and constant friends. He was a Christ and a Saviour that laid down his life for his sheep, even while they were stragling and averse to his fold. And it look'd as unhandsome when Jonas would be so pettish at the withering of his Gourd alone. Nor ought my Forgetfulness in friendship to be exercis'd only abroad, but oftentimes as to my self and at home. If I do my friend a Curtesie, I make it none if I put him in mind on't; expecting a return I am kind to my self not him, and then I make it Traffique not Beneficence: Who looks for requitall serves himself not mee, and with the Noble Barque of friendship, like a Merchant, he Ventures for game. As Heaven lets his dews fall in the night, so those favours are most Celestial and refresh us most, that are stolen upon us even while we are asleep: like the fragrancies in some plants, they exhale too sodainly when exposed to the open Sun. What I do in friendship is

2Plutarch, "The Life of Aegisalus."

3Jonah 4:6-10.
gallanter, when I mind it no more. He that tells me of the favour he hath done me, cancels the debt I ow him; he files off the Chain that kept me his prisoner, and with his tongue unlooseth the fetter that his hand put on. Intitling himself to the Checque which Martial bestowed upon his talking Posthumus.

Quae mihi praestiteris memini, semperque tenebo:
Cur igitur Taceo (Posthume)? tu Loqueris.
Incipio quoties alicui tua dona referre,
Prosinus exclamat; Dixerat ipse mihi.
No bellè quadam faciunt duo: sufficit unus
Huic operi. Si vis ut loquar, ipse tace.
Crede mihi, quamvis ingentia, Posthume, dones:
Auctoris pereunt garrulitate sui.4

What (Posthume) thou hast done, Ile ne're forget:
Why should I smoother't when thou Trumpetst it?
When I to any do thy gifts relate,
He presently replyes, I heard him say't,
Some things become not two: Here one may serve;
If I must tell, do thou they self reserve.
Believe me, Posthume, though thy gifts be vast;
They perish when the Authors tongue runs wast.

Certainly if Liberty bee, to be prefer'd before Bondage,

4 Epigrammata V, 53.
though he injures himself that upbraids his friend with ought that he did bestow; yet he does indeed (though he intend it not) befriend him in it. As the Romans did their slaves, he manumitts me with a Cuff; and I am not much lesse beholding to him for this unkindnesse then I was before for the Benefit; which as it is the givers Honour so it is the takers Bondage. If I be able to do a Curtesie, I rebate it by remembring it; I blot it out when I go about to Text it. If I receive one, I render my self unworthy of it, whencesoever I do forget it. That is but a barren earth where the seed dyes before it comes to Ripenessse. Suitable to these, It was thus, long since, enacted by the richly-speaking Seneca. Beneficii inter duos lex est. Alter statim oblivisci debet dati: Alter accepti nunquam. Qui dedit Beneficium taceat: Narret qui accepit. Between two friends it is the law of kindnesse, That he that does it, forget it presently: but he that does receive it, never. Let him that bestows it, hold his tongue: but let him that takes it, tell. Surely that man means it nobly, and it comes from his own genuine goodnesse, when he cares not to have any know it but his friend alone. But he that blows his Trumpet at his Alms, is Pharisee. In friendship, I would ever remember my friends kindnesse; but I would forget the favours that I do him. I would also forget his neglects: but I would remember my own fraylings. Friendship thus preserv'd ends not but with life.

5De Beneficiis, II, 10, 4.
Continuance will extend it to the same effects, with the
tyes of Nature; which uses to overlook the defects of her own,
and not to be lesse kind, though in something there be
disproportion, that might take her off.

R. S. 11. Wherein a Christian excels other men.¹

There are severall things wherein a Christian hath much
the Advantage of all the professors of other Religions. He
excels them all, in his Fortitude, in his Hppe, in his
Charity, in his Fidelity. In his Fortitude; That is, when
his cause is Just. It was well defin'd of the Orator,
Fortitudo est virtus pugnans pro aquitate;² Fortitude is a
vertue combating for Justice; otherwise he shrinks under the
load, and couches like Issachersiasse, between the two
burthens of his Cause and Conscience. He may show like
Abraham with his brandisht Sword above, as if he would
presently sacrifice Isaack himself: But the Angle (his
within-Conscience) layes hold on his Arm, and tyes up his
hand from striking.³ And indeed courage in a bad matter may
be humane policy, but cannot be Christian valour. At best
it is but Beauty with a skar. And the end of intention when
it comes to discover it self in the end of the Action, will


²Cicero, De Officiis, I, 62.

³Genesis 22:10.
have a greater influence upon the mind of man than the
successe, be it never so prosperous. I may be applauded by
the lookers on, as brave and full of Fortitude. When the
Bates and Flutterings of a Conscience within shall blow up
coles, and kindle nothing but flames that shall consume mee.
If I fight in a bad Cause, I fight against my self as well
as against my Enemy; For besides him, I combat my Soul
against my Body; and, instead of one Enemy, I make my self
two at the least. But in a Just cause, how bountiful of all
things is a Christian? Nothing in the invention of man can
appal his Noble Courage. 'Tis true, there is no Religion,
but some have sealed the defence thereof with their lives.
But certainly the World hath never drunk a quarter so much
bloud of any other Religion, as it hath done of the
Christian. The number of all other Religions put together
cannot come neer the untold multitudes of Martyrs for
Christianity; nor hath ever any other increased so with
suffering: as if the Martyrdome of one were the watering to
make another grow; so far from avoiding the fury of their
Enemies, as they have often itched after Torments with an
inward pleasure, sung while the Element of fire was whipping
them; If there be any Nectar in this life, 'tis in the
sorrows that we indure for goodnesse. The Cause gives
courage, which being just, we are backt by a Melior Natura,4
that will not let us fear. It is Davids querie Psal. 27.

4"Better Nature."
When God was his light whom should he fear? He dishonors God that in his cause gives ground Who will fear a temporal King when he is in pay under one that is eternal? When the Persian Varanes checqu't Hormisda for his Christianity, and would have persuaded him to renounce his profession. His answer was, that he commanded that which was both impious and impossible, to think that he should forsake the God of the Universe to make him his friend that was King but of a petty part. When the Aged Polycarpus was urged to reproach his Christ, he tells the Proconsul Herod, That fourscore and six years he had served him, and never was harmed by him; with what Conscience then could he blaspheme his King that was his Saviour: And being threatened on, with fire, if he would not swear by Caesars fortune; he tells him, 'T was his ignorance that made him to expect it. For, says he, if you know not who I am, hear me telling you, that I am a Christian. And when at the fire, they would have fastned him to the stake, the brave Bishop cries out to let him alone as he was. For, that God who had enabled him to endure the fire would enable him also without any Chains of theirs to stand unmoved in the midst of flames. So with his hands

5Verse 1.

Hormisda was a Persian prince, but a Christian and a general under the Emperor Julian. Varanes was the emperor of Persia. Third century, A. D.
behind him, unstir'd, he took his Crown. So may you see some Reverend Temple fix'd, not valuing all the winds, till fatall Violence force it down; or piece-meal else, the eager flame digest it into Cinders. Here was discovered the Noble and Heroick Nature of Christianity, the strongest courage in the weakest Age; A Magnanimity as far exceeding old Romes boasted Scaevola's: as the whole body, does the hand in Magnitude. When Lucius was lead to Execution he gave thanks that being dismissed from wicked Masters, he should be remitted to the King of Heaven. Victor Utiscensis tells us, That when Dionysia a Noble Matron was immodestly denuded and barbarously scourged, with a Courage behond her Sex and in the midst of bloud she tole her Tormentors, That what they intended for her shame should hereafter be her Glory; It is most true that in matters unjust, Christian Religion wheyes the bloud and makes a Coward of man: But in matters that are right, it advances Humane Courage beyond the standard of humanity. Heaven and the commands of a Deity are in the eye, whereby all the Temptations of this World become un-edged and unprevailing. And certainly one main cause hereof is his Hope, wherein as well as Fortitude he excels all other, as seeing further by the Gospels light then any in the world beside. The Heathen as they liv'd in darknesse so they

7 Polycarpus was Bishop of Smyrna in the early second century. Eusebius, who relates this anecdote (Ecclesiastical History, IV, 15), gives the proconsul's name as Stratius Quadratus. Polycarpus was martyred under the persecution of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.
going to the Bed of Death without a Candle, saw not where they were to lye. And in the generall, they saw nothing beyond Death, but either Dull Oblivion or Annihilation. Or if not these, they dyed in doubt; which more then any thing distracts the mind in uncertainty.

Post mortem nihil est: ipsaque mors nihil;
Veloc is spatii, meta novissima.
Spem ponant avidi, solicitī metum.
Quaeris quo jaceas post obitum Loco?
Quo non-nata jacent.\(^8\)

Death nothing is; and nothing in it's place:
Tis but the last point of a Posting Race.
The greedy, Hope: the troubled Fear lay by.
Wouldst know where 'tis, that after Death men lye:
Tis where those are, that never yet were born.

Having this from so grave an Author as Seneca we may for the most conclude it the Heathen Creed. Mahumetisme indeed proposeth something after the bodies dissolution. But it is sensual happinesse, such as the frailty of the Body is Capable of; such as here they covet, they propose in Paradise. So the change being little, the expectation cannot be great, since life that they enjoy here in some certainty of of knowledge, will be rather preferr'd, then a little bettering with the hazard that is run in dying. The Jew in part

\(^8\)Troades, 397-401.
allows an **Immortality**: though the *Sadduces* deny it. So, their hope is *buried* in the same *grave* with them. And for the *major* part they hold *Pythagoras* his *Metempsuchosis*, only limiting it to the same *species*. And their *Fear* is as well of *worse*, as their *Hope* is of any better being. But the Christian hath a *Hope* that is better far. The *Joyes* attending him are *spiritual* and *eternal*. The *beautiful* *Vision* of the face of God, to see and know the *immense creatour* of all things. The *union* to the God-head, the *enjoyment* of a *Deity* beyond our here *conceptions*, blessed; Such things as for the great *Apostle* were not lawfull here to *utter*, the being *freed* from *evill* and the fear of it, the being set in a state of *purity* and *perfection*, far beyond the *thoughts* that here in the *weaknesse* of the *flesh* we carry, as far exceeding our present *Apprehensions* as Spirits do exceed the *drosse* of black corruption. The *Hope* and *Faith* of these must needs beget a *Fortitude*, which others wanting these can never reach. Death as a *Pirate* steals away others from their *Country* here, and with ten thousand *fears* they are *distracted*, because they know not what they shall be *put* to. But the Christian goes as sent for by an *Ambassadour* to the *Court* of *Heaven*, there to partake felicities unutterable. And indeed is happier here, because he knows he shall be happier after: He can be *content* to part with a life here full of *Thornes* and *Acerbities*, that he may take up one that's *glorious* and *incorruptible*: and having this *Anchor* above others, with far more ease he rides out all the *stormes* of *Life*. Next, In
Charity he surmounteth all the professors of all the other Religions. He can part with all for that God that hath provided more then all for him. He can, not only bear, but pardon, all the injuries that can befall him: not only pardon them, but requite them with good. What Religion, but it, will teach man to pray for him that persecutes him, to blesse him that curseth him, to heap Coles of fire upon his Head, that shall gently warm his Charity, and inflame his Love, not render him worse by making him more inexcusable. We look not upon him as a Christian, if when he dyes he forgive not, and pray for, his Enemies. Herein out-soaring the Dictates of depraved Nature, which would prompt us to retaliate wrongs; This Charity begets his Fidelity. For indeed it is the glue of Souls, that by the influence of Divinity cements them together in Love. Nulla vis major pietate vera est. There is no Friendship like the friendship of Faith: Nature, Education, Benefits, cannot all together tye so strong as this. Christianity knots more sure, more indissoluble. This makes a knot that Alexander cannot cut, a league Hell cannot break. For as Grace in her self is far above Nature, so is she in her effects. The souls of Believers like wines once mixt, they straignt become inseparable, as purest wools once mingled, never part: The fire cannot divide them. They flourish, fade, they live and dye together. A Christian though he would, he cannot resolve to be false. Whatsoever is joyned together upon temporall Considerations, may be by the same again dissolved: but that League which deduces its
Original from Heaven, by Earth can ne're be severed. Tyrants shall sooner want Invention for Torments, then Christians with tortures be made Treacherous. Who can separate the Conjunctions of a Deity? Nor is it in kindnesse only, but in Reproof, that his fidelity showes it self: However he conceals his friends faults from the fliering eye of the world: yet, if he offends, his being a David and a King shall not free him from this Nathans Reprehension. To which he is drawn that he may save not spoil. He scorns to be so base as to flatter, and hates to be so currish as to bite. So his Reproof is kindnesse and the wounds he makes are not without Balsome to heal; These qualifications of all other men make a Christian the best Companion. An Enemy he never is; if at any time he seem so, 'tis but that he may be a friend. For he is averse to only ill. He would kill the disease, but does it, to preserve the Patient; So that it will be my Fault, not his, if he be not a friend to me. And when he is so, he is sure without private Interest, Fear, or Malice: and affords me a Security, which I cannot well expect from any other Rank of men.

9II Samuel 7, 12; I Kings 1; I Chronicles 17.
R. S. 12. Of Losses. ¹

If we scan things rightly, we have no Reason to be sadned for those worldly goods that we lose: For what is it we can lose which properly we can call ours? Job goes further; he blesseth him that taketh away, as well as him that gives. And by a question concludes his Contentment with both. Shall we receive good at the hands of the Lord, and not evill? And hitherto, the Text cleers him from being passionate for any, or all, his Crosses: If after, he did fly out, It was the redarguing of his misguided friends, not his being stript of all; that moved him. Nay 'tis certain, in the Rectitude of Reason we cannot lose at all. If one lend me a Jewell to wear, shall I, because I use it, say, 'tis my own. Or when my friend requires it again shall I say, I have lost it; No, I have restor'd it rather. Though we are pleased that we are trusted with the borrowed things of this Life; we ought not to displeased when the great Creatour calls for what he had but lent us. He does us no injury that takes but his own: And he pleads an unjust Title against Heaven, that repines at what the God of Heaven resumes. It was doubtlesse such a Consideration as this that made Zeno when he had been Shipwrackt, only to applaud Fortune and to say, She had done honestly in reducing him but to his Coat. Shall God afford us all our life long not

only Food but Feasting, not for Use but Ornament, not Necessity alone but Pleasure; and when at last he withdraws shall we be passionate and Melancholy? If in the blacknesse of the night, one by accident allows me the benefit of his light to walk by; shall I quarrel him because he brings me not home? I am to thank him for a little, which he did not owe mee; but never to be Angry that he affordeth not more. He that hath abundance rides through the world on Horse-back: Perhaps he is carryed with some more ease; but he runs the hazard of his Beast: And besides the Casualty of his own Frailty, he is subject to the danger of those stumbles that his Bearer makes. He that wants a plenty does but walk on foot: He is not born so high upon the Creature, but more securely passes through the various Adventures of life. And not being spurr'd by pricking want, may take his ease in travelling as he pleases.

In all losses I would have a double prospect: I would consider what I have lost, and I would have regard to what I have left, it may be in my losse I may find a Benefit. I may be rid with it of a Trouble, a snare, or danger. If it be Wealth, perhaps there was a time when I had it not. Let me think if then I liv'd not well without it. And what then should hinder that I should not do so now? What news is it that a Bird with wings should flye? Riches have such, and 'tis a thousand to one but some other did lose them before. I found them when another lost them, and now 'tis likely some other will find them from me: and though perhaps I may
have lost a **Benefit**, yet thereby likewise I may be *eas'd* of a **Cumber**. In most things of this **nature** 'tis the **opinion** of the **losse** more then the **losse** that vexes. If yet the only prop of my **life** were **gone** I might rather wonder that in so many **storms** I rid so long with that one single **Anchor** then now at last that it should **break** and **fail** me. When War had **ravished** all from **Stilpo**, and **Demetrius** ask'd him, How he could **brook** so vast a **desolation**. He returned, that he had **lost** nothing. The **Goods** he had, he still **enjoy'd**; his **Vertue, Prudence, Justice**, still were with him, these were **matters permanent** and **immortal**: for the other it was no wonder, That what was perishable, should perish.  

In the next place, let me look to what I have left. He that mis-carries once will **husband** what is left the **better**. If the **Dye** of **Fortune** hath thrown me an ill chance, let me **strive** to mend it by my **good play**. What I have is made more **pretious** by my **want** of what I once was **owner** of. If I have **lost** but **little**, let me be **thankfull** that I **lost** no more, seeing the **remainder** was as **flitting** as the rest that's **gone**. He that in a **Battail** is but **sleightly wounded** rather rejoices that he is **got** off so well, then **grieves** that he was **hurt** at all. But, **admit** it were all that is gone; A man hath **Hope** still **left**. And he may as well **hope** to **recover** the things he hath **lost**, as he did acquire them, when he had them not. This will lead him to a **new Magazine**, where he

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2 Diogenes Laertius, II, 115; Plutarch, "The Life of Demetrius."
cannot deny but he may be supply'd with Advantage; God will be left still. And who can be poor who hath him for his friend that hath all. In Penury a Christian can be rich; and 'tis a kind of Paradox to thinke he can be poore, that is destined to be a Kingdomes Heir.

R. S. 13. Of long and short Life.¹

There is no question but Life in it self is a Blessing: And it is not worsened by being long. The being of every thing, as a being, is good. But, as some Actions that are good in themselves, by their Circumstances become Condemnable; so that life which abstractively is good, by Accidents and Adherencies may become unfortunate; He that lives long, does many times outlive his Happinesse. As evening Tempests are more frequent, so they carry a blacker terrour along: Youth like the Sun, oft rises cleer and dancing; when the afternoon is cloudy, thick, and turbulent. Had Priamus not liv'd so long, he had neither seen his fifty Children slain, nor Troy (enlarged) lost, nor himself after two and fifty years Raign made captive, and by Pirrhus slain:² Sylla got the name of Happy,³ Pompey of Great,⁴ yet by living

¹See above S. 16. Death is the beginning of a Godly Mans Joy.

²Pyrrhus ("yellow-haired"), or Neoptolemus, was the son of Achilles and Deidamia. Aeneid, II.

³Plutarch, "The Life of Sylla."

⁴Plutarch, "The Life of Pompey."
long they both lost both those Titles: Augustus his high Fortune was not sweetned by his long extended life. It could be no great pleasure to want an issue male of his own; to see his Adopted Sons untimely lost; his Daughters loosenesse staining the Honour of his House; and at last rather by Necessity then choice to fix upon a Successor neither worthy of himself nor Rome. How much more blest had Nero been, if he had not out-liv'd his first five years of Empire? What is past with us, we know: but who can prye into the Bowels of Fate? And though (at that time) Seneca had only tasted the disposition, not felt the anger of Nero; Yet he found enough to enforce him to cry out: Heu quàm multa poenitenda occurrunt, diu vivendo? Alas, how many irksome businesses befall us by our living long? If a man be bad or unfortunate, he does but increase his misery here or hereafter. If he be good, he is subject to the more abuses: For, the greater part of the World is ill, and ill natur'd self-love bends almost all men to themselves, preferring their own Benefit before the inconvenience of an other. And being so, he that is good is exposed to more sufferings then an other. A good man grows in this world like some Garden-plant in a hedge, over-top'd and justled to a Declination: besides his being shaded and dropt upon, the Thornes and Bushes are too rude and clownish for the

5Suetonius, Augustus.

6Suetonius, Nero.
fineness of a fruitfull Tree. And if the World were good, yet the Business of the world is Youths. Age like a long travail'd Horse rides dull toward his Journeys end; while every new setter out, gallop away, and leaves him to his Melancholick Trot. In Youth, untaimed bloud does goad us into folly; and, till experience reines us, we ride unbitted, wild; and, in a wanton fling, disturb our selves and all that come but neer us. In Age, our selves are with our selves displeased. We are look't upon by others as things to be endur'd, not courted or apply'd to. Who is it will be fond of gathering fading flowers. Fruits past Maturity grow lesse to be esteem'd. Beauty it self once Autumn'd, does not tempt.

On the other side, what is it that we lose by dying? If, (as Job sayes) our life be a Warfare,7 who is it will be Angry that it ends betimes? A long supper, though a feast, does grow to a tedious thing; because it tyres us to a Lassitude, and keeps us from our rest that is sweeter. Life is but a play upon this worlds stage. And if a man were to chuse his part, in discretion he would not take it for the length, but for the ease and goodnesse. The short life has the shorter Audit to make. And if it be one of the greatest Felicities that can befall man, to be in such a Condition as he may not displease God; surely then, soon to enter upon Death is best. Tis true, I may by living be Instrumental to

7Chapter 3.
Gods Glory, the good of others, and my own Benefit. But if I weigh my own Corruptions, the World's Temptations, and my Enemies Malice, the odds is on the other side. Who can say, he can travail in safety when his way is in a Forrest of Wild Beasts, Thieves, and Outlaws? when man is his own Syren, and when in all the streams he swimms in, Bayts are strewed. Death to a Righteous man, whether it commeth soon or late, is the beginning of a certain happinesse; the end but of a doubtful and allayed pleasure. I will not much care whether my Life be long or short. If short, the fewer my daves be, the lesse I shall have of Trouble, the sooner shall I arrive at Happinesse. If I escape from nothing else, yet shall I escape from the hazard, life will keep me in. If long, let me be sure to lay it out in doing the more good. And then though I stay for it a while, yet as abstinence sharpens appetite, so want and expectation will make my Joy more welcome.

R. S. 14. Of Establishing a troubled Government.¹

HE that would establish a troubled Government must first vanquish all his Foes. Who can be quiet while his Enemie is in Arms against him. Factious heads should be higher by a pole than their bodies. He that would rule over many, must first fight with many and Conquer; and be sure to cut off

¹See above S. 15. How to establish a troubled Gouernment.
those that raise up Tumults, or by a Majestique awe keep them in a strict Subjection. In every able Prince, Lipsius\textsuperscript{2} would have two things eminent, Vis et Virtue, Power and Vertue. He ought to have power to break insurrection at home, and repel a force that would invade him from abroad. He ought to have Vertue to preserve his state and Dignity, and by the necessary art of Policy so to order all the streames of Government as they may runne clear and obedient in their proper Channels. Power is, certainly, the most essential part of Soveraignty. 'Tis an inseparable attribute of the Deity. God is Omnipotent as well as Omniscient. And without it, he were not God: 'tis that which distinguisheth and super-aposits him above all. When we would speak of the true God indeed we alwaies name him God-Almighty. As therefore he would be a Prince, the first thing in his arm should be Power; so when he is a Prince and devestes himself of it, he deposes and unthrones himself and proclames himself a Prey to any that will attempt the boldnesse but to take him. He seems to tell his Enemies, that he is now weak and unarmed, and invites them to set upon him. Without Power, he is but Fortunes Idell, which every Sejanus may revile and spurn at his Pleasure. 'Tis Power that begets Fear, and Fear that first made Gods: But suppose he hath power, if he have not Resolution, like a Child he wears a Sword but knows not how to use it. Irresolution is a worser Vice then Rashnesse:

\textsuperscript{2}A neo-Stoic philosopher of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
he that shoots best may sometimes misse the mark, but he that shoots not at all shall be sure never to hit it. A Rash act may be mended by the activeness of the penitent, when he sees and finds his error. But Irresolution loosens all the joints of State: like an Aque it shakes not this or that Limb, but all the body is at once in a fit. 'Tis the dead palsy, that, without almost a Miracle, leaves a Man unrecoverable. The irresolute man is lifted from one place to another, till tyr'd, at last he hath no place left to rest on. He flecks from one Egge to another, so hatcheth nothing at last, but addles all his Actions. An easy Prince at best is but an uselesse thing. A facile natur'd Man may be a good Companion for a private person: but for a Prince to be so, is mischief to himself and others. Remissnesse and Connivence are the ruines of unsetled Kingdomes. The Game of Majesty will not admit of too open a play. Simplicity is as Liberality; of which Tacitus observes, Nisi modus adsit, in exitium vertitur, if it stands too still, it putryfies.

My passions and affections are the chief disturbers of my Civill State. What peace can I expect within me, while these Rebels are not under Subjection? Separations are the wounds of a Crown, whereby neglected it will bleed to death. If I have not the vertue of Judgment to discern their traines and sly Suggestions; If I have not the vertue of Courage to

3 Historia, III, 86, 7.
withstand their Force and Batteries; If I have not the power of Authority to command them to Obedience; If I have not the power of strength to master all their Complications. I leave my self a prize to vice, and at last shall not live to be man. Plato was of Opinion that those Common-wealths could not be safe, whose Governors were not Philosophers, Or whose Prince was not a student of Wisdome. And surely, if a Man understands not something of Reason, or be not able to judge of prudence, he shall very hardly find a Life without Broyls, or be able to govern his own unruly passions. Therefore as the Prince that will be safe among turbulent Subjects, must ever be upon his Guard; so he that knows the Irregularities of his own deprav'd affections, must keep perpetuall Sentinell upon them. A sleeping Samson needs but a feeble Woman to cut his locks off, and deliver him up to destruction. 'Tis Security and confidence that as oft undoes a a Prince as Force. But vigilance is seldom under-min'd. A state awake and upon it's Guard, tis difficult to surprize. Cato was of opinion that Governour deserved most praise that could govern himself and his Passions. And as the strength of him that commands consists most in the consent of those that obey: so if I can bring my passions and affections to submit to Religion, and Reason, I may settle my Dominion in my self

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Republic, V. 

Judges 16:19.

Cato, an enemy of the ambitious Caesar, was noted for his calm, even disposition.
so, as I need not fear the assault of them without mee. If I cannot prune off all my superfluities, let me yet so restrain them as I may not act my own shame, nor give matter of insultation to others. If my strength be once gone and I become blind, I then am fitted to make sport for the Philistims. He that is a slave to himself, and his own fond lusts, can never long preserve his liberty from others. As man is commonly his own prime flatterer, so is he, for the most part, the first engine of his own low servitude.

7Judges 16:25.

R. S. 15. Of doing Good with Labour, and Evil with Pleasure.¹

IT was anciently said, That whatsoever good work a man doth with labour, the labour vanisheth, but the good remains with him that wrought it: And whatsoever evil thing he doth with pleasure, the pleasure flyes, but the evil still resteth with the Actor of it. Goodness making labour sweet, while evil turneth pleasure to a burthen. The Creation, which was Gods work for six days, hath both publisht and perpetuated his glory ever since. Where the end is but profit alone, how uncomplainingly we toyl and tug the trembling Oar; we strain our nerves, and anoint our selves

¹See above S. 17. Of doing Good with Labour, and Euill with Pleasure.
with *sweat*, and think it *pleasure* while we compass what may 
*solace* us hereafter. The first *Inventers of Arts*, though 
with pains they spent much *time* and *treasure* too; yet being 
done once, all their *watchings* are presently vanisht. But 
the *fruit* of their *labour*, paid them with *content*, while 
living; and after that, gives the *Tribute* of a *Noble Fame* to 
their *memory*. While we are *working* what is *good*, we are but 
scattering *seed*, which after all our *harrowing*, will ripen 
us to *happiness* for our selves: like well plac'd *benefits*, 
they redound to the *Collators* honour. *Beneficium dando 
acceptit, qui digno dedit*: By giving he receives a *benefit*, 
that layes it on the well-deserving man. *Alexander 
Severus*² was of so *Noble* a *Nature*, that he thought not them 
his *friends*, that *ask'd* not *something* of him: And when it 
was in dispute, who was the *best Prince*? his opinion was, 
that he ought to be held for *best*, that retain'd his *friends* 
by *favours*, and *reconcil'd* his *Enemies* with *curtesies*. 
*Tullus Hostilius*³ was to *Rome* a *forraigner*, a *Tradesmans son*, 
and an *Exile*; yet his *industrious vertues* lifted him so 
deservedly to the *top* of *Honor*, that *Valerius Maximus*⁴ 

²Roman emperor, third century A. D., whose reign was 
noted for the exercise of justice, wisdom, and clemency, in 
contrast to the reigns of many of the emperors who 
preceded and followed him. 

³Third king of Rome, seventh century B. C. 

⁴Compiler of a large collection of historical anecdotes 
under the title of *De Factis Dictisque Memorabilibus*, first 
or second century A. D.
scruples not to tell us; That Rome never repented, that she 
borrowed a King from her neighbours, rather then set up one 
of her own. His Successor Servius Tullius,\(^5\) was not less a 

wonder: The same City that bred him a slave; for his vertues, 

chose him a King; and to his eternal Honor, left his Statue 
paradox'd with, Servitude and Royalty.

Nay, it's certain, though the success of noble actions 

be sometimes most ingrateful; yet, when they are done out of 

uprightness and integrity, they reward the Author with such 

an inward shine of conscious satisfaction, that he remains 

unprickt with the darts of even the worst returns. And the 
greater his labour and hazard was, the pleasanter is the 

remembrance when 'tis past. In dangers escaped, a man may 

find himself beloved of the Deity, guarded by his better 

Angel, and cared for by a Genius that he knew not of; which 
cannot but administer comfort and content to himself: whereas 

unworthy and inglorious actions, though they give a present 

blaze to the sinful corruption of man; yet it is such a fire, 
as that is of burning-houses; where the flame, while shining, 
is not without affrighting smoke; but, that once past, the 

end is rubbish, stench, and ruine. Tarquins rape was dogg'd 

with the over-throw of his house, and expulsion of Monarchy.\(^6\)

\(^5\)Sixth king of Rome, sixth century B. C.

\(^6\)Lucretia, the wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, was raped by Tarquinius Sextus, the son of Tarquinius Superbus, seventh king of Rome (sixth century B. C.). Shortly afterwards, Tarquinius Superbus is dethroned and banished. Livy, I, 58, 60.
Sforza languish'd near as many years a prisoner in the Tower of Loches, as he had usurped Empire in his Nephews turmoyled Dukedom. When Lysimachus, through thirst, was forced to yield himself to the Scythians, he could then bewail himself, that for so short a pleasure, he should part with so great a happiness as his liberty. Like a draught of pleasant poysen, the gust is gone, while the torture stayes, and burns us to our grave. How long an age doth many a man repent one youthful ryt. Surely, as a wise man never repented of a good action; so he never did, but repent of a bad one. I will not therefore care how laborious, but how honest my actions be; not how pleasurable, but how good. If it could be, let me be vertuous and noble, without pleasure; rather then wicked, with much joy. It was indeed, a resolution well beseeming a Royal Christian. That he had much rather be in the Catalogue of Unfortunate Princes, then of Wicked; for his judgement clearly was, That a Crown was not worth taking up, or enjoying, upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

7. The Sforzas were dukes of Milan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

8. King of Thrace in the fourth century B.C.
R. S. 16. That Vertue and Vice generate after their kind.  

As in the first Institution of Nature, and the Propagation of Corporeal Essences, it was enacted, and yet continues, That everything should bring forth fruit after his kind: So I find it in the propagation of Vertue and Vice, they bring forth fruit after their kind. Vertue begets Vertue. Vice begets Vice. And 'tis as natural for a man to expect a return of Vertue out of Vertue, and a return of Vice out of Vice; as 'tis for him to expect an Elephant should beget an Elephant, or a Serpent beget a Serpent. Nay, not only the genus, but the very species hold; and oftentimes, the proportion of that species too. High actions beget a return of actions that are so: And poor low flagging deportments, beget a return of the like. The Eccho is according to the voice that speaks: The report of the Peice is proportionable to the magnitude it bears: If it be but by reflection only, the beams are reverberated bright, as is the Sun that shines them. And clouds import a shade, as is their proper blackness. For his friendship and riches, the Romans bestowed on Attalus the Kingdom of Pergamus: and he to express his gratitude (not having children of his own) left the City of Rome his Heir; returning their gift advantag'd with his infinite wealth.  

1There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.  

2Livy, XIX, 11.
act of whipping back that treacherous Schoolmaster by the Youths that he would have betray'd, obtained him the yielding up that City to him, which his valour with all the Arms of Rome could not enforce. Terentius his vertues and his being one of the Roman Senate, made so deep an impression in Scipio's manly heart, that when the Carthagienians came to sue for peace and a league, he would not hear them, till they brought him forth discharg'd of his Imprisonment, whom he placed on the Throne with himself, and then dismiss'd his arms. And this again so prevailed with Terentius, that when Scipio had his Triumph, Terentius, though a Senator, put himself into Scipio's Livery, and as his freed man waited on his pompous Chariot. In the second Punick War, when Capua was besieged by Fulvius, two Countrey wenches would needs be kind to Rome: one daily made her offering for the safety of the Army, the other supply'd the captiv'd Souldiers with food and other necessaries: which at the saccage of the place, the Senate of Rome requited with resorting them their goods and liberty, and granting them what else they desired. He teaches me to be good, that does me good: he prompts me to enlarge my heart to him, that first enlarges his own to me. If vertue in the heart be not totally dry'd up and withered: Curtesies received, are waterings that make it shoot up and

3Plutarch, "The Life of Camillus."
4Livy, XXX, 43. 5Livy, XXX, 45.
6Livy, XXVI.
grow, till it flowers and returns a seed. That Virgin which loose Courtiers of Charles the fifth, had purveyed for his wanton appetite; when with tears for our blessed Ladies sake (whose picture then adorn'd the room she was in) she begg'd the preservation of her Chastity; it wrought so high in the Emperours Heroick brest, that it made him chast, that was resolv'd to be otherwise; and to reward her for that vertue which he fully did intend to violate; being indeed a rare example, that lust, fired by youth, power and opportunity, and enflamed by Beauty, should be abated into Continence, by only meeting with a native Modesty. And the same genuine effect hath vice. It not only corrupts by example, but it sows it self, and gives a crop of the same grain, that by our selves is scatter'd. With the froward thou shalt learn frowardness. Passion enkindles passion; and pride begets pride. How many are calm and quiet, till they meet with one that is cholerick? He that sows Iniquity, must look to reap it. Did not Davids Murther and Adultery, bring the Sword and Incest into his Family? How fatally and evidently was the Massacre at Paris, scorged in those that were held for the chiefest actors and contrivers of it? Charles the King,

7Holy Roman Emperor, early sixteenth century.

8II Samuel 11.

9The massacre of 2000 Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Eve, 1572. The king was Charles IX, still a boy. He was controlled by his mother, Catherine de' Medici. The Catholics were led by Henry, Duke of Guise, who with Catherine plotted the massacre.
before the 25th year of his Age dy'd, bath'd, and dyed in bloud. Anjou, the succeeding King was assassinated, and slain in the same room the Massacre was plotted in. Guise, murdered by the Kings appointment. The Queen, consum'd with grief. And with succeeding Civil War, both Paris and the Nation torn. It is a strange retaliation in the story of Valentinian and Maximus. Valentinian by fraud and force vitiated the wife of Maximus: for which Maximus by fraud and force murder'd him, and marryed his wife: whose disdain to be compell'd, and desire to revenge her Husbands death, made her plot the destruction of Maximus and Rome. And indeed, 'tis so plentifully proved in all stories, that no Proverb is become more true then the saying of the Satyrst.

*Ad generum Cereris, sine caede & sanguine, pauci*

*Descendunt Reges & sicca morte Tyranni.*

Few Tyrants find Death natural, calm, or good; But, broacht with slaughter, rowl to Hell in blood.

There is in Vices not only a natural production of evil in general, but there is a proportion of parts and dimensions; as if the seed brought forth the plant, or the parent did beget the son. Bagoas, a Persian Noble man, having poysion'd Artaxerxes and Arsames, was detected by Darius, and enforced

to drink povson himself.\textsuperscript{11} Diomedes, that with humane flesh fed beasts, at last by Hercules was made their food himself.\textsuperscript{12} Pope Alexander the 6th, having design'd the poisoning of his friend Cardinal Adrian, by his Cup-bearers mistake of the Bottle, he cosened the Cardinal of his draugh; so dyed by the Engine that he himself had appointed to kill another.\textsuperscript{13} Treason and falsehood how often is it paid in its own peculiar kind. Tarpeia that betray'd her father, for what Tatius his Souldiers wore on their arms, instead of the Bracelets she expected, was paid with their Shields thrown on her till they pressed her to death.\textsuperscript{14} And to requite the falsehood of three Captains, whom he hired to dissuade Philip of Austria from giving him battle, Charles the fourth of Germany paid them in counterfeit money, assuring them that counterfeit money was good enough for their counterfeit service.\textsuperscript{15} Certainly, in vain they expect good, that would have it arise out of evil. I may as well when I plant a Thistle, expect a Fig; or upon sowing Cockle, look for Wheat, as to think by indirect courses, to beget my own benefit. But, as the best Husband looks to have his seed the cleanest; so

\textsuperscript{11}Diodorus, XVII, 5. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{12}Diodorus, IV, 15.

\textsuperscript{13}Alexander VI, who was Pope from 1492 to 1503, was a member of the Borgia family. The Borgias removed most of their enemies by poisoning them.

\textsuperscript{14}Livy, I, 11.

\textsuperscript{15}Charles IV was Holy Roman Emperor in the fourteenth century. He held court at Prague.
doubtless, the best policy for a man's self, is to sow good and honest actions, and then he may expect a harvest that is answerable.

R. S. 17. Of Memory.

Should the Memory of the World but fall asleep, what a Fair of mad Beasts would the Earth bee? and surely much the madder for the Tongue. Since he that forgets himself in his tongue gives another cause to remember him either with neglect, or offence: In all that does belong to Man, you cannot find a greater wonder. What a treasury of all things in the life of Man? What a Record, what Journal of all? As if Provident Nature, because she would have Man circumspect, had provided him an Account-book to carry always with him. And though it be the world's vast Inventory, yet it neither burthens nor takes up room: To my self it is insensible, I feel no weight it presses with; to others 'tis invisible, when I carry all within me they can see nothing that I have. Is it not a miracle, that a man from the gran of Sand to the full and glorious Sunne, should lay up the world in his Brain? And may at his pleasure bring out what part he lifts, yet never empty the place that did contain it, nor crowd it though he should add more. What kind of thing is it, in which the spacious Sea is shoard and bounded? where

1There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
Citties, Nations, the Earths great Globe and all the Elements reside without a Cumber? How is it that in this little Invisible place, the height of this Star, the bigness of that, the distance of these, the compasse of the Earth and the Nature of all should lye and alwaies by ready for producing as a man shall think fit. If a Conjurer call up but his phanatique Spirits, how we stare and startle at their strange approach: Yet here by Imaginations help we call what ere we have a mind to, to appear before us, and in those proper shapes, we have heard them related in. Or else in those which we our selves have seen them in. Certainly, it cannot be but a work of infiniteness that so little a Globe of skull as man hath, should hold such an almost infinity of business and of knowledge. What Oceans of things exactly and orderly streaming forth shall we find from the tongue of an Oratour, that one who did not see him speaking would believe he read them in some printed Catalogue; and he that does see him, wonders from what inexhaustible Fountain such easy streams can flow. Like a Fugler playing his prize, he puls words like Ribbons out of his mouth, as fast as two hands can draw. Aske him of the Sea, he can tell you what is there; of the Land, of the Skye, of Heaven, of Hell, of past things and to come. A learned man by his Memory alone is the Treasury of all the Arts, he walks not without a Library about him. As the Psalmist sayes of the Sunne, It goes from one end of the Heaven to the other, and
nothing is hid from the heat thereof. So the Memory with
imagination travails to and fro between the most remoted
parts, and there is nothing that is not comprehended by it.
And the Miracle is; Neither after all this, nor before, can
any print hereof be discern'd. What is outwardly seen more
then there is in a lively Image which is no other then a
Block? And who can tell me where this vastnesse lyes? What
hand, what pen did write it. Anatomize Man, and you shall
find there is nothing in him like it. Bones, Sinews, Nerves,
Muscles, flesh, bloud, veines, and marrow, and corrupting
substances; but no relic, no likenesse, of that which in
his life came from him. No track, no notion of anything
remote or forraign. Dissect the Brain, the Senses seat, and
the shop of busy thoughts, and Court of Record in Man. What
do the curious inspectors of Nature find there? but a white
and spongesous substance divided into 3 small Cells, to the
smallest of which the Memory is ascribed, but not a line nor
any one Idea of any thing that's absent can be read there.
Certainly, if momentary and putrefactive man can undiscerned
and unburthen'd bear so much about him; Ifso little a point
as the least Tertia of the brain the Cerebellum can hold in
it self the notions of such immeasurable extents of things:
we may rationally allow Omniscience to the great Creatour of
this and all things else. For doubtlesse we know what we do
remember, and indeed what we remember not we do not know.

Cicero tells us, 'tis the Trace of things printed in the mind. Questionlesse 'tis an understanding faculty conserving those Ideas arising from common sense through imagination, which with the help of these again whenever there is cause shee's ready to produce them. 'Tis the Souls repository where she stores up all that she is pleas'd to keep, the furniture of the World lyes there packt up: and as he that goes into a Wardrobe, missing sometimes at first of what he seeks for, removes and turnes over severall parcells, before he finds the thing he comes to look for. So man ot'h sodain remembers not all he would, but is sometimes put to hunt and tumble over many things till he comes at last to that he there would find, as if wrap'd up in foldes, by degrees we unlap and light upon them. Nor is the difference hereof in men lesse wonder. In some men how prodigious! In others how dead and dull? Appius Claudius had so strong a Memory that he boasted he could salute all the Citizens of Rome by their Names. And Mithridates of Pontus could speak 22 Languages and Muster his Souldiers by his memory, calling them all by their Names. And upon this ground where the Senate had condemn'd his Books to be burnt, Cassius Severus told them, If they would not have them remain, they should burn him too, for that he had them all in his memory. On

3 Roman Consul, fifth century B. C.
4 Mithridates VI, Eupator, king of Pontus, ca. 115-63 B. C.
5 Orator and satirist, ca. 50 B. C.-A. D. 33.
the other side some of the Thracians were usually so 
blockish, that they could not count beyond four, or five. 
And Messala Corvinus⁶ liv'd to forget his own Name: as I 
have known some, that have in health forgot their own 
children, whom they have dayly seen and liv'd with. If we 
consult Philosophy, how this huge difference comes, that, 
will presume to tel us, 'tis from the temper of the brain; 
the moderately dry being happier in their memories, then the 
over-moist, which being liquid and slippery, are less 
receptive and tenacious of any slight Impressions that 
occasionally thereon are darted. Like glimpses of the Sun 
on water, they shine at present, but leave no sign that they 
were ever there; and this may be the reason (because of 
their great humidity) why memory in children is so brittle. 
But how it comes to pass, that many old men can remember 
things of their youth done threescore years ago, and yet not 
those they acted but the day before, is certainly to be 
admired; since none can tell me, where they lodge 
characteriz'd the while, without being shuffled out, or 
quite defac'd by new succeeding actions. One thing in the 
Memory beyond all, is observeable. We may easily remember 
what we are intent upon; but with all the art we can use, we 
cannot knowingly forget what we would. What would some give, 
to wipe their sorrows from their thought, which, maugre all 
their industry, they cannot but remember. With good reason 

⁶Roman consul, third century B. C.
therefore would the wife Themistocles have learn'd the Art of forgetfulness, as deeming it far more beneficial to man, then that (so much cry'd up) of memory. 7 And for this cause, (doubtless) we had need be careful, that even in secret, we plunge not into evil actions. Though we have none to witness what we do, we shall be gall'd sufficiently with out own peculiar memory; which haunting us perpetually with all our best endeavours, we cannot either cast away, or blot out. The Worm would dye, if Memory did not feed it to Eternity. 'Tis that which makes the paenal part of Hell: for whether it be the punishment of lose, or the punishment of sense; 'tis memory that does enflame them both. Nor is there any AEtna in the soul of man, but what the memory makes. In order unto this, I will not care to know, who 'tis that does me injury, that I may not by my memory malice them. Remembering the wrong, I may be apt to malign the Author, which not knowing, I shall free my self of vexation, without the bearing any grudge to the man. As good actions, and ignorance of ill, keep a perpetual calm in the mind: so questionless, a secret horror is begotten by a secret vice. From whence we may undoubtedly conclude, That though the gale of success, blow never so full and prosperously, yet no man can be truly happy, that is not truly innocent.

7 Plutarch, "The Life of Themistocles."
R. S. 18. No man Honest, that is not so in his Relation.¹

Besides the general and necessary dependance that every man must, and ought to have upon God; There is no man whatsoever, but is even in this world particularly related to some particular person above the generality of other men. He can neither come into the world, nor continue in it, and be an Independent man: And by his demeanor, in his strictest Relations, he may be guessed at in the other progress and course of his life. In all the Relations that are contingent to men, those are most binding, which Nature hath framed nearest in the several conditions of men. In which, if a man be not honest, in vain he is expected to be found so in others, that are more distantly extended from him. The highest tye of all, (as most concerning the publique good), I take to be between a born Subject, and legitimate Prince pursuing the good of the Countrey. He is Pater Patriae, and every subject is but a little more remoted son. He that is prodigal of his Subjects lives, will easily be drawn to be careless of any but his own. And indeed, (as Cyrus used to say) No man ought to govern others, but he that is better then those that he governes;² there being a greater obligation

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.

²Cyrus the Younger. See Plutarch, "The Life of Artaxerxes."
upon a Prince to be good, then there is upon other men: for, though he be humane in his Person, as others are; yet, for the publike sake, his Person is Sacred, and the Government he exercised is Divine; so, with greater caution ought to be administred, and, in imitation of the Gods, requires a greater height of vertue, so to irradiate his Throne, that men might gaze with Admiration, and obey with Reverence. Near this was the Noble Spartans answer, who when one desir'd to learn how a Prince might be safe without a guard, he replyed, If he ruled his subjects as a Father doth his children.

The same reciprocal tye is in subjects towards their Prince. And if a man be not honest in this, his Relation, that is, in his Loyalty; let no man expect that man to be honest in any thing further, then conduceth to his own particular Interest: The breach of this, not only out of Political, but Natural Reason, the Laws have made more capital, then other crimes; not only punishing the person offending, but attainting all his Posterity with the confiscation of all that they were capable of owning in this life. Rebellion being as Parricide and Witch-craft. Nor is the Ignominy less then the Crime. To be a Traytor, delivers one to the lowest scorn of men, as well as to the heaviest curse of law. And no State that ever yet I read of, but held such unworthy of life, and so not fit for any conversation of men, as having forfeited in that all which makes one man companionable to another. In like manner, he
that is a Parent, and morose, and froward to his children, hardly will be affable to any. Who neglects Nature, undoubtedly is uncivil man. He that loves not his own, will not probably be drawn to love those who are nothing to him: So is it with a child; If he once contemn his Parents, he exposes himself to be contemn'd by others. And to shew how horrid sins of this nature are, the Levitical Law made disobedience unto, Parents, stoning;\(^3\) the worst of the four capital punishments among them: Nor was he to live, that had cursed either Father, or Mother. Neither can I believe this law was abrogated in the dayes of Solomon, who tells us, The eye that mocketh his father, or disdains obedience to his mother, the Crows of the valley shall pick it out, or else the young Eagles eat it:\(^4\) which, in effect, is to say, That he shall come to some untimely end, either hang'd on some tree, or cast out without burial, for the fowls of the air to feed on. To this inclines the opinion of St. Jerome, where he says, Nec vultu laedenda est pietas Parentum. We ought not to cast so much as a discontented look at the piety of a parent. He that hath forgot to be a son, is an Agrippa to the world, and is born averse to Nature.\(^5\) As corrupted humors are the continued distemper of the body that did breed them; so a vitious and disobedient son is

\(^3\)Leviticus 20:9. \(^4\)Proverbs 30:17. \\
\(^5\)According to Pliny, the cognomen "Agrippa" means "born feet first," i. e., unnaturally.
the torment of the Parent that begot him. It was a good reason the Philosopher gave to one, why he should not go to law with his father: Sayes he; *If you charge him unjustly, all will condemn you:* And *if your charge be just, you will yet be condemned for blazing it.* 'Tis an unhappy question *Cassianus* asked an undutiful son: *Quem alienum tibi fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Qui fallere audebit Parentes, qualis erit in caeteros?* What stranger shall he ere find *faithful* to him, that to his *Parents* is become an *Enemy?* What will he be to *others,* that is to *Parents* false? It is the same in other *Relations,* between Husband and Wife, between Master and Servants. *Cato* did not doubt but she would prove a *poisoner,* that had first been guilty of *Adultery.* And indeed, whosoever is not *honest* in his *Relations,* gives the world an *Evidence,* that he can be *false* in the *lesser,* that hath already *failed* in the *greater.* To be *false* in our *Relations,* is to break our *trust,* in which both *Religion* and *Nature* hath set us. He that is *perfidious* and *untrue* in that, cancels all the *bonds* he after can be *tyed in.* When *Judas* had betray'd his *Master,* nor *Friends,* nor *Enemies,* nor his own *Conscience* would *endure* him after.\(^7\) Whereas, he that *behaves* himself well in his *Relations,* gives us hope of his being *sound* in *all things* that we have

\(^6\)Christian author and one of the first founders of monasteries in Western Europe, ca. 360- ca. 434.

\(^7\)Matthew 27:3-5.
to do with him besides. If we can believe the Excellent Silius;\(^8\) we shall find by being false in these, we not only lose our selves with others; but we become implunged even in all the calamities of life in the several Relations that we have, and live in.

---Qui frangere rerum

Gaudebit pacta, ac tenues spes linquet amici,
Non illi domus, aut conjux, aut vita, manebit
Unquam expers luctus, lachrimaque: Aget aequore semper,
Ac tellure premens; aget aegrum, nocte dieque;
Dispecta, ac violata fides——.

---Who loves to break

Wise Natures bonds; and cheat his friends poor hope,
Contracts turmoil, and tears; that never stop.
Nor house, nor wife, nor life is safe: but he
Ore-whelm'd with Earth, ploughs the unquiet Sea:
A broken Faith discern'd, is sickness ever——.

Certainly, there is no man but some way hath relation to others, either by Religion, Policy, Nature, Alliance, or Humanity; therefore as a Christian, a Friend, a Kindred, a Superior, or a Man, to all a man may take occasion to be honest. Though I comply not with all their ways, yet

\(^8\)Roman statesman and writer of the first century A. D. His most famous work is a long epic, Punica, some lines of which Felltham quotes below.
Christian Piety, and natural Probity is never to be parted with. He that looses, or throws away these, descends into a Beast, that hath not Reason for his guide, and is humane but in shape alone.

R. S. 19. Of the Salvation of the Heathen.¹

I have met with some, that will not by any means allow that a Heathen may be saved. I do not know, that they ever read the Book of Life and Death, or were admitted to the counsel of the most High; no more, but by collection arising from sound Principles, and the tender sense of Humane Nature. Indeed, I know not how to applaud their Charity, that will desperately damn such a world of men, and the succeeding Generations, of so many Ages past, and to come. Is it not enough, that we may be admitted to be Heirs our selves, but all our other Brethren must be dis-inherited. Nor can I think, God approves their judgement, who so strictly undertake to limit his mercies, which yet to us appear not only above, but over all his works. None of his Attributes being magnified neer so much throughout all the Scriptures, as his Mercy. And in some measure to allay the severity of the Law; The first two Tables that were delivered with Thunder, Lightning, and Terror, being broken at the giving of the

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
Second,² God then was pleased to proclaim The Lord, the Lord, strong, merciful, and gracious, slow to Anger, long-suffering, &c.³ Where, to ballance the 10 praecepts in the Decalogue, there are 10 Attributes relating all to Favour and to Mercy Man. The Mercy-seat was over all the Ark, and that all-shaded with the Cherube wings.⁴ And why those Cherubims may not type unto us not only the two Tables of the Law in the Ark; but the two Testaments of the Law and the Gospell, and the two Generations of the world the Jews and the Gentiles, either of them mutually respecting each other, and the Oracles of God arising from between them; I know no prohibition. Some indeed have given laps'd Nature too too high a priviledge. Enabling her of her self alone to work out her own Salvation as Pelagius,⁵ and before him (inclining that way) Origen.⁶ And if I find him rightly cited,

²Exodus 32:19, 34:1.
³Psalm 103:8.
⁵An English or Irish monk of the late fourth and early fifth centuries. He held that man could live without sin, that there was no such thing as Original Sin, and that Grace, as understood by the Roman church, was not necessary for salvation. Pelagius lived in Rome from about 400 until exiled by Pope Zosimus in 418. His doctrines were declared heretical, but the Church was often plagued with Pelagianism in the centuries following.
⁶A neo-Platonic Christian theologian of the second century. He saw the human spirit's journey as cyclical, going from God through a fall and redemption to reunion with God.
Zuinglius⁷ where he tells us that Numa, Cato, Scipio, and such like just Heathen, without Faith in Christ were Naturally saved, that is, by the vertue of the Law of Nature which they did observe. The last (the Observation of the Law) being intimated by the Apostle. Who tells us though they have no written Law, yet naturally doing the things of the Law, they are a Law unto themselves. Others have more modestly interpreted this Text as Aquinas and severall more beside allowing them yet Salvation; though not so much from the naturall knowledge they have both of God and good and evill, as from the help they have in their Souls from the assistance of Supernaturall Grace, whereby they are enabled through Faith to fulfill the Law, St. Peter tells us, that in every Nation, He that feareth God and worketh Righteousnesse is accepted with him.⁸ 'Tis not Mans Merit, but 'tis Gods Acceptance that is his security. And surely, if we will not be too criticall we may find examples of this Truth. It is doubtfull whether Job were not of the line of Esau: certain, faith St. Augustine, He was neither naturall Israelite, nor Proselyte, but born and buryed in Idumaea. And Beltarmine assures us he was not of the Children of Israel: but either an Idumaean, or an Arabian. Both of which were counted Enemies to Israel. Next may be instanc'd Melchisedeck,⁹

⁷Zwingli, the famous Swiss Reformationist of the sixteenth century. In his Commentarius de vera et falsa religione (1525), he held that virtuous heathens were saved.
⁸Acts 10:35.
⁹Genesis 14:18.
Jethro the Priest of Midian, Rahab the Harlot, Naaman the Syrian, and others.

But it will be alleged from the Fourth of the Acts, That Salvation cannot be had by any other but by Christ. For among men there is given no other Name under Heaven whereby we must be saved. And without Faith in his Salvation cannot be had, and Faith in him they cannot have because they never heard of him. I grant all but the last, and literally that too. I doubt not but all to whom the sound of the Gospell hath any way come, are strictly obliged to this: When God hath shewed them this Name, in vain they seek for another. Nominal Christ is necessary to those that have nominally heard of him. Yet who can tye up the Spirit of God, from illuminating this to their souls, either in their life or in the very Farewell of it. But this is rather possible then proving. Though I hope it will not prove a Paradox if I should beg leave to believe that some who never heard of Christ, may yet dye and be saved by having a Faith in him. How many of them have dyed Poenitens for their sins, for which they have found their Conscience chequing them, and withall wholly resting themselves on the Mercy of the Supream God? What was the Philosophers, O ens entium miserere mei, but this? He would never have fled to mercy, if his Soul had not been conscious of some ill: And if he had not

10Exodus 18:1.  
11Joshua 2, 6.  
12II Kings 5.  
13Verse 12.
had Faith he would never have prayd for it, since no man prayes for that whereof he does despair the Graunt. What were the last words almost of every common Malefactor among them at his end, but a desiring God and Nature to forgive him? Besides the Grace and Favour of God, two things are required of Man for the attaining of his Salvation, Faith and Repentance. For to both these hath God engaged himself. He that Repents shall find Mercy, and he that believes shall be saved. Repentance closeth the breaches of that Law which sinne before did violate. When the heat of Lust hath shrieveled up the Conscience into wounds and clefts, (as Rain on Earth that's chapp'd) repentant Tears will fill up all those Chasms: Poenitentia aboleri peccata indubitanter credimus, sayes St. Augustine. Repent and believe, is the praecept of the Gospel. Now I would ask the question, whether Christ crucified and Gods Mercy be not things co-incident: Nay if it be not the very effect and height of Gods mercy: which they flye to though not in the literal name of Christ yet in such a name as is the same, and comprehends the offer Christ in it, Mercy. The Mercy-seat was the propitiatory,\textsuperscript{14} and Christ is call'd our Propitiation.\textsuperscript{15} Our venerable Bede giving us the Anagogicall sense, tells us plainly; Propitiatorium aurem est Humanitas Christi Gloriosa. The golden Mercy-seat is Christ's glorious Humanity. In the first of St. Luke, In the Song of the

\textsuperscript{14}Exodus 25:17-22. \quad \textsuperscript{15}I John 2:2.
blessed Virgin, it is said, God hath helped his Servant Israel in remembrance of his Mercy. In the Song of Zacharias, It is said, He hath gone on to perform the Mercy promised to our Fore-Fathers. Which Mercy in both places, by all Interpreters, is understood of Christ, the Messiah.

In two several places in Genesis it is promised, by God himself, That in Abrahams seed (which is meant of Christ) all the Nations of the World should be blessed. In a third place, there it is, All the Families of the Earth. And in the Acts it is said, All the Kinreds of the Earth shall be blessed. But if they must give an account for literal Christ, and yet through insuperable Necessity and Ignorance they could never come to know or hear of him; I conceive Christs coming would be so far from being a Blessing to them, as it would prove unto' em a Rock and Buternesse.

Before the coming of Christ, we shall find few of the Jews, resting expressly upon the promised Messias; but their anchor was Gods mercy, and so the very thing which was the pious Heathens refuge. The holy Prophet David clearly did rely on it, Psal. 52. I will trust in thy mercy for ever and ever. But we may come neerer, even to the very Name, which we may illustrate by this insuing Instance.

A King hath a Province in Rebellion, whereby his

16Verse 54.
1822:18, 26:4.
1928:14.
203:25.
21Verse 8.
Subjects become all guilty of Treason, and so in the justice of his Laws are dead. This Kings Son intercedes, and satisfied his Father. Whereupon he publisheth a general Pardon, that for his Sons sake, all shall be restored that will come in, confess their offence, and claim a Reception in right of his Son. Now some of these Traytors hear not of this: But out of their confidence of their Princes known goodness, and the hope they have of pardon, they come repentantly, prostrating themselves to his mercy. Now whether this King, being of a Noble Nature, and inclinable to mercy, may not, without impeachment to his Justice, receive them to Grace, by vertue of his General Pardon for his Sons sake, though they never heard of it; I submit to charitable judgments.

If this may not be, I yet demand, How it can stand with Gods Justice, in requiring their Faith in that which they never had means to know, Nominal Christ; what they could reach to, they fasten upon. But must we think them fit to be punisht, because they lay not hold on that which they cannot come at: though they cannot plead merit, or a personal filial Mediator; yet, I see not what hinders, that they may not plead mercy. I am sure, St. Paul tells us, That they who do not know the Law, shall not be judged by the Law: But by that Law of Nature in themselves, which is so far inseminated in the hearts of all, as is sufficient to leave all without excuse, and convince them all as authors of their
own destruction, if they perish. And why then, shall we think, they who never heard of the Gospel, should be condemned, for not having faith in the Gospel. Lex non cogit ad impossibile. But if they must dye for ignorance of that which they could not know, it may be asked, Whether they do not dye for a fault that is none of their own.

When the Apostle in the I. of Corinthians and the 6. came to Fornicators that were out of the pale of the Church, he refused to judge them, as out of his bounds and jurisdiction: And I conceive it may become a charitable Christian, either not to pass a final sentence upon all the Heathen; or else to incline to Charity, which is the Law of the Gospel. Why may we not argue of Faith, as St. Paul does of Works. If the Gentiles have a faith in Gods mercy, may not they be saved by that, as Christians by their faith in Christ, which is but Gods mercy manifested? And certainly, without this faith, it will be true, what the Father says of their best works, They are but shinning sins. But what is it should hinder now, that this faith may not justifie. As I believe the Character and Impress of Gods Image in them, is their law forbidding their sin, and injoyning their duty; so I also believe, as a Needle once touch'd, their Consciences, will direct them to a Refuge in their Makers mercy. Therefore I hope, I shall not much err, if I should believe, A Heathen which never heard of Christ, labouring to keep a clear conscience, truly repentant for his offences, and

22Romans 2:12-14.
casting himself with faith upon God's mercy, may come to live in heaven among the blessed.

If any object then, that 'tis no privilege to be a Christian, I suppose him much mistaken: For as St. Paul answers for the Jews, It is a Chief, that unto them are committed the Oracles of God. They are pre-eminently before the rest of the world. Though a Pagan possibly may in the dark night of Nature, by God's mercy grope out a way to Heaven; yet, without doubt, he is more happy that hath a light and a guide to direct him thither. The Illuminations of the Gospel, are enlivening and instructing beyond the sullied Notions of Philosophy. Any man will like his Title better, that is declared an Heir, then his that is but in a capability of adoption. Methinks, our Suns, and favour that we find from Heaven, should make us look upon them with pity and love, rather then with uncharitable and destroying censures. I see, they live better by the faint gleams of Nature, then many Christians in the coruscations of the Gospel. And why should I think, that they who live better by the dim glimpses of their conscience, and dye, resigning themselves to God and his mercy, whom they have spelled out, and found in the Book of the Creatures, and the Book of their Conscience; should yet be cast away in Eternal perdition. Certainly, looking on their actions, without hearing either party speak, one would take the poor Indians to be better

23 Romans 3:2.
Christians then the Spaniards, that destroyed them. However, none can deny, but God by his secret grace may both attract, and accept them. And I cannot, but have a more honourable apprehension of my Omnipotens and ever Gracious God, then to believe, that so pure, so munificent, and so absolutely perfect an Essence, should delight it self to see so many millions of millions of men lye frying in Eternal Torments, that yet were his own most noble and admired workmanship, and whose frailties he both knew and pitied. And this to befall them through a pristine (and in them unavoidable) corruption; out of which they did not escape, (for ought we know), only because they did not know the way. What pleasure can any good man take, to see but poor simple Beasts continue sweating in perpetual pain? What good can I reap, by seeing the languishing torture of another? Those that are pleas'd with spectacles of cruelty, we naturally abhor as savage in their natures. If Caligula and Nero, were both justly condemn'd of cruelty; the one forbidding the Executioner so strike, as Delinquents might die leisurely; and the other for but looking on, while his Mother was dissected, though dead. What disposition can those men have, who can so jollily give up worlds to keener and more lasting punishments then all their dire imaginations can devise. Is it suitable to a Father of mercies, and of his creature? or, Who will longer laugh at these poor Heathen;

24Suetonius, Caligula, XXX. 25Ibid., Nero, XXXIV.
who made their Saturn full of children, and then to devour them as soon as they were born? If I do err, in this inclination to a charity, I had rather it should be on this hand, then trenching but the least on cruelty; and whatsoever it is, I shall ever submit to the moderate, and the wise.

Saturn, or Cronus, was one of the Titans. Warned by an oracle that a child of his should take his life, he swallowed whole each of his children at birth. After losing several children this way, his wife Rhea substituted a stone in the swaddling clothes of the infant Zeus. Saturn did not detect the substitution, and he swallowed the stone. Zeus was spirited away and brought up in secret. When he reached maturity, he slew his father and released the brothers and sisters that Saturn had swallowed.

R. S. 20. Whence a Mans Fame arises. ¹

Sometimes there is not a greater cheat, then Fame, and Reputation. The Hypocrite, till he be discovered, appears garnished with all the plumes that brave Report does usually fly withall: but once detected, is as black and spotted, as the Panthers skin, or the outside of the Dragons belly. Indeed, 'tis hard for any to escape the lash of censure: But the Emanations of a true and perfect report, for the most part rise from a mans private conversation. Few converse so much with persons abroad, as to shew their humors and inclinations in Publique. To their Superiours, they put on Obsequiousness, and Pageant-out their Vertues, but strongly

¹See above S. 20. Of Reputation: Or, A good Name and S. 45. Just Shame in a good man, saddens his soule.
they conceal their Vices. To their Equals, they strive to shew the gratefulness of a condition. To their Inferiours, curtesie and beneficence. To all there is a disguise. Men in this, like Ladies that are careful of their beauty, admit not to be visited, till they be dress'd and trimm'd to the advantage of their faces. Only in a mans retirement, and among his domesticks, he opens himself with more freedom, and with less care; he walks there as Nature fram'd him: He there may be seen not as he seems, but as he is; without either the deceiving Properties of Art, or the varnish of belied Vertue: So, as indeed, no man is able to pass a true judgement upon another, but he that familiarly and inwardly knows him, and has viewed him by the light of time. When Tiberius had a Noble Fame among strangers, he that read him Bhetorick, stuck not to pronounce him Luto & Sanguine maceratum.

Neither can a constant good report follow any man, but by a constant adherence to vertue, and vertuous actions. 'Tis much harder to read the actions, and to know rightly Great persons, then 'tis men of Inferious condition: For, though they be extravagant, yet their greatness is some kind of awe to the loose and scattered reports that fly about from mean mens tongues. And their attendants not only palliate their vices as improper for them to divulge: but with all, they magnifie their good parts, and represent them fuller to the world then they are. That often-times those pass in the common, for persons rarely qualified; who, being
strictly viewed, are but flourish and deceiving out-side. And besides this, many a man while he hath a curb upon him, keeps himself in modest bounds, from which once freed, he lavishes into excess and gross enormities; like hot metall'd Horses, that may ride well with a wary hand upon them; but when the reins are loosened, they fling and grow unruly. 'Tis liberty and experience that truly shows a man what he is. Suetonius observes it of Tiberius, that when he had gotten to Caprea, where he lurked, remov'd from the eyes of the people, he at once poured forth himself in all those horrid vices, which before for a long time with much ado he had dissembled. And though Politicians seek to shadow themselves, by appearing the least of what they are; yet, they come at last to be unmasked, and declare themselves to the world: like Hedge-hogs, they rowl up themselves before strangers; but in private are so dilated, as they may easily be known to be but vermine; so that, in the end, private sins are rewarded with a publick shame: and then the supposed honest man, is hated as a grown monster, discovered by the blab of time. Vice is a concealed fire, that even in darkness will so work, as to bewray it self. And doubtless, something it is is, according to those among whom a man lives. Even a good man among ill neighbours, shall be ill reported of; and a bad man, by some, may be beloved. Some Vices are falsely lookt upon as Ornament, and Education: and

2 Tiberius, XLIII-XLIV.
a modest Innocence, is as much mistaken for silliness and ignorance. To be good, is thought too neer a way to contempt. That which the Ancients admired, we both slight and laugh at. A good honest man, is but a better word for a fool; so that no man, can promise himself free from the whip of a licentious tongue. Slanders and calumnies like contagious airs are Epidemical in their Infection: only the soundest constitutions are less thereby tainted then the other; but all shall be sure to find a touch. I like not those that disdain what the world sayes of them. I shall suspect that womans modesty, that values not to be accounted modest. While I am innocent, injurious rumors shall the less torment me. But as he that is careful of his health, will not only avoyd infected places, but antidote himself by preventing Physick; and will not be abstemious only at a Feast, but in his private dyet: So he that would be well esteemed, must not only eschew ill company, but must fortifie himself with Precepts and Resolution to preserve himself, and not only in the throng, and abroad, but in his retired dressing-room; for since a mans good or bad fame, does first take rise from such as be about him, and servants being neither alwayes ours, nor ever discreet; It behoves him that loves his own reputation, to give them no cause of reporting what shall cross it. He that is careless of his fame, I doubt is not fond of his Integrity. The first ground to be layd is a mans Honest endeavours, and that as well in the Chamber as in the Court: and then 'tis likely a Good Fame follows. If I do my part,
I shall be the less troubled, if the world shall not do his in allowing me what I labour for.

R. S. 21. That 'tis some difficulty to be Rich and Good.¹

Grace and Riches like the Matchings of Cosen-Germans, though they be not forbidden yet they seldom marry together. 'Tis rare to see a Rich man Religious. For Religion preaches Restraint, and Riches prompt to Liberty. If our Saviour himself had not given an exposition of his own hard Text of the Camel and the eye of a Needle,² by casting it upon such as place their trust upon riches; Certainly no Rich man could be thought to be saved, but God must be put to work a miracle for it. When Wealth abounds, men seldom come by suffering to be sober. They buy out their penance and slip over those Considerations that should make them serious. The Education of Rich men teaches to command, so they never come to be acquainted with that which is better than a sacrifice, Obedience. Buoy'd up by the Corks of Wealth and Greatnesse, they are seldom let down into the depths where the greatest riches like grown Resolutions are to be found. They are so humor'd by Attendants, and so elated by the

¹See above S. 23. A rare thing to see a Rich Man Religious.
Bow'd of all about them, and withall so swallowed up with pleasure, that they often misse of knowing rightly either themselves or others. And by the Pravity of mans weak Nature, it so sets them on the solaces of this Life, that they seldom have time to think of another or better. The Worm of this fair fruit is Pride, and it sooner takes the goodly then the lean. Old Jacob begg'd but only Food and Rayment:  

³ and Agur prays directly against a Plenty:  

⁴ and though Solomon was so wise as not to ask it; yet we see, when he had it, well nigh it had eaten out all his VVisdome.  

⁵ Certainly, Riches be not evill in themselves: yet for the most part there is a Casual illnes that attends them. And if our blessed Saviour had not seen something in them more then we apprehend he would never have declar'd it so much difficulty for a man at once to be both good and opulent: neither would he have advis'd the young man to sell what he had,  

⁶ or commanded his Disciples to leave all and follow him;  

⁷ nor would he have so exampled poverty to us in his own meannes, if he had not known our humane frailty too apt to be drawn away by abundance. Besides the danger of their flattering us to a Reliance upon them, they hinder us from the sense of Charity not feeling the wants that others live in, we cannot be sensible to their endurances:

³Genesis 28:20.  
⁴Proverbs 30:8-9.  
⁵I Kings 10, 11.  
⁶Matthew 19:16-22.  
⁷Matthew 4:19.
so we are not begotten into commiseration. How strict and vigilant have I known some upon a poor man's Labour, who hath toyld all the day from six to six, for sixpence; who, if it were not for the pleasure of night and darkness, which gives him some slender Refreshment, he might certainly be concluded in a worse condition than the Savage Beasts of the Desert. Nature hath privileged'd them against the want of Apparell; and though they be put sometimes to hunt for their Food, yet providence hath made that a pleasure to them, so far, that they are rather to be envied than pitied. But the daily Labouring Man sells both his strength, his time, and his ease, for that alone which will not satiably content his craving Belly. Not apprehending the hardship of others, by reason of the Beckonings and Illigations of pleasure, and the divertive crowd of other occasions, Rich men have not leisure to stay upon these, to consider and weigh their Condition; so, that Charity which they have, is rather self-love than Charity; which doubtless is not rightly call'd so, when God is not the scope, and others more their object, then themselves. And it is as undoubtedly true, that without the wings of Charity, it will be very hard to mount to the Region of Happinesse. Riches besides, are often as thorns to choak the fruits of Piety. They are a kind of Rank Earth, which so fast puts out weeks, that any fine seed of vertue becomes stifled and robbed ere it can get Root. Yet Industry and perpetuall Attention might perhaps prevent some of these Inconveniences. But there is one thing
in Wealth which fascinates beyond all these: 'Tis apt to seduce a man into a false opinion of Wisdome in himself. And it may be it was from hence, That when Simonides was asked, Which was best for a man, Wealth or Wisdome; He made some doubt how he should resolve the Business. The Reason was, he said, He had often observed wise men to wait and attend at Rich mens Houses. And how easy is it for a Man to think himself Wise, when he shall find he hath a wise man as his Servant humoring him? Nor is he only charmed to these erroneous waies of Pleasure, and stroaked along by the Courtship of those that stoop low to creep under his shade, and gather of his fallings: But if he be in a way of miscarriage, his wealth keeps him not only from being reclaim'd, but from knowing wherein he fails. Men are often wary how they hazard their interest by Reprehension. A poor man like clay (being softned by his Low scitation, and the samminesse of want that lights upon him) is apt to be easily moulded into any Form: But the Rich, shined upon by the sunne of prosperity, sett on the promoted Hill, and in the flairing light of Greatnesse, are hardned into a Brittlenesse scarce admitting any shape but that by chance you find them in: like Venice-glasses any hot liquor of Admonition makes them crack and fly in pieces presently. And indeed it is no small unhappinesse to be set in such a station as will not

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8 Probably Simonides of Ceos, celebrated Greek lyric poet of the sixth century B.C.
admit a friend to be free with him. He is open to flattery, but sent'd against admonition. He that by the Engine of a massy wealth is craned up above the Rebuke of friends, had need of a Noble nature and a vertue strongly corded, else he shall quickly slide to the lowest scale of Vice. Certainly, there is none so wise as that he never erres: But he is well onward in the way to be wise, that can bear a Reproof, and mend by it. I doubt not but there are that bee wealthy and wise, that are Rich and Religious; and as they are extraordinarily happy in themselves, that can escape the traines that their Affluency layes for them, and make use of those brave Suppeditaments, that a great Estate allows them to do good withall: So they ought to be magnified by all that are Spectators of so Noble a Conjunction. As a Rich Tyrant is the worst of all wild Beasts; so a Rich Christian is one of Christs wonders. Nihil honestius magnificientiusque, quam pecunias (coutemneri si non habeas) si habeas, ad Beneficentiam, Libertatemque conferre. Senec.⁹ If we have not wealth, 'tis honest and Princely not to be fond on't: But far more Heroick (if we have it) to sowe it into Charity and Beneficence. Like fire in a Chimney, a Rich man good is Regular, Bright, and Refreshing to all that come within the distance of his beams. He lights the blindly dark, and guildes the room he shines in. And whosoever comes into it, like it. It will draw their eyes upon him, as if there were

⁹De Beneficiis, II, 18, 5.
some Divinity in him, that invited all to pay a kind of Adoration to him, for the Bounty and the Benefits that Fate has made him steward of.

R. S. 22. Against being proud by being Commended.¹

There is such a kind of grateful Tickling to the mind of man in being commended. That though we many times know those praises that are given us are not due, yet we are not Angry at the abusing Author. Though surely he that is commended for what he doth not deserve, ought in justice to rectifie the Auditory, else he grows accessory to a cheat upon the Hearers, by a combination of an untruth; so leads them into an Error. It was, I confesse, ingenuous in Pope John the 20th.² what his successor AEneas Sylvius³ tells us of him: when one had praised him much more then he knew he deserved, he turns to the Company and tells them. Though the Man hath fathered many brave things upon me whereof I am not guilty, yet I do confesse I no way am displeased that he hath

¹Misnumbered XVI, 8.
²See above S. 25. Of being Proud, by being Commended.
³Actually, there is no Pope John XX. The man who should have called himself the twentieth John took the designation twenty-first because he counted the legendary Pope Joan (ca. 855-858) among his predecessors. Pope John XXI (XX) reigned 1276-1277, and he is probably the pope that Felltham refers to here.
⁴Pope Pius II, reigned 1458-1464. He was an eminent church scholar and historian.
pleas'd to prayse me. Perhaps he might pardon him the sooner if he believed he told of what he ought to do, though yet he had not done it. So apprehended. Prayses may as easily be dispenc'd withall, as handsomely made use of. They are but admonitions, ribbanded and trick't to a more pleasing shape, which perhaps, without such spots and pendants, would never winne upon a fantastique Brain. In Noble minds 'tis certainly a spurre, if not reward, to Vertue. The generous Spartans before they went to Warr, they us'd to offer Victims to the Muses; That what they acted Valiantly, might be elegantly and truly recorded. He that despises to be well reported of; wants of that living fire in his Soul, which does type out (and runnes into) Eternity. And he on the other side that shewes himself elated by it, gives proof he is but some leight stuffe; that (as a Bubble by a Boy) can be blown from his shell, till the very air alone can blurt him again into spittle. Praise hath severall operations according to the mind it meets with. It makes a Wise man modest, but a Fool more arrogant. It extends him to such a height, that it turns his weak brain giddy till he falls; some have plac't it in the rank with contempt, and have therefore warned, That to a Mans face, we should neither praise too lavishly, nor yet Reproove too sharply. Indeed to a spirit rightly generous, a Face-commendation will sooner beget a blushing flight, then the Rebuke that boldly and openly flyes upon him. Hence therefore, 'tis only allowable at Funerals for men to be hyperbolical in praising. Any
thing may then be offered when blows cannot be felt: otherwise a Riotous tongue will sever modest blood. Since least of all he values praise that most of all deserves it. He that is an intimate Servant to that glorious Vertue, will be content in silence to enjoy her Graces without those hollow Ecchoes of the Tongue. I like not praising when 'tis too loud. A little is as shadowings to a well-limb'd piece; it sets it off better: but when it is too deep, it duls the native life, and unpleasants the air it carries. But for a man to grow proud by being commended, is of all uses the worst we can make of it. Every good thing a good man speaks of another, like the blast of a Trumpet in Warre, should incite and incourage the person commended to a closer pursuit of a Nobler and more generous Vertue. But to be proud of Trappings calls a Mans Humanity in question. Though he be a Bucephalus, it shews him but a Beast: and any one may judge how like the Asse it was, first to mistake the Reverence to be his, that was done to the Goddess; next that he could be proud of it, if it had been so. To contemn a just commendation, is to kick at kindnesse: To be proud on't is to take in so much, untill it does intoxicate. Though another mans praise cannot in my self make me better then I am, yet (with my help) it may make me much worse. The best is to labour an improvement. If any one speaks well, I would be glad, I could Act better. I shall like it better if my deeds may go beyond his Tongue. I had rather in this case
men should see more then they do expect, then look for more then they can find.

R. S. 23. Of Secresie.¹

The Hooting Fowler seldome takes much game. When a man hath the project of a course in his mind digested and fixt by Consideration, 'tis good wisdome to resolve of Secresy, till the time our Designs arrive at their Dispatch and Perfection; He shall be allowed to have enough of the unadvised, that brags much either of what he will do: Or, of what he shall have. For, if what he speaks of, falls not out accordingly; In stead of applause, a mock and scorne shall strike him. They seldome thrive in businesse that cannot but proclaim their Intentions. They bespeak themselves to be way-layd; and if they have ought worth the taking, they are setters to their own Robbery. Even water will forbear to rise where the Pype, through which it is to passe, hath a flaw in't. The projects of men are a kind of Chymistry: Keeping them close, they may prosper. But the glasse once crack't, and air admitted in, the product then will vanish out in Fume. When Quintus Metellus could not compasse his Conquests in Spain, he seems to neglect the principall City, and with a Rowling

¹See above S. 26. Of Secresie in Projecting ought.
Army flyes to other parts. And when in regard of so wild a War his Friend did ask him, what thereby he intended, His answer was, If his shirt knew his mind, he would command it to be burn'd, immediately. We see that which carries on, even evill Actions to their prosperity, and is indeed, the main of their successe, and without which, they would certainly come to nothing, is their secrecy, and Clandestine creeping along; 'Tis the invisibility of spirits that performs their Witch-craft. And it was in the dark and night, that the envious sow'd his Tares. And if Secrecy can so promote those Designs that are to be abhor'd, why is it not as well advantageous to what we intend for good? Nature for her own Preservation has taught wild Beasts to dwell in holes and dens. The Fishes bed in mud. And Birds build not in open fields, but in the shaded woods, and solitary Thickets. How many have undone themselves by their opennesse? Hee strumpets all his Businesse, that does disclose his secrets.

Candaules lost both Kingdom, Life, and Wife, by only shewing of her Beauty Naked. Nor was that fabled Ring of Gyges more, then his great Wisdome guiding his Affairs: whereby he knew what other Princes did; but so reserv'd himself, that he to them remain'd still undiscovered.

In 56 B. C., Quintus Metellus was sent to administer the province of Nearer Spain. In 55 B. C., the Vaccaei took the town of Clunia from him; and Metellus, fearing their strength of arms, dared not attack them. He returned to Rome and died that same year.

Herodotus I, 8-13.
Stratagem are like Mistresses, they are deflower'd when known: and then they seldom live to be married by being effected. By divulging, we seem to tempt others to prevent us. He that before lay still, and did not mind it, when he sees another running for a prize, will post away to out-speed him. And indeed, he is not like to speed well, that cannot keep his own counsel. The Philosophers check will justly fall upon him; That 'tis pitty, of those he learned to speak, he was not as well instructed to be silent. 'Tis a miserable flux, when a man hath a floud of words, and but a drop of soul. To such people usually, all the Physick they can take to stop it, operates the wrong way. That mind which cannot keep its own determinations private, is not to be trusted either with his own, or others business. He lets in so much light, as will not suffer his designs to sleep; so they come to be disturbed, while they should gather strength, by repose. If the business be of what is yet to come, 'tis vanity to boast of it; 'tis all one with the Almanack, to rove at what weather will happen. We boast of that, which not being in our power, is none of our own. The Bird that flies, I may as well call mine. He digs in sand, and lays his beams in water, that builds upon events, which no man can be Master of; What can he show but his own Intemperance? bewraying even a kind of greediness, while he catches at that which is not yet in his reach; which seems to unfold but an uncompacted mind, that is not so wise as to subsist well with what it hath in present. Such men, if we come to dissect them, we shall find
like Camelions, that have not the **solid entrails** of other creatures, but are fill'd with only lungs.⁴ And then, if our boasting, we come to be disappointed, the defeat is made more visible; and we turn'd out, to herd with those that must be laught at. Nor yet can I offer ought to the world after this, but it will come forth upon some disadvantage. If I boast of any thing, I teach others to expect, and then they look for Swans, or Quails, though it be in a Wilderness; where, admit it be fair, it shall not be thought so: because their hopes are possest with Rarity. Secresie is a most necessary part, not only of Policy, but Prudence. Things untold, are as things undone. If they succeed well, they are gratefuller for being sodain: if ill, they may be dispens'd with, as for ought any knows, they being no other than casual; so not at all in intention. I observe the Fig-tree, whose fruit is pleasant, does not blossom at all; whereas the Sallow that hath glorious palms, is continually found barren. I would first be so wise, as to be my own Counsellor; next so secret, as to be my own counsel-keeper.


Who is't can be so sanguine, as to be alwayes constant in a fulblown jollity? 'Tis the glorious Sun alone, that in

¹See above S. 28. A Christian Compared in a three-fold condition to the Moone.
himself is ever bodied, full of light and brightness. But as in the Moon we see a threefold condition, that gives her an alternate face; her wane, her increase, her full: So I see the same resembled in a Christian, three efficient causes working them; Sin, Repentance, Faith. When after sin, a Christian once considers, he finds a shadow drawn upon his light. The steps of night stay printed in his soul: his shine grows lean within him, and makes him like the Moon in her declining wane, obscuring and diminishing that clearness of the Spirit which lately shined, with such brightness in him. It dims the beauty of the luminous soul: like the sensible plant, when the hand of flesh does touch it, she shrinks in all her leaves: or else she, like the humble one, falls flat, and lankly lyes upon the earth. Nay, sometimes (as the Moon in our lost sight of her) he seems quite gone, and vanisht: resting for a time like a diseased man in a trance; as a winter-tree, or fire that's buryed in concealing embers; without or sense, or show, of either light or heat. But then comes Repentance, and casts water in his face, bedews him with tears, packs the spirits back again to the heart, till that he rows'd up by them; rubs up his benum'd soul, that there is to be seen some tokens both of life and recovery. Repentance is the key, that unlocks the gate wherein sin does keep man prisoner. Who is't can be so black and dead a coal, that his Lachrymal water, with the breath of the Holy Spirit cannot blow up into a glowing light? This makes him spring, causes him to begin to bud
again; unrolls his wrapt-up beauty, and by little and little, if not at once, recollects his decayed strength of the apprehension of God's Spirit; so sets him in the way to joy and renewed courses. Repentance is Penelope's night, which undoes that which the day of sin did weave. 'Tis indeed the only Aqua-vitae to fetch again the fainting soul: And it might justly therefore cause the Emperor Theodosius to wonder at the effect. That living man should dye, he saw was ordinary and familiar: But it was from God alone, That man being dead in sin, should live again by Repentance.

But lastly, Faith appears, and perfects what Repentance begun and could not finish: she cheers up his drooping hopes, brings him again to his wonted solace, spreads out his leaves, envigours his shrunk nerves, and to a bright flame blows his dying fire: That like the Moon in her full glory, he becomes indue with a plenteous fruition of the presence of the Almighty. Thus, while he sins, he wanes himself to darkness and obscurity. When he repents, he begins to recover light; and when his faith shines clear, he then appears at full; yet in all these, while he lives here, he is not only charged with some spots, but is subject to the vicissitudes of change: Sometimes he is froliqu'd with a feast within him; sometimes he is shrinking in a starved condition, and sometimes dull with darkness of desertion; yet, in all, he lives: though in some weakly, and in some

2Emperor of the East, fourth century A. D.
insensibly; yet, never without one sound **consolation** in the worst of these sad **variations**. As the Planet **Mercury**, though **erratique** and **unfix'd**, yet never wanders far from the **Sun**: Or, as the **Moon**, when she is **least visible**, is as well a **Moon** as when we see her in her **full proportion**: Only the **Sun** looks not on her with so large an **aspect**; and she reflects no more then she receives from him: so a **Christian** in his lowest **ebb** of **sorrow**, is an **Heir of Salvation**, as well as when he is in the **highest flow of comfort**; only the **Sun** of **Righteousness** darts not the beams of his **love** so plentifully: and he shews no more, then **God** by **shining** gives him. When the **Holy Spirit** holds in his **beams**, frail man then needs must **languish**. 'Tis **deprivation** that creates a **Hell**; for where **God** is **not**, there 'tis that **Hell is**. When ere this **tyde** runs out, there's nought but **mud** and **weeds** that's left behind. When **God** shall hide his **face**, in vain elsewhere we seek for a **subsistence**. He is the **air**, without which, is no **life**. His **with-drawings** are our **miseries**; his **presence**, is **joy**, and **revivement**. 'Tis only sin that can **eclipse** this **light**. 'Tis the **interposure** of this gross opacious **body**, that **blacks** the else **bright soul**: This is that **Great Alexander**, which keeps the **light** from this poor **Diogenes** in his **Tub of Mortality**: And this, sometimes, must be expected, while we are here **below**. Even **time** consists of **night** and **day**; the **year**, of **various seasons**. He that expects a **constancy** here, does look

3Diogenes Laertius, VI, 38.
for that which this world cannot give. 'Tis only above the Sun, that there is no Moon to change.

R. S. 25. For Ordering of Expences.¹

IT is very hard for an open and easie nature to keep within the compass of his fortune; either shame to be observ'd behind others, or else a vain glorious itching to out-do them, leaks away all, till the vessel be empty or low; so that nothing involves a man to more unhappiness then an heedless letting go in an imprudence of mispending. It alters quite the frame and temper of the mind. When want comes, he that was profuse, does easily grow rapacious. It is extreme unhappiness to be thus compos'd of Extremes. To be impatient both of plenty and want. 'Tis a kind of Monster-vice, wherein covetousness and prodigality, mingled, dwell together, and one of them is always gnawing. It puts a man upon the stretch, and will not suffer him to lye at ease. Like the Estridge, he feeds on Iron, and puts it out in fethers. He runs any hazard to get, and when he hath it, he flaunts it away in curls and airy vanities. On the other side, a sordid parsimony, lays a man open to contempt. Who will care for him, that cares for no body but himself? Or, who will expect any thing of favour or friendship from him, that makes it his master-piece to scrape from all that fall

¹See above S. 29. A Rule for Spending and Sparing.
within his gripe, or reach? The enforcing of the forged Testament of Minutius, lost Crassus and Hortensius more honour with posterity, then all their wealth and authority could repurchase. Nor is he less a scorn to others, then a punishment to himself. He pulls from others, as if he would make all his own; and when he hath it, he keeps it as if it were another man's. In expences, I would be neither pinching, nor prodigal: yet, if my means allow it not, rather thought too sparing, then a little profuse. Saving inclines to judgement; but lavish expences, to levity and inconsiderateness. With the wise, 'tis no disgrace to make a man's ability his compass of sail, and line to walk by: and to exceed it, for them that are not wise; is to be sure to exceed them, as well in folly as expence. He is equally ridiculous, that will burn out his Taper while the Sun doth shine; and he that will go to bed in the dark, to save his expence of light. It is my part to know what I may do; while others only look at the stream, but are not concern'd how the Fountain may supply it. Though they look to what I spend as grateful to them; yet, I ought to care for what may be convenient for me. He that spends to his proportion, is as brave as a Prince; and a Prince exceeding that, is a Prodigal: There is no Gallantry beyond what's fit and decent. A comely beauty is better then a painted one: unseemly bounty, is waste both of wealth and wit. He, that

2Cicero, In Verrem, I, 45.
when he should not, spends too much, shall when he would not, have too little to spend. It was a witty reason of Diogenes, why he asked but a halfpenny of the Thrifty man, and a pound of the Prodigal. The first, he said, might give him often; but, the other, ere long, would have nothing to give. To spare in weighty causes, is the worst and most unhappy part of thrift that can be: Liberality, like a warm show'r, mollifies the hardest Earth, and prepares it for fertility: But he that is penurious, turns his Friends into Enemies, and hardens that which himself desires to find pliant. Who can expect to reap, that never sow'd his seed; or in a drought, who will not look to have his harvest poor?

Doubtless, there is not any worse husbandry, then the being too neer, and sordidly miserable; and there is no man but at the long-run loses by't. When the bush is known to be lim'd, they are simple Birds that will be drawn to perch on't. Nor on the other side, can we find, that to spend vainly, even in a plentiful fortune, hath any Warrant from either Prudence or Religion. 'Tis a kind of scandal to the wise, to see a Riotous waste, made of Wealth, that might be imployed to many more pretious uses. If we have a superfluity, the poor have an Interest in it: but surely none is due to either Waste, or Wantonnesse. Wealth foolishly consum'd is wine upon the pavement dasht; which was by providence destin'd to have cheer'd the heart. If

\[3\] Diogenes Laertius, VI, 67.
the thing had been condemn
able, or his intention warrant
able; it was not phrais'd amisse, when Judas grumbled at the
Oyntments expence; Ad quid perditio haec?4 Certainly, there
is better use to be made of our Talents, then to cast them
away in Wast. If God gave us them not, to lye idly by us,
we cannot think he should be pleased, when either loosely we
consume them, or lewdly mispend them. 'Tis the improving
not the waste or hoording, that the Maister does commend;5
and this should be with moderation: else the glosse and
grace of all is dull.

Nullus Argento Color est, avaris
Abditae terris inimice lamnae,
Crispe Salusti, nisi temporato
Splendeat usu.6

Dear Salust, thou that scorzyst the Oar,
With Earth from Misers coverd or'e,
'Tis neither silver nor looks spruce
But's bright, by sober use.

4The incident is related in Matthew 26:6-13, Mark 14:3-9,
and Luke 12:1-8. The grumbling disciple is identified as
Judas only in Luke's account, but the quotation "Why trouble
you her?" is found only in the other two accounts.

5See the Parable of the Talents, Matthew 25:14-30.

6Horace, Carmina, 2, 2, 1-4.
DOubtlesse there are some whose Faith mounts them above all the pleasures and inconveniences of Life. We see a carnall Beauty can so take up all the faculties of some weak Souls as they can despise all storms that crosse them in their way to their designed end. They ride triumphing over all they meet, nothing can weigh against their fix'd affection, like springs that burst out in remoter places, their windings tend but to powr them into the sea.

And if this be so great and prevalent as to mate and maister all the other passions of Man; certainly it may be allowed a Christian to be wholly possest with the radiance of Divine Beatitude, being by Faith setled upon the perfections of his Heavenly Saviour. The beauty rightly considered is far more ravishing, then all that we can apprehend besides; And the blessedness that he is Robed with, cannot but be far more consentaneous to the soul then all the sick and smutted pleasures of Mortallity. Let him circuit about with never so many ambiguous turnings; yet, like a dis'unitied Element, he is never at a quiet repose, till he makes up to the Center of his soul, his God. As the Needle in a Diall diturb'd and shaken from his point does never leave his quivering motion, till it fix and sleeps upon his Artick pole: So fares it with a Christian

1See above S. 30. Of a Christians Setlednesse in his Saviour.
in this World: nothing can so charm or scatter him, but still the last result of all does Anchor him in his Saviour's Arms. All that put him out of the quest of Heaven are but Interposures diversions, and disturbances. The Soul that once is truly touch'd with the magnetique force of Divine Love, can never rellish any thing here so pleasingly, as that entirely shee can rest upon it. Though the Pleasures, Profits, and Honours of this Life may sometime shuffle him out of his usual course: Yet he wavers up and down in trouble, runs to and fro; like quick-silver and is never quiet within, till he returnes to his wonted Joy and inward happinesse. There it is his Center points, and there his Circle's bounded. Which though unseen and unperceived by others, are such to him as nothing can buy from him. Compared with these, the gaudiest glitterings of the fawning world are but as painted scenes upon a stage that change with every Act, and ne're last longer with us then while the Play of this swift life continues: To the Pious Man, they are but as may-games to a Prince: fitter for Children then the Royalty of a Crown, or the expectation of him that looks to Inherit perpetuality. And for this (if by the solid Rule of Judgment we shall measure things) we shall find Reason, not to be contradicted. For in God is in the Root, are the Causes of all Felicity. All the oriental lustres of the richest gemms; All the enchanting Beauties of Exterior shapes; the exquisiteness of figures; the loveliness of colours, the harmony of sounds, the light and Clarity of the
enlivening Sun; The Ravishing form and order of all All the heroick vertues of the bravest minds with the purity and quicknesse of the highest Intellects: are all but emanations from the Supream deitie. The ways the wise Philosopher had to find out God will plainly shew us that he is all Perfection, Causation, Negation, and the way of Eminency. For the first; it leads us through the scale of motions by steps, till we ascend a Deitie; In the last mover, we must period all our search. For the second it tells us, Whatsoever is frail corruptive, impure, or impotent; we may conclude, it cannot be in him. And for the third: if we find any thing in the Creature that is but faintly amiable and taking, we may be sure in God to find it in immense perfection. Absoloms beauty, Jonathans Love, Davids Valour, Solomons Wisdome, Vlysses his Policy, Augustus his prudence, Caesars Fortune, Ciceroes Eloquence, with whatsoever else we most admire. The purity of Virgins, the Fragrancy of Nature, the intelligence of all, with all the Complacency that either Reason or our senses can present us with. Neer this comes the Eloquent Boetius when speaking of God, he says.

Tu Requies tranquilla piis: Te cernere, Finis, Principium, Vector, Dux, Semita, Terminus idem.²

Thou art the just mans Peace: Beginning, End Means, Conduct, Way, doe all to Thee extend.

²Consolation of Philosophy, 3, Metrum 9, 27-28.
And when all these Inherent Radiations shall by the soul be found in the Almighty; It is no wonder that shee should be surprized with Delectation. And it is as little wonder that the brittle, weak, and short-liv'd pleasures of this world should at all once take her; who, as Fire flyes upwards, is naturally fram'd to ascend to a Beatitude in her own great Creator. He that is setled and well-pleas'd here, gives cause to suspect he does not look up higher. It should not more grieve me to live in a continued sorrow, then it shall joy me to find a secret dissatisfaction in the world's choicest solaces. A full delight in earthly things argues a neglect of Heavenly. For trusting here, there will be cause to distrust my self of too much trusting where is no stability.

R. S. 27. Of reading Authors.¹

The Comparison was very apt in the excellent Plutarch, That we ought to regard books as we would do sweet-meats; not wholly to aim at the pleasantest, but chiefly to respect the wholesomness: not forbidding either, but approving the latter most. But to speak cleerly, though the profitablenesse may be much more in some Authors then there is in others, yet 'tis very rare that the Ingenious can be ill. He that hath wit to make his pen pleasant, will have much adoe to separate

¹See above S. 27. A Rule in reading Authors.
it from being something profitable. A total Levity will not take. A Rich Suit requires good stuffe, as well as to be tinseld out with Lace and Ribbands. And certainly, Wit is very near a kinne to wisdome. If it be to take in generall, or to last; we may find, it ought to be enterwoven with some beautiful flowers of Rhetorique; with the grateful senting herbs of Reason, and Philosophy, as well as with the Simples of Science, or physical plants, and the ever green sentences of piety and profoundnesse. Even the looser Poets have some divine praecceptions. Though I cannot but think Martials wit was much cleaner then his pen, yet he is sometimes grave as well as Gamesome. And I do not find but deep and solid matter, where 'tis understood, takes better then the light flashes and the skiping Capers of Faney. Who is it will not be as much delighted with the weighty and substantial lines of the Seneca's, and Plutarch, the crisped Salust, the politick Tacitus, and the well-breath'd Cicero, as with the frisks and dancings of the jocund and the airy Poets. Those abilities that Renowned Authors furnish the world with, beget a kind of Deifical Reverence in their future Readers. Though even in the unpartialness of War, Alphonsus² wanted stones to carry on his Siege of Cajeta, and none could be so conveniently had, as from Tullies Villa Formiana that was

²Probably Alfonso I of Este, Duke of Ferrara (1476-1534). Alfonso commanded the papal troops in the War of the League of Cambria, 1509; in 1512, he fought against Pope Julius II at Ravenna. Caieta was the port city of Formiae, where Cicero had once owned a villa.
near it; yet, for the noble regard he bore to his long pass'd Eloquence, he commanded his Souldiers that they should not stir them. Composures that aim at wit alone, like the Fountains and Water-works in Gardens, are but of use for recreation, after the travailes and toyles of more serious imployments and studies. The Palace and the constant dwelling is composed of solid and more durable marbles, that represent to after-Ages the Ingenuity and Magnificence of the Architect. And as the House alone is no compleat habitation, without these decorations for delight; no more is the work of the brain on all sides furnished without some sprightly conceits that may be intermixt to please.

Nec placeat facies cui Gelasinus abest. 3

No Beauty has that face,
Which wants a natural grace.

Those Romances are the best, that, besides the contexture for taking the Fancy in their various accidents, gives us the best Idea's of Morality, with the expressive Emanations of wisdom, and divine knowledge. Those that are light, and have only the Gauderies of Wit, are but for youth and greener years to toy withal. When we grow to riper age, we begin to leave such studies as sports and pastimes, that we out-grow by more maturity. Of this Age Horace was, when he declar'd

3Martial, VI, 25, 6.
Nunc itaque versus, & coetera ludicra pono:  
Quid verum, atque; decens, curo & rogo, & omnis in hoc sum:  
Condo, & compono, quae mox depromere possum.  

Now Rimes, and childish Fancies, quite are gone:  
The graceful Truth I search; that rest upon,  
And well digested, gravely put it on.  

Jocular strains, they are but Spring-flowers; which though they please the eye, they yield but slender nourishment:  
They are the Autumn fruits, that we must thrive and live by;  
the Sage sayings, the rare Examples, the Noble Enterprises,  
the handsome Contrivances, the success of good and bad actions, the Elevations of the Deity, the motives and incitements to Vertue, and the like; are those that must build us up to the Gallantry and Perfection of Man. I do not find, but it may well become a man to pursue both the one, and the other, to precept himself into the practice of Vertue; and to fashion both his Tongue and Pen, into the exercise of handsome and significant words. He that foundations not himself with the Arts, will hardly be fit to go out Doctor either to himself, or others. In reading I will be careful for both, though not equally. The one serves to instruct the mind, the other enables her to tell what she hath learn'd; the one without the other, is lame. What  

4Epistolae, 1, 1, 10-12.
benefit yields fire, if still rak'd up in ashes; though flint may bear a flame in't: yet, we prize it but a little, because we cannot get it forth without knocking? He that hath worth in him, and cannot express it, is a chest of wood perhaps containing a Jewel, but who shall be better for't, when the key is lost. A good style does sometime take him, that good matter would beat away: 'Tis the guilding, that makes the wholesome Pill be swallowed. Elegance either in Tongue, or Pen, shews a man hath minded something besides sports and vice. 'Tis graceful to speak, or to write proper; nor is it easie to separate Eloquence and Sapience; for the first leads to the other, and is at least, the Anticourt to the Palace of Wisdom. A good style, with good matter, consecrates a work to Memory; and sometimes while a man seeks but one, he is caught to be a servant to the other. The Principal end of reading, is to inrich the mind; the next, to improve the Pen and Tongue. 'Tis much more gentile and suitable, when they shall appear all of a piece. Doubtless, that is the best work, where the Graces and the Muses meet.

R. S. 28. Of the Variation of Men in themselves.¹

IT is not only in respect to Fortune, but of the Mind also, that Solon's saying may be held as Oracle, Ante Obitum.

¹See above S. 31. The Worlds enchantment, when shee smiles on vs.
No man is to be accounted happy, till he hath escaped all things that may possibly make him unhappy. Not a day, nor an hour, but give some examples of the mutability of all humane affairs. And though the mutation of the mind be not so frequent: yet, the accidents of the world, the variation of condition, the difference of ages, the change of better to worse, and worse to better, outward hurts and inward diseases, have shown us the same persons distinguished into contrary men. And truly the enchantment that the world works on us, when she either laughs loud, or frowns deep, is so strong, that 'tis justly matter of amazement, for a man in the leap of the one, or in the tumble of either of these, to retain a mind unaltered; yet, are not all men changed alike. The same cordial that cures one man, may, by meeting a divers humor, distract or kill another. Fortunes effects are variable, as the natures that she works upon. Wealth is as the wine of life: some it puts into a delightful mirth, that gratifies all the company; while it makes others tyrannous and quarrelsome, that no man keeps himself in safety, but he that has the wit to be absent. Where it lights upon weak minds, it usually changes them into worse; they have not wherewithal to bear the stress that a great estate will put them to. And when they cannot bear it out by wit and reason, they fly to authority and power, which

enacts submission, but will not be accountable for any kind of merit that may induce it, saving only potency. And certainly, though it be true, which is commonly believed, That for the most part, where God designs a Governour, he qualifies him with parts proportionable for his imployments. Yet, doubtless, the very condition of Power, and Greatness, naturally estates a man in another temper, then what he was in without it. Noble souls so elevated, become like bodies planted above the vaporous Orb of Air, that then rest there in quiet, without propension of descent, or falling. And though Inferiour souls may wonder, how they can live under such clouds of business, as dayly break upon them: yet, as when Phile\textsuperscript{3} fancied, That when Moses liv'd forty dayes in the Mount, without food,\textsuperscript{4} that he was nourisht by the Ear, and fed upon the Musick of the Spheres, which then he heard: So, there is no doubt, but the application and the applause of others, the hummings of fame, and the ecchoings of Honour, relieve him against the gratings of a stomach sharpened with offending humours. The Musick of Honour does drown the noise of the throng. How easie is it for him to be at ease, and stand, when every one shall extend a hand to his sustentation. The wheel of Honour must needs turn cheerfully, and dispatch much grist too, when 'tis continually driven about by the

\textsuperscript{3} An Alexandrian Jewish philosopher and theologian of the first century A. D.

\textsuperscript{4} Exodus 24:18.
floud of preferment. But indeed, a man shows himself in Authority, according as he was inwardly principled before he came to it: for, many times the disposition appears not in the non-age of Power, no more then Reason in a child, the Organs are not fitted to discover it. Thus Manlius Torquatus in his youth, was of so dull and limpish a spirit, That his Father holding him unfit for matters of State, design'd him to a Countrey Farm: yet, afterwards by several glorious acts he obliged both his Father and his Countrey, even to the merit of a Triumph: so that it falls out to be most frequently true, That by preferment, good men are made better, but ill men worse: as the Drum that beats a Tyger into madness; but a man, into courage and valour. It therefore much concerns Princes, where their bounty bestows preferment: and the more, because their subjects have an interest in them as well as themselves. 'Tis true, nothing can be certain, as to the futurity of temper. Good or bad lodging in the heart, cannot by men be espied. Neither was the youth of the Noble Scipio untainted with vice, or the beginnings of the Monster-Nero, without some signs of good. The scum rises not, till the water boils; nor is the Oyl gathered till the liquor be heat. Let no man therefore

5 Roman dictator of the fourth century B. C. Livy, VII, 4-5, 10, 19, 26-28.

6 See the spurious "The Life of Scipio African" appended to the 1603 North edition of Plutarch.

7 Suetonius, Nero, VII-X.
despair too much of the bad, nor presume too much of the
good; the last, like a rich plant is a lean soyl, may
degenerate into wildness; and the other, though single, like
stocks in manured beds, may come up stript and double. If
there be wit, there is ground for hope the soyl is not
desperate. Reason upon recess, will shew him how much he is
to detest himself: but, he that hath not wisdom to judge,
will very seldom have the luck to reclaim.

R. S. 29. A Ceveat in choosing Friends. ¹

Though no man, branded with a signal vice, be fit for a
wise man to make a Friend of; yet, there be two sorts of men
that especially we ought to avoid: For, besides the learning
of their vices; they are not tyte enough to trust with a
secret; The Angry man, and the Drunkard. The prudent man
would be glad to enjoy himself in peace, without being haled
into the justling throng, where is nothing to be got but
dishonour, blows, and clamour. To be but only a spectator
is not to be out of danger. If a Granado be fired, all
within the burst are in hazard. If either of these Bears
break loose, you shall be sure to be either frightened, soiled,
or hurt; and, whether you will or no, be made partaker either
of some ridiculous quarrel, some unsober ryeot, or by both
together be lapp'd in some drunken fray: for the furies ever

¹See above S. 33. A good Rule for chusing a Friend.
bear a part in Bacchus his Orgies. The first in his fury is meerly mad. Choler is as dust flur'd up into the eyes of Reason, that blinds or dazles the sight of the understanding; where it burns in the heart like fire under a pot: Whenssoever it flames, it makes the tongue boil over; and where it falls, it scalds. Words come not then digested and mathematiqu'd out by judgement, sense, and reason, but flash'd and tumultuated by chance, by rage, and brutish passion; not upon permeditated terms, but whatsoever the memory on the sudden catches, that violent passion thrusteth out, though before it lay never so deeply hidden and immur'd. Confession's seal is broken by this pick-lock; and in a brawl that oft is blabb'd about, which with all the bars of silence should have still stood firmly riveted. Men throw about in fury, what, once appeas'd, they tremble to remember. Anger is the Fever of the Soul, which makes the Tongue talk idlely: nor come words clothed as at other times, but now as headed Arrows, fly abroad. Words dipt in gall and poison, leap about; as bullets chew'd they rankle where they enter; and like lead melted, blister where they light. Excited malice then exceeds her self. When the Prophet David tells us of his Enemies rage, nor Spears, nor Arrows, nor a naked Sword will serve him to express it; but, that Sword must be sharpened too, that it may cut the keener. It is, certainly, a deviation from man. In every fit, the man flyes out: and

²Psalm 57:4.
when he grows calm, he returns to himself. Seneca puts no
difference between the furious and the mad; for the mad-man's
always furious, and the furious ever mad. Then tell me, Who
it is, that being in his wits, would make choyce of his
friend out of Bedlam. When Solomon tells us of the brawling
woman, who is no other but a She-angry-man, he hath three
strange expressions to decipher her; one is, that 'Tis better
to dwell in a corner of the house-top, then with a
contentious woman. Another, that 'tis better to dwell in
the land of the Desert then with her. A third is, that she
is a continual dropping in Rain. All which summ'd together,
will amount to thus much; That you had better be exposed to
all the Tempests of the Heavens, as Thunder and Lightning,
Cold, Heat, Rain, Snow, with Storms that blow, and the rage
of all the Skies whole Armory: or, to live banish'd from all
Humane Conversation; and, in want of all things left a prey
to the ferocity of ravenous Beasts; or else without the
least intermission of rest, endure a perpetual dropping (which,
were your heart of Marble, yet will it wear it out at last)
than to live with a quarrelsom, contentious, unsatisfied
angry person. Those that are such, like houses haunted with
spirits, they are not safe for any may to harbour in. When
you think your self securely quiet and in a calm serenity,
on a sodain, ere you are aware, a hideous noise is heard,

or else a *Brick-bat flies* about your *ears*, and you must *run for't*, or be *black* and *blew'd all over*. If by chance you *knock* but against a *nail*, by that small *spark* it *strikes*, the *Gun-powder blows you up*. It makes a man a *Turn-pike*, that will be sure to *prick* you, which side soever you come on: So, it not only *offends*, but puts you off from *remedy*; It *ruffleth* so through all the *shrowds*, that *Reason's* never heard, till this *rough wind allays*. The *Roar* so stops the *Ear*, that a man cannot *hear* what 'tis that *Counsel speaks*. 'Tis a *raging Sea*, a *troubled water* so *muddled* with the *soil* of *Passion*, that it cannot be *wholesome* for the *use* of any. And if it be true that *Hippocrates*\(^6\) tells us, That those *diseases* are most *dangerous*, that alter most the *habit* of the *Patient's countenance*; this needs must be most *perillous*, that *voice*, *colour*, *countenance*, *garb* and *pace* so changes, as if *Fury* dispossessing *Reason*, had by an *Onslaught* forc'd a new *Garrison* upon the *Cittadel* of *Man*. And surely, this he knew, and well understood, that *Proverb'd* it into *Command*: *Neither make thou Friendship with the Angry, nor converse with the Furious; lest thou learn his waves, and beget a snare to thy soul*.\(^7\)

The other hath *Laesa Memoria* while he is in his *cups*, and if he drinks on, he hath none. The abundance of *Wine*

\(^6\)The most celebrated physician and medical author of ancient times (ca. 460-357 B. C.), who was still quoted as an authority in Felltham's day.

\(^7\)Proverbs 22:24-25.
does drown up that Noble Recorder. And while Bacchus is his chief God, Apollo never keeps him Company. Friends and Foes, Familiars and Strangers, are then all of an equal esteem. And he forgetfully speaks of that in his Cupps, which, if he were sober, the Rack should not wrest out from him. First, he speaks he knows not what; nor after, can he remember, what that was he spoke. He speaks that he should forget; and forgets that which he did speak. Drunkennesse is the Funeral of all Intelligible Man; which only time, and abstinence, can Resuscitate. A Drunkards mind and stomach are alike; neither, can retain, what they do Receive. The wine that is mingled with the blood and spirits, like Must, will vent, or else it breaks the Cask. Hee's gone from home, and not to be found in himself. Absentem laedit, qui cum ebrio litigat. Who quarrels one that's drunk, is as a fool to fight with him that's absent. He is not fit to keep anothers privacies, that knows not how to closet up his own deep thoughts. We by not Treasures where they may be wash'd away by inundations, nor cast them into common streams where every publique Angle hooks them out, Ebrietas stulta promit, multa prodit. The Drunkard hath a Fools Tongue, and a Traytors heart. When the floud is high, the damms are all

8 Since Apollo was, among other things, the patron god of wisdom, prophecy, medicine, art, music, and archery, anyone cut off from him was left with virtually none of the better things of life.

9 An aphorism attributed to Publilius Syrus, whose work exists only in fragments.
broken down. Wine is the Reseration of the Soul and Thoughts, The accursed Chasm of life, that laies open even our Sacred and Parental Nakednesse to the World. To the antient Romane women, the use of Wine was wholly unknown. And the Reason is given, Ne in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur. Lest thereby overcharged they might recoile into some dishonour. As believing Bacchus could not but make Venus wanton, and relax those bashful guards, that modest Nature left that Noble sex. Though the Mush-room was suspected, yet was it Wine wherein Claudius first took his povson: for being Maudline cupp'd, he grew to lament the Destinie of his marriages, which he said were ordain'd to be all unchast, yet should not passe unpunished; and this being understood by Agrippina, by securing him, she provided to secure her self.10 Nor is the distemper'd with drink, any truer to Businesse then he is to the Secret he is trusted with. For besides his want of memory to retain or carry on any thing of that Nature; men of this complexion, as moorish grounds that lye low and under-water, are usually boggy and rotten; or of so cold and sodded a temper; as they yield not fruit like Earth of another condition, that is not drown'd and floudded.

Either of these in way of a companion shall be sure to give a Man trouble enough. Either vexation or impertinency a man shall never want. One vomits Gall; the other Folly,

10Suetonius, Claudius, XXVI, XXXIX, XLIV.
and Surfeits. And 'tis not easy to say, which of them bespatters most. Together Horace couples them.

Arcanum neque tu scrutaberis ullius unquam,
Commissumve iege et vino tortus, et ira.\textsuperscript{11}

To learn man's secrets, never vainly think,
Or to conceal them; torn with Rage, or Drink.

No man can expect to find a friend without faults, nor can he propose himself to be so to another. But in the Reciprocation of both, without mildnesse and temperance there can be no continuance. Every man for his friend will have something to do; and something to bear with, in him: the sober man only can do the first, and for the latter there is patience required. 'Tis better for a Man to depend on himself then to be annoyed with either a Man man, or a Fool. Clytus was slain by a Maister in drink.\textsuperscript{12} The Thessalonians massacred by an Angry Emperour:\textsuperscript{13} and the deaths of either, lamented by the Authors.

\textsuperscript{11}Epistolae, 1, 8, 37-38.

\textsuperscript{12}Alexander the Great. The incident is recounted in Plutarch.

\textsuperscript{13}Theodosius, in A. D. 390. An account is in Gibbon, Ch. XXVII.
R. S. 30. Of the danger of Liberty.¹

IN Man that is intellectual, as well as in Creatures only sensitive, 'tis easily experimented that Liberty makes Licentious. When the Reines are held too loosely, the Affections runne wildly on without a guide, to Ruine. He that admits a Fool to play with him at home, will find he will do the same when he comes into the Market. Liberty, which seems to be so highly priz'd, and is the only cryd-up thing in the world; As 'tis the most eagerly pursued: so once enjoyed, it is of all the seeming goods of Man, the most dangerous and tempting: Not being able to guide our own mad Appetites, we quickly betray our selves to the same sad slavery, that but now we did oppose. Even in Governments the loosest are of least Continuance. What Church ever lasted long, that kept not up by discipline? It was while men slept that the Tares were sown, When there is none to watch, but men are left to the Liberty of their own Opinions, then is the time to sow Heresies. Not only Germany, but England is able to make out this. That since the fiel'd-keepers have been remov'd, we have had more cockle and darnell, then I think any age since Religion appear'd in the World. And 'tis no wonder if we neglect our wholesome wheat, or feed on't with these weeds mingled with it, that we grow giddy with unwholsome vapours, or so

¹See above S. 34. Liberty makes Licentious.
dim-sighted in the waies of Truth and Antiquity, that all men may conclude us in the number of those that do lolio victitare.\textsuperscript{2} Indulgence and sloth are the sisters of Freedome. Men that may, will favour themselves; and that partiality, will make them Lazy. Where is there lesse Industry or more sensuality then abounds among the Savages; where Nature is left to her own sway, without the Cultivation of wholesome Laws and Regiment? What is't that makes war so horrid, but the lawlesse Liberty that Souldiers loosely take? And where there is impunity, what villany rests unattempted? Rapes Murthers, Thefts, Oaths, Incest, Cruelties, with all the sluttish broods of blackest Vices, follow in the train of Armies. And what cause can be rendered? but, first, the dispensing with Gods Commandements of not killing and stealing; and then the Licence that in Camps they take, by reason they are either left to themselves, or cannot be come by to be punished. We are all like Bowls running down the Hill; if once upon the turn, our own weight hurries us to the sink and lowest bottome. What Appius Claudius\textsuperscript{3} observ'd of the Romane people, doth hold as true of all the rest of the World, That they are better trusted with businesse and imployment, then with Ease and Liberty. In the first they improv'd their Vertues: by the last, they

\textsuperscript{2}"Live upon tares."

\textsuperscript{3}Probably Appius Claudius Caecus, a famous Roman censor (312-308 B. C.) who composed aphorisms. Cicero mentions him as a notable orator.
tumbled into vice and surquedry. Nothing makes us more unfortunately wretched then our own uncurbed wills. A loose passion pursu'd and fulfilled, hales and hastens us to certain destruction. Hath not assumed liberty and a luscivious successe thrown those grand assemblies into hate and abhorrency, that in their modest limits were the gaze and envy of the christian world? What hath so wounded the honour of some of our gentry and nobility as this; That by being permitted to do what they would, they have left to do what they ought, and have done what they ought not to have thought upon. How grand a difference have we seen between a family scatter'd into ryot by licensiousnesse; and another restrain'd and marshall'd in the civilnesse of a graceful order? A forest beast is uncontrolled man. A bear without a ring is wicked nature left without a rule. It is for god alone, whose blessed essence is wholly incapable of ill, to be deified with a power of doing what-ever he pleaseth, yet never to do any thing below perfection's height. But when frail man is trusted with that freedome, he easily ranges till he lose himself. Soft water suing through the smallest chink, neglected wears a widenesse for a stream; and, breaking banks, does deluge all the fields. What was it made the emperor caracalles strike up that incestuous marriage, but the impudence of a mother in law in telling him, an emperor was to give what laws he pleas'd: but was not himself to take

4 Emperor of Rome, A. D. 211-217.
any from others? *Actaeons* wandering eye, not chequ'\textit{t}, left him a \textit{prey} to his own \textit{wild affections}, those \textit{Metaphoricall Hounds} that seiz'd and tore his \textit{heedlesse} and \textit{invigilant master}.\textsuperscript{5}

\textit{Inpejora datur suadetque Licentia luxum.}

To worse, and Ryot; Licence ever leads.

The \textit{Boundary of Man} is \textit{Moderation}. When once we passe that pale, our \textit{guardian Angel} quits his charge of keeping us: For we are not in our wayes; and then, at every step, we dash against some \textit{stone}, till frequent \textit{Bruses} bring us to destruction. He that would be preserved in safety, had need keep \textit{sentinell} upon his Liberty. 'Tis a Wanton child that will be apt to runne upon \textit{dangers}: if there be not a Keeper to \textit{lead} and \textit{look} to it. Upon a serious scrutiny, I find not why men should baul so loud for \textit{Liberty}. A wise mans alwaies \textit{free}: \textit{just}, and \textit{right}, is that which is his \textit{will}, and against his \textit{Will} he acts not. For if he find not \textit{Reason} to do it, he cannot be \textit{compel'd} to't. The government of the State, if \textit{free} from \textit{Tyranny}, is not the worse for being \textit{strict}; and that of the \textit{Church}, while it keeps to what is \textit{Orthodox}, is the best for the \textit{discipline}. It shall never offend me to live under any \textit{Government} that may make me better, and restrain me from wandring. When I have most freedom, I shall most suspect my self. He that is turn'd

\textsuperscript{5}See S. 34, note 2.
into the Sea, had need to look to have his Pilot alone. He that may do more then is Fit, is upon his march to do more then is Lawfull. If we once exceed the measure, as easily we grow to exceed the manner. Vice is a Peripatetick, alwaies in progression.

R. S. 31. In the strictest Friendship, some Secrets may be reserv'd.¹

Though a Friend, indeed, be but the duplicate of a mans self: yet there may often happen Secrets to one that may not be convenient to impart to the other. If they be such as the knowledge thereof shall not only, not benefit; but shall bring a grief to my Friend: I cannot think it an Act of friendship to impart them. He that grieves his friend when he needs not, is his enemy, or at least lesse his Friend then he might be. Certainly, even in case of Conscience as well as in Common Morallity, it had been better for Oedipus he had never known that he had slain his Father, and married his Mother, then to have it told him when it was too late to prevent it. When the things were done, the knowledge could not remedy them: and his Ignorance gave him (as to the things) a kind of innocence, whereby he might have passed away his life incruciated without the sense of

¹See above S. 35. That All secrets should not be imparted to the faithfullest Friend.
so fatal misfortunes: And after that was finished, it had been **Oedipus** the sonne of **Polybius** of **Corinth**, and not of **Laius** of **Thebes**, that had done the **deeds** so **blackly** grim and horrid. Some **secrets** may happen to be such, as may beget a **jealousie**; and those, as the **gall** and **fretting** of **friendship**, are for ever to be avoided: Where **jealousie** begins to **live**, friendship, begins to **dye**. And albeit, **Scipio** found much fault with the saying of **Byas**.² That we ought so to **love**, as, if there should be **cause**, we afterwards might **hate**:

Yet, doubtless, considering the **frailty** and **incertainty** of the **minds** of **men**; it is prudence so to look upon **men**, as, though they be now **friends**, they may yet live to become our **enemies**. Stability is not **permanent** in the **unstable heart** of **man**; and therefore we are not oblig'd to **trust** them with that, which may **deliver** us into their **power** to **ruine** us, if after they shall once **fall off**. How often do we see dear **friends**, decline into detested **Enemies**? Nay, they are the **greater**, for that they have been **friends**. Even the **fiercest** and most **enlarged enmities**, have sprung from the strictest **leagues of friendship**. What Region then can yield us Truth and **Constancy**? If **Parmenio** prove **false** to **Alexander**, who is't can then be **trusted**? and if **Parmenio** were not **false**, who is't can then be **trusted**, since **Alexander** was the man that **slew** him.³ As I will not care for a **friend** full of

²An Ionian philosopher of the seventh and six centuries B. C., one of the Seven Sages.

³Plutarch, "The Life of Alexander."
Inquisitions, (for Percontator Garrulus, Inquisitors are Tatlers): so I will not be importunate upon my friends secrets. I have known some have eagerly fish'd for that, which when they have got, hath been together the bane both of friendship and life. By such actions, men do as some ignorant persons that are bitten with madd Doggs, they think when they have suckt the bloud from the wound, they may spit it out without danger. When by that act it catches the brain, and kills. A nocent secret opened, doth often kill both giver and receiver: or, sometimes only the receiver dyes; for, being trusted too far with what cannot be recalled. No safety can be builded on, but by destroying those that are entrusted. When Jupiter had made Metis4 his wife, and she by him conceived; before she was delivered, he devours both her and her conception, and presently after out of his own brain, he became delivered of an armed Pallas; which may well represent unto us, A secret discovered unto a friend, that after, being repented of, was reassum'd by devouring that friend, to prevent a further discovery; and then we grow wiser by standing on our guard, and defending our selves either from the mischief, that is already abroad, or from being over-taken again by committing any more such folly; which may well be signified by his bringing forth Pallas Arm'd. To know too much, undoes us with our friend. He is not wise, that will trust all his wealth into anothers

4Metis was the personification of prudence. She was Zeus's wife before Hera.
custody. If my friend impart ought freely, I shall endeavour faithfully to serve him, as far as I may. But if in some things he be reserv'd, I shall suppose 'tis for his own safety, as well as my ease. I will be willing to know as far as he would have me, without extracting spirits, or crushing more than will run with ease. If he be one to be valued, I ought not to wrong him so much as to wrest that from him, that should cause him afterwards to repent, or fear. If he be not to be valued, I will never engage myself so much, as to be made conscious of his concealments.

R. S. 32. That 'tis no Dishonour sometime to Retract a Pursuit.¹

IT was questionless meant of things vertuous and commendable, Quicquid agis, age pro viribus; otherwise we are advised to be diligent in ill, in the bad as well as the good. This were to be profaner then the Heathen that gave the Precept. Suitable to this, is that of Ecclesiastes, All that thine hand shall find to do, do it with all thy power.² The Chaldee restrain it to too narrow a sense, for they limit it only to Alms. As, whatsoever thy hand shall meet with when put into thy purse, let that come out and give it freely. And though to make it extensive to all our actions,

¹See above S. 36. What losse comes by the gaining either of the Pleasure or Profit of the World.

²9:10.
is a sense far more amiss; yet, I see not, but many times, not only the vigour is to be abated; but, even the resolution of pursuing is to be wholly retracted. 'Tis better sometimes to sound a retreat, and so draw off, then 'tis to stay in the field and conquer; because, it may so fall out, that the prize we should win, will be no way able to countervail the loss that by the war we shall sustain. What is't to dye like Samson? Or, who can call that Victory, where, with my Enemies grave, I must also dig my own? I do not care to conquer in a Lutzan field: though his party prevail, he sacrificeth all his Victories, that makes himself uncapable of more, or enjoying what he hath got. He that is imbarqu'd upon disadvantage, shall find it more honour to retire, then to go unto the end of his voyage. He is simple, that only because he hath begun, will pursue what is unprofitable. There is no disgrace in doing that which is for the best. They that pretend to be the greatest Umpires of Honour and Renown, do think it no impeachment to their judgement to raise that Seige, that is not likely to be prevalent. The further in any action a man goes, assuredly, he may see the more: And if a man hath bin a fool in the beginning, he is not bound to be so to the end. If there shall be cause, the sooner a man comes off, the better. It is far more pardonable to err through inconsideration, then wilfulness: the one is weak by accident; the other out of election.

Shall it be no shame to have begun ill, and shall it be a shame, prudentially to desist? I see, among most, a mastery and to overcome, is both a pleasing, and a vulgar error; we are oftner led by Pride, Obstinatey, or Partiality; then by the right and solid Rules of Reason. He that bears it out in a bad business, shews rather the ferocity of some brutish Nature, then the Conduct that becomes a Man. For 'tis better to manifest that we are overcome by Reason, then that we can overcome against it. In all things, let me weigh the conclusion, and ballance my reckning; and then examine which is better, to proceed or desist. If my loss in the end shall exceed my gain, I but run into the same folly, that Augustus used to say they did, that for trivial matters, would presently break out into war: They fish'd with a golden hook, to catch a fish of a farthing, they expos'd to hazard a tackling of a pound: If they lose it, they gain repentance and sorrow; if they do not, they must ow it more to luck then to wit; and then Fortune claims the praise, not they: And if in temporal matters alone, such a carriage cannot be excuseable; what apology can we frame for our selves in spirituals? When meerly to satisfie a present sensual appetite, we run the hazard of perishing a Soul to Eternity. That Lover is mad indeed, that will give up all that he hath for a glance. We buy affliction with all we have that is precious: and by a right scanning of our actions, by such as shall not partialize, we must be judged to be more
taken with punishment then pleasure; as if in torment we plac'd our felicity: like the Russian wives, who think their husbands do not love, unless they sometimes cudgel them. Let us never laugh at the silly Indian, who lets us have his Gold for Beads and Rattles; when we our selves are infinitely simpler, that for toys and trifles sell Heaven and Felicity. Our Saviour indeed, putting all the world in the scale, does find it far too light for mans Deifick soul; when he asks, What it will advantage to gain the first, and lose the last? Whereby we may hope, he had better thoughts of Man then to descend him into so thin a shallowness, as that he should make it away for worse then vanity; vexation and undoing. He thinks not any will be so stupidly wild, as for a grasp of air, an itch of honour, an heat of bloud, a pleasure that has no being, but in opinion only, to lay by sacred peace, and lasting happiness: But if he must lose that precious spark of Deity, 'tis the whole world, and not any part of it that is put in the supposition.

R. S. 33. To have Regard to Means, but not to Despair without.¹

WE can never be so low, as to be at a loss, if we can but look up unto God. He that hopes, proclaims his Divinity; and, to speak according to humanity, credits God: But, he that despairs, degrades his Deity; and, seeming to intimate, that he is insufficient, or not just on his word, in vain hath read both the Scriptures, the World, and Man. Three ways we read our Saviour healed diseases: With means, as the Leper, in the 8. of St. Matthew;² Without means, as the ten Lepers, in the 17. of St. Luke;³ Against means, as the blind man, in the 9. of St. John.⁴ His working by means is more ordinary, and suits better with the weakness of our faith, and the dimness of our understanding; where we see it not, we are apt to sink and fail: Can God prepare a Table in the Wilderness?⁵ was the bold ignorance of Infidel and Incorrigible Israel; who wanting wings, still grovels on the ground, and nere will clime to Heaven, without a stair to lead him. Means makes us confident, and with this staff we leap. When we are prescrib'd what's proper for our cure, our remedy is almost by demonstration; and there to doubt, is to return Heretick to Providence. Nay, if the Application

¹See above S. 37. Of using Means.
²Verses 1-4. ³Verses 11-19.
⁴Verses 1-7. ⁵Psalm 78:19.
be right in all, we cannot miss without a little Miracle: For, Nature, that is ever sedulous and constant in the facilities she is created with, must vary from her self, or by a drowsie sloth be rendered insignificant, which yet she never does without a Superiour hand to rein her out of her rode. It is as natural for means to cure, as 'tis for winds to cool, or fire to warm, when hoary Winter blows her cold about us. To work without means, I know seems hard to Man, and to the inapprehensiveness of his Humane Reason. But, that this is as easie to God as the other, there is nothing we can look on, but evinces it. The whole Creation was without all help, there was not so much as the assistance of Matter, a maked Fiat did it; a word alone, the easiest of expressions. And, though lame Philosophy will not allow anything to be producible out of nothing: Yet, certainly, whatsoever is not God, either was immediately fram'd of nothing, or out of that, which first of all was nothing: for, to ascribe a coetaneous being of the world with God, is to make it God, by giving it Eternity. And, as 'tis safer for man to believe it created out of nothing by Divine Omnipotence, then to be fram'd of Atoms, by Chance, or by Necessity, by holding of any of which, he must sink in absurdity: So, it is more honour to God, by assigning him a Potency for so stupendious a Machination. Nor is the other, Without means to God of greater difficulty. A Miracle when he pleases, is to him as easie as a Natural cause. For, it was at first by Miracle, that even that Cause was Natural.
And all the **Miracles** that we have heard of in the **World**, are less a **Miracle** then the **World** it self. He that knows and orders all the **things** that ever were, or shall be, in whom their **Being radically** is, can easily go to **private way**, that to us may seem to lead contrary quite to what we **apprehend**. Nor need we wonder that we cannot **trace** him. It requires **Miracle** to make us capable of understanding one. We cannot **reach** above our own **extension**. But, when by dayly demonstration, we see **Events** transcending all our **reaches**; What is't should make us doubt so great **Omnipotency**? It is as easy to God to work without means as with them. It is the same, **Be clean**, and, **Go wash**. And against means is equall to either. Nay to him these latter are the **nearer waies**. To go by his **power** and **omniscence**, is far a quicker way then by the **circumflections** of **Nature** and **second Causes**. Though he hath been pleas'd (unlesse in **extraordinaries**) to leave **Nature** to her **instinctive operation** in her wonted **Propenssions**. That eight-times **Martyr'd Mother** in the **Macchabees** when she would adhort her **Sonne** to a passive **Fortitude** against the **exacuated Tortures** of **Antiochus**, she desires him to look upon the **Heavens**, the **Earth**, and all in them contained; and to consider that God made them of things that were not; and to mankind, likewise. Doubtlesse though in **Nature** and **Reason** there be no ground left for despair.

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6The story of the mother and her eight sons takes up the entire seventh chapter of II Maccabees. The verse Felltham quotes is 28.
(for without lessening God to the **Pusillivity** of **Man** it cannot be fram'd in the **mind**); yet we ought never so to depend on his **Will** and **Power** hidden, as to neglect his declared **pleasure**. He that neglects what he finds commanded, hath little reason to expect what he finds not promis'd. Upon means it is fit we should depend: without means, we may hope. Against means, we should not **despair**. But, as to disregard Gods appointed means is a **Supine contempt**; So to depend too much on things **unapprehendable**, is rather a badg of rash presuming then any Notable courage of **Faith**. I may look up to Gods wayes; but I ought to look down to my own. He that walks according to means, travails with a **Convoy** and may see his way before him. But he that journeys without them, is in a Wildernesse where he may sooner be lost, then wander out when he knows not his way.

R. A. 34:a **The Misery of being old and ignorant.**

Since old Age is not only a Congregation of diseases, but even a disease it self; and, That, (in regard to the Decree which Providence hath past'd upon man) incurable save by death. The best thing next to a **Remedy** is a diversion or an **Abatement** of the Malady. When infirmities are grown **habitual** and **remediless**, all we can do is to give them some

*a Misnumbered XXI, 8.

1See above S. 38. **The Misery of being Old and Ignorant.**
Respite and a little Alleviation, that we may be lesse sensible of the smart and sting they smite us with. The cold Corelian cannot change his clime; but yet by furrs and fires he can preserve himself, and stowe out winter aim'd with Ice and Wind. The Drum and Fife can drown the Battails noise, though many times there is no room to escape it. The little Pismire can instruct great Man, that (winter comming) store should be provided. And what thing is there in the fathome of industrious man, that can so qualifie him against the breaches and decays that Age makes on him, as knowledg as study and meditation; with this he can feast at home alone, and in his Closett put himself into what ever Company that best shall please him, with Youths Vigour, Ages gravity, Beauties pleasantnesse, with Peace or Warr as he likes. It abates the tediousnesse of decrepit Age and by the divine raptures of Contemplation it beguiles the wearinesse of the Pillow and Chair. It makes him not unpleasing to the Young, reverenc'd by age, and beloved of all. A gray head with a wise mind enricht by Learning is a Treasury of Grave praecepts, experience, and Wisdome. 'Tis an Oracle to which the lesser-wise resort to know their Fate; He that can read and meditate need not think the Evening long or Life tedious; 'Tis at all times employment fit for a man: Like Davids harp it cures the evill spirit of this Soul that is naturally testy, froward, and complaining. Though perhaps there was

2 La Fontaine, Fables, I, i.
3 I Samuel 16:23.
a Vivacity more then Ordinary; Yet I doubt not but it was this that in the main from Gorgias⁴ produc'd that memorable answer. Being a hundred and seven years of Age. One ask'd him, Why he liv'd so long. He replyes because he yet found nothing in old Age to complain of. And that this is probable, he was Master of Isocrates,⁵ had got such wealth by teaching Rhetorique that he bequeathed his statue in Gold, to Apollo's Temple; and to any Theme was able well to speak extempore, and certainly, if any thing hath power, 'tis Vertue and Knowledge that can ransome us from the Infirmities and Reproaches of Age. Without this, an old man is but the lame shadow of that which once he was. They honour him too far that say he is twice a Child. There is something in Children that carryes a becomming prettiness, which is pleasant and of grateful relish. But ignorant Old age is the worst picture that Time can draw of Man. Tis a barren Vine in Autumnne, a leaky Vessel ready to drop in pieces at every remove, a map of mentall and Corporeal weakness; not pleasing to others, but a Burthen to himself. His Ignorance and Imbecillity condemns him to Idlenesse; which to the active Soul is more irksome then any employment. What can he do when strength of limbs shall fail; and the gust of pleasure which help'd him to mispend his youth, through time

⁴A Greek orator of the fifth century B. C. He lived about 109 years. He is the subject of a Platonic dialogue.

⁵A celebrated Attic orator and rhetorician of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C.
and **Lanqui'd Age** shall **blunted** be and **dull**? Abroad he
cannot stir to partake the **Variation** of the World; nor will
others be fond of comming to him, when they shall find nothing
but a **cadaverous man**, composed of **diseases** and **Complaints**,
that for want of knowledg hath not discourse to keep **Reason**
company. Like the **Cuccow** he may be left to his own
**moultring** in some **Hollowed Cell**: but since the voice of his
Spring is gone (which yet was all the **Note** he had to take us
with) he now's not listned after: So the **bloodlesse**
**Tortoise** in his **melancholly hole**, lazeth his life away.
Doubtless were it for nothing else, even for this is Learning
to be highly valued, That it makes a man his own Companion
without either the Charge or the **Cumber** of Company. He
needs neither be oblig'd to humour, nor engag'd to flatter.
He may hear his **Author** speak as far as he likes, and leave
him when he doth not please, nor shall he be angry though he
be not of his **Opinion**. It is the **guide** of **Youth**, to **Manhood**
a **Companion**, and to **old Age** a **Cordial** and an **Antidote**. If I
dye to morrow, my Life to day will be somewhat the **sweeter**
for **Knowledg**. The answer was good, which **Antisthenes** gave
when he was asked, What fruit he had reaped of all his
**studies**? By them (faith he) I have learned, both to live,
and discourse with my self.\(^6\)

\(^6\)See S. 38, note 3.
R. S. 35. A twofold way to Honour.¹

TO true Honour there is certainly but one right way, and that is by Vertue and Justice. But to that which the World calls Honour, which is Command, Authority, and Power, though there be thousand petty windings, yet all may be reduced in the main to two waies only. One when God calls, Another when man seeks it without the Lorde warrant. He that goes the first, deserves it, but seeks it not; when he is at the top, he must take no more then becomes an Honest man, and who then is it, that upon serious Consideration will put himself into such a Condition as very hardly admits him to be so without the downfall both of him, and his. The unreasonablenesse of men will not be satisfied with all that Reason can be able to do. And therefore though the Call be warrantable yet, I find it hath sometimes been waved and refused: Adventiusa would not accept the Empire though chosen to it upon Bassianus Caracall's death.² And though our Countryman Cardinal Pool³ be by some Condemned; as

¹See above S. 39. A two-fold way to Honour.

²A. D. 217. Adventius was senior praefect. He declined the offer because of age, infirmaty, and lack of ability.

³Reginald Pole (1500-1558), called "Cardinal of England." He was one of the presidents of the Council of Trent. He opposed Henry VIII's church policy and helped bring England back to Roman Catholicism under Mary Tudor. He was almost elected pope in 1549.

ᵃAudentius in 8, obviously a misprint.
fooling himself out of the Papacy by a strain of too much Modesty, yet, take his Reasons candidly according to his own expression (which we ought to believe, if nothing be discovered to the Contrary), and the reason of his non-acceptance was pious and prudent. Legitimate Actions can stay for the day and endure it. They are usually unwholesome Vapours that rise up in the night and darknesse: and truly, to steal into such a chair obscurely while men are asleep, though it may be serious, is not seemly. Even the Doggs will take him for a Thief and bark at him, that sculks in the Night although he be Honest and True. He pulls upon himself suspition, that hath not witnesses of his acting cleerly and apertly. But of all the examples of this Nature, that of Frederick Duke of Saxony is most to be Honoured. His Vertues were so great that unanimously the Electors chose him for Emperour, while he as earnestly did refuse: nor did they, like ticklie Italians, pet at this and put another in his room: but, for the reverence they bore him, when he would not accept it himself, they would yet have one that he should recommend, which was Charles the fifth: Who out of his gratitude for putting him to that place, sent him a Present of 30000 Florins. But he that could not be tempted by the Imperial Crown, stood proof against the blaze of gold: And when the Embassadours could

4 Called "Frederick the Wise." He was elected emperor in 1519, but withdrew in favor of Charles V. As the price for his support, Frederick made Charles agree not to attack Luther.
fasten none upon him, they desired but his permission to leave 10000 among his servants: to which he answered, They might take it if they would, but he that took but a piece from Charls, should be sure not to stay a day with Frederick. A mind truly heroick, evidently superlative, by despising what was greatest: not temptable with either Ambition, or Avarice: far greater then an Emperour, by refusing to be one. We read in the Scriptures of an Olive, a Fig, and a Vine, that would not leave their enjoyments to be Kings; but, here was a man that out-examined both the Testaments: for Adam even in Innocency was tempted, as (he simply thought) to eat, and be like a God; and two of the Apostles the sons of Zebedee aspired to be Lording it; while a third for money, betray'd not only his Creating, but Redeeming God: Doubtless, he that would be enabled to Act, must have Commission, and be lawfully Delegated: Like Cato's wise man, he will stay till he be called; he will not underminingly call up himself, but will be really by other sought for. They are weeds that grow up from the earth of themselves, whereas wholsom herbs require a hand to plant them. If he be good, he will not by an ill way compass Dominion. From him men may hope for justice and temperance, who, to gain it, would never transgress. He is not likely

8Matthew 26, Mark 14, Luke 22.
to do amiss in the Throne, when the Throne it self could not tempt him before he had it: For, since Ambition is cunctis affectibus Flagrantiōr, more instant and scorching then any other passion beside; he hath shew'd a noble temper, that hath withstood the stimulations that his Nature goads him with. He that would not do wrong to get it, 'tis not like he will afterward do wrong to keep it. Fraud may sooner be legitimated in the getting of an Empire, then in the exercise. And perfect Honour, like the Diamond, sparkles brightest, when the light is most. So, that if there be any freedom for man upon Earth (which may be highly doubted of) 'tis when a just man justly gets and holds a Government.

And on the other side must necessarily be the contrary. Who unjustly seizeth a Government, tell us, that he can dispense with any thing that he may obtain his ends. Such acquisitions can never be either for the Authors safety, or the Peoples benefit: Not safe for the Author; his ways not being warrantable, he hath abandoned that which should protect him: Thieves of Honour seldom find joy in their purchases, stability, never. God cannot endure that aspiring spirit, that climbs the Hill of Preferment without his leave. He intrudes himself into the society of the Gods, that is not good enough to converse with men. So, though he may be a Typhon for a while, and raise for himself a Mountain to command on; yet the anger of the Gods at last will throw some AEtna on him, to consume him. Every evil way carries his own curse along, and God hath pronounc't an inprosperity
to wickedness. **Ambition** is a **circumvention** when men circle about by deceit to over-reach the rest: and it argues their ways not right, when they are put to work under-hand; the attainment being **bad**, the same **Arts** must keep it, that did at first **procure** it. If it comes by **fraud**, it will not without **fraud** be preserv'd. Who draws his **Sword** to get it, does seldom put it up again. And certainly, in **force** and **fraud**, there is equally **hazard** and **danger**; one design **failing**, the total Fabrick **falls**. The **subsistence** of either of these is at best, but the **Game** of **Fortune**, wherein are more cross **Cards**, then **Trumps** that can **command**. **Curtius**, from the very **Politicks** of **Nature**, without the **Perspective** of **Religion**, could easily find, and tell us; That, **Nulla quaesua scelere Potentia dinturna est**; No Power unjustly gained, can be **permanent**. Who ever wrongfully ascends a **Throne**, is necessitated to a **Government** suitable. **Injustice** spawns **Injustice**, and by **Injustice** must it be **defended**. **Right** can never keep up **wrong**. And this must needs be as **ill** for the **people**. The Historian gives it fully, **Nemo Imperium flagitio quaesitum bonis artibus exercuit**. Never expect that he should **Reign justly**, that did **unjustly** take the **reins** in his hand. **Good men** will **complain**, and then they must be **Enemies**: but, **bad**, by **complying**, shall be put into **Office**, and then, as **Government** settles, so does

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9 Quintus Curtius, a historian of the second century A. D.
Oppression; for the heaviest yoke is the hardest to cast off. And when once a People by their own votes, shall lock themselves to the post, their Beadle may the more safely whip them when he pleaseth. It cannot be but best on all hands, when a Prince is plac'd by a lawful call. His Commission will defend him, and the hand that promoted him, will not only protect, but furnish him with parts proportionable. If Moses be slow of speech, he shall have an Aaron given him. If the Master of the House bring him in at the dore, the servants will respect him; but, he that breaks in at the window, is like to be cast out for a Thief.

Aaron was the first high priest of Israel. See Exodus 4–Deuteronomy 10, especially Exodus 4:10-16.

R. S. 36. Of Superstition.¹

Though Profaneness be much worse in some respect then Superstition, yet, this in divers persons is a sad discomposure of that life, which without it might be smooth and pleasant. He that is profane, sets up a God to abuse him: as Dionysius, when he took away AEsculapius, his golden beard, said, 'Twas a shame to see the son so grave, when the Father was ever without one. He seems to know there is a God, but disclaims to pay him homage as he is one: Or, what he hath impropriated to himself, and worship, contemptuously

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
he debases to secular and common uses: and sometimes mocks at that, which for its relation to the Deity, and its service, should never but with reverence be look'd upon: so that, though both be blameable, yet, Superstition is the less complainable. A Religion misguided only in some circumstance, is better far then to have none at all. And a man shall less offend by fearing God too much, then wickedly to jest at, and despise him. An open slighting of so immense a Goodness and a Greatness as God is; is worse then mistaking him to be too severe and strict. To exceed this way, produces sometimes a good effect; it makes a man careful not to offend: And if we injure not God by making him severer then he is; or, by placing more in Accidents, and the Creature, then Religion allows that we should give, we cannot be too wary in offending. Two things there are, which commonly abuse men into Superstition; Fear and Ignorance: Fear presents as well what is not, as what is. Terror horrids the apprehension, and gives a hideous vizard, to a handsom face: It sees as did the new recover'd blind man in the Gospel, That which is a man, appears a tree. It creates evils that never were, and those that be, like the Magnifying-glass, when a Face is no bigger then an Apple, it shews it as large as a Bushel. But that which is good, it dwindles to nothing: and believes, or suggests, that God cannot help at need; so dishonours him into imbecillity, lessening his Goodness and his Power, and aspersing both with defeat. And this for the most part, is begotten out of guilt: For, Courage and
Innocence usually dwell together. Nor is Ignorance behind hand in helping to increase the scruple: Not seeing either the Chain of Providence, or the Arm of Power, we are apt to faint, and accuse unjustly that which, if we knew, we should adore and rest upon. And as fear is begot out of guilt, so, is ignorance out of sloth, and through the want of industry. And this surely, is the reason, why we find Superstition more in women and soft natures, then in the more audacious constitution of man. And where we do find it in men, 'tis commonly in such as are low in their parts, either natural, or through neglect. A memorable Example hereof, we find in the first of the Annals. When the three Legions in Hungaria and Austria, that were under Junius Blesus, were in the ruffe of their mad mutiny, had menaced the Guards, stoned Lentulus, and upbraided Drusus that was sent from Rome by Tiberius to appease them; on a sodain, their Superstition made them tame, and Crest-fallen: For, in a clear night, the Moon being eclips'd, and before the Eclipse was fully spent, the Sky covered with Clouds; being ignorant of the Natural cause and suspicious of their own mis-behaviour, they thought the Goddess frown'd upon them for their wickedness, and that it presaged their troubles should never have end. By which casual accident and unskilful opinion, they were again reduced to Order and the Discipline of Arms. What consternation have I seen in some at spilling of the Salt against them? Their bloud has deeper dy'd their frightened face; a trembling fear has struck
them through the heart, as if from some incens'd Triumvir
they had receiv'd a Proscription; all which, I take to be
only Ignorance of what at first made it held to be Ominous:
and hath since by a long Succession continued the vanity to
us.

Salt among the Ancients was accounted as the Symbol of
Friendship, because it both preserves from corrupting, and
unites into more solidity: and, being used to season all
things, it was not only first set upon the Table; but was
held a kind of Consecration of it: *Sacras facite Mensas*
salinorum oppositu, Hallow the Tables with the Salt set on
them. And meerly from this estimation of Salt, it was held
ominous if it should be spilt; as if it had presag'd some
jar or breach of friendship among some of the guests or
company; so that, in truth, the unluckiness of it, is but a
construction made by our selves without a cause. For,
otherwise, seeing the old Egyptians, did so abominate it,
that even in bread it was abandoned by them: For, they
(affecting the purity of living) held it as the Incitator of
lust, and the wakener of carnality. Why then should it not
as well from this, be avoided, as from the other find a
Sacration? But, only blind custom, as in other things, so
in this, hath led us along in the Error. While the
Star-chamber was in being, at a Dinner there, I remember,
the Sewer over-turned the Salt, against a Person of Honor,
who startled, sputter'd, and blusht, as if one had given him
a stab, concluding it a Prodigy, and Ominous; to which
Edward Earl of Dorset² (of a nobler frame and genius) handsomely replyed: That for the Salt to be thrown down, was not strange at all; but, if it should not have fain when it was thrown down, had been a Prodigy indeed. To make Observation of accidents for our own instruction, without either dishonour to God, or disturbance to our selves, I hold to be a wise mans part: But, to fear danger when none is; or to be secure, where danger may be, is to change properties with one of those simple Birds, that either stoop at a Barn-dore; or thrusting his head into a hole, thinks none of the rest of his body can be visible.

²Edward Sackville (1591-1652), fourth Earl of Dorset.

R. S. 37. Of Cowardice.¹

As an Eminency of Courage makes the owner grateful to all good company: so the defect renders him the disdain and scorn of all that but pretend to honour. There is nothing that disworths a man like Cowardice and a base fear of danger. It makes the smooth way difficult, and the difficult inaccessible. 'Tis a clog upon Industry, and like puddle water, quenches the fire of all our brave attempts: The Coward is an unfinisht man; or, one which Nature hath made less, then others: like Salt that hath lost its savour,²

¹See above S. 40. Cowardice worthlesse.

his pertness and his gust is gone. As some great But or Hogshead full of liquor, he may carry a bulk and be ponderous like other men; but, if you come to pierce him, that which is within, is but the vappa of Humanity; 'tis flat and dead, and the spirits are decay'd and lost. Plutarch compares him to the Sword-fish, that bears something like a weapon, but there wants a heart; yet, could he be content to walk off quietly, he might often pass undiscovered. But the misery is; for the most part, those that are least in heart, are lowdest in tongue. And indeed, having nothing else to set them forth, they can vapour higher, then the valiant man. Like the Drum they roar, and make a noise, but within are nothing but air and emptiness, being the worst ware, they require the greatest trimming, when once unbrac'd, their sound is displeasing: yet, lest they should be thought as they are, they oft disguise it with an out-side braving; which in the end brings them to that which they would avoid; and having the misfortune, by the vanity of their boasting, to stir up more quarrels then other men, they necessarily fall either into more dangers, or more disgrace. Men will scorn them, for that they wear their shape, but do not own their courage: and for Women to avoid them, is as natural, as in a house to run from a rotten roof, which would crush them to destruction, when it ought to be their safe-guard and protection. Fear like a whip, will make this Beast empty himself, though he kept it in his very bowels. He is neither fit to be a friend, nor an umpire in any affair. A little
menacing makes him faulty in both: He is not to be trusted with another's reputation, that hath not courage to defend his own: So, he is not more unfortunate to others, then to himself: his danger is more than other men. The enemy is fiercest to him that flies away. A coward's fear can make a coward valiant. Who dares not fight when he is resisted, will most insult when he sees another fearful; who flies, forsakes his help, and gives his back to blows, wherein he carries neither eyes nor hands to defend him. The timorous deer will push the feeble from their heard. Even hares will have a conceit of courage, when they shall for fear of them, see frogs leap into water. So despicable a thing a coward is, that spoils from cowards won, the spartans scorn'd to offer to their gods.

Degeneres animos Timor arquit. 3

Fear shows a worthless mind.

was Virgil's long ago. He owns not that melior natura, that does incourage man. And then how low a thing is he, when he has nothing but his own dull earth about him? If it be but by speech, that a man is to act his part, 'tis fear that puts ague in his tongue, and often leaves him either in an amazed distraction, or quite elinguished. For, the too serious apprehensions of a possible shame, makes him forget what

3Virgil, Aeneid, IV, 13.
should help him against it; I mean, a valiant confidence bequeathing a dilated freedom to all his faculties and senses: which with fear are put into a Trepidation, that unlike a quaver of an Instrument, it is not there a grace, but a jar in Musick. And this Socrates found in Alcibiades, when first he began to declame, which he cur'd with asking him, If he fear'd a Cobler and a common Cryer, an Upholster, or, some other Tradesmen; for, of such he told him, the Athenians to whom he spake, consisted. He that hath a Coward in his bosom, shall never do anything well. Mercury and Apollo may be in his matter, but, the Graces will never be seen in the manner. If not thus: Out of too much care to do well, it drives a man into affectation; and that, like exotique and mishapen attire does mar the beauty of a well limb'd body: Nature's never comely, when distorted with the rack; when she is set too high, she proves untuneable, and instead of a sweet cloze, yields a crack, she ever goes best in her own free pace. Knowledge, Innocence, Confidence, and Experience can constitute a Valiant man. When fear is beyond circumspection, it lays too much hold upon us. All fear is out of defect, and in something gives suspicion of guilt. I know not what Divine could have given us more, then the almost Christian Seneca; Tutissima res est nil timere praeter Deum. Timidum non facit animum, nisi reprehensibilis vitae conscientia mala. The safest of all, is to fear nothing but God. 'Tis only the galling Conscience of an ill led life, that can shake
us into a fear. It is better in all things, but in ill, to
be confidently bold, than foolishly timorous. He that in
every thing fears to do well, will at length do ill in all.

R. S. 38. Of History.

TO an ingenuous spirit, 'tis not easie to tell which is
greater, the pleasure or the profit of Reading History: For, besides the beguiling of tedious hours, and the diversion it
gives from troublesome and vexatious affairs, and the
preserving the frailty of man from slipping into vice through
wantonness with leisure: It enriches the Mind with
Observation; and by setting us upon an open and adjacent
Scaffold, it gives us a view of the actions, the
contrivances, and the over-ruling Providences that have
sway'd the affairs of the World. It is the Resurrection of
the Ages past: It gives us the Scenes of Humane life, that,
by their actings, we may learn to correct and improve. What
can be more profitable to man, then by an easie charge, and
a delightful entertainment, to make himself wise by the
imitation of Heroick vertues, or by the evitation of
detested vices? Where the glorious actions of the worthiest
treaders on the Worlds Stage, shall become our guide and
conduct; and the Errors that the weak have faln into shall
be mark'd out to us as Rocks that we ought to avoid. 'Tis

1There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
learning wisdom at the cost of others: and, which is rare, it makes a man better by being pleas'd. In my opinion, among all the Industries of men, there is none that merits more thanks, then that which hath with Prudence, Truth, and Impartiality related those Transactions, which like main Hinges have shut and opened the Gates of the World. If Moses had not given us the History of the Creation, How blindly had we walked in the world? If the Prophets had not given us the Stories of the Jews, How much had we wanted, which now does lead us in the way of uprightness? Certainly, men owe their Civility as much to History, as Education. And we find neither Greece nor Rome were civiliz'd, till they came to be learn'd.

And indeed in those that shall rightly, and well, relate the Occurrences of States and Kingdoms; there is required much more then makes up an ordinary man: They ought to be superlatively Intelligent, diligently Industrious, and uncorruptedly Sincere, neither driven by fear, nor led by Flattery. Nor is it easy to have it well done by any, but by such as have been Actors in the affairs themselves; and have had some insight to the turnings of the inward wheels of the work. He that writes by Relation and Report, may easily err and often miss the Truth. Rumors are but like Thunderings in the Air; we have a confused noise, but the particular cause that makes it, we do but guess at. Uncertain Report being certainly (as the Majesty of King James observed) the Author of all Lyes.
Who writes a History, his principal aim should be Truth, and to relate especially the extraordinaries both of good and ill. Of good, that men, taken with the Honour they find done them in story, they may be incouraged to perform the like. Of ill, That when men see the Infamy that they are branded with, they may leap from all that should make them so stigmatical. To these; Observations that shall Naturally arise from a Rational Collection are not to be denied, as the Imbellishment of a well-phrais'd work. He that writes things false tells a Lye in the face of the world: with which he does abuse Posterity. He is the worst of ill Limners; for he draws the Mind amisse. Some interweave their Relations with Fancyes of their own: but a work so furnisht, may be allowed a Romance, but not a History. Yet let no man that reads, be too scrupulous in expecting alwaies a cleer light or a full and perfect Narration. For besides that they are Men, that write; It is not possible that in all things the Truth of Affairs should be ever arrived at. Politicians pretend one thing to the People, but reserve the clean contrary in their hearts, and private Intentions. Their povsonings are Clandestine and the making away of Enemies and Rivals is often times by Bravoe's hired in darknesse: whose deeds are lockt up in Eternal night. So that none but an Omniscient God is able in all to trace the windings of these Serpents. If History be writ in the life-time of the Actors, It usually over-rates Vertues, and dashes out vice, or palliates. To dream amisse of the Prince, hath been
accounted Treason: to write, would be much more. Princes in their displeasure being of the Nature both of Nettles and Thorns: If you but touch them they sting, if you Compresse them they pierce unto blood. If an History be writ after Death; it may be more impartial, but lesse True: somethings will be forgot, others covered with the dust of Time, and either spleen or favour vary the colour which naked Nature gave. And though he that writes be an Actor himself, yet we are very rarely to expect that all should be Round and Currant. He that is in a Battel himself does oft not know the turn and progress of it. He can undertake but for himself and where he is, what is beside him may be unknown or disguis'd. Even Princes are deceiv'd by them they most do trust: And if a man be, known to be about such a work, he shall sooner be put to record things Honourable then Just. And though of all others he that writes out of his own Knowledg by employment, may be neerer Truth; yet a Man will be nice in blazing his own Errors; and where he is concern'd, self-love will incline him to lean to himself: If he be good, he would appear better. If he be Bad, he will not be fond that the world should read it in the Monument of Story, when he is gone. The dying Spaniard did but speak Humanity: That beg'd he might not be script when he was dead, though the defect were only that he wanted a shirt.
Diogenes spake to Plato for a glasse of wine; and he presently sent him a Gallon: when next Diogenes met him, his thanks were, I asked you, how many was two and two; and you have answered, twenty. There are indeed some of so Noble a Disposition, that like trees of ripe fruit, by degrees they drop away all that they have, They would even out-doe the demands of all their friends. And would give as if they were Gods that could not be exhausted; They look not so much either at the Merit of others or their own Ability, as by their Bounty the satisfaction of themselves. I find not a higher Genius this way then flowed in the Victorious Alexander. He Warred as if he coveted all: And gave away, as if he cared for Nothing; You would think he did not Conquer for himself but his friends, and that he took only that he might have wherewith to give. So that one might well conclude the World it self was too little for either his Ambition or his Bounty. When Perillus begg'd that he would be pleased to give him a portion for his Daughters, he presently commanded him Fifty Talents. The modest beggar told him, Ten would be enough. To which the Prince replies Though they might be enough for him to receive, yet they were not enough for himself to bestow.

Doubtlesse all will conclude, a Mind, so vast, is a

1See above S. 42. A Practice with A Rule of Friendship and S. 44. Of purchasing Friends with large Gifts.
Noblenesse to be ador'd and magnified. Their Bounty falls like Rain and fertils all that's under them. The Vulgar, (as to Gods) will erect them Altars, and they will have all the Verbal plaudits that are owing to the largest Benefactors.

Vivit Extento Proculeius aevo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni,
Illum aget penna metuente solvi
-----Fama superstes.²

The Noble Love to Brothers show'd
By Proculeius, shall sound lowd
In Fames shrill Trump; there mount so high
-----That it shall never dye.

All those benefits that a man does place upon others while he lives are as so many Trophies, raised to preserve his Memory when he is dead. Mans Lasting Marbles are his own good works: and like a living Monument they are rowld about wherever Men have Tongues. Yet I often find the men that thus are Boundlesse in their Bounty, and like the Air breath nothing but freedom upon all they meet with; though their dispositions, as the Gods, are open, and they best to others that have front to grasp at all that can be gotten: Yet being but Men, and so their Materials limited, they seldom prove but unfortunate to themselves. For being

²Horace, Carmina, 2, 2, 5-8.
exhausted by the impudence and necessities of others, and
their unnoble working on a free Nature; an unwelcome want at
once undoes them and the goodness of their disposition.
Being easy to good, they will be so (much more) to ill, when
they are press'd to't.

Every man we meet, may be made an Object either of
Charity or Bounty: But they are very few, that will enable
us to maintain wherewithal to continue them. When
Zenocrates told Alexander he had no need of his Fifty Talents,
he reply'd, though he had no need of them himself, yet he
might have occasion for them for his friends: since sure he
was, all the Treasure he had Conquer'd from Darius, would
scarce serve him for his. Should Neptunes Sea be ever
flowing out, he would want Water for his own Inhabitants.
The pool whose wast lets out more then his springs supply;
will soon be shallow, if not wholly dry. To spend like a
Prince, and receive like a private man, must needs to get
such a fit of vomiting or loosnesse as quickly will impair
all health. And though they be best to others, yet it is
but to such as are grating and given to incroach. For to
the Generous mind they are often times lesse acceptable, then
other more reserved Men. He that would be entire to himself,
cannot well converse with him, without being setter'd by some
kindness: so he loses his Freedome, which is the Felicity
and Glory of his Life. Every extraordinary Kindnesse I
receive, I look upon as a help to pinion me. It is Nobler
to deserve a favour then receive it, and to keep discreetly
then to lavish and want all things but a vain and empty Applause. He that loves his Neighbour as himself is at the extent of the Commandement. He that does more breaks it. I would so serve others, as I might not injure my self: but so my self, as I might be helpful to others.

R. S. 40. The danger of once admitting a Sin.¹

Though every thing we know not, be a Riddle at first: Yet once untyed, there nothing is more easy. And as no feat of Activity is so difficult, but being once done a Man ventures on it more freely the second time: So there is no sinne at first so hateful, but being once committed willingly, a man is made more prone to a Re-iteration. There is more desire to a Known pleasure, then of that which our ears have only heard Report of. Even Ignorance is so far good, that in a Calm it keeps the mind from Distraction: And Knowledge, as it breeds desire in all things seemingly Good; So doth it serve us with beguiling Sinne. He that acts an offence, not only speaks, but Recites his own fowl Story: And as it makes it more Legible to others, so it deeper sinks in his own Mind, and Memory, for the being Charactred by his displaying hand. It lyes within him like a Rak'd-up fire, which, but uncover'd, glows it self into a lively heat.

¹See above S. 43. Sinne by but Once committing, gains a Pronenessse to Reiteration.
The glasse that once is crackt, with every little shake is apt to fall in pieces. He breaks his hedge of grace that admits of a scandalous sinne. When once a weighty sin hath trodden down the fence, each petty vice will easily then step over. A breach once made, the city is in danger to be lost. To think wee shall be wiser by being wicked, is the simple mistake of man. Ignorance herein is better then knowledge, and 'tis farre better to want discourse then guilt. Alas we know not what rich joyes we lose when first we lash into a new offence. The world cannot re-purchase us our pristine cler integrity. The maiden-head of the soul is gone. Dishonour stains us into discontent, we thereby slip our hold of grace, which without many tears we never can recover. Perhaps we itch but once to try how pleasing sinne will be: But at adams price we buy this painted apple. And thereby chiefly we discover but our own want and nakedness; and lose the paradise of innocence, that before this act we enjoy'd. The chiefest knowledge that we get, is that of our thereby guilt and misery. Nor let any man vainly believe he shall be lesse actuated by the importunity of a scandalous sinne, for having once committed it: For though it may seem as poyson cold, before we come to tast it; yet, once let in, it boyls us up to scalding all our senses. That which we thought was milk to quench, proves oyl to inflame. The palate of the soul, by tasting then is vitiated: and that which before was curiosity, does now turn into concupiscence and the impetuous longing after practis'd pleasures. Surely he
that would be **pleasedly innocent**, must refrain from the *tast* of *offence*. Though the imperious *Tribunes* condemned the *Triumvirs*, only because they came not soon enough to *quench* the *fire*, broke out in the *Via Sacra*. Yet doubtlesse every *Active sin*, is a *flame* to burn up *Piety*: which we ought if we can to *prevent*; if not, to make haste to *extinguish*, lest it quite *consume* our *Religion*. To death did the *Lacedemonians* censure that *Souldier*, that, meerly out of a boyish vanity, bore but a little *scarlet-fancy* in his *shield*; lest it should tempt the *Army* to a forraign *Luxury*.

Even smal *offences*, are but the *little Thieves*, that *(entred) let in greater*: But where they are *scandalous*, the *Dominion* totally is given up into their *hands*. I would not purchase *Knowledge* by buying *Slavery* and *Contamination*. An *innocent Ignorance* is to be preferred before a *nocent Knowledg*. Let me rather have others think me *Defective*, then that I should know my self to be *Lewd*.

R. S. 41. Of *Gratitude, and Gods accepting the Will for the Deed*.¹

**IN Love and Thanks** there is no man necessitated to become a *Bankrupt*. For both are things wherein 'tis in a *Mans own power* to be *expressible*: And there is no Man so *poorly provided* for, but he may easily find he hath many

¹See above S. 46. *The Will accepted with God for the Deed*. 
things for which he ought to be thankful. Either he enjoys 
Benefits that he could not challenge as of debt, (even a 
Being, Life, Humanity, the apprehension and expectation of 
felicity and eternity, are no way of our own, but Gods; they 
are blessings that we never could have given our selves):
Or else, he is exempted from many hard Calamities, that might 
have befallen him, if he were not daily guarded by a 
Gracious providence. The require so great Benefits as man 
does daily receive from the goodnesse of God, 'Tis no way in 
the power of frail Mortality; but to be ever thankful, is the 
best supply for that defect of Power: A grateful mind is 
the best Repository wherein to lay up Benefits, like 
Absolom's pillar it keeps alive the memory of the Donour, 
and like a mirror aptly plac'd presents the view of all that 
is behind you. Gratitude does guild the Soul, and if the 
Iron of it be but smooth and filed though it be not Gold, it 
shows it as if it were: and even in the sight of God 'tis 
beautiful. And if man lives no day without a Renewed Favour, 
'tis the least he can do, daily to Renew his Thanske. Nor 
would this be any thing if we had not a God of such vast 
goodnesse, that, by accepting for the Deed the Will, did 
dignifie our Intentions by being pleased with them: And as 
the Reason of Gods bestowing his Benefits is not the Merit 
or Desert of Man; but the infinite goodnesse of his excellent 
essence that takes delight in doing good and obliging: So 
the efficacy of our thanks could nothing profit either him 
or us. But that he is pleas'd for our avail to set a value
on them, and by accepting the meaning for the Act reward us as if we requited him. Doubtlesse then the best way of Retribution that is in Man is to show his thanks by confessing the Receipt and Favour. He that is a thankful Debtor not only acknowledgeth his Bond and Want, but declareth what he would do, if he were able. Since then all I have is Bounty, let my endeavour be to be alwaies thankful. Though I cannot express that, without a grace to make me so; yet this is more mine then any thing else beside.

Receive favours, I ever must: Requite them, I never can: To remember them I alwaies ought. In a better sense, let me say with the Poet:

Semper inoblitâ repetam tua munera mente;

Et mea metellus audiet esse tuum.²

Thy Mercies alwaies, through my Heart shall shine,
And all the Earth shall know that I am thine.

²Ovid, Epistulae ex Ponto 4, 15, 37-8.

R. S. 42. Of Distrust and Credulity.¹

TO distrust all, and believe all, is equally bad and erroneous: of the two the safest is, to distrust. For Fear, if it be not immoderate, puts a Guard about us that does watch and defend us. But Credulity keeps us naked and layes

¹See above S. 49. Of Jealousie of an Other.
us open to all the slye assaults of ill-intending men: It was a Vertue when Man was in his Innocence: but since his fall, it abuses those that own it. Yet too much diffidence as it argues, is not alwaies guilt, yet for the most part defect: So it begets us Enemies that without it had not been so. Causelesse suspition not only injures others by a mis-apprehension, but it puts our selves into trouble, we have fear and disturbance that we need not. 'Tis the Jaundice of the Mind, that is not only yellow it self, but makes every thing else appear so. It turnes Vertue into Vice, and many times prompts the Innocent to become indeed what he wrongfully was suspected for. Surely it was a precept from a Perfidious Minde at first, that bids us think all Knaves we deal with. I am sure it is against the Rule of Royal Charity, which in all doubtful senses, layes hold on that which is the best, and shewes men to be good in themselves, whereby they are induced to think so well of others. Whereas Suspition is as oft begot out of Consciousnesse in our selves either of what we have done or would practise, as it is from the sense of other mens failings. If we know men spotted with deceit or crimes to others, then indeed, not to mistrust is a breach of Charity: we are not careful for our selves, where it behoves our care to begin. He that deals with a Fox, may be held very simple, if he expect not his vaprous tricks. We trust not a Horse without a Bitt to guide him, but the well train'd Spaniel, we let range at pleasure, because we know we have him mann'd
to command. Phocion told the Athenians, They ought not to blame the Byzantians, for mistrusting their Captain Chares; but, their Captains that gave them cause to be mistrusted. He throws his Interest into a gulph, that trusts it in such hands as have been formerly the shipwreck of others.

Infelix quem non aliena pericula cautum.

When the deceitful man hath show'd to others what he is, Why should I take him for other, than what his actions have declared him; If he shews himself to be ill, I do him then no injury, to judge him what he is. He first does judge himself, and teaches me how to judge him. If I run upon a known Bogg, and yet will take it for firm ground, my falling in may beget laughter, but never pity with impartial people. With known dissemblers, Poets will not trade, and Martial is the Instance.

Decipies alios verbis, vulgate benigno:

Nam mihi jam notus Dissimulator eris. 2

Go cheat elsewhere with words, and smiling eyes:

I know th' art false, and all thy Arts despise.

Indeed, where too much Profession is, there is cause to suspect. Reality cares not to be trickt up with too taking an out-side; and Deceit, where she intends to cosen, studies disguise. Birds of prey, discover not their tallons, while

2IV, 88, 9-10.
they fly and seek about for food. He stalks behind the Horse, that means to shoot and kill. The weeping Crocodile first humbles his surprise in tears. And least of all should we be taken with swearing Asseverations. Truth needs not the varnish of an Oath to make her plainness credited. When among the Romans, upon Averrment, men used to swear, or avouch with Excrations; they presently swore that they would not believe them. But, where there is no former brand, to shew he hath been criminal, 'tis breach of Charity, to conclude, that he will be false. I will rather think all honest if strangers, for so I am sure they should be; only, let me remember, that they are but men: so, not always proof against the assaults of frailty and corruption; otherwise, though they want Religion, Nature implants a Moral Justice, which, unperverted, will deal square. 'Tis observable, that before our Saviour gave the Rule, even Cicero had preached the same to the world. Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris. Do unto others, as you would they should do unto you: Certainly, so I express a charity to my self, by providing, that I be not at the mercy of an other's undoing me; I can never be too charitable in my opinion and belief of others.
R. S. 43. Concealed Grudges, the Destruction of Friendship.

With some dispositions nothing can preserve a man safe. Jealousie miscolours those actions which in themselves are not capable of stain. Not having the perspicacity and clearness of Reason, what is done in sincerity is misconstrued to craft, neglect, or some other sinister end. But, among uncaptious and candid Natures, plainness and freedom are the preserves of amity; they not only take away present mis-apprehensions, but they lay a foundation of confidence, that render us more secure in futurity; whereas Reservation gives cause of fear, by putting us into a cloud, which may as well harbour a storm or tempest, as a gentle and refreshing showr. There is nothing eats out friendship sooner, then concealed grudges. When mis-guided Reason hath once produced Opinion, even Opinion then doth soon seduce our Reason. Conceits of unkindness, harbour'd, and believed, will work off even a long grown love. The Egg of prejudice once laid, the close sitting hatches it into life; and, the shell once broke, it flyes about, or, like the Lapwing, runs, not easie to be seized on. Reserved dispositions, though they may be apt to retain secrets; yet, they are not so fit to produce love. The free and open brest, both propagates and continues affection best. Philip of Macedon set a

1See above S. 47. Concealed Grudges the Gangrene of Friendship.
Prisoner at liberty, because he did but tell him that his Garment hung a little uncomely. It was a freedom in a Captive, which his Courtiers durst not venture to tell him of. Between entirest friends, it cannot be but sometimes little peeks of coldness may appear; though not intended by a willing commission, yet, perhaps so taken by a wrong suspect. And these smother'd in silence, grow and breed to a greater distast. But, revealed once in a friendly manner, they oft meet with that satisfaction, which does in the disclosure banish them. Regret is a Serpent that, warm'd in the bosom, stings. Unkindness like a tumor in the flesh, does rage and shoot with heat, and making much of; but, once let out, both ease and health do follow. 'Tis a sulphurous vapour in a cloud imprison'd, that roars and rumbles while it is shut up: But, if at first, by Lightning it flyes out, the noise is prevented, and the Air is thereby clarified. And indeed, how can we make a judgement, when we do not see the bottom? Sometimes ill tongues by false tales sow discord between two Lovers; sometimes mistakes set the mind in a false apprehension; sometimes jealousies, that likes dregs arise from even boyling love, imprint suspition in the thoughts. All which, may find ease in the uttering, so their discovery be in mildness: otherwise, Choler dims the minds bright eye, and when it might see clear, it mists it with ascending fumes. Passionate Natures, like flints, may be quiet alone; but when they knock together, fire it self breaks from them; whereas calm
discussions do so card affections into one another, that many times they never after can be parted or pulled asunder.

If, between friends, there must unkindness spring, 'tis best presently to tell, and reconcile. Perhaps, the suspected, that appear'd a little smutted on his out-side, unfolded, may be clear within; and then, having more integrity, he will draw more love. If he should be guilty, he may repent, and by his error, become warned to prevention, and for that he hath offended, he shall be more obsequious. Pisistratus did not ill, when some friends had forsaken him, to follow and catch up their clokes: who demanding his intention, he tells them, It was, if he could, to perswade them to return; if not, 'twas resolv'd, that he would abide with them. However, let them that desire to continue friends, be sure to part so: a jar at farewell is a contradiction. They that part in unkindness, seldom meet in love. The last draught leaves the relish, which, after it is past, does dwell upon the Palate, while the gust of the former with this is wash'd away. Therefore we ought to provide that this may be pleasant: nor ought we to start aside at every stone that shall be cast in our way: To pass by offences, is wisdom; but to fall from a friendship, levity: Even in those that have been ill contracted, Cato's advice is good, They are rather to be unsowed then cut.

2Diogenes Laertius, II, 60.
R. S. 44. 'Tis neither a great Estate, nor great Honours that can make a man truly Happy.  

I Have sometime had the vanity to think, a vast Estate, and some high seat of Honour, to be a gay and glorious thing. And indeed, to look upon the superficies of it at the first glance of the catching Fancy, there may be perhaps a pleasing and entising splendor. Man has naturally so much of the Deity within him, that he loves to be adored and magnified. Among the Romans, Triumphae were so coveted, that the refusal of them to aspiring Caesar, begot the change and ruine of the present State. Though to have the reeking Multitude (like a Pool of Reeds, waved with the wandering wind) bowing up and down in adoration of the Conquerour, does heave and lift up tumorous and exalting minds, and such as have the Mercury of youth about them: Yet, when the grave Vespasian came to snail it, and be leaver'd in the throngs slow march, he began to chide himself, as being justly punish't, at his years, for admitting such popular Applause, and Pageantry. And certainly, if we examine the true and essential felicities of man, we shall find that 'tis not Wealth or Power, not a great Estate, nor great Command, that can render us in our selves more happy then other men: All

1See above S. 48. Of Affecting an High seat of Honour.  
2Plutarch, "The Life of Caesar."  
3Suetonius, Vespasian, XII.
that really man is here made capable of, must be either
benefits to his mind, or to his body. For the mind; surely,
Kings never found so great contents as have liv'd with mean
Philosophers. A Crown of gold's too heavy to be worn with
ease. Their fears, their hopes, their joys, their griefs,
their loves, their hates, with all their train of Passions
are more phanstatick, more distracted, and more torturing,
then those that wait upon an obsurer man, who like a Cat,
without making a noise, can steal unheeded through the
worlds confusion. Without a guard, they cannot sleep; and
with one, they do not. A Martial watch dissects the night
with noises; a mid-night Council starts their broken rest;
and meals are stuff'd with frights, or with suspition. He
that Commands the most, enjoys himself the least: His
Inclination is turmoyl'd and fretted; thrust one way, pulled
another; haled on this side, forc'd on that; driven and
stroak't together. Who is't can guess at those Incessant
cares, that go to bed with Princes but to keep them waking?
Enemies abroad, Treacheries at home, Emulations at
neighbours, dissatisfaction of friends, jealousie of most,
and fear of all. A business so troublsome, that Otho (though
he were so beloved of his Souldiers, that many of them did
themselves to death, because he would not live), chose rather
to kill himself then endure it, and to hazard so many of his
Noble dependances. His Title sure was as good as that of

4Suetonius, Otho, IX.
Vitellius: yet, where there hath been none, we have liv'd to see, there hath been also no such consideration. And, which is more in Great Persons, their delicacy, and tenderness, like nice plants, make them more subject to destruction, more sensible of affronts, more impatient of labour and care, then such as, through habituated custom, are hardned to endure the frost, the heat, and the wind of affairs. Plainly it appears, He is more in the way to be happy, that lives in a kind of retreat from the world. In whom all men have an interest, he surely has least in himself. And, if retiredness be not more delicious then affluence and popularity, How comes it, that men of great employment do so often lock up themselves from the croud and flux of affairs. As the happiest part of their life; they steal themselves into a Calm, and rejoyce that they can cozen their importuning Clients; do they not hereby seem to tell us, that they can never enjoy themselves, and stand at ease, or cool, but when they have laid by the Pendants and Caparisons of State, which heat, and load, and weary more then all the pleasure that they bring compensates. True wisdom, which proceeds from Piety and Innocence, they have not leisure as they should, to prosecute. The thorns of Authority hinder the seeds of the other from prospering. In so much, that some have held it for no Paradox, That a Prince who grows in goodness, will come to descend in his State:

*Ibid.*, V, VII; *Vitellius*, VII.
Examples hereof, are not hard to find, where, by the vices and insultation of others, the **Innocent** and **Charitable** have fared worse, then the not extremely **harsh** and **tyrannical**. Certainly, the **greatest pleasure** that the **mind** is capable of in this life, is in the contemplation of **God** and **Nature**, the experimental sweetneses of **Philosophy**, and the discoursiveness of **Reason**. And all these have their **pleasure** in retiredness, and uncrowded from the stings of business. Nay, admit an **affluency** of all things were, indeed, better then the **moderate** use of the **pleasures** of this life: Yet, with perpetual use the sense of the **pleasure** is lost. Whose every **meal** is **banquet**, has not any. Continual **feasts** are burthensome, beyond the intermediate pleasingness of a craving **appetite**. He knows not the dear **delight** of life in any kind, that never liv'd but in the **fulness** of all. 'Tis **watching** and **labour**, that voluptuates **repose** and **sleep**. As he that is ever taking **Tobacco**, loses that Physical use on't, which others find, that do but seldom use it; so, he loses the **gust** of what should be **delightful**, that so perpetually does cloy himself, that he leaves no space to meet his **food** with **desire**. One **wholesom** dish with **hunger** for the **sawce**, with purer health, with greater ease, with as much pleasure may be had and tasted, as all those costly **viands Ryot** and **Prodigality** invented either for the **Table of Vitellius** \(^6\) or the **Kitchin** of

\(^6\)Ibid., VII, XIII.
Lucullus. Nay, Pleasures are not truly tasteable, but in the sober tracts of Temperance; they then have that clear relish that Nature first indued them with: which certainly, is sweeter than what is strain'd and forc'd by Art. When the thirst is quench'd the pleasure is not then so much in drink, as company. Nor can the fullscram'd person have his Senses and Intellectuals clear. Where there is much Provision dress'd d, the Kitchin will be black't and darkened with the smoke and reek. The empty morning, and the wasted night sees further into Knowledge, then the mid-day Sun, when unctious meals shall tumult all the senses. Nor can the like health attend the abounding Board, that does the temperate and convenient Table.

Vides, ut pallidus omnis
Coena desurgat dubia? quin corpus onustum
Hesternis vitiis, Animum quoque praegravat una,
Atque affigit Humo divinae particulam Aura.®

See but how pale they reel,
From their destructive Suppers, how they feel
Their late tane Surfeits, which weigh down the Soul,
And to dull Earth, pins the Celestial Pole.

Like Bottles fil'd with Wine, that is not fin'd, their own Fumes crack them till they fly in pieces. He only finds the

7 Plutarch, "The Life of Lucullus."
8 Horace, Satira, 2, 2, 76-79.
clean and politer pleasure, that feeds, as Nature breeds, sound men; where there is Temperamentum ad pondus. Like Fish in Crystal streams, untainted with disease, they smoothly glide through all the soft Currents of Life. Epicurus was not far from right, to make Pleasure even the Summum bonum. But he meant it of the mind which was terse and clean, what is it that we can say more? Or how can we imagine greater, then to be participant and enjoying of the Divine Nature; of the Great and Immaculate God? Doubtlesse in a great Estate, 'tis very hard to find time for these Seclusions. The Relation of Acquaintance, and Friends, and Alliances; the Avocation of Business, both Contingent and Necessary; The Application of others not to be avoyded; The incitation to pleasures that more moderate Fortunes want, and the Army of temptations that abundance offers, may instruct us neither to envy those that sayl in such full Seas, nor yet to be sagaciously licorish after these more palatable then wholesome sweet meats. A great Estate without a mind that is greater then it, is a Snare: Nor are there examples wanting of many that have deposited their spacious Fortunes, to take up mean Convenience; Attilius descended from the Triumph of the Plough: and we need not doubt but Menenius Agrippa liv'd both pleas'd and honor'd, though he left not Cash to discharge his Funeral. The mind of a middle

9Diogenes Laertius, X, 128.
10Livy, XXIV, 43. 11Ibid., II, 33.
fortun'd man, is as much at Liberty as his that is compass'd round with plenty, and the body of this latter is not capable of more then the other can afford to his. Three ells of Holland he can use for a shirt, and more a Prince cannot put in without trouble: perhaps a mean man has not a Garment with so long a Train, but then he can conveniently carry it himself, and needeth not the cumber or the charge to have one bear it after him.

R. S. 45. Of Neglect. ¹

There is the same difference between Diligence and Neglect, that there is between a Garden curiosly kept, and the Sluggards field, that fell under Solomons prospect, when it was all over-grown with Nettls and Thorns. ² The one is cloth'd with Beauty, and the gracious amiablenesse of Content, and cheering Lovelinesse: While the other hath nothing but either little smarting pungencies, or else such transpiercings as rankle the flesh within: Negligence is the Rust of the Soul, that corrodes through all her massiest Resolutions; and, with admittance only, flakes away more of it's steel and hardnesse, then all the hackings of a violent hand can perform. The excretions of the Body grow but

¹See above S. 50. The great Euill that Neglect brings both to Body and Soule.

²Proverbs 24:30-31.
insensibly; yet, unless they be daily taken away, they
disguise a Man to a monster: as Nebuchadnezzars hairs were
like Eagles feathers, and his Nayle like Birds claws, in his
seven years beastiality. What Nature made for Use, for
Strength, for Ornament; Neglect alone converts to trouble,
weaknesse, and to loath'd Deformity. We need no more but
sit still, and diseases will arise for only want of Exercise.

How fair and fresh soever the Soul be, yet in our
flesh it lives in smoak, and dust; and if it daily be not
brusht, and cleans'd, by Care, and Penitence, it quickly
discolours, and soyles. Take the Weeders from the Floralium,
and a very little time will change it to a Wildernesse. And
then 'tis an Habitation for Vermine, that was before a
Recreation for Men. Our Life is a warfare, and men use not
in it to sleep without a Centinel, nor march without a scout;
He that wanteth either of these, exposes himself to surprize
and the becoming a prey to the diligence and laboriousnesse
of his Adversary. We have known many that have wasted goodly
patrimonies, who have been handsomely natur'd and free from
vices of any signal remark at all, for which we could give
no other Reason but only a general incuriousnesse and neglect
of timely inspection into their own affairs. Thus Honorius passed away his Empire to his Sister Claudia: And Neroe's

3Plaudia in 8, corrected by the errata page to read Claudia; it should have been corrected to read Placidia.

3Daniel 4:33.

4Emperor of the West, A. D. 395-423. A very weak ruler, he gave part of his empire to Placidia, the wife of Constantius III.
other vices were not more contributing to his Ruine, then his supine neglect when the Legions began to rise. The mounds of Life and Vertue, as well as those of pastures, will decay, 'tis but forbearing to repair them that all the Beasts of the field may enter and tear up whatsoever is good in us and grows. Certainly Religion teaches, to be exact and curious. The Law is such a Rule as every aberration from it, is an eye-sore. We see sometimes how small a scruple can disturb the minds fair peace. Macarius gave himself penance for but killing of a Gnat in Anger: Like the Jewish touch of things unclean, the meanest miscarriage requires a Purification. Who does not therefore guard himself neglects his greatest enemy. Man is like a Watch; If evening and moring he be not wound up with Prayer and Circumspection, he either is unprofitable, or false: He either goes not to direct, or serves to mislead. And as the slenderest hair, the least grain of sand, or the minutest Atome, makes it either a trouble, or deceit: so the least neglect does steal us into improficiency and offence: which decreeingly will weigh us down to extremity. If the Instrument of Living be not truly set, all that we play upon't will be harsh and out of tune. The diapason dyes, where every string does not confer its part. Surely, without

5 Suetonius, Nero, XL.

6 Two religious ascetics of the fourth century were named Macarius. Some early authors claim that both were disciples of St. Antony. Both counted all living things precious.
an union to God, we cannot be secure, or well. Can he be happy, that from happiness is divided? And God is so exact, so smooth, so straight, so perfectly perfect in all, that 'tis not possible for man to be joyn'd to him, unless proportionably he be so too. The smooth and rugged, never made good joint; the straight and crooked will never be brought to close, unless our knots and excrescencies be taken off, and shot into directness, they hinder union, and thrust us off from Deity. No glew will hold us close, when we shall swell into unevenesses, by the neglect of not planing our selves into Vertue and Piety. Diligence alone is a good Patrimony, but neglect wastes a fair Fortune: one preserves and gathers; the other, like Death, is the dissolution of all. The Industrious Bee by her sedulity in Summer, dwells in, and lives on Honey all the Winter. But, the Drone (which, according to Pliny, is an imperfect Bee, and begot in decay, when the Bee is wasted and past labour,) is not only cast out, but beaten and punish'd.

7 Natural History, XI.

R. S. 46. Of Injury.

INjury is properly the willing doing of Injustice to him that is unwilling to receive it. And 'tis as well by

1 See above S. 52. Better to suffer Injuries then offer them.
charging falsely, as detracting unduly. He that accuses me of
the ill I did not, and he that allows me not the good I have
done: who puts stolen goods upon me, and who steals away what
is truly mine, hath very little Heraldry to distinguish the
wrong he does. Only, in the first he begins with Murder, and
ends with Theft: In the later, he begins with Theft, and
ends with Murder. One bites before he barks; the other
barks first, and bites afterward. Certainly, all the
mischief in the world proceeds either from the actings, or
the apprehending of wrong, from men originally unjust, or
ignorantly suspicious. Were Right and Justice preferv'd in
exactness, Earth would be a Heaven to live in, and the life
of Men would be like that of Angels, where Majores sine
elatione praesunt, & minores sine vitio subsunt.2 Felicity
would dwell with men, which now like Astraea,3 is fled from
the Region of Earth. How many Attendances, how many Journeys,
how much Treasure might be saved? No crowded throng need
fill our Law-Tribunals; nor armed Troops ungraze our fruitful
fields. Every Injury is a petty war, and a breach at least
of a pair of God's grand Commandments; Killing, and Stealing.
And, though perhaps it may seem to prosper a little while,
till the wheel of Providence walks its round; yet, doubtless,

2 "The nobles govern without aggrandizing themselves;
the inferiors subject themselves without debasement."

3 The Starry Maid in the constellation Virgo. In the
Golden Age, Astraea lived on earth; because of the corruption
of man in subsequent ages, she fled to the skies.
'tis short-liv'd, and drags with it an Infection, that does taint the spirits, and confound the senses. Injustos sequitur ultor à tergo Deus. 'Tis one of Gods peculiar Attributes, That he is an Avenger of Wrong. There are but two parts of a Christian mans life: To abstain from doing wrong, and to endeavour to do good. And, though the first in a bad world, be a good progress in a Christians voyage to Heaven; yet, it is in truth, but a dead and torpid Vertue. A negative Piety, that indeed, reaches not to the civility of neighbourhood. Neither the Priest, nor the Levite were Neighbours to him that fell among Thieves; yet, neither of them did him any Injury. And 'tis not unworthy our Observation, That of all Professions of men, it fell out, that it was a Priest, and a Levite, that were thus nothing concern'd with the wounded's calamity. They, that like Bellows, could inkindle the fire of Charity in others, had nothing in themselves, but a sterile cooling breath, derived from the common and transient Air. They, who to others seemed flagrant in their tongues, had Ice congealed in their frozen hearts: which need not put us to the wonder, when we find this practick zeal fall many degrees below their flaming harangues. Though we are commanded to be inoffensive; yet, that is not all we are commanded unto. Things senseless and inanimate, forbear the doing injury; but, the activeness in good, is that which promotes a felicity.

Eschew evil, and do good, is but one conjunctive Precept. He is but the lesser part of his way, that forbears the doing injury: yet, even this is a mastery, that, but very few attain unto. Either we mis-apprehend it; or, blinded with belief of our own perfections, we slide over this, and yet pretend to be pious. But I can never think him good, that is but temporally good to himself. How he can have a good conscience either towards God, or towards man, that either fraudulently, or violently takes away what is anothers just propriety, I am yet to understand. Some Callings are such, as 'tis hard to be just, and hold them. And we may observe, our Saviour was so far from allowing not only wrong, but force even in Souldiers and Mercenaries, (who yet, if any, are dispensed with) that he binds up their Profession in such limits, as 'tis hardly possible to be a Souldier, and a Christian; we translate it, Offer violence to no man. And is not Plunder such, or taking away anything that is anothers; which being never so clandestinely done, without either noise, or the owners knowledge, under the cover of darkness, or the silence of the grave: yet, by the Law, 'tis taken to be acted vi & armis. If force can give a title, all that I can catch and keep, is mine. If Justice and Propriety be not preserved, no man hath more then what he can keep by his own craft, or anothers curtesie.

5I Peter 3:11. 
7"With strength and arms."
It was St. **Austin** that started the question; *Remota Justitia, quid sunt Regna nisi magna Latrocinia?* Take Justice hence, and what are Kingdoms else, but fields of war and repine. But the word is properly, **Terrifie no man**; which intimates, they ought not to come so near taking away any mans right, as to put them into a fear. What Law, and Civil Right does give a man just Title to, I ought not to deprive him of. They are Beasts and Birds of prey, or else voracious fishes in the wilder Ocean, that live and batten on the spoils of others.

Man by all the Laws of Creation, Policy, and Religion is tyed up, with his own fair Industry to live on what is justly his; and then he hath a promise of a blessing with it. But, he that rows and ruffles in his Neighbours hold, hath no protection but his own frail arm, or else his fraudulent head; 'gainst which the Prophet hath pronounc't a woe. Even a natural light will show us the blackness of wrong, and then (what ever men pretend), certainly, Religion shines but very dimly, where that can be digested and not seen. The Offices of the Orator will tell us; *Qui non defendit nec obsislit si potest injuriae, tam est in vitio quàm si Parentes, aut Patriam, aut Socios deserat.* He that does not hinder, or defend a wrong when 'tis in his power, is in the same rank of ill, with those that basely shall desert their Country, their Parents, and their neer Associates. Surely,

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8Augustine.
right-born Nature is nobler than a bastard Piety. He was not a Jew, but a Samaritan that parted with his Owl and Wine, and left provision for his cure, that, in the fore-mentioned Parable, fell among Thieves, which we cannot think to be other, then the Jews, for he went but down the Hill from Jerusalem to Jericho, when he was set upon. They wound Religion to the inmost heart, that show her to the world with such wide gashes, and adulterate spots, as are, the offering, or encouraging of wrong. The Pagan Tribune is to be preferr'd before some Christian Conventions, that have appear'd in the world.

Cn. Domitius, the Tribune, summon'd Prince Scaurus before the Peoples Tribunal. Scarus his servant, hearing of it, repairs to Domitius, and informs him, that, if he wanted matter, he could furnish him with sufficient for his Lords Condemnation: For which the Noble Tribune well rewarded him; but, 'twas by cropping off his Ears, sealing up his lips, and sending him so to his Lord. I think, it needs no Grand Inquest to find in what Region the Nobler Religion did dwell; whether with them that punish Treachery, Perfidiousness, and Heri-cide with smart and Ignominy: or, such as draw it out with Oaths, invite it with Preferments, and appoint to Slaves and Villains the rewards that are due to the only brave and honest. Doubtless, to a very Enemy, a Christian dares not

9There were many men in the Ahenobarbus family with this name. "Scaurus" is a cognomen meaning "scarred foot."
offer wrong. Religion from above, is pure and peaceable; but, wrong is the fewel of war; and, by doing that, we help our Adversary, and war against our selves. We engage God on his party, and by our injustice disadvantage our cause: Nor may we do it, that good may come of it: Justice, needs not Injury to help it to a Victory. Though in the way of Hostility the practice is far more common then commendable; yet, by just and gallant persons, it hath ever been disdain'd and abhorr'd. And those that have so contemned it, have for it by all succeeding times, been seated with such as have ascended to the highest Towers in the stately Palace of Fame. Themistocles advised to fire the Spartans Navy privately, as it lay in the Harbour. Aristides did confess it profitable; but, because he could not be satisfied, that it was just, or honourable, the project was decryed, and Themistocles injoyn'd to desist. And, when Alphonsus was offered by some, that they would entrap and cut off his Enemy, the duke of Anjou: He protested, if they did any such thing, he would proceed against them, as he would against a pack of Parricides, declaring to all; That the War he undertook, consisted not of Fraud and Treachery; but, of Vertue, of Valour, and of noble Fortitude. He that can allow himself to do Injury, makes his favours to be suspected as snares. He is so far from being a Propitious Star, that

10Plutarch, "The Life of Aristides."

11Probably Alfonso V (1401-1458) of Aragon and Navarre.
the malevolence of Comets harbours in him. He is much
distrang't from doing good, that is not principle'd to
forebear a wrong. He is next to Charity, that abstains from
Injury; but he is at Oppressions Threshold, that can dispense
with it. Let no man think, he can purchase favour with
either God or Men, by the formality or exteriors of Religion,
if he lets himself loose unto injury. One unjust and
unworthy action hurts not alone the man that does it: but, it
transfers the scandal to the Religion he professes, which for
his sake groans, and grows suspected, if not contemned. Of
the two, my opinion is with Socrates, 'Tis better to suffer
wrong, then do it.\textsuperscript{12} He may be good, that suffers it; he
must be bad, that offers it. An Innocent may be killed; but,
he that murthers, cannot be innocent, either in present, or
the sequel. For usually, the first commitment of a wrong,
puts a man upon a thousand wrongs, perhaps, to maintain that
one: And, 'tis more then probable, the sufferer will decline
into wrong at last. Injury with injury is defended; and
with committing greater, we are drawn to keep up the less.
A lye begets a lye, till they come to generations. Who is
once a Rebel, hardens his own heart, engageth his friends,
oppresses his fellows, involves his relations, murthers the
loyal; and like a Torrent, lets in all that can tend to
confusion. As the Powder once would have done the two
Houses; so, he at once blows up both the Tables. By loosing

\textsuperscript{12}Xenophon, Memorabilia.
from ground, he lanches into the Sea that hath no bottom, being thereby enforced to the breach of the whole Decalogue, both in bulk and branches, by himself and his guilty adherents.

R. S. 47. Of Faith and good works. ¹

I Find not a greater seeming Contradiction in the whole Gospel then that which relates to Faith and Works: The Apostle Saint Paul argues high for Faith, and St. James as high for Works. One saies, Abraham and Ruhab were justified by Faith. ² The other, that Abraham and Rahab were justified by Works. ³ One says, By the works of the Law, shall no flesh living be justified. ⁴ The other says, That ye see then how that by works a Man is justified, and not by faith only. ⁵ May St. Paul may seem to condradict himself, when in one place he says, The doers of the Law shall be justified. ⁶ And in another that we know a man is not justified by the works of the Law. ⁷ And that no man is justyfied by the Law in the sight of God, ⁸ it is evident. Surely, though these


⁴Galatians 2:16.
⁵James 2:24.
⁶Romans 2:13.
⁷Galatians 2:16.
⁸Galatians 3:11.
seem to be Contradictions, yet rightly understood they are not so. For, to leave the Niceties of those sharp disputes that are on either side; I look upon it as a Rule, That where the scripture seems to runne into Contrarieties, there certainly is a middle way between both, which we ought to seek out and follow; and that the extrems on either side are forbidden, and the Union and Inseparability of both are enjoyned. I do therefore humbly conceive, That the insisting upon Justification by works, and the insisting upon justification by Faith alone, might, with much more profit to the Church of God, be left to be so strenuously tugg'd for, by the differing Parties. It would more safely be evinced from these two seeming discrepancies, That no Man can be justified without degrees of both; and that to depend solely upon one is dangerous, for doubtlesse both are meant. And therefore when at one time the people came to our Saviour and asked him, What shall we do, That we might work the works of God; He answered, This is the work of Gad that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.\(^9\) Declaring thereby, Faith to be even the whole work of the Evangelical Law. And when the young man in the Gospel asked him at an other time what he should do to inherit eternal Life? His answer to him was, That he should keep the Commandements.\(^10\) Neither of which are to be taken exclusively, but both Commanded: so, both to be equally practised. Works without Faith, are at

best but **Arrows** shot at **Randome**; No man can assure that they shall ever **hit the mark.** And for Faith, St. **James** tells us, that without **works** it is **dead.** And then, what is it that the **dead** can do? Faith indeed glorifies God in **private**, between **himself** and our **Souls.** 'Tis the Monastique part of **Religion**, which acts all within the **Cell** of our own bosomes. But works glorifie him before the **World** and **Men.** Faith without Works is but a **wither'ed tree**, there wants both **leaves** and **fruit.** And Works without Faith, is one that hath no **Root** to give it sap and verdure. Faith is at the **meaning,** and Works are the **expression** of the **mind.** Faith is the **pinne** that **fastens** the **Soul** to the Chariot of Eternity, while works are as the **Harnesse** and the **Trappings** whereby it is drawn along, and without which all her operations else are uselesse. Works without Faith are like a **Salamander** without **Fire,** or a **Fish** without **Water.** The Element which they should live in, is not there: and though there may seem to be some quick **Actions** of life and symptoms of ** Agility;** Yet they are indeed but fore-runners of their end, and the very presages of **Death.** Faith again without works is like a **Bird** without **wings,** who though she may hop with her **Companions** here upon Earth, yet if she lives till the Worlds end, shee'l hardly ever **flye** to **Heaven,** because she wants her **Feathers.** But when both are join'd together then does

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**11**James 2:17, 26.

the soul mount to the Hill of eternal rest. These conjoin'd can bravely raise her to her highest Zenith: and by a Noble Elevation fixe her there for ever; taking away both the will that did betray her, and the possibility that might. The former without the latter, is self-couzenage; the last, without the former, is meer Hypocrisy; together, the excellency of Religion. Faith is the Rock, while every good action is as a stone laid. One is the Foundation, the other is the Structure. The foundation without the walls is of slender value: The building without the Basis cannot stand. They are so inseparable, as their conjunction makes them good; whosoever does believe in God aright, believes him to be a Rewarder of good. A God that requires what is just and equal, that loves to magnifie himself in his mercy, in his doing good to his Creatures, and in his infinite and unbounded Beneficence. And that he is a punisher of evil, a detester of Injustice, yet one that delights not in afflicting to their Torment the works of his hands. Therefore such as would perswade us they believe these, and practise the Contrary of these; they Christians are of such a New Edition as nothing of them can be found in Scripture or Antiquity. They are but infidel-Christians, whose Faith and works are at warre against each other. Faith that is right, can no more forbear good works, then can the Sun to shed abroad his glorious beams; or a Body of perfumes to disperse a grateful Odor: Works may be without Faith, they may rise from other ends, and 'tis no news to see Hypocrisy deck ing her self
with the fringes and purls of the truest Religion. But Faith will not be satisfied, if she have not Works attending her. A Solifidean-Christian is a Nullifidean-Pagan; and confutes his tongue with his hand. I will first labour for a good Foundation, saving Faith. And equally will I seek for strong, Walls good works. For as man judgeth the House by the Edifice more then by the Foundation: so not according to his Faith, but according to his Works, shall God judge man: Nor is it unworthy of our Observation, That when Saint James parallels faith and works to the body and soul; He compares Faith but to the Body, while works he likens to the Soul, that gives it motion, life, and animation. I shall forbear to make the Inference, but leave it to the Readers sober Consideration, See James the 2. 26.

R. S. 48. Of the danger of a fruitless Hearer.¹

Though Preaching in it's elocutive part be but the conception of Man and differs as the gifts and abilities of men give it lustre or depression; and many Hearers for their knowledg are able to instruct their Teachers: Yet, as it puts us in mind of our duties that may perhaps be out of our thoughts; and as it is the Ordinance of God, and may quicken and enliven our Conversation: we owe it both our Reverence and Attention. And though we may think our education and

¹See above S. 54. Of a Fruitlesse Hearers danger.
parts have set us in a higher form than it hath done him that does ascend the Pulpit; yet without a derogation to our own Endowments (as in other Arts so in that of Divinity) we may well conceive, He that makes it his trade and calling should better understand it, and is likely to be more perfect in it, then he that hath inspection therein but by the by and obviously. Arts, perfect are by exercise and industry. As man is born a Child and does by tendance and improving time, creep up to full Maturity; So Arts at first are infant-things, till fild, and garnish't, they burnish out in perfection: Even in matter of fact; they have easver and neerer waies to do things, who with assiduity and practice are still intent upon them; then can by those be thought on, that are strangers to the profession. And these Considerations may certainly content us to hear sometimes the meaner-parted preach. The Apostle allows it the foolishnesse of preaching, yet it was the way that peopled all the world with Christianity. It bruised the stanch Philosopher, and brought the wilful Pagan off from all his Idols. It topp'd the soaring Eagle with the crosse, and bowed the lofty Conquerour to his knee and Tears. And, what know we but sometimes our Corruptions may be let out by a poor brasse pin, as well as by the dextrous hand that guides a silver Launcet. He that is our spiritual Physitian is not confin'd to any certain instrument that he will use to cure us with. And if we out of Copper, Lead, or Pewter-Preaching, can extract pure Gold, I take 'tis no
impeachment to our wise Philosophy; Surely they are not right, that because they can not hear such as they would will therefore come at none. I will hear a good one, if I can; but rather hear an easy one, then not to hear at all. He abandons his cure, that refuses to come at his Chirurgeon.

That Cloth can never be white that lyes where dews do never fall upon it. I observe those that leave the Church-assemblies (so they be not Heretical) do grow at last to leave Religion too. The Righteous man, by the unwise actions of others, does grow wiser. Even out of weaknesse he can gather strength. Now the great King of Heaven entertains not fools for his followers: If they be not wise before they came, yet they are wise in comming; and then, for that, he makes them so for ever after. 'Tis a prerogative belongs to his Servants; those that pay him their obedience, he does reward with Wisdome and Understanding. It was by keeping his Commandements that Davids wisdome did exceed his Teachers.\(^2\) He that hath wisdome to be truly Religious, cannot be condemnedly a Fool. Every precept of Christianity, is a Maxim of profoundest prudence. 'Tis the Gospels work to reduce man to the principles of his first Creation; that is, to be both good and wise. Our Ancestors it seems were cleer of this Opinion. He that was pious and just, was reckoned a righteous Man. Godlinesse and Integrity was call'd and counted Righteousnesse. And in their old Saxon English,

\(^2\)I Kings 11:34.
Righteous was Right-wise, and Righteousness was originally Right-wiseness. 'Tis the fear of God that is the beginning of Wisdome: And all that seek it have a good understanding. It is to be presum'd, the Merchant that sold all to buy the Pearl, was as well Wise as Rich. Those therefore that withdraw from the means altogether (which, in ordinary, is preaching), or are long livers under it unprofitably, by degrees grow strangers to it, and dislike it. 'Tis an Aphorism in Physick, That they who in the beginning of diseases eat much and mend not, fall at last to a general loathing of food. The Morall is as true in Divinity. He that hath a sick Conscience and lives a Hearer under a fruitful Ministry, if he grows not sound he will learn to despise the Word. When food converts not into Nourishment, 'twill not be long before the Body languisheth. Blessings neglected in the Van do troop—in curses in the Rear and sequel; but, when contemned, Vengeance. Who neglects the good he may have, shall find the evil that he would avoyd. Justly he sits in darknesse, that would not light his Taper when the Fire burn'd clearly. Offers of Mercy sleighted, prepares the way for Judgments. We deeper charge our selves. Yet are we more uncapable of clearing our accounts. He that needs Counsel and will not daign to lend a listening ear, destines himself to misery, and is the willing Author of his own sad woe. Continue at a stay we cannot: Corruption

3 Proverbs 9:10. 4 Matthew 13:45-46.
neithers mends it self, nor leaves to be so till it bring
destruction. The fire followed Lots neglected preaching.5
Capernaum's fate was heavyer for her miracles.6 Desperate
is his estate, that hates the thing should help him. If
ever you see a drowning man refuse help, conclude him a
wilful, Murtherer. When God offers more then hee's oblig'd
to, we ought by all the ways we can to meet so gloriouess
Mercies. To the burying of such Treasures, there belongs a
Curse; To their mispending, Punishment and Confusion.


R. S. 49. Of Solitarinesse and Companionship.1

The Bat and the Owl are both Recluses: Yet they are
not counted in the Number of the wisest Birds. Retirement
from the world is properest when it is in a Tempest: but if
it shall be in our power to allay it, we ought even then to
immerse our private in the publique safety. He may indeed
be wise to himself, that can sleep away a storm in a Cabbage.
'Tis a kind of honest cheating of an Agues fit, by Repose.
Most men will desire to be housed when Lightning and Thunder
fly and rowl abroad. Otherwise; for a man to turn shel-fish
and crawl but in his own dark house, shews him but a dull
and earthy thing. They are Beasts of Rapine or of extream
timidity, that hide themselves in Dens and lurk out day in

1See above S. 51. Of Solitarinesse and Companionship.
Thickets. Whereas those that are Creatures of service are tame, sociable, and do not fly from Company: I deny not but a Man may be good in Retirement; especially when the World so swarms with Vice. One would not travail but upon Necessity, when he must be either wetted with the rain of slander, or batter'd with the hail of Injury. It were too great uncharitablenesse to condemn in general all the Monastiques that have cloyster'd up themselves from the World: Nor indeed are they purely to be reckon'd among such as are shut out from Commerce: They are not alone that have Books and Company within their own Walls. He is properly and pittiedly to be counted alone that is illiterate, and unactively lives hamletted in some untravail'd village of the duller Country. Yet we see in the general election of Men, a Companionable Life is preferr'd before those Cels that give them ease and Leisure. It is not one of millions that Habits himself for a Monk out of choice and natural liking; and if we look at those that do it, upon an easy scrutiny, we shall find 'tis not so much Election, that hath bowed them against the grain they grew to: Either want or vexation, crosses or contingencies, send them unto places Nature never meant them born unto. The Soul of Man is as well Active as Contemplative. The Divine Nature rests not only in the speculation of his great Creations: But is ever busy in preserving, in ordering, in governing and disposing by providence the various and infinite Affairs of the World. For man to give himself to ease and uselesse leisure, is to
contract a rust by lying still: To be becalm'd is worse, then sometimes tossing with a stirring gale. Certainly, an operative rest, is acceptable to a man's self and others: But, an ineffectual laziness is the seminary both of Vice and Infamy: It clouds the metal'd mind, it mists the wit, and choaks up all the Sciences: and, at last, transmits a man to the darkness and oblivion of the grave. When Domitian was alone, he catch'd but Flies. But, of Augustus (a wise and prudent Prince) we have it recorded that he slept but little, and was so far from loving to be alone, that he had alternate watchers to discourse him in the night when he waked. Was not Scipio more glorious, fighting in Africa, than Servilius Vacia sleeping in his noiseless Countrey? Certainly, the Inculture of the World would perish it into a Wilderness, should not the activeness of Commerce make it an universal City. Solitude indeed, may keep a mind in temper, as not being tempted with the frequencies of Vice, or, the splendour of Wealth and Greatness. And 'tis true, the with-drawn from society, may have more leisure to study Vertue, and to think on Heaven. But, when Man shall be over- sway'd by the pondure of his own corruptions, may not time administer thoughts that are evil, as soon as those that be good? The caution sure was seasonable, that Cleanthes gave to him, that he found alone,

2 Suetonius, Domitian, III.

3 Ibid., Augustus, LXXVIII.
and talking to himself: Take heed (sayes he) you speak not with an evil man. No man hath commended Timon, for that he hated company. He may laugh alone, and that, because he is alone: But, it hath not so pleas'd others, as that they have approv'd on't. And having at his death left this his own mad Epitaph, you will not think him mended by his solitude.

Hic sum post vitam miseramque inopemque sepultus:
Nomen non quaeras; Dii, Lector, te male perdant.4

Life wretched, poor: this Earth doth now surround me:
Ne're ask my Name: Reader, The Gods confound thee.

There is this to be said against solitude; Temptations may approach more freely to him that is alone, and he that thus is tempted, may more freely sin. He hath not the benefit of a companion that may give him check, or by his presence loose him from off the hook he hangs upon. Whereas in company, if a man will do good, he shall be encourag'd; if bad, he may be hindred. We are not sure the Serpent had prevail'd upon Eve, if he had not catch'd her alone, and stragling from her Husband. A man had need be a greater master of his affections, that will live sequestred from the world and company. Neither Fools nor Bad men, are ever to be left to themselves. And albeit, a man may upon retiredness make good use of his leisure: yet, surely, those that being abroad, communicate a

4Plutarch "The Life of Antony."
general good, do purchase to themselves a nobler Palm, then can grow up out of private recess. If a man be good, he ought not to obscure himself. The world hath a share in him, as well as he in himself. He robs his Friends and Countrey, that, being of use to both, doth steal himself out of the world. And if he be bad, he will hardly mend by being alone. The Mastiffe grows more fierce by being shut up, or tyed; and Horses grow more wild by their not seeing company: That Actor hath too much trouble, that is never off the Stage; and he's as little acceptable, that does never quit the Tiring-room. But he that can help, when need requires, in the Senate, or the Field; and, when he hath leisure, can make a happy use on't, and give himself imployment to his benefit; hath doubtless, the greatest pleasure, and husbands his life to the best of uses. For, by being abroad, he suffers others to reap the advantage of his parts and piety: And, by looking sometimes inward, he enjoys himself with ease and contentment.

R. S. 50. Of the use of Pleasure.1

Who admires not the wisdom of Demothenes, in the answer he returned to the Corinthian Lais. Poenitere tanti non emo, He would not buy Repentance at so dear a rate.2 Surely,

1See above S. 21. Sinne brings Sorrow.

2See above S. 21, n. 2.
Pleasure is lawful, and God at first did ordain it for use: and if we take it as it was at first provided for us, we take it without a sting. But, when in the measure, or the manner, we exceed, we pollute the purer stream; or else, like Beasts in heat, we drink to our destruction; and the best we can expect, is, either to be sick, or vomit. And if it be but vomiting, which like Repentance, brings it up again, even that is a sickness too. All our dishonest actions are but earnest laid down for grief. Vice is an infallible fore-runner of wretchedness: on the best conditions it brings repentance; but, without repentance, torment and repentance too. I like those pleasures well, that are on all sides legitimated by the bounty of Heaven: after which no private grips, nor fancied Goblin comes to upbraid my sense for using them: But, such as may with equal pleasure be again dream'd over, and not disturb my sleep. This is to take off the parchings of the Summer Sun, by bathing in a pure and Crystal Fountain. But, he that plunges himself in a puddle, does but ingage himself to an after-washing to get his filty away: And, who would feast with that, which he knows will make him sick if he eats it. Unlawful pleasures, though they be a differing Pass-over from that which Moses instituted; yet, they never can be eaten without sowre herbs attending them. Like the worser sort of Mushromes, though from the Sulphur of an Earthy mind, they shoot up in a night, and look both white and fair to the eye; yet, give them what gust you can, there will still a venomous quality stay with them, to be
rid of which, if you but taste, you must either purge, or be poissoned. Certainly, the counsel of the Preacher is the best rule for all the pleasures we enjoy in this life. Eccles. II. 9. Rejoice, O young man in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of youth, and walk in the waves of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: But, know that for all these things, God will bring thee to judgment. Which by some, I find to be taken for serious, and not an Irony, as most do interpret it: And, I hope, I shall not offend, if I incline to their opinion that so think it, and for which I shall presume to give my reasons.

First, it suits with several places before in the same Book. Cap. 2. 10. when Solomon had given himself a latitude in his desires: he tells us, His heart rejoiced in all his labours, and it was his portion; nor do we find his youth reprehended for them, his failing being rather in his age, then it. And in the 24. verse of the same Chapter, he sayes, There is nothing better for a man, then that he should eat and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labour; and this he saw, that it was from the hand of God. Cap. 3.22. He perceives that there is nothing better, then that a man should rejoice in his own works, for that is his portion. Cap. 5.18. he repeats it with a remark, Behold that which I have seen, It is good and comely for one to eat, and to drink, and to enjoy the good of all his labour, that he taketh under the Sun all the days of his life which God giveth him: for it is his portion. And in Chap. 9.v.9. he
exhorts again to joyful living: and the reason that he gives for it, is, Because it is his portion in this life: So that, one place expounding another, and being alike, either all may be thought Ironical, or none. The former places I find not so interpreted by any, and this by some, otherwise, that is, to be serious; as if he should say, Rejoyce and cheer thy self in all that God gives thee for pleasure; but, yet do it with that moderation, with that prudence, and that warrantableness, that thou mayst be able to give an account to thy God, that in bounty hath given them to thee, whencesoever thou shalt be called to judgment, as doubtless, thou shalt be for all that passes thy hand. Suitable to this, Lorinus, that cites the several Interpretations of this place, sayes, Vel amara Iroonia contra voluptuosum, vel est mitius consilium. Sic hilarè fruatur presentibus bonis, ut meminerit reddendae rationis Deo. Either a Sarcasmus against the voluptuous; or else, 'tis a milder counsel, That we so enjoy the present good, that we may remember to give account to God for using it. That we should laxe our selves in all the corrupt and mistaken pleasures of life, was never licensed by any of the wiser Heathen. Pleasure that impairs our abilities, that brings detriment, or sorrow afterward, was laughed at by Epicurus himself: but a lawful pleasure, lawfully used, doubtless, is an Emanation of the goodness of the Deity to Man.

A second Reason I take to be this; The whole Book of Ecclesiastes, is a serious Tract, a kind of Penitential
Descant and Judgement given of all that does belong to Man. A sober Collection of what his wisdom had observed from all those various paths of worldly affairs, that he had trod, in the course of his life. And in the whole stream, I find not any thing that bears the aspect of being light and Ironical: Some will have it, Solomons Repentance; and argument the writing of it, to be the proof of his Salvation, as if, being darkned with smoke and blackness, while he wandred and tumbled in pleasure, he now, by the light of Divine Grace, saw through those clouds that did before enwrap him, and wind him off from that great wisdom that at first was given him. And sure, if this Text be Ironical, it differs from the scope of all the Text beside, there being not one place more, that I find to be commented with the like sense.

A third Reason is, That God would never have instincted the appetition of pleasure, and the faculties of enjoying it, so strongly in the composure of Man, if he had not meant, that in decency he should make use of them: Most natural actions in themselves, are not unlawful, but as they are circumscrib'd and hedg'd about by circumstance. The Apostle sayes, All things were lawful for him, but all things were not expedient: That is, all things that in themselves were purely as natural acts, and were meerly Adiaphora, indifferent, neither good nor bad in themselves, but as they were attended by other adventitions, that fall in with their use. These in themselves were lawful, but being chac'd about, and pounc'd with the settings off, and powderings of
... they were not expedient for him. And this he seems to explain in the last part of the verse, I Cor. 6. 12. All things are lawful for me; but, I will not be brought under the power of any; That is, All the acts of men as natural, are lawful for me to do: But, seeing there is so much corruption adhering to their use, by my exceeding the measure, mistaking the manner, misplacing, or mistiming them (In any of which, if I err the least, I come under the guilt and bondage of them): Therefore, though they be lawful for me in themselves: yet, I hold them, if circumstanc'd amiss, not to be expedient for me; nor will I put my self under the power of any; that is, to be condemned for them, when I shall be called to account for using them. 'Tis neither a sin, to be honestly rich; nor a vice, chastly to enjoy the Rites of Marriage. Unlicensed pleasures, are those that leave a smart. The drinking water sometimes is a Julip; but to take it in a Fever, is destructive.

A fourth Reason is, From the several varieties of delight and complacency, which God created in the world: which surely, he would not have done; if it wholly had been unlawful for man to use them. All the several tastes of food, were meant to please the palate, as well as meerly to content our hunger. Of all the Fruits and beauties plac'd in Paradise, there was but one Tree only that was then forbidden him. If God had not intended delight, as well as bare supply; sure, one kind only, might in every sense, have terminated appetite.

I conceive therefore, I shall not be far from Truth, If
I think with Solomon, for man to enjoy himself in those felicities of mind and body, (which God out of his Immense Liberality hath given him), be his portion. Only we ought so to use them, as we may not be inthralled in their guilt; but, may be able to acquit our selves upon account for using them. Though questionless, if Solomon, who had a particular spirit, and a far larger measure of wisdom given him, then we can ere pretend to, or promise to our selves, could not escape being soyled by them; we ought much more to beware in their use. A wise man will not venture on that for a little present pleasure, which must involve him into future danger; no way compensable by the short delight he takes. What ever we do, we ought before we act, to examine the sequel: If that be clear, the present enjoyment will be ease and content. But, to rush inconsiderately upon pleasure, that must end in sadness, sutes not with the prudence we ought to be indued withall. 'Tis a folly of a bigger bulk then ordinary, that makes a man over-rate his pleasure, and under-value his vexation. They are Beasts that will be catch'd in a snare by their appetite. I will endeavour, to be content, to want that willingly, which I cannot enjoy without a future distaste.
IT seems Vice is so naturally hated of all, that every man's finger itches to be giving of it a blow. So though they be tyed up by Fear, by Power, and Reflections upon their own particular interest, while the offender keeps in Command, and hath the Faces at his dispose; yet, as soon as ever he is uncoller'd from these chains, or the latter be layd by, and the hand of protection taken off: As at a Fox that is coursed through a street, every thing that can but bark, will be opening upon him: And though they never lost a Lamb themselves, or had a feather of their Poultry ruffled; yet, like whelps set on by the bawling of others, they are as fierce against them, as if their Families had been ruin'd by them: when, it may be, all that they charge him with, is, that he hath merited more then others; or, out of duty, hath become the skreen for keeping of the vulgar heats from scorching of his Prince or Patron. Indeed 'tis hard in changes to escape the flying Pasquill. And 'tis as hard to avoid a change. For the Humours of men are variable; and Displeasure, as often rises out of Fancy, as upon just cause. And though a man by all the Innocence, he can muster up in his whole Life, cannot promise himself to be ever out of the reach of this winged Dragon: Yet, there is no doubt, but a prudent integrity is the readyest way to it. Vertue does

1See above S. 56. Of Libelling against them that are falne.
but rarely bear those *streaks* that are due to the *back* of Vice. The Furies seldom lash but *guilty souls*. For the most part, they are *dunghills* where these *Scarabees* doe both *breed* and *light*. An infamous life makes work for a *galling pen*. Yet, a *Libeller*, is but the *beadle* of *Fame*; or the iron that brands him for his *Vice*, and *Roquery*: and though he writes *Truth*, he hath but an *Executioners* office, and after the man is *condemned*, is but the *Hang-mans hook* to dragg him to the *Gemoniae*. *Libels* are usually composed of the *deepest*, and the *bluest gall*; being like fire pent, when they get a vent, that break forth far more eagerly; then being *registred* by the *pen* and *print*, like strokes in *Ovl*, they hardly are wash't off, with the *greatest* and most painful *rubbing* you can use. Like the *French Punaise*, if you let them live, they *sting*; if you kill them, yet they *stink*. You may heal the *soar*, but not the *scar*: And though perhaps there may be *wit* in some of them; yet, is that put off with so much Spleen and Cowardize, that duly examin'd, they *over-shadow* all the shine that's in them. The *wiser Governments* have ever been *severe* against them. *Ulpian*\(^2\) tells us of a Law, that makes the Person convict of libelling to be *Intestabilis*; that is, he shall neither be capable of making a *Will* himself, or of being witnesse of any made by others. And *Tacitus* relates, that *Libelling* (by *Augustus*) was brought within the compass of the Law against *Treason*.

\(^2\)A legal writer of the early third century A. D. Much of his work was incorporated into the Justinian law code.
Certainly, 'tis an ungenerous thing, to publish that to all, that we dare not own to any: 'Tis an unnoble Cowardice, that strikes a man in the dark, and like a Serpent bites him by the heel, and then glides into his hole, for want of courage to abet his actions: Be it true, or false, no man gets reputation by composing a Libel, for it tends to disgrace, enkindles malice, ushers in revenge, and discloseth spleen. The most generous, I observe, are the least concerned at them. Why should any man keep himself awake, that he may hear these Night-Birds call. It is not for a wise man to be troubled at that, which no body living will own. A Libel, is Filius Populi, that having no certain Father, ought not to inherit belief. As 'tis hard, to find any man free from all that may merit reproof; so, 'tis as easie, in the best, to find something that we may reprehend. Yet, sure I am, Charity will rather abate the score, then inflame the reckoning. He that Libels, transgresses against the common rule of Morality and Religion: he does not do, as he would be done by. We ought rather to bemone the unfortunate, then unworthily to insult against him, that is not now in a condition for his own vindication. 'Tis a disposition quite unchristian, that we show in such bad actions, being wholly contrary to that intermutual amity and friendliness that should be in the world. We rejoice in others crosses, as if they were blessings to us. And 'tis all one, as if we were so preposterous, as to be dancing and frolick at Funerals. If men were heavenly, they would be enkindled with a warming
fire of Love and Charity, to condole dysasters, or offences; if but humane, yet Nature, never meant to Man a mind so cruel, as to add weight to an over-charged beam. He that falls into a public disgrace, hath enough to bear of his own, there will be no need of another's hand to load him. To envenom a Name by Libels, that already is openly tainted, is to add stripes with an Iron rod, to him who before is broke, or fley'd with whipping: and is, sure, in a mind well temper'd, look'd upon with disdain and abhorrensey.

R. S. 52. Of Apparel. ¹

Thus we hear not of it, til sin sent Man to seek for't: ² yet, since it is a covering for shame, there is something of decency in it, it being begot like good Laws out of evil and corrupted Manners; and surely, rightly considered, we thereby do declare our guilt, and the slender esteem that is to be set upon us. When we chuse rather to appear in the spoils and excretions of other inferious creatures, then to shew our limbs and parts as Nature hath bestow'd and furnisht them. It may, indeed, be thought a modesty in Nature, to cover those excrementive parts, which, left uncover'd, perhaps might offer offence. In Birds, they are wholly conceal'd by their fethers, in Beasts, by the

¹See above S. 58. A good Rule in wearing of Apparell.
²Genesis 3:7.
tail they are produced with. 'Tis generally supposed, if Adam had not fallen, he had had no need of Garments: his Innocence was his clothing; and for covering of his shame, he then, indeed, had needed none. But, why Man (indued with so many Prerogatives, above all other Creatures) should be exposed to more inconveniences then any that were else in the world; either we must think him worse provided for by his Maker, or else, that Paradise should have ever been in such a Celestial serenity, that there would have been no need of any thing to defend him against the hard and sharp, the heat and cold, of the Air and changing Season. It is not probable, when all Creatures else have either Shels, or Scales, Hair, Wool, or Fur, or some kind or other of Natural Tegument to guard them against outward injuries, that Man alone without a fence should be exposed naked to all those adventitious assaults that are incident, to gall and vex such weakness. As it is my belief, that Man was created mortal before he sinned; so, I could incline to believe, he might have come to Garments, although he had not fallen. It's true, it was after his fall, but before he was turn'd out of Paradise, that he made himself his Fig-leaf-Circumplexion: which, being rough and fretting, was but a kind of gentler Curricombe. And whether lighted on by accident, as next and readiest; or, taken for a present necessity, not knowing better; or, design'd so out of choice, as a Hair-shirt to pennace him for his folly in offending, I shall not dispute; but, surely, God himself saw, That, so uneasie and unfitting,
that out of pitty to his creature, he put him into pelts, a gentler, easier, more soft and plyable, more durable, more warm, and more defensive clothing then that his own new-wretchedness had lighted on. Lucretius would have us think, it was after some tract of time, that he arrived at his clothing in skins: but the Text is a testimony against him. Though it may be from Adams hiding himself among the Trees of the Garden, he might be glimpsed to relate, as we find in the Poem of his 5. Epicuri.

Nec dum res igni scibant tractare, neque uti
Pellibus, & spoliis corpus vestire ferarum,
Sed Nemora, atque cavos Montes, sylvasque colebant,
Et fruitiees inter condebant squalida membra,
Verbera ventorum vitare, imbresque coacti.

When first men knew not how to work with Fire,
Nor in Beasts skins, or spoils themselves t' attire;
For Woods and Groves, and hollow Rocks th' inquire
And forc'd 'mong leaves, their sluttish limbs they stow,
T' avoid the rain, and raging winds that blow.

Certain it is; Mans own invention, went but to the Fig-tree-leaves: perhaps, his fresh-born ignorance, could not on the sodain find out other. Or, having found so sad an effect of transgressing one Command, he durst not presently rush upon the violation of an other. His limit
for dyet, was, to Fruits and Herbs. Not being commission'd to feed on Flesh, he could not come at the skin, till his compassionate Maker licens'd him to kill the carcase for the case alone. For, we do not find in the Text, that he had any commission to eat flesh, till after the world had been washt with the Floud. But, to wear Apparrel, we find it natural; there being no Nation, or People, so deeply savage, but, that their verenda be least, have been shaded by them. Nor can, in reason, the greatest Critick, complain of Providence, for sending man naked into the world: For, seeing he was Lord of all, and had wit to make use of all, there was no need of inducing him clothed upon the Stage of the World, as other creatures, who had no ability to help themselves, beyond those Veils that Primitive Nature gave them. The Universe to Man, was a larger furnish't shop; every fit material was his stuffe and triming, produc'd and laid before him for his Garment. He was only left to be his own poor Taylor, to make them up, and dress himself as he thought most convenient: And therefore, Fashion, which is left at liberty; among wise men is not to be tax'd, unless it be inconvenient, or ridiculous. Every mans palate may as well be confin'd to one kind of Cookery, as his fancy pegg'd up to one kind of fashion. It is not only lawful for a man to vary, but even to please himself in that variety, since in it self one is as lawful as the other; a little skirt is as legitimate as a great one; and comparatively, as colour, one is not worse then another. The Athenian Magistrate
reproved Craetes, for wearing a fine linen garment, who to justify himself, told him, he could show him that great Philosopher Theophrastus clothed in the same; and, to prove it, carries him to the Barbers, where Theophrastus sate to be trimm'd with the like cloth cast about him: Now (says he) you see how impertinently scrupulous you are; for, were it ill in it self, it were not in shops to be used. The sober Scipio was statued in the Capitol in an Exotique Habit: And Sylla being Emperor, confin'd not always to the Roman Gravity. We read, how God himself commanded his High-Priests garments, that they should be glorious and beautiful, not only rich is stuffe, and curious in workmanship, but orient in colours, and refulgent with Jewels. And whether by this, it were learned from the Jews, or, was naturally seeded among the Heathen, sure it is, their Priests and Flamens were more resplendent in their robes, then others of a larger cense: which may lesson us to this, That even to Heaven it self, good clothes are not displeasing. We find not fault with the Peacock's shining train, though other Birds be not so gay as he. As a Saddle and Trappings to a Horse, is Apparel to a Man; though a badge of servitude.

3Diogenes Laertius, VI, 90.

4From the spurious "The Life of Scipio African" printed in the 1603 North Plutarch.

5Plutarch, "The Life of Sylla."

6Exodus 28.
yet withall an Ornament. And as a poor one disgraces a well-shap'd Courser, so a rich one is suitable to the Beast that is stately and handsome. Nevertheless, in Apparrel, especially, for constant use, the Positive is the best degree: Good is better then the Best. He is not right, that is in them either poor, or gaudy; the one argues sordidness, singularity, or avarice; the other, pride and levity: yet, as the world is, a man loses not by being rather above his rank, then under it. It is as old as St. James, That a gold Ring and sumptuous Apparrel, had more respect then the man that was meanly arrayed.\(^7\) If we be to set a Jewel, we give it the best advantage we can think on; and the richer 'tis, the more care we take to grace it in the lustre. Though Vertue be a Diamond so-pretious, that 'tis richest when plain set; yet, we think not either the cut, or the water, can make it sparkle too much. Certainly, it is necessarily convenient, that upon occasion, we be sometimes braver then ordinary at great Solemnities; upon approach to Persons of extraordinary Honour, upon causes of Common Reioycings, and Festivities. Socrates himself, when he went to a Feast, was content to be smugg'd up and essenc'd in his Pantophles: And being demanded, how he came to be so fine, his answer was, Ut Pulcher cam ad Pulchrum; That he might appear handsome to those that were so. Though Joseph were sent for in haste out of Prison, so as the Text

\(^7\)James 2:2-3.
sayes, he was forced to run; yet he shav'd himself, and changed his rayment before he would appear before Pharaoh. It is an incongruity to mingle Raggs and Silk. Though all be Pearls; we match not round and orient, with those that are discolor'd and uneven. A man ought in his clothes, to conform something to those that he converses with: to the custom of the Nation, and the fashion that is decent and general, to the occasion, and his own condition: For, that is best, that best suites with ones Calling, and that rank he lives in. And seeing all men are not Oedipusses to read the riddle of another mans inside; and most men judge by Apparencies; It behoves a man to belay for a good esteem even from his cloaths and outside. We guess the goodnesse of the pasture by the mantle that we see it wears. The bellique Caesar, as Swetionius tells us, was noted for singularity in his Apparrel, and did not content himself without adding something to his Senators purple Robe. If there were not a Decorum and a Latitude according to mens ranks, and qualities, what use would be of silk and softer Rayment? In vain had Tyrian seas their greedy purples bred. The Assyrian worm should wast her self in vain. The costly furre, the finer flax, would all let go their values, and instead of benefit become a Burthen to the full-stor'd World. Attalique Garments have their proper use. The Pontique Bever and Calabrian wool, the brighter Ermine and

8Genesis 41:14. 9Julius, XLV.
the darker Sables, find justly wearers whom they well become. Yet in Apparrel, a manly carelesnesse is beyond a feminine Art; Too great a tricking tells the World we dwell too much on outsides. There are three good uses we may lawfully make of Apparrel, to hide shame, to preserve from cold, and to adorn the body; the worst taske we can put it to, is to engender Pride; when we think the Logg is pretious, because the bark is Aromatique and perfum'd. When Demonax saw the Fool in fine apparel, and by reason thereof to wear as well as it an outward insolence, he hearks him in the Ear with this; That fine-wrought wool that you (Sir.) are so proud of, was worn by a Beast before 'twas worn by you: And yet that Beast doth still a beast continue. I do not see in the general but that the man becomes the Apparrel rather then the Apparrel the man; for some are of so homely a garb, that no cloathing can hide them from the Fool or Clown. While others give a grace to any thing is cast upon them. And that may settle us in this Resolution, that comly Apparrel is better far then either costly, or conceited. He that is phantastique in his clothes hangs them on as a Sign to tell the World that a Puppet dwells within. When Caligula's pride and folly rendered him so ridiculous, that he would cry up himself to be sometimes Jupiter, sometimes Juno otherwise Diana, often Venus; and so change his Habit, sutable to those various shapes the fabling Poets had bestowed upon those foppish Deities.10 Dion hath this Note upon him, 10Ibid., Caligula, LII.
Quidvis potius quam homo videri cupiens. He had rather seem any thing then what he was or should be. A man: He that will be singular in his Apparel had need have something superlative to ballance that affectation. As Elias, John the Baptist, and Dion Prusius who had been a strange sight appearing mantled in a Lyons skinne, if his parts had not advanced him into the Chariot of the Emperour Trajan. Commonly that is most comly that most like of, and is liked by ones self: A man may have Liberty to please his Fancy in his Habit, so it does not disparage his Judgment.

R. S. 53. The good use of an Enemie.¹

The skilful Physitian, out of noysome plants and poysonous beasts, can sometimes gather and confect his cure for foul diseases. As bryars and thorns, though they be pungent and untractable: yet in a sence they hold the Beast from wandring into wider danger: so though an Enemy be no way grateful to the common sense of Humanity, yet surely by the prudent he may be made a Mithridate; and as a guard upon our Actions, to keep them that they stray not beyond Discretion and Convenience. It was the opinion of Diogenes, That our life hath need of either faithful friends or sharp and severe Enemies; And many times our Enemies do us more good then those that we esteem for friends. For whereas a

¹See above S. 59. The good use of an Enemie.
Friend will often passe over ordinary failings and out of Respect, Connivence, Relation, or self-interest, speak only what shall be either grateful or not displeasing. An Enemy will catch at every Error, and sets himself as a spye upon all our Actions, whereby as by a Tyrant-governour we are kept impaled within the bounds of Vertue and Prudence, beyond whose limits if we dare to wander, by him we presently are whipt into the circle of discretion. Like the Serjeant of a band in Armies, if we be out of rank he checks us again into the place and file appointed us. To a fool he is the Bellows of passion, but to a Wise man he may be made a School-maister of Vertue. The greatest glory Rome did e're arrive at, in part did from her potent Enemies rise. They taught her all the arts of Warre and Government, till she mounted to a Fame whose splendor was so bright that like the Sunne it deaded all the lesser fires before or since in the World. Was she not beholding to her Enemies for all her 350 severall Triumphs and in them for her Conquerors impaled Purples, and their lawrel'd Temples in their Turricular Chariots. And certainly as her glory was the highest, so those Triumphs were the highest pieces of magnificence and splendor that the Sun e're gaz'd on. For therein were the Arms, the Wealth, the Garments, Gems, and pretious Utensils of all the several Nations of the Earth; and, in Effigie, Towers, Cities, Forts, and Battails as they won them. All rarities of creatures

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\text{Turricular in S; obviously a misprint.}\]
extant through the world. Whole droves of Oxen for the Altar dress'd with guilded Horns, and flowry Garlands crown'd, with their Ministers in shining Silks, with golden Vessels for their use in Sacrifice; Musick, Perfumes, Feasts, and the summ'd up Excellencies of all that could be thought on; and (after all these stately sights, and the roab'd Senate coming out to meet them) Kings, Princes, Dukes, their Wives, their Kindred, Children, and Allyes, the captiv'd Souldier, and the tam'd Commander, with hands behind them bound, sadly and slowly moving to usher the approach of the Victor's leisurely proceeding Chariot. Certainly, the highest Vertues, the greatest Fortitude, the Dominion and Wealth of the world they got by having Enemies. And at last, with their enemies, they conquer'd their own Vertues too: For, no sooner were they freed from those, but the ease and rust of Peace did Canker all their brightness. Metellus professed he knew not, whether his Victory did Rome more harm, or good. And when one was applauding the happiness and security of Rome, having awed Greece, and subdued the Carthaginians; the wise Scipio conceived her most in danger, while she had none to fear, and keep up in her the growth of Fortitude, and Diligence. A man with an Enemy, is like a City besieged: While Hannibal is at the gate, it is not for him to be careless and licentious. For, Enemies like Ravens, though they smell not the sound; yet, they can sent corrupted manners presently. So, that as Appius Claudus observed of Rome, and we may find it confirmed in our Neighbours of the lower Germany, their
Enemies have added to their Fame and Industry. From them we often find more truth than shines among familiars; they boldly speak their undisguis'd opinion; they prevent our running into Vice and Error; and if any act mis-beseeming Vertue, shall but unawares escape us, they will be sure to single it out of the Coppice wherein 'twas lodged, into the open Plain, by every under Wood-man to be beset and shot at. So, that if a man by his Friends cannot know wherein he offends; his Enemies in that will put on Friendship's office, and shew him where he fails. And, so I know the thing, what matter is it, whether it be blown me in a petty whirl-wind, or whisper'd in a calmer air? By either, if I please, I may take occasion to mend. The Air, we see, is cleansed as oft by russling Winds: as by the gentle and more grateful rayes of the warming Sun. Nor does an Enemy only hinder the growth and progress of our Vices: But he enkindles, exercises, and exalts our Vertues. Our Patience is improved by bearing calmly the Indignities he strives to load us with. Our Charity enflamed by doing good for ill, by taking the better handle of his actions, by pardoning and forgiving the injuries he does us. Our Prudence is increased by wisely managing our selves in our demeanors, lest weakly ordered, we give him opportunity to wound us. Our Fortitude is strengthened by a stout repelling of scorns, and an undaunted courage show'd in all our actions. Our Industry is ripened and habituated by watching all his On-sets, and his Mines; and by best contriving how we may acquit us in all our
contestations. And, questionless, sometimes we ought to be thankful for an Enemy. He gives us occasion to show the world our Parts, and Piety, which else perhaps in our dark Graves would sleep and moulder with us quite unknown: or, could not otherwise well be seen without the vanity of a light and an ostentous mind. Miltiades had miss'd his Trophie, if he had miss'd an Enemy in the Marathonian Fields. Horatius Cocles, and Mutius Scaevola had never gain'd such fame, by either of them surmounting the opposition of an Element, the last of Fire, and the first of Water, if they had not been put to it by the Etrurian Porsenna. And though the last line alone of Martial's Epigram might prove this, yet, because he hath so elegantly, in little, limb'd the Story of the latter, I have presum'd to give you the whole.

Dum peteret Regem, decepta Satellite dextra
Injecit sacris se peritura focis.
Sed tam saeva pius miracula non tulit Hostis;
Et raptum flammis justit abire virum.
Urere quam potuit contempto Mutius igne,
Hanc spectare manum Porsena non potuit.
Major deceptae fama est & gloria dextae,
Si non errasset, fecerat ille minus.2

When his right hand mistook the King (his Prize)
Inrag'd to th' fire he gav't for Sacrifice.

2I, 22.
But the soft King amaz'd at such fell sights,  
\textit{Snatches} it thence, and so the Man \textit{acquites},  
That hand which (scorning \textit{flames}) stout \textit{Mutius} 
\textit{burn'd},  
\textit{Porsenna} durst not \textit{see}, but from it \textit{turn'd}.  
\textit{Mistake} became his glorious \textit{Fames} \textit{excess};  
Without \textit{mistaking}, he had \textit{acted} \textit{less}.

And, after all this, we may be \textit{deceived} by our \textit{friends}, and we may \textit{deceive} our \textit{selves}. But, an \textit{Enemy} cannot be \textit{unfaithful}, or \textit{deceive} us; because we know him so well, that we do not come to \textit{trust} him, but keep him out at a \textit{distance}, and clearly out of the capacity of \textit{cozening}; so, that though a \textit{friend} may \textit{please} more, yet, an \textit{Enemy} may \textit{profit} as much. The consideration whereof may very well facilitate unto us those seeming hard Commandements of our Saviour and Christianity; To \textit{forgive} our \textit{Enemies}, to \textit{pray} for them that \textit{persecute} us, to do \textit{good} to them that \textit{hurt} us, and even to love our \textit{Enemies}: For albeit, they love not us; yet, since they are occasion of so much \textit{benefit} to us, as to promote our \textit{Vertues}, and repress our \textit{Errors}; if we can be but wise for our \textit{selves}, we shall find it but an \textit{Act of Reason} and exactest \textit{Justice}, to afford them our \textit{Affections}; not only as they are our \textit{Brethren}, and pieces of the same \textit{Imagery} with our \textit{selves}, but even out of the Rules of \textit{Civilities}, and \textit{Nature}. If, but by \textit{accident}, though unwillingly, a man do us a \textit{curtesie}, yet we use, and it becomes us to be \textit{thankful},
because, without him we had not been so happy; every Instrument that brings us good, we are beholding to. And certainly, as we ought to be thankful to God for our affictions that are sent by him to amend us, so our Enemies are to be reckon'd in the number of those by which we may be refined, if we will. As the hardest stone is properest for a Basis; so, there is not a better Pedestal to raise a Trophy of our Vertues upon, then an outward Enemy, if we can but keep our selves from inward Enemies, our vices, our weaknesses, and our own disarayments.

R. S. 54. Of Gifts, and their power.\(^1\)

Where Love and Gratitude grow in the heart, it will not only blossom in the tongue, but also fructise in the hand by action and expression. And indeed, to expect or receive favours, and not to think of requital, is, like the Beast, to take bread from the hand, and then gallop away for fear of being made to do service. Certainly, there is a greater force in gifts, then usually men think of; they conquer both the wise and foolish. With gifts both Gods and Men are taken, and prevail'd with. From Hell to Heaven, the order is in all to offer: With a sop even Cerberus is quieted. And, in regard his gifts becalm'd so much their minds, 'twas said

\(^1\)See above S. 42. A Practice with / A Rule of Friendship, S. 44. Of purchasing Friends, with large Gifts, and R. S. 39. Of free Dispositions.
of Philip, that his Gold, and not his Iron, all Graecia had subdued. And when the Gods were either begg'd to, for bestowing favours, or sought to for their Angers being appeas'd, the Altars smoak'd with Offerings, as being belief'd the way the sooner to incline them to Beneficence. He that hath business, and spares his hand in presenting, angles without a bait; and oft-times renders him that he would have his Friend, his Enemy. A kindness unrewarded, turns into neglect, as if we slighted both the man and the matter. 'Tis true, in Administrations of Justice, where men like Gods ought uncorruptedly to adorn their high Tribunals. Where the Publicque is concern'd, and men, besides Conscience, are bound up by the solemnness of Oaths, It is a Sin to accept; and, doubtless, no Vertue for any at all to offer: As 'tis the modest Virgins, so 'tis the Magistrate's part, when tempted, to refuse: And, as 'tis falsely said, 'tis the mans part to offer, so questionless, he cannot be free from corruption, that would lay any thing that should look like a lure before the eyes of Justice. 'Tis like some Dallilahs wanton eye; though it makes no bargain, yet it tempts. A gift thus offer'd, is no other then an illegitimate philtre, endeavouring to adulterate Affection from that Bride to whom they stand already betrothed; and, though we contract not, is not better in the aim then a bribe. In which, I see not, why the offerer should not be as highly punishable as the receiver. I do not think, the Devil was better then Eve. The Author of the mischief is more criminal, then he that
weakly is seduc'd to follow him: who layes a **snare** to take me, though I *scape* it, is not wholly **Innocent**. What can be said in excuse, is chiefly this, The **Clyent** is not sworn, not to **offer**; but the **Judge** is bound, not to **take**. Certainly, who ever **offers** it out of sinister **ends** to himself, with but the least thought of **perverting Justice**, and, who ever **takes** it out of the desire of **gain**, intending thereby to be partial, come both within the guilt of **bribery**, which as **Job** tells us, will beget a **fire** that shall consume their **Tabernacle**. And 'tis from the greatness of the influence that **Gifts** have upon men, that the Laws have been so severe against them. Indeed, it is not fit a corrupt man, should ever come to know the **power** that **gifts** carry over minds: They gently bow them from their own intention from the **grounds of right** and **justice**. They bring a **stranger** into **affinity**, an **Enemy** into a **Friend**. They are **charms** upon the **disposition**; and, like the **blandishments** of the **strange women**, they **kiss** men into **kindness** they intended not. Besides the **blinding** of the **eyes** of the wise, **Solomon** tells us, A **Gift** is a beloved **Jewel**, a **Stone** of **Grace**, (as the Original hath it) and it prospers whither soever it turns. It blunts the **keen edg'd Sword**, and breaks the **brazen Wall**. A mans gift makes room for him, it throws open dores, puts out the Watch-mans light, and brings him to the **Great mans presence**, Prov. 17.8. & 18.16. 'Tis the **Absolom of Israels** that steals away the heart from **Justice**, that is and should be **King**. And bate them but this Felony, and doubtless, then a wise man will not be wanting
in them. Before favours received, they seem to speak affection and regard; afterwards, gratitude and acknowledgment. It is not good to be constant in gifts at set and fixed times; for Custom, as in in others things, so in this, does usually run into Law. Expectation will diminish the value of a Free-will-offering, and it will quickly become as an obliged Sacrifice; and, if we omit, we displease. This was seen in New-years-Gifts, which being at first only auspicious and honorary, grew to that pass in the time of Augustus, that every man brought them to the Capitol, and there left them, though Augustus was not there: And Caligula by an Edict ordered them then to be brought him. 'Tis best when we give, to do it so, as it may be sure to show either love, respect, or thankfulness. And great Presents are not so much to be commended, as those that take the fancy, That square with a present occasion, and may be of often use in the Eye, whereby we may be retain'd in remembrance. The Bottle of foul water which Peribarzanes had from the Countrey-fellow, was so grateful to Artaxerxes, when he was thirsty, that he protested he never drank of a pleasanter Wine in his lifetime; and the Peasant it was had from, he would not suffer to depart, till he had lifted him from his Poverty, to be a person of Wealth. A Noble heart wears fetters when he is beholding, and sometimes rather then be overcome, will wane himself to less in his Estate; as chusing rather to be less, then lagging to requite a benefit. Among the Romans, Donations of Estates between
married couples were forbidden, unless to purchase Honour with: perhaps, because they would have Love so pure and natural between them, as that nothing of Art should intervene: That Love might have no other ground but Love and genuine liking. Otherwise, between remoter Relations, they held them as the Cement of affection and friendship. And they had their Customary Seasons for such Intermutual expressions or regard by Presents, as on the first of December at their Saturnalian Feasts; on the first of January for their New-years-gifts; on their Birth-davs, and on the Calends of March, in memory of the service done by the Sabine women, the green Umbrella and fat Amber were to women sent. And, in all times, such Gifts as were meerly out of affection and benignity, that were aimable and honorary, were never at all forbidden: for, having no ends but these, they were reprehendable, if not done; but, much commended, if they were performed. Mendicatory or fishing Gifts that like lines are cast into the water, baited with a small Frye, in hope to catch a Fish of greater growth, the generous have ever disdained. 'Tis but a begging, out of the compass of the Statute; which, though it be more safe, I scarce hold so ingenuous, as a right down craving of Alms. A man may give for Love, for Merit, for Gratitude, for Honour, to engage a lawful favour, or prevent a menacing storm: but never to betray, to entice to injustice, or to make a gain, by begging with a little, greater. For, though the pretence by Love and Honour, the aim is Interest and Lucre. And if it
be a Bribe, it never hath a prevalency, but, when two Knaves meet, and agree to cosen a third, that both of them have cause to think honester than themselves.

R. S. 55. Of the inconvenience of neglecting Prayer.¹

'Tis Conversation chiefly that begets both Faith and Love. Affection cannot but covet to have the object that it loves be neer. He that never comes at me, allows me not much of his kindnesse: If my friend withdraws himself from my Company, I may justly suspect I am waining in his wonted esteem. For, absence is a wind by degrees blows off those fruits that grow upon the Tree of Friendship. It disrobes her of all those pleasing Ornaments and Contentments that are by Familiarity and Conversation enjoyed. And as it fareth between two that have been antiently Familiar, yet dwelling asunder, the inferiour out of a carelesse neglect omits or minds not his usuall duty of visitation; and this so long, that at the last he forbears to go at all: So, their Loves that by frequent intercourses were heatful and alive between them, by discontinuance only, drop into decay and shrink away to nothing. There needeth nothing more but a lingering desistance to divest him of all those solaces and comforts that usually enrich the noble and contentful Region

¹See above S. 61. Of the danger of Neglecting the duty of Prayer.
of Friendship. By lying still he lazes out his interest, and dis-arayes himself into an unacquainted stranger. That, at last, if he would return, shame and the sense of his neglect, forbids or hinders his reverting to his former intimacy. As water set abroad, it airs away at nothing by only standing still.

And 'tis not otherwise between the Soul and God: Not to pray, not to meditate, not to have him in our thoughts, dis-wonteth us, and estranges him. And when in soddain plunges we more particularly shall come to need him, our shame does then enervate our weak Faith, and with despair does send our burning blushes down into our Bosome. With what confidence can we runne to him in need, whom in our plenty we have quite neglected? How can we beg as Friends, as Children, as beloved, when we have made our selves as stranger Renegrades? 'Tis a most unhappy state to be at a distance with God; Man needs no greater Infelicity then to be left by him to himself. A breach once made by Negligence, like that by water worn, though it be by so soft an Element, yet by time it breaks it self into a Sea. Though France and Britain supposedly once were one, yet we see the tracts of Age have made them several Regions. 'Tis farre from prudent policy to admit of Interposures. If we would be prevalent and esteemable, we ought with all our care to preserve that interest, which never can, but by our own neglect, be lost. Though Princes be just, yet they are not familiar with subjects at a distance. They are Privadoes that have daily
recourse to Majesty, that have power by their neerness to help themselves and others. Those Birds we breed up tame, that follow us with their spreading wings, that often chirp their pretty confidences to us, that pearch upon our shoulders, and nestle in our warmer Bosomes; To these we daily do distribute food, and with out tender care provide them still protection. But those that wildly fly about and shunne us, we never are solicitous to care for. The advice was divine in the every way accomplish't Xenophon, That we should in Prosperity be sure frequently to worship and adore the Gods; that whensoever we had a more peculiar need of their assistance, we might with greater confidence approach them at their Altars. He that would keep his friend must make him often visits, and ever and anon have something in a readinesse to exercise his stock of love, and keep affection flaming. And surely, 'tis from hence the Apostle bid us pray, without intermission,² for it keeps us mindful of our own inherent duty, and God is always put in mind of us; and, to incourage our Addresses, blesses us. When a man neglects his praying and his praising of his Maker, it makes a Chasm betwixt him and his own felicity. If he does see God at all, 'tis but as Dives after death saw Lazarus, a great way off, with a large gulp fix't between.³ And though it is not required that we should be always tedder'd to a formal solemn praying; yet by our mental

meditations and our ejaculatory emissions of the heart and mind we may go far to the compleating the Apostles counsel. There is in the lives of the Fathers a story of one Abbot Lucius, that being visited by some young Probationers, he demanded of them, if they did not imploy themselves in the practice of some manual Labour. They told him, No, they spent their time according to the precept perpetually in praying. He asked them then, If they did not eat and sleep. They said, both these they did. Then says the Father, Who prays for you the while? But they not knowing what well to reply to this, he thus returneth to them: Well (says he) I perceive you do not do, as you say: But I can tell you how you may pray continually. I am not ashamed to labour with my hands. Of the Date-tree leaves at tymes of leisure I make up little lines, or perhaps some other matters. And while I work, I send forth still between, some short petitions to my gracious God. When I have some little quantity of finisht work I sell it perhaps for ten pence or a shilling, about a third thereof I give away to the poor: the rest I spend my self. So that when I eat or sleep, these poor men praying for me, they perform my part, and so I pray perpetually. Certainly the breathing and effusions of a devout Soul turn prayer into a chain, that linking still together tyes us fast to God: But intermission breaks it, and when we are so loose, with every rub we easily are overthrown. And doubtlesse we shall find it far lesse
difficult to preserve a Friend once made, than 'tis to recover him when once he shall be lost.

R. S. 56. Of Envy.¹

'TIS a vice would pose a man to tell, what it should be liked for. Other vices we assume, for that we falsely suppose they bring us either pleasure, profit, or honour. But, out of envy, who is it can finde any of these? In stead of pleasure, we vex and gall our selves. Like cankerd Brasse it only eats it self; nay, discolours and renders it noysome. When some told Agis, That those of his neighbours family did envy him; Why then, sayes he, they have a double vexation: One, with their own evil; the other, at my prosperity. Like a Corroding Plaister, it lies gnawing at the heart; and, indeed, is founded in grief; That being the object of it, either in himself, or others, through all the conditions that are. Either he grieves in himself, when an other is happy; or else, if ever he does rejoice, 'tis certainly because another does suffer. So calamity seems the center that he points unto. As a Desert-beast, the dayes brightness drives him to the dulness of a melancholly Cave, while darkness only presents him with the prey that pleases him: As a Negro born of white Parents. 'Tis a sordid sadness, begot at another mans joy. And because he hath no

¹See above S. 63. Enuy a Squint-ey'd Foole.
infelicity of his own, as is brought, and is concomitaneous with most of other vices, the envious man creates his own disturbance, from the prosperous successes of others. Socrates call'd it, the saw of the soul, that pricks and cuts the vital bloud, and tears the flesh but into larger atoms. Bion, seeing a spiteful fellow look sad, was not able to say, whether some dysaster had befallen himself, or some good luck some other. He is a man of a strange constitution, whose sickness is bred of an others health; and, seems never in health, but when some other is sick; as if nature had fram'd him an Antipathite to Vertue: And so indeed tis equal, that he does become at length his own sad scourge and beadle.

Justius Invidia nihil est, quae protinus ipsum

Authorem rodit Excruciatque suum.

No vice so just as envy, that alone
Doth gall and vex the mind that doth it own.

Profit can never by this be acquired: for, he is an enemy to him that is able to help him; and, him that is miserable and cannot, he delights in. The Swine is pleased with wallowing in his mire; the Dog, by tumbling in his loathsome carrion; but envy is not pleasure, but the maceration of the body. It sowsrs the countenance, gives the lips a trembling; the eyes an uncelestial and declining look, and all the face a meager wasting paleness. 'Tis the green
sickness of the soul, that feeding upon coals and puling rubbish, impallids all the body to an Hectique leanness. There is no pleasantness in his conversation, that should invite us to affect his company: Nor is his honesty such, as to make us covetous of so crabbed a Companion, whereby we should be drawn to confer favour, or bestow rewards. Flattery is often recompensed with bounty; Injustice finds a bribe; Prodigality obligeth many; Avarice accumulates all: but who did ever give to one for being Envious? or what is it but outward hate, or inward torment, that the envious gets?

Honour by it, I'me sure, can nere be compass'd. For tis so perpetually found in weak mindes, that it stamps the Fool upon the Master for troubling himself, not only with things without him, and that concern not his own well or ill Being; but that he resolves to be miserable, as long as he sees another man to be happy. 'Twas a handsome wish of Seneca, That the eyes of the envious might behold all the felicities of every several Citizen: for their own vexations would rise and swell, according to the floud of joyes that appeared in other persons. It proclaims us further to be low and inferiour to others, for we never envy him that is beneath us; so that it cheats our own intention. Him, whom we would blast with the dark vapour of disgrace and obloquy, by our enving of him, we point him out for excellent, and stick a ray of glory upon his deserving forehead, that all the world may note him. It taints the bloud, and does
infect the spirits. And if it be true, that Philosophy would inform us of, it turns into a man a Witch, and leaves him not, till it leads him into the very condition of Devils, to be detrued Heaven for his meerly pride and malice. The aspect of his eye alone, does sometimes become not only vulnerary, but mortal. They prove a fascination by the eye, when the spirits are corrupted; from the experience of a Looking-glasse, that at certain seasons, by some bodies gazed on, becomes spotted and stained from their only intuition; for they say, Certain spirits virulented from the inward humor, darted on the object, convey a Venom where they point and fix: and those noysome vapours centred on the eye, which is much more impresible then the hardned glasse, they are taken by the eye of the aspected, and through it strike the very heart and intrails. Nor is it to be wondered at, since we daily find, in way of love, the eye can with an amorous glance bewitch the heart, and fire the spirits till they burn our bosome. If one way the eye can at a distance charm, then why not by another? Invenom'd spirits throw their flames about; and doubtless, wound the unprepar'd they light on. Excited poyson, rises into spreading and dispersed infection. The air becomes infected by the noysome breath, and he that comes within the dint on't, dies. The very Shepherd could conceive that pointed malice wrought upon his flock.
Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat Agnos?²

Some spiteful eye sure has my Lambs bewitcht.

It may be tis from hence, as well as from the implacability of the vice, that Solomon tells us, Anger is cruel, and Wrath is raging, but who can stand before Envy? Yea, hence tis, not unlikely, that twice the Apostle joyns it with Murther, Rom. 1. 29, & Gal. 5. 21. as if he that conversed with the envious, went in danger of his life; as indeed he does, being subject to all the disadvantages that unfortunate man can live under: whatsoever he does well, is presently detracted from, till it be lessened and synalaepha'd into nothing.

At a Feast in Spain, the meritorious Discovery of America by Columbus was discoursed on; the honester sort did highly praise the Enterprise; but, some haughty Spaniards, envious at so great a glory, slightingly said, The thing was no such wonder, since a plain Navigation would not well avoid it; and doubtless there were many Spaniards that could have discovered those, and other unknown Lands, without the help or assistance of an Italian. Columbus was by, and silently heard the passage, whereupon he leaves the Room, and immediately returns with an Egg in his hand, and to this effect bespeaks them; Gentlemen, Which of you can make this Egg stand upright upon one end; they try'd, and could not so

²Virgil Eclogues, III, 103.
concluded it was not to be done: But, **Columbus** shaking it, and giving it a gentle crack, straight way set it up in their sight: At this they jeer'd as a thing so trivial, that it was no Mastery, but this way it might be done by any body: Yet, replyes **Columbus**, none of you could do it till first I show'd you the way. And such was my Discovery of the **West-Indies**; till I had made it, none of you could do it: and now I have don't, you boast how easily you could find out that, which I have found out for you.

Of all the **spies** that are, **Envy** is the most observant and prying. When the Physicians to **Frederick** were relating what most would sharpen the sight, and some were for Fennel, and some for Glasses, and others for other matters; the Noble **Actius** did assure them, there was nothing that would do it like **Envy**. Whatsoever a man does ill, by it is magnified, and multiplied; his failings are all watcht, drawn out, and blaz'd to the World, and under the pretence of good, he oft is led to the extremest issue of evill. Like Oyl that's powr'd upon the roots of Trees, which softens it, destroyes, and withers all the branches. And being once catched, with **scorn** he is insulted on. For, **Envy** is so unnoble a Devill that it ever tyrannizeth most upon a slip or low prostration, at which time gallant minds do most disdain to triumph.

The **Envious** is more unhappy then the **Serpent**: for though he hath poison within him, and can cast it upon others; yet to his proper bosome 'tis not burdensome, as is the **Rancour**.
that the envious keeps: but this most plainly is the Plague, as it infects others, so it severs him that hath it, till he dyes. Nor is it more noxious to the owner then Fatal and detrimental to all the world beside. 'Twas envy first unmade the Angels and created Devils. 'Twas Envy first that turn'd man out of Paradise\(^3\) and with the bloud of th' innocent first dyed the untainted earth.\(^4\) 'Twas Envy sold chast Joseph as a Bondman,\(^5\) and unto Crucifixion gave the only Sonne of God.\(^6\) He walks among burning coals that converses with those that are envious. He that would avoid it in himself must have worth enough to be humble and beneficent. But he that would avoyd the danger of it from others must abandon their company. We are forbidden to eat with him that hath an evill eye, lest we vomit up the morsels we have eaten and lose our sweet words, That is, lest we get a sickness instead of nutriment, and have to do with those that, like enchanters, with smooth language will charm us to destruction.

Why men chuse honest Adversity before undue Prosperity. 1

Since Pleasure and Complacency, with Glory and Applause either true, or mistaken, is the general aim of Man: and the avoiding Pain, Disgrace, and Trouble, the Shelf that we would not touch at; It is to be considered, from whence it comes to pass, that wise men, and mostly such, should chuse Goodness and Vertue with affliction, and the burthens of unpleasing accidents; rather then Vice garlanded with all the soft demulsions of a present contentment. Even among the AEgyptians, the Mid-wives would rather incur the danger of Pharaoh's angry and armed power, then commit those murthers that would have brought them preferment. 2 Moses when he was grown up, that is, was full forty years old, (the time of Judgment's ripeness) He chose adversity and affliction, which he might have avoided, before the pomp and splendour of Pharaoh's Court, and the Son-ship of the Princess his Daughter. 3 Socrates being committed by Publike Authority (though unjustly), would neither break his Prison, nor violate Justice, to purchase Life and Liberty. 4 Hath not our own Age seen Him who hath abandon'd both his Life and Crown, rather then betray his Honour, and his Peoples Liberties;

1See above S. 62. A good mans Ioy in his many sorrowes.
2Exodus 1:15-22. 3Exodus 2:11.
4Xenophon, Memoribilia.
returning to the Offer (as my Author sayes) this Heroical and truly Regal answer, Mille mortes mihi subiere potius erit, quam sic meum Honorem, sic Populi Libertates prostituere, I shall sooner undergo a Thousand deaths, then so my Honour, so my Peoples Freedoms prostitute. Certainly, the Appetition of Happiness, and that (Primus omnium Motor) Love and Care of our selves, even in this seeming contrariety of choice, holds still, and leads us to this bold Election. Else Man, in the most serious Exigents of his life, were his own false cheat, and led by a Genius that in his most extremity would cozen him. It would cast deceit upon Providence, that if we did not do for the best in chusing these Indurances, would delude us with vain beliefs, and running into Nothings. Seeming would be better then Being, and Falshood should be preferr'd before Truth; which being contrary to Reason, and Nature, cannot be admitted by Man. If therefore we did not believe, Truth and Honour and Justice were to be preferr'd before this present life, and all those clingant sparklings, that dance and dangle in the Rayes and Jubilations of it, sure we should not be so sottish, as to chuse the first, and let the latter slip away disdained. Among some other less weighty, these following reasons may for this be given; one is the Majesty and Excellency that Vertue hath in her self; which is not only Beautiful, but Eternal; so, that there is a power in her to attract our adherence to her before all the transient and skin-deep pleasures that we fondly smack after in this postage of life.
in this world. The Philosopher said, and truly too, That
Vertue was the beauty of the Soul, Vice the deformity.
Vertue hath a flavor, that when the draught is past, leaves
a grateful gust and fume, which makes us love and covet after
more. Socrates taught every where, that the just man and
the happy were all one. The Soul of Man like a tree in a
fruitful soyl at first, was planted in the Element of Vertue,
and while 'tis nourisht by it, it spreads and thrives with
fruit and fair viridity. But every Vice is a Worm, or
frost, or blast, that checks the sap, that nips the tender
branches, and Cankers the whole body it self.

A second Reason is, because the Soul is Immortal, of
which this to me appears a potent argument. If it were not
to be any more, why should it not prefer fruition, and the
exercises of life, before a dissolution and privation. Were
a man sure, that all would end with life, we should be simple
to provide beyond it: But, because it does not, Providence,
which in the general, leaves none unfurnisht with that which
is fit for him, hath given him this prospect and apprehension
of futurity, and out-living life, and his journying through
this world. Socrates when he was condemned, told his Judges,
that Melitus and Anitus might cause him to dye, but they
could not do him mischief or incommode him. 6

A third Reason is, That doubtless, there is an Eternal
Justice, of which God gives us both the sense and notion,
that when hereafter Man shall find a **punishment** for his **sins** and **vices**, he cannot plead the want of Proclamation, since 'tis more then whisper'd to his Spirit within him, and so characterized in his Soul, that 'tis one of the distinctive properties of Man from Beast, that he can reflect upon himself, and apprehend **Eternity**: which as it will justly **condemn** us, so it will leave our great **Creator** without **blame**, and ourselves without **excuse**. It is the opinion of **Plato** in his **Phaedon**, that the **Souls** of **good men** are after death in a **happy** condition, united unto God in some place **Inaccessible**: but those of **bad**, in some convenient room condignly suffer **punishment**. Besides these, there is so much **good** in **affliction**, and the consequents of it, That, as the wise Creator knows it the Physick of our frailty; so wise men are the least offended at it. He that by the Oracle was approved for the **wisest**, confessed, though he knew before he married her, that his **Zanippe** was a Scold unsufferable; yet, he wittingly did marry her, to exercise his **patience**, that by the practise of enduring her shrewish heats, he might be able to brook all companies; the brawls, the scorns, the sophisms, and the petulancies of rude and unskilful men; the frettings, the thwartings, and the excruciations of life; and so go to a more perfect and an exact Philosopher.7 **Vertue** is not learned perfectly, without a severer Tutor, That by the **Rod of Discipline**, and the **Fire of Affliction**, can scour us

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7Ibid.
from our dross, and burn off all our rust. A good man like an Asbestine Garment, as well as a Tobacco-pipe, when foul, is clensed by burning. The faithful hereby learn all their excellent vertues, Patience, Charity, Temperance, Fortitude, Humility, and Contentment, with the whole Train of other glorious graces that crown the most deserving. By this, God forms his servants into splendour: He brushes off their dust, washes away their stains, consumes their dregs, and builds them up into Saints. Nor is it to be doubted, but it is a Mark of favour to be bred up thus like Princes, under the Tuition of so grave an Instructor, in the rudiments of Piety and Goodness. The Apostle Bastardizeth those that suffer not. It is a sign of Sonship, to be chastiz'd. We are the objects of our Heavenly Father's care, while we are lesson'd in the Arts of Vertue, while we are chequ'd and bounded and impal'd from offence. It therefore is no wonder, that the devout Climachus should perswade men, That persevering under scorns and reproaches, they should drink them off. As they would do Milk and Honey. The Souldier is not expert, without passing through several perils. Iron is but a dull thing, till it be forg'd and anvil'd, vic't and filed into shape and brightness; but then, and not before 'tis fit to take its guilding. We most approve that Horse, that hath best been manag'd to the Bit and Spur, without which he were an untameable danger. The workman boyls his silver, before it 8Hebrews 12:6.
can be ready for burnishing. Without quarrelling Rome, we can allow this Purgatory, to purifie and cleanse us, that we may be the better candidated for the Court of Heaven and Glory. He that is so head-strong as to cast away Discipline, is in danger, to have the next thing he throws away to be Vertue: we correct where we would amend; where there is no hope, we do not trouble our selves so much as to reprehend. Nor does Correction so much respect what is past, as that which is to come, Nemo prudens punit, quia peccatum est, sed ne peccetur. A wise man does not punish so much the ill we have done, as to prevent, that we may do none hereafter. 'Tis Seneca's, and may instruct us to believe, That though we be not at ease, yet we may not be unfortunate. As bodies that are crooked, disdain not to be brac'd in steel, that they may become straight: So the Mind that is warping to Vice, should not think much to be kept upright by the curblings and the stroaks of Adversity.

R. S. 58. Of Play and Gaming.¹

The Olympick and the rest of the Games of Greece, were instituted first meerly for Honour and Exercise: and though they wanted not Wealth, yet their rewards were not in Money and Treasures, but only in Wreaths and Garlands, of such slight Plants as were easie to come by, and common among

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
them. Chiefly they had but four kinds of playes; for being victors in which, they were

With pine, with apple, olive, parsley crown'd.

Serra quibus, Pinus, Malus, Oliva, Apium. ²

As Ausonius informs us. Though afterwards with higher plaudits and acclamations, they came to have pensions and provisions from the publique for life. But these, and such like, are not much to be faulted: For, their institution was handsome, and their end and aim was good. The play that's most complainable, is the inordinate gaming for mony; which he that first invented, was certainly, either very idle, or else extremely covetous. Albeit in the sequel it cheats the intention in both: for, who so busie as they that are intent at dice? Their soul and senses run along with them, and seldom 'tis, that they give men leave to be moderate. And instead of gaming it wastes even what we had without it. Some inform us, they were first invented by Palamedes in the trojan war, in that ten years siege to keep his soldiers from idleness: ³ And the truth is, it may sute better with their calling, then with that of other mens. He that makes it his trade to kill, will blanch but little at stealing; and whatsoever he comes by, if the war be not highly just, he

²Eclogues, xix, 4.

³According to legend, Palamedes also invented measures, scales, lighthouses, the discus, and the alphabet.
hath as good a plea to, as to that he gains by dicing. He was not much out of the way that being asked what difference there was between Aleator, and Tesserarum Lusor answered readily, The same that there is betwixt Fur and Latro. And indeed, to play for gain, and by unlawful means to draw away mony from another, to his detriment; in the opinion of Divines is but permitted. The very worsened with commixtion of Murther. And to see some men, when they have plaid their mony their watches their horses & cloaths, would one judge lesse then that they had fallen among Thieves and had been plundered of all that they had. Nay they are not only rob'd themselves, but they themselves rob others: for dependants and friends have interest in what he hath. How often does the lavish Gamester squander away a large left Patrimony; and, instead of Plenty, entails a want & beggery to his Issue? I do not remember that we read the name of either Dice or Gaming in the tract of either Scripture, to shew us the profanenesse of the Trade is such that it comes not at all so much as under a Text. By the Laws Cornelia & Titia, it was among the Romans punishable. In the 79 Canon of the Provincial Council held at Eliberis, Dicing was forbidden to the Faithful under the penalty of being kept from the Communion a year if he did give over. But in the 50 of the

4"A dice player."
5"A player with cubes, i. e., dice."
6"A thief."
7"A bandit."
General Council at Constantinople under Justinian, it was forbidden to all, and punished with Excommunication. Certainly there was cause why so grave Assemblies did so severely punish it. And indeed if we examine, we shall find it not only as a Serpent in it self, but waited on by a troop of other Scorpions, that bite and sting with equal poison and venom. Two things are most precious here to the Life and Well being of Man, Time and Treasure: and of both these, does the following of Gaming rob us. They that are bewitched with an humour of play cannot be quiet without it; 'Tis a malus genius that eggs and urges them to their own destruction. 'Tis in many men as importunate as Fate, that affords neither rest nor resistance: but with a pleas'd Avidity hurries them on to that which in the end they would not find. He that is a lover of play, like the lover of a Harlot, he does mind that so much that he neglects all other occasions. Businesses, friends repose, Religion, and Relations, are all laid by when once he is set upon play. Night is by flaming tapers turn'd to day, and day worn out within the pen of walls, as if confin'd or Prisoner to his sports. As the Romans did with drink; we do with play; We play down the evening star & play up the morning star: The Sun may round the World before one Room can be relinquisht by us. One would think, some new Philosophy had found out for Gamesters this unknown Summum bonum, which exacting all their time makes Nature more beholding to Necessity then inclination, for either sleep or food. Surely a gamester
can never expect to be knowing, or approv'd for either his own, his friends, or his Countries service. The time he should lay out in fitting of himself for these, runs waste at this Brack of play, which arts him in nothing but how to deceive and gain: though well weigh'd even in gaining he comes to be deceiv'd at last. If he does winn, it wantons him with over-plus, and enters him into new wayes of expence; which habits him at last to lavishnesse, and that delivers over to an aged poverty. Besides, he cannot be quiet with his purchase; they that he wonne it from will study and contrive Revenge. And he is not suffered to be at peace in Victory; for the most part, whatsoever is gotten by play is either vainly wasted or but borrowed to repay with Interest. It leads men to excesse, that without it would quite be avoided. If they winne, they spare no cost, but luxuriate into Riot. If they lose, they must be at it, to keep up their gauleed and their vexed spirits: in both, a man is exposed as a prey to Rooks and Daws, impudent and indigent company that flatter, suck, and perpetually pillage from him. 'Tis the Mine, that carryed close in dark and private trenches through hollow and crooked caverns, blows up at once his Fortune, Family, Fame and Contentment, and in the end through disorder and surfetts leaves him to go off a Sot: Certainly it cannot be the pleasure of the action that so strongly can inchant men. What pleasure can it be, out of a dead Box to tumble Bones as dead; to see a square run round; or to see his Estate reduc'd into a Lottery, to try whether
he shall hold it any longer or no? Surely, it must be Covetousnesse and the inordinate desire of getting which prevailing once upon us, we become posses'd, and by it are carryed as well to the Graves and Sepulchres of the dead as the Cityes of the living by this ill spirit leading us. I cannot conceive how it should suit with a Noble mind, to play either much or deep. It defrauds him of his better imployement, and sinks him into lesse then he is. If he winns, he knows not whether the other may spare it or no. If he cannot, the generous will scorn to take from him that wants, and hates to make an other suffer neerly for his sake. If he can spare it, he will yet disdain to be supply'd by the bounty of him that is his equal or inferiour. If he loseth and cannot spare it himself, it proclaims him to be unwise to put himself upon exigents for will and humour; and not honest, for he injures all about him. He that plays for more then he can spare, makes up his stake of his Heart and Patrimony, his peace, his priviledg, his bosom'd Wife and his extended Sonne; even the Earth he holds floats from him with this ebbing tide. Be he rich or poor, he cannot play his own. He holds not Wealth to waste it thus in wantonnesse where there is plenty; besides a mans Relations, the Common-wealth and Poor have some share due to them. And he cannot but yet acknowledge he might have imploy'd it better. It gains him neither honour nor thanks, but under the others Cloak perhaps is closely laugh'd at: as easy and unskilful
Theles having put Solon into a passion for the supposed death of his Son, said, it was for that and such like Inconveniences he thought not fit to marry. And he that sees into what heats, what fears, what distempers and disorders, what madnesse and vexations, a crosse hand at play implunges some men in, will never hazard his own peace of mind, with bidding by play for such Phrensies such Bedlam fits and distortions of the whole frame of man, which sometime never leave their Patients till they drive them into Despair and a Halter. What is it provokes to Anger like it? And Anger ushers in black Oaths, prodigious Curses, senselesse Imprecations, horrid Rage, and blacker Blasphemie, with quarrels, injuries, reproaches, wounds, and death. And which is not the meanest of the ills attending gaming: He that is addicted to play and loves it, is so lymed by custome to it, that if he would stir his wings to fly away, he cannot. Therefore Plato was in the right when he sharply reprov'd the Boy he found at play, and the Boy told him he wondered how he could be so angry for so small a matter, Plato reply'd again, that custome was no smal matter. 'Tis not denied, but labours and cares may have their Relaxes and Recreations. Though Memmius objected to Cato his nightly Play and Jollity, yet Cicero excused it with instancing his perpetual daily toil for the Publique. But we must beware lest we make a trade of sport, and never to play for more then we may lose with content, and without the prejudice of

8Plutarch, "The Life of Solon."
our selves or others.

R. S. 59. Prayer most needful in the morning.¹

There is no doubt but Prayer is needful daily, even profitable, and at all times commendable. If it be for our selves alone, 'tis necessary; and 'tis charitable, when it is for others. At night it is our Covering; In the morning, 'tis our Armour: so at all times it defends us from the malice of Sathan, our own subornations and betrayings; the unequal wether, that the world assaults us with, and preserves us in the favour and esteem of Heaven: We are dependants upon the Court, while we are but Petitioners there; so till we be denied and dismis'd, we have the protection thereof: which certainly is a priviledge that a stranger cannot claim. And albeit prayer should be the key of the day, and the lock of the night; yet I hold it of the two more needful in the morning, then when in the evening we commit our selves to Repose. 'Tis true we have enough to induce us to it then: the day could not but present us with something either worthy our thanks, or that needed our begging and pardon, for removing or continuing something: and though we be immur'd with walls, and darkness, yet are we not exempted so from Perils, but that without our Gods assistance, we are left a

¹See above S. 67. Prayer more needefull in the Morning then Evening.
Prey to all that is at enmity with man. Besides, Sleep is the image or shadow of Death, and when the shadow is so near, the substance cannot be farre remote. The dying Gorgias being in a slumber, and asked by a friend how he did; He answered, Pretty well; only Sleep is recommending me up to his Brother. Some, we know, in health have gone to rest eternal: and without thinking of the other world, have tane their leave of this; not knowing themselves that they were on their way, till they had fully dispatched their Journey. But notwithstanding all this, a man at rest in his Chamber (like s sheep impenn'd in the fold) is subject only to unusual events, and such as rarely happen; to the emissions of the more immediate, and unavoydable hand of God. Danger seems shut out of dores; we are secured from the injury of the elements, and guarded with a fence of iron, against the force of such as would invade. We are remov'd from the worlds bustle, and the crowd of occasions that justle against us as we walk abroad. He that is barrd up in his house, is in his Garrison with his Guard about him, and not so soon attacqued by his Enemy, as he that roaves in the open and unshelterd field. Who knows not, the Ship to be safer in the Bay or Harbour, then toss'd and beaten in the bowling Ocean. Retirednesse is more safe than businesse. We are withdrawn when the vail of night and rest enwraps us in their dark and silent Cabinet. But with the Sunne, we do disclose and are discovered to our prying Enemies. We goe abroad to meet, what at home does not look after us. He that walks
through a Fair of Beasts is in hazard to be gor'd, or kick't, or bruis'd, or beaten: We passe through Bryars and Thorns and Nettles, that will prick and scratch and sting. We are in the day as travelling through a Wildernesse, where wild and savage Creatures are as well as tamer Animals. All the world is Affrica; where heat and drought, venome or something new, does still disturb us. The air, the fire, the earth, and water are apter all to wound us. The frays, the trains, the incitements, the opportunity; the occasions of offence, the lures and temptings from abroad, and the businesses and accidents of Life, deny us any safety, but what we have from the favour of protective Providence. Besides, Prayer does sacre all our Actions. 'Tis the priming of the Soul, that laying us in the oyl of Grace preserves us from the Worm and Wether. When the mind in the morning opens to God as the eye to the Sunns cleer light, by the Radiance of the divine beams we become enlightened inwardly all the day. He is lifted in Gods service and protection, that makes it his first work to be inrolled by prayer under the standard of the Almighty. It was from hence sure, that Devotion sprung of Christians crossing themselves at their entering upon businesse. All thriving States have ever sought the Gods in their first infancy. The morning to the day is as youth to the life of a Man: If that be well seasoned, 'tis likely that his Age may answer it, and be progressive in the path of Vertue: To live well every day is the greatest and most important businesse of man; and being unable for it of
himself alone, he needs the more to gain Divine assistance. In works of moment, even Heathen never ventur'd without their seeking first such Deities as they believ'd might help them.

--- Nothing's well done

But what at first is with the Gods begun.

He carries an assistant Angel with him for his help that begs his Benediction from above; and, without it, he is lame and unarmed. We do not finde that Saul's devotion ever was superlative; yet, he was troubled for fear the Philistims should catch him before he had said his prayers, I Sam. 13.12. And because he had neglected this he stumbled up an offering, thinking that way to supply it. He that commences with heaven, goes out in all a cataphract. But if any thing happen ill, he walks upon his own hearts checque, if God were not taken along.

R. S. 60. To beware of being Surprised.¹

AS sodain Passions are most violent; so sodain occasions of sin, are most dangerous. They are traps that catch us while we think w'are secure; while we think we are borne aloft, and apprehend no hazzard, the failing floor sinks under us, and with it we descend to ruine. There is a prosternation in assaults unlook't for. When Caesars friends

¹See above S. 72. Sudden Occasion of Sinne dangerous.
were stabbing him, his Robe did hide his face, while he lay down to die.² Amazement quails the heart, till it becomes with the preasse of its own vitals, drown'd; when the

senses are set upon by unthought-of objects, Reason wants time to call a counsel to determine how to resist the assault.

He that thinks not of a business, and is o'th'sodain call'd upon, is as to that asleep, and at first waking starts, but knowes not where, nor yet with whom, he is. Surely he is a wise man that is not caught by the sodainness of unlook't-for accidents. Like darted lights that swiftly break upon us, they blinde our weak'ned sight, and at best they leave us but to chance, whether we shall come off with glory or with shame. Alexander clouded his three great Victories, with the rash and violent ruine of his three chief friends.³

Ulysses had the reputation of being crafty as well as wise; yet, by the sodainness of Palamedes laying his Son in the furrow, where he was madly sowing salt, he discovered himself to be sober, that would have appear'd distracted.⁴ And he that could smooth over the crossest chances of Humanity, and bear them with a Noble Fortitude, and by the sleekness of his temper, winde himself beyond the common reach; was yet by the unexpected death of a Dog that he lov'd, put to more trouble, and shewed more weakness, then either other weightier matters

²Suetonius, Julius, LXXXII.
³Plutarch, "The Life of Alexander."
⁴Ovid, Metamorphoses, XIII, 36-39.
could impose, or then befitted a wise man to be taken with.
Like Gunpowder in a lock, it blowes open all our wards, it
rashes ope the curtain of the minde. As a fir'd Petarr
when the City is walled about, this gives an entrance through
the the shatter'd gates. When Phryne knew not how to be sure
of Praxiteles his best piece of Limming, which he (in Love)
had promised her; she makes one, breathless, to bring him
news that with a sodain violent fire, his house was almost
burn'd down. At which he cryes out presently, Is Cupid and
the Satyre sav'd? by which she knew, that was the best.
Then told him, all was well, but Cupid and the Satyre hirs. 5
We see, Love that is kindled at first sight, hath oft an
eager fierceness with it; beyond that which is leasurely
built up by time and conversation. 'Tis Lightning melts the
sword, which else is proof 'gainst all the stroaks of the
hand upon the Anvil. Surely Job considered how apt he might
be to be surpris'd, when he made that Covenant with his
eyes against beauty. 6 For want of which, David was catch'd
by the accidental seeing of but Bathsheba bathe at a
distance. 7 'Tis oft the booty that makes the un-intending
thief; for that first steal the man, before the man steals
it. Opportunity creates a sinner; at least, it calls him out

5 Phryne was a celebrated Athenian hetairae. Praxitiles
gave her a statue of Cupid on the base of which he had
inscribed a couplet to her.

6 31:1.

7 II Samuel 11:2.
to act; and, like the warming Sun, invites the sleeping Serpent from his holes. We are like Flax that's dress'd, and dry'd, and kemm'd; if the least spark but fall upon us, we cannot chuse but burn. And though the Pelegians of old, would understand our praying against temptation, but a desire to be protected from the accidents and chances of humane life; yet, doubtless, our Saviour knowing the proneness of our nature to sin, and how easily we were to be surprised, and how hardly we could escape, if once temptations did but glance upon us; taught us to pray, that we might not come into temptation; lest by it, we should be overcome and perish. Who commits himself to the Sea, is every minute waving towards death; and sudden gusts endanger more the Vessel then the constant gale that drives the Bark before it. Like Acute diseases, they sooner destroy life, then the leisurely progressions of a long collecting sickness. It is one of the weightiest, and most material parts of Prudence, to prepare and arme our selves to encounter Accidents. Wit as well as Wisdom is required to this business; for, a man surprised, is even in reason more then half beaten; being taken at a disadvantage, from which he hath no way to ex-intricate himself, but by the dextrousness of his ingenuity. 'Tis a fright that shrinks the soul into a corner, out of which it dare not peep to look abroad for help; so in stead of a

8The Pelagians denied the concept of Original Sin; according to them it was possible for man to live without sin.
Remedy it runs to despair. The unexpected sight of flying Thysbe's garments, without examining; parted both the Lovers to act their own sad Tragedies.\(^9\) Had not the richness of the Babylonish garment, and the weighty wedge of gold tempted the inclining Achan, he had not been seduced to trouble Israel.\(^10\) 'Twas Dinah's itch to see new fashions, that exposed her to Ravishment.\(^11\) To avoid occasions, and to be above accidents, is one of the greatest masteries of Man. How like naked beggars we see the weak soul skip under the lash of every sordain dysaster; while the Magnanimons and composed minde, by preparing and forethinking, meets nothing new to bring him to amazement. He that foresees an Inconvenience, though he cannot alwayes avoid it; yet he may be ever fitted to bear it better. If we cast before hand, we may avoid being put to the after-Game. And the edge of the evill is abated, if we but see the Bow that is bent against us.

\(^9\)Ovid, Metamorphoses, IV, 99-127.  
\(^10\)Joshua 7:1, 16-21.  
\(^11\)Genesis 34:1-2.

R. S. 61. Of Improving by good Examples.\(^1\)

There is no man, but for his own interest, hath an obligation to be Honest. There may be sometimes temptations to be otherwise; but, all Cards cast up, he shall finde it

\(^1\)There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
the greatest ease, the highest profit, the best pleasure, the most safety, and the Noblest Fame, to hold by the horns of this Altar, which, in all assayes, can in himself protect him. And though in the march of humane life, over the stage of this world, a man shall finde presented sometimes examples of thriving-Vice, and several opportunities to invite him upon a seeming advantage to close with unhandsome practizes: yet, every man ought so to improve his progress in what is just and right, as to be able to discern the fraud and fained pleasurableness of the bad, and to chuse and follow what is good and warrantable. If any man shall object, that the world is far more bad then good, so that the good man shall be sure to be overpowred by the evil: the case is long since resolved by Antisthenes, That tis better with a few good men, to fight against an Army of bad; then with swarms and shoals of bad men, to have a few good men his Enemies. And surely this was it which raised up David to that bravery of spirit which made him prosess, That though an Host were pitched against him, yet should not his heart be afraid.\(^2\) He that is intirely and genuinely Honest, is the figure and representation of the Deity, which will draw down a Protection upon it against all the injuries of any that shall dare to abuse it. There is a kinde of Talismanical influence in the soul of such. A more immediate impress of the Divinity is printed on the spirits of these,

\(^2\)Psalms 27:3.
then all the scattered Heard of looser minds are capable of. The rayes of heaven do more perpendicularly strike upon the minds of these, whereby they have both assimilation to God, propensity to good, and defence against injury. And it not only obligeth men not to do wrong; but, to make amends if wrong be done: and to dispense with benefits to our selves, if in the least they shall bring detriment to others. So that a man ought not only to restore what is unduly gotten, or unawares let slip by others; but to seek out how we may do right. Thus if I finde a Treasure, and know not him that lost it, I owe my endeavour to search and find him out, that it may be again restor'd. It is truly said by St. Augustine, Quod invenisti & non reddidisti, rapnisti. He steals the thing he finds, that labours not to restore it. If he does not restore it, 'tis enough, that he does not do it, only because he cannot.

And although no man be privileged to swerve from what is Honest; yet, some men have, by much, more obligation to be so than others. They have tasted of higher dispensations, been more deterred by Judgements, more gained upon by Mercies, or are illuminated with more radiant knowledge, whereby they better understand than others, wherein to be so. And, indeed, without knowledge 'tis impossible to understand wherein to do right. Though the best knowledge a man hath, be a light so dimly burning, that it hardly shews him to see cleerly all the cobwebs and foul corners in his affairs: Yet ignorance is an opacous thing, and if not a total darkness,
yet such an eclipse, as makes us apt to stumble, and puts us
to grope out our way.

And besides all these, there are some that have more
reason to be Honest then others, as having found dealings
from others, that, like fire brought nearer, warms their
conscience more. And not only would be evidence and conviction
against them if they did wrong, but stirs them to do right.

And truly, I shall not blush to tell my Reader, that in
the Number of these, I look upon my self as concern'd. Should
I fail of being Honest, when advantage should be in my hand,
I should not only be upbraided, but condemned by two especial
passages that happened to my self; which for the Rarity may
beget my pardon, that here I set them down to be known. One
was:

An unknown Porter brings to me, to my Lodging, A Box
seald up, and on the outside directed to my self. I enquired
from whom he had it: He told me A Gentleman that was a
stranger to him, and whose Name or residence he knew not,
gave it him in the street, and gave him 6 d. to deliver it
safely; which now he had done, and having discharged his
part, he could give me no further Account. I opened the Pox,
where the first thing I met with was a Note written in a
hand I knew not, without any Name subscribed, in these very
following words:

Mr. Owen Feltham, It was my hap in some dealing with
you to wrong you of Five pounds, which I do now
repay double, humbly intreating you to forgive me
that great wrong, and to pray the Lord to forgive me this, and the rest of my sins.

And under this Note, folded in another Paper in the same Box, were Ten Twenty-shilling-pieces in God. I cannot call to mind, that ever I was deceived of such a sum as 5.1. in any kind of dealing, nor to this hour can I so much as guess at the person from whom it came. But I believe, he did it to disburthen a Conscience. And surely, if I knew him, I should return him an esteem suitable to the merit of so pious an action. And since he would not let me know his Name to value him as he deserv'd, I have presum'd to recite the thing, that others from the sense of it may learn to be honest, and himself reap the benefit, that may happen by so good an example.

This perhaps might be from some one, that not only professed, but practised Piety, and the rules of honest Living. And though I could not expect so much should be found among those that pretend not so high in Religion; yet, to shew, that even in looser Callings, and as well now, as in our Saviour's time, some (reckoned among Publicans and Sinners) may go to Heaven before the captious and the critical Censorist; (If we shall judge by exterior demeanor, as the Rule that's given us; I shall beg leave to give my Reader this second Story, which was thus.

Going with some Gentlewomen to a Play at Salisbury Court, I cast into the Womans Box who sate at the Dore to
receive the Pay (as I thought) so many shillings as we were persons in number; so we pass'd away, went in, and sate out the Play. Returning out the same way, the Woman that held the Box as we went in, was there again, as we went out; neither I, nor any of my company knew her, or she us; but, as she had observed us going in, she addresses to me, and says, Sir, Do you remember what Money you gave me when you went in? Sure (said I), as I take it, I gave you twelve pence a piece for my self, and these of my Company. Ay Sir (replyes she) that you did, and something more; for here is an Eleven shilling Piece of Gold that you gave me in stead of a Shilling, and if you please to give me twelve pence for it, 'tis as much as I can demand. Here had been, if the woman had been so minded (though a little) yet a secure prize. But, as many do probably conjecture, that Zaccheus, who made Restitution to the shame of the obdurate Jews, was a Gentile as well as a Publican: 3 So this, from one of a Calling, in dis-repute, and suspected, may not only instruct the more precise of Garb, and form to Honesty, but shew us that in any Vocation, a man may take occasion to be just and faithful. And let no man wonder, that a person thus dealt withal, and lesson'd into his duty by the Practice of others to him; joyn'd with his other obligations to goodness; be hereby prevail'd upon to a greater care of his own Uprightness and Integrity, then perhaps without finding

these, might have been. I will not have the vanity, to say, These passages have rendred me better,: Nor am I ashamed to confess, that I have sometime remembred them with profit. Sure I am, they ought not to loose their Influence, nor to pass unheeded; when they shall reflect on our selves. He that means to be a good Limmer, will be sure to draw after the most excellent Copies, and guide every stroke of his Pencil by the better pattern that he layes before him: So, he that desires that the Table of his Life may be fair, will be careful to propose the best Examples; and will never be content, till he equals, or excels them.

R. S. 62. Of Hatred.¹

There is a Civil Hatred, when men in general detest whatsoever is Vice. And the Prophet David speaking of the wicked, sayes, He hated them with a perfect hatred;² to shew us, that Hatred is then Perfect, when the Object is only Sin. For we ought not as a Creature to hate any thing that God hath made. All that he fram'd was good, excellently good, and merited both love and admiration. But Sin and Vice, being things that God never created, we ought to abandon and abhor them, as being derogatory to his Glory and Wisdom, and destructive to the being of that which he was pleas'd to make

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
²Psalm 139:22.
for the satisfaction of his own free will and pleasure. And
hitherto hatred is good. But of hate, as a Vice, either in
our selves towards others, or from others to us, there is
reason to be careful, that even with both hands, we thrust
them both away. Hatred in our selves against others, is but
perpetuated and long-liv'd Anger, which ought never to last
longer then the declining Sun; but continued, like heady
Wine, it intoxicates the Brain and Senses. He that nourishes
Hate in himself against any other person whatsoever, sows
weeds in his own Garden, that will quickly choke those
Flowers, that else he might take pleasure in. At first, it
does but simper, yet time will boil it up to height and rage.
As Pismires towards August, though they did but creep before,
yet, now they will begin to fly. The beginning for the most
is but mean and poor; yet, 'tis fire, and from a shaving, or
neglected rush, it easily can sometimes whole Cities turn to
Cinders. The Feuds of Families bubbled up at first from
little weeping Springs, that any child with ease might
trample over, that shew'd all clear, and seem'd to tell no
danger: but gathering as they creep and curl about, they
rise to Rivers past our foording over. Timon that at first
allow'd himself to hate but only bad, grew at last, to hate
whatever he found was Man.³ 'Tis Envies Eldest Daughter,
that, besides being Coheir with Insultation upon Adversity,
troubled at Prosperity, Back-biting and loud-tongued

³Plutarch, "The Life of Antony."
Detraction; inherits all the mischief that can arise from Malice. No man drench't in Hate, can promise to himself the candidness of an upright Judge; his hate will partialize his Opinion. He that is known to hate a man, shall never be believed in speaking of him: No, in neither truth, nor falsehood. If he speak well, he shall be thought to dissemble; if ill, it will be taken as from malice, and the prejudice that he is byass't with. So, while he carries the heart of a Murtherer, he shall be sure to have the fate of a Lyar: not to be believ'd, though he does speak what is true.

And though this in our selves be fatally enough destructive, yet, 'tis much more dangerous when it flyes upon us from others. A Wise man will be wary of purchasing the hate of any. Those which Prudence might make his Guard, as Cadmus his Teeth he sows into Serpents, that lye in wait to sting. Against the Hatred of a Multitude there is no fence, but, what must come by Miracle. Nor Wealth, nor Wit, nor Bands of armed men, can keep them safe, that have made themselves the hate of an inraged multitude. 'Tis Thunder, Lightning, Storm and Hail, together. How many Imperial Heads did the Populacy of the Romans tread upon? Let no man slight the scorns and hate of the people. When 'tis unjust, tis a Wolf; but, when 'tis just, a Dragon. Though the Tyrant seated high, does think he may contemn their malice: yet, he may remember, they have many hands, while he hath but one neck only. If he, being single, be dangerous to many; those many will to him alone be dangerous, in their hate. The
Sands of Africa, though they be but barren dust, and lightness; yet, anger'd by the Winds, they bury both the Horse and Travailer alive. With any weapon that comes next, it can both fight and kill. *Quem quisque odit, Perilsse expetit.* His hated Enemy he expects should perish. And when he hath neither wealth nor strength, he watches Occasion, and attends both Time and Fortune. There be four things that more particularly do generate Hate; Pride, Covetousness, Perfidiousness, and Cruelty.

The Proud man is the subject of contempt. And 'tis no wonder to find Man against him; When we find upon Record, that God doth resist him. Pride is the eldest of the seven deadly Sins. And because, that would domineer over all, 'tis just, that all should seek to pull it down. If it did cast Angels out of Heaven from Earth, it well may throw offending Man. The proud Man would have us believe him to be a God; he would rule all, he would be thought to excel all: he would be Papal, and Infallible, when others know him to be short of a Man, a Bond-man to some pitiful lust, and quite mislead and erring. And 'tis for this, That though some out of fear, or interest, may bow to him; yet, the generous and wise most abhor to have him their Ruler, that cannot rule himself: Usually, though he be high, he is barren. Like Mount Gilboa,⁴ he has neither dew nor rain. As to Sejanus⁵

⁴The mountain where Saul was slain. II Samuel 21:12.

⁵A favorite of the Emperor Tiberius, skilled in debauchery and cruelty.
his Goddess, Fortune, we offer Incense and Perfumes, till we find she turns away, and then (as he) we kick her, and break her to pieces. Even Heaven, to proud ones, does deny its Influence. Let no man therefore think to get to Heaven and stability by that, with which the Angels there could not be permitted to stay.

Secondly, Covetousness. This is so greedy to catch at all, that it pulls even hate along. A sordidness so cleaves to it, that disdain and scorn attends it. 'Tis the inlet of those Sins, that grate, and scratch, and gall, Thefts, Rapes, and Plunders, Perjuries, and opprobrious Murthers; and makes a man not only a Thief, but a Jaylor too: For, whatever the Covetous catches, he keeps it up a Prisoner; so that neither himself will, nor any other can, make use of it. Hatred is as properly due to the Covetous, as Affection to the Bountiful. And we may as well love the Rat, that drags our Evidence into his hole, and eats it, as we may the craving and rapacious person. He empties all the veins, and sucks the hearts life-blood; for, he drains away Money; and that, the old Comedian tells us, Anima & sanguis est Mortalibus. 'Tis the common Peoples Soul. The enjoyment of Property, is that which preserves men in peace; but, he that repines upon that, as a Robber, shall find Swords and Staves taken up against him to defend it. Septimus Severus had not ventur'd to march to Rome, in quest of the Empire; if he had not known his Souldiers all paid, and Julianus hated of the people for his Covetousness. Marcus Crassus being a Roman General, had
ne're been us'd so hardly by the Parthtans, as to have melted Gold pour'd down his Throat, if his Avarice and Rapine turning the publick calamities to his private benefit had not made him hated.

Possideat quantum rapuit Nero, Montibus Aurum,
Exaques, nec amet quenquam, nec ametur ab ullo.6

Gold more then Mountains, or then Nero seiz'd,
Can never make him pleasing, or well pleas'd.

A third and main procurer of Hate, is Falshood and Persidiousness. 'Tis the highest Cheat in Humanity. A deceived Trust exasperates affection into an Enemy, and cancels all the Bonds of Nature. When we prosecute a deceiver and a violater of Faith, we undertake the cause of Mankind. For every one is concern'd, that a Traytor and an Impostor be banished out of the world; for, he that premeditately cozens one, does not cozen all, but only, because he cannot. And, when a Man grows once to be noted for a person of falshood, and a Jugler, every man will avoid him as a Trap that is set only to give Wounds and Death. As with a Jadish Horse, if we will be safe, we must be sure not to come within the reach of his heels: who is it that will not hate him, with whom it is not safe to live? If a man be once a Fox he ows his preservation to his craft, but nothing

6Juvenat, Saturae, XII, 129-130.
to the good will of his neighbours. He comes then to be in the Catalogue of those, that Peter Ramus speaks of, Quidam versantur in dolis, et eis quaelibet adversantur. Every thing is enemy to him that is deceitful. Pausantas was but suspected to betray Lysander in the battail: and the people would not rest till he was banisht from among them. Deceipt is a Thief in the night, which steals upon us in the dark, when we think our selves secure, and are not aware of either his Way or his Time, which makes us sleep as it were in Armour guarded wbout with barrs against him and with mastiffs to destroy him.

The next Monster that calls up Hate against us, is Cruelty; which ever is usher'd on with severity & rigor. Man is a frail thing and should he be put to expiate every offence with the extremity of Punishment, he must have many lives, or else have his Torments endlesse. We expect a Fathers pardon, and know the Gods do not alwaies punish to the height. He that hath not mercy to mitigate Correction, excludes himself from favour when he fails. To be alwaies strict and scrupulous is not conversation for man; It presently descends him into cruelty, which makes him as a wild beast shunn'd. He that cannot kill him, will avoid him if he can: 'Tis not in Nature that ever he should be lov'd. 'Tis with cruelty as 'tis with choller. It is kindled with

7Sixteenth-century French humanist who believed reason to be more valuable than authority.
meeting it's like; as flints that knock together, fire flies from both. No man can love his Tormentor, or him that would destroy his being. *Fertna ista rabies est, sanguine gaudere et vulneribus, et, abj ecto homine, in silvestre animal* transire. That rage is wholly bestial that smacks the lips with bloud and bleeding wounds and casting off Humanity he passes into fierce and savage, Nero, Caligula, Vitellius, and many more, afford us sad examples of the end of cruelty: and above all, the unfortunate Andronscus; who met with more by the torrent of a popular hate then one would think humanity could either suffer or invent: All things that men met with, were instruments of fury, and every Boy and Girle became an Executioner.

To prevent the hate of others, is, not to love our selves too much. He that does so, becomes unrival'd in affection, and at last does love alone what all men els do hate. The best is, not to prefer our private before a generality; and rather to pass over trivials, then be angry at punctiloes. He that minds his own with moderation, and but seldom intrudes on the concernments of others, shall surely find lesse cause to hate, or to be hated, and may at last come to live like the Adonis of the sea, that AElian speaks of, in perfect tranquillity among all the rapacious fishes of the Ocean.
R. S. 63. Of hardnesse of Heart.¹

This is not so much when a man is carelesse and unsensible of anothers conditions, as when a man by the practice and custome of sin is grown obdurate, and fear'd up so, as nothing can work upon him to mollifie him that he may be medicinable. Origen² gives a handsome Character of it, Cor durum est, cuen mens humana velut cera, frigore iniquitatis obstricta, signaculum Imaginis divinae non recipit. Then is the heart hardened when the mind of man like wax becomes so petryfi'd with the cold benumings of sin, that the impression of the Divine image cannot be made in it. So that other sinners are passing on the way, but the hard-hearted is come within the confines of a final destruction. He not only marches fast from God, but he builds a wall at his back, that he cannot retire to the Camp where he might be safe. He is pass'd over the Sea of Iniquity; and then, as the Prince of Orange at the battail of Newport, he sends away the shipping, that he may not have a mind to return. He puts himself out of the power of perswasion; like a stubborn mettall, once ill cast, he leaves no way to be mended but by breaking: so much he is his own dire Enemy, that without a Rape upon him he will not find

¹See above S. 75. The hard-hearted man hath Misery almost in Perfection.

²Most learned and original of the early fathers of the church (185-254).
Salvation. 'Tis not the distilling showr, not the gently fanning air, nor the russling wind, nor the rowling Thunder, that can work upon him. 'Tis only Lightning that can pierce the pores and melt the steeled heart within the scabbard, that must either doe the businesse or leave him quite undone for ever. For whatsoever happens to him to mend him, makes him worse.

Adversity, that is the Academy of Life to instruct and breed up man in all the ways of Vertue and Knowledge, to him it's but like the Gaol, where he learns to shift and cheat, till at last he grows incorrigible and desperate. Prosperity sunns him to a harder temper. Elation leads in disdain, which spurns away the hand that offers but to lift him up. Benefits seldom sink into obdurate minds; They take them to be Duty in others, but merit and desert in themselves. 'Tis the soft and gentle Nature that is soonest taken with a curtesy, there it sinks as essence does in cotton till all becomes a Fragrancy; And therefore as they are most unhappy to themselves in the end, so they are worse for others to converse with in the way. For as nothing but compulsion can make them be indurable, so 'tis not a little trouble to the ingenious to be put upon ways of constraint. The generous nature likes himself then the worst, when he must appear a pedagogue with a Rod or Feruler ever in his hand, the good inclination is soonest wonne by fair and civill dealings. But ill dispositions being led by passion and a sensual appetite grow dangerous when not awed by Force, nor yet are
they much the better by punishment or faring worse. The unruly horse that's spurr'd is more so for his spurring. Like the steel both by fire and water too, it is hardned; Pharaoh was not betterd by all the plagues brought over him. Nor were the Jews by his example mended either in the radiance of the Gospel, or the raging of their sedition in Jerusalem. Neither was their obduration, or their obcaecation less. Judgments that are the terrors and the turners of the seduced Soul, that hath but humanity in it; upon the obstinate they do not work at all. Either they reverberate them back before they pierce; as a wall of steel does a blunt-headed Arrow, or if they do perhaps a little while find entrance, like the Elephant with the Convulsion of his nerves and his bodies contraction, he casts out the shaft that sticks within him: so he clozes in his own Corruption, which else might find vent at the wounds. 'Tis a fatal notion, under which the Apostle renders it, The hardnesse of thy Heart that cannot repent. As if by a Barr put upon it, it were sealed up to ruine. He is chain'd and pinnion'd and prepar'd for execution. That he cannot repent, 'tis like being born a fool. When Nature has doom'd him among the incapacious and silly, 'tis not in the power of correction or instruction, or in all the arts, to cure him. The pestel and the mortar cannot do it, nor can the hardned Soul by any thing be mollify'd, being indeed fit only for

3Romans 2:5.
destruction. He is neither meet to govern, nor to be
govern'd by others. As Rome when sinking to confusion, nev
libertatem, nec servitutem pusso, tollerare. Neither
Obedience or Commands can be indur'd or manag'd. And this
does easily come to passe when men are once habituated in
Vice. As constant labour sears the painful hand to hardned
brawn, and a callous insensibility: so the continued practice
of Vice does hinder the minds cleer sense, and leaves it in
a way incorrigible, Desinit esse remedia locus, ubi, quae
fuerant vitia, mores fiunt, When Vices habit themselves into
custome and manners, there then wants room to take in what
should Remedy. If frailty therefore casts us into Vice, let
no mans obstinacy so fasten the nail in his Soul, that it
cannot without tearing all in pieces, be pull'd out. He
that commits an error does too much; but he that persists in
it, grows an Heretique, shuts himself out of the Verge of the
Church; so is not qualified to claim salvation.

R. S. 64. Of Revenge.¹

There is no man that seeks Revenge, but tis because he
conceives he hath had injury done him. And though there be
a seeming Justice in the requital; yet, for the most part,
it is done by doing injury to him that first offered it to
us; which in the actor cannot but be evil, since to offer

¹See above S. 84. To revenge wrongs, what it sauours
of.
injury, upon any score, is unjust. Anothers doing injury to me, cannot legitimate my doing wrong to him. So, though it be a thing both easie and usual, and, as the worlk thinks, favouring of some Nobleness, to repay a wrong with wrong: Yet Religion speaks the contrary, and tells us, Tis better to neglect it then requite it. When wrong is done us, that which we have to do, is to remove it. We are not commission's to return it; But doing wrong again, does no way do the thing. What will it ease me when I am vex, that I may vex another? Can anothers suffering pain, take off from my own smart? 'Tis but a purer folly to make an other weep, because I have that which grieves me. Nay, well examin'd, tis a kind of Frenzy, and something Irrational, because another hath done us a mischief, therefore we will hurt our selves, that fruitlesly we may do him one; perhaps it may be it was from hence, that Poets feign'd, that Nemesis was by Jupiter transformed into a Goose, a silly Creature, to set out unto us the folly of Revenge; for, at best, tis in us, but returning evil for evil; and that, in the favourablest appellation, we cannot call less then frailty, which is indeed an Inquination. Suppose a mad Dog bites me, shall I be mad and bite that Dog again? If I do kill him, tis not so much to help my self, as 'tis to keep others from harm. My interest is to seek a present Remedy, while pursuing the Cur, I may at once both lose my Wit and my Cure. If a Wasp sting me, I pursue not the winged Insect through the air, but streight apply to draw the venom forth.
And, in Revenge, though the rancour should be tolerable; yet, the usurpation never can be justified. The right of vengeance rests in God alone, and he that takes it out of his hand, he so far does dethrone him, as to put himself in his place. And while we throw a petty vengeance on the head of our offending brother, we boldly pull the Almighty on our own. The mind of man in peace and calm-warm Charity, is the Temple and the Palace of the holy Ghost; but, Revenge is a raging flame that burns this House of God in the Land. Like Herostratus, he gains but a mistaken and polluted fame, that burns this stately Structure of the Goddess. 2 Through his own swell'd heart, he strikes a flaming sword, that he may, to please his malice, but pierce his enemies garment. Diogenes, sure, was much in the righter way, when to one that ask'd him, How he might take the best Revenge of his Enemy: his Answer was, By shewing himself an Honest and upright man. St. Augustine yet goes further, and says, The Revengeful man makes himself the Judge, and God his Executioner; and, when he wishes God to plague that wicked Enemy of his; tis just with God to ask which wicked one he means, since both the best is bad, and Revenge it self is Injury. Nor is it only against the laws of Divinity, but against the laws of Reason; for a man in his own concern, to make himself Judge, and Accuser, and Executioner too. Tis like one late misnam'd High Court of Justice, to which the Loyal and the Noble, the

2To make himself famous, Herostratus burned the famous temple to Artemis at Ephesus (356 B. C.).
Honest and the Brave were violenc'd by Ambition and Malice, and sacrificed to the Daemons of misguided Rage and Passion. Surely, the best return of injury is to do good, the next is to overlook it as a thing below us. If it be Injury, our revenge is in the Actors bosome; What need we do that which his own minde within him will do for us? If it be not injury, we ought not then to be angry at all: so if we have a disposition to do a displeasure, upon our selves the Revenge is to be practiz'd, for that we have let our passion boyle beyond the temper that it ought to hold. 'Twas a high Imperial act in Conrade the first, who having had a sharp war with Henry Duke of Saxony, and having had his Army by him newly overthrown, and his Brother beaten out of the field; yet being sick, and believing he should shortly die, he sends for all the Princes of the Empire, and there, though his Brother were still alive, he recommends to 'tm this his Enemy as the fittest man to rule the Empire after him. Thus we see, great minds do sometimes light on Actions sutable, and learn by commanding others, at last, to command themselves in the hight of seething bloud, to the wonder and instructing, by example, such as God hath set to come after: and to shew us, that as in God, so in those that in their power draw nearest to him; there is a Greatness greater then Revenge, while meaner and lesser powers are wholly swallowed by it. It shews our want of strength, when we let this Passion Master us. If we would see what kinds of things they be, we may learn from Martials friend that they are,
Unletter'd souls, whose glowing hearts will hiss
With nothing, or what next to nothing is
Each petty chance for passion shall suffise.
Though so Chysippus taught not, nor the wise
Cool Thales: nor old Socrates who would
In chains not part his Hemlock to the bold
Accuser 'gainst his life.

If ever Revenge be fit to be taken, it is when all our passions are becalm'd; and then 'tis but as Physick to be us'd more to prevent a future fit, then satisfie our craving appetite. All Revenge is a kind of War, and any easie Peace is to be put before it; for, when we are once ingag'd, we know not when to recoyle. A single childe may fire a populous City, when all the wise men in it may perhaps be pos'd to quench it. If we consider rightly; for the most part, the Remedy is beyond the Disease; and tis not a wise mans part, to chuse what is most mischievous. He that does

but defer it, gains time: and then we may look about and see our way more cleer; so with safety we may make that \textit{Punishment}, which acted in \textit{passion} would be \textit{Revenge}.

R. S. 65. \textit{That most men have their weaknesses, by which they may be taken.} ¹

\textit{Though it be not necessary to labour for a flowing wealth, yet tis fit we have so much, as we need; not for the want of wealth, expose our selves to be necessitated to ill. As a man would willingly have wherewithall to do \textit{good}; so he may be happier to be in such a \textit{condition}, as not to be \textit{oblig'd} to \textit{inconvenience}, through defect, nor endanger'd by the \textit{Plenty} to be \textit{proud} and \textit{petulant}. The \textit{Poor} are so fettered by their \textit{poverty}, that they may easily be taken by the Assault of any that will but pretend their Relief. The \textit{Rich} are taken by their own \textit{ambition}, by their \textit{passion}, or their \textit{appetitie}, their \textit{liberty}, or \textit{wantonness}: That tis no easie matter in the extreme of either fortune, to resist a fierce temptation when tis offered. And besides all these, in any estate our own Inclinations are the powerfullest motive-\textit{Trains} to lead us. Whosoever showes a \textit{passion} or an \textit{avidity} to any thing; he thereby tells his Enemy where he is weak, and in what Muise we may set a snare to take him. And tis a rare thing to finde any man so fortify'd on all sides,}

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
that he can rest stanch against all the baits that are cast out to catch him. Every man hath something whereby he may be taken; and, tis rare to finde that fish that at some time or other will not bite, if the bait be such as likes him. Even Augustus had his Maecaenas, and Alexander his Hephaestion. And tis well, if we be drawn at all, that we happen to be led by a Noble Conduct. Though tis best when a man can be his own Solomon, and his own honest Hushai, to support himself, and overthrow the designes of his Enemies; yet, he is next to best, that being in doubt, will take advice from the Oracle, rather then the cheating Augur.

But vitious men, or such as are not ballanc'd by true Honour, have not only some peculiar enormity; but, they have every thing that is sensual to enslave them. And sometime even the meanest and the most petty thing, as a chain, can lead them anywhere. If they be but Paper-Kites, even a little boy with a slender thrid can pull them where he pleaseth, and draw them down from Heaven unto Earth. A Horse, a Dog, a Landscape, or some lighter thing. Vitellius and Apicius were for Gormandizing and Gluttony: Vespasian and Didius Julianus were for Profit: Nero might be catch'd with a Song, and Domitian with a Fly. Claudius had his beloved Mushrome, and Crassus wept for the death of his dear Muraena. Nor is it love alone, but hate as well as it, that places us in the

\[2\] Hushai helped overthrow Achitophel. II Samuel 15-17.

\[3\] All of these anecdotes are in Suetonius.
Disadvantage. A known Antipathy gives our Enemy help to subdue us. Even Beasts that reason want, have yet the sense to make their advantage of it. The Fox that knows, the Badger hateth sluttishness, by fowling of his entrance he drives him out of his Earth. And 'tis a vast Prerogative, that man hath over the rest of the Creatures, by only knowing their Inclinations and Abhorrencies. He knows both with what bai\_tes to incite them, and with what shewels to drive into the Net and Toyle: By knowing this, and appropriating to their appetites and fears, he becomes a Master of those, that by his Power and the Corporal endowments of Nature, he never would be able to conquer. What force could seize the uncontrolled Lyon, if it were not tempted by the Lamb upon the post, or terrifyed by the fire that he hates and trembles at? What swiftness could overtake or draw the mounting Falcon from the Cloudes, if the Pigeon on the Lure, should not stoop her to the small reward on the extended fist?

Doubtless, He that hath the fewest fancies, that is free from the sting of pointed and pricking want, that is not tumor'd with the too much barm of wealth, that can most conceal or master those ticklings and asperities that he hath in himself, is the nearest to a contentful enjoyment at home, and an unenvy'd peril from abroad. I have never read of any Island so Impregnable, but Nature had left in it some place or other, by which it might be Vanquishable: So it is most rare to finde out any person so at all points Arm'd, but
there is some way left whereby he may be sometime surprized. This Passion, that Affection, this Friend, or, that Kinsman, this or that delight, or inclination. He is the strongest that hath fewest accesses. But, as those places are the weakest that lye open to every Invader; so certainly, he is the most subject to be overcome, whose easiness exposes him to be prevail'd upon, by every feeble attempt. And however, by Nature, he may be fertile, and of a good soyl; yet, if he lyes unmounded, he shall be sure to be alwayes low. At least, a man would have a Fence, and a Gate, and not let every Beast that hath but craft or impudence, to graze or dung upon him. In any Estate, it is most conducing to freedom, not to be behind hand. He that puts himself into a needy condition, he walks with manacles on his hands; and to every one he deals with, he gives power to lock them on. Necessity is stronger then either Wine, or Women; and if a Man be taken in that, he is but as a Wyth in the hand of a Gyant: he can neither buy nor sell like other man; but wearing his own chains, is at the mercy of him that will lead him.
R. S. 66. That Spiritual things are better, and Temporal worse, than they seem.¹

IT is almost universally true, that which Seneca said of Joy, Omnes tendunt ad Gaudium; sed, unde magnum & stabile consequantur, ignorant. Every man would arrive at Joy and Contentment, but how to come by such as may be great and lasting, there are but few that know. We are quite mistaken in most of what we grasp at. The Progress of Man is but like some lofty Tower, erected in the bottom of a Valley: We climbe up high, in hope to see Wonders, and when we are at the top, our Prospect is nothing the better. The Hills encompassing, terminate our Eye, and we see after all our pains, but larger piles of Earth, that interpose betwixt us and Heaven. The greatest pleasure we had, was, when we were getting up: Belief of better, lifts our easie steps; but, mounted once, we find a cheated Faith: Which drew wise Bias to conclude, that, Nothing was to Man more sweet then Hope. Even all Earthly delights I find sweeter in expectation, then injoyment: But, all Spiritual pleasures more in fruition, then expectation. Those Carnal contentments that here we joy in, are show'd us through the Prospective Glass, which makes them seem both greater, clearer, and nigher at hand. When the Devil took our Saviour to the Mountain, He shewed

¹See above S. 89. Earthly delights sweeter in Expectation then in Enjoiyment.
him all the Kingdoms, and the glory of them; but never mentions the troubles, the dangers, the cares, the fears, the vexations and the vigilancies, which are as it were the Thorns and Mantlings wherewith a Crown is lined. He held a full blown Rose, but mention'd not the prickles shaded underneath. I something doubt, whether to get wealth with some labour, be not more pleasure, then wantonly to spend it. 'Tis a question, whether to expect a Crown be not more content, then to wear one. And surely, were not their Persons Sacred, that is, by the Laws of God and Man, untouchable as to prejudice; and so, protected against the malice, the envy, the fury, and the rabidness of self-ended Man: It would not be an easie matter to Conjure him into that Enchanting Circle. Whatsoever Temporal felicity we apprehend, we cull out the pleasures, and over-prize them; the perils and molestations we either not see, or are content to wink at. We gaze upon the face, and are bewitched with the tempting smiles, while, under pleasing looks, a sad Infection, even the vitals taint. Like Time, they appear with a lovely bush before; but, behind, are pill'd and ball'd. It is but Meremaid-joy, that this frail world bequeaths us.

---Turpiter atrum

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa supernè.

2Matthew 4:8; Luke 4:5.

3Horace, Ars Poetica, 3.
That beauteous face in show,
Waves into some sad scurvy fish below.

And that these Sublunaries have their greatest freshness plac'd in only Hope, it is a conviction undeniable; that, upon enjoyment all our joyes do vanish. The pleasure lasts not longer then we get it: and if it did not leave a weft behind; yet, being so fleeting, it is not worth the leaping of our pulse to meet it.

But, when again, we look at what is Spiritual: like those that practise to beguile themselves, we turn the Glasses tother end about, and give a narrowing figure to all those fair proportions that would propose themselves to our Eye; we believe them less, and more remoted from us. Our Senses do with us, as Philo Judaeus says, the Sun does deal with Heaven: It seals up the Globe of Heaven, and opens the Globe of Earth: So the Sense does obscure things that are spiritual and heavenly: but, reveals and augments what are terrene and temporal. The Sphere of spiritual things is higher then our Sense can reach: but, as we mount, our Prospect still is nearer. Acquiri potest, aestimari non potest. Obtain'd it may be, but rightly valued, never. Who at first blush (if Humanity may be Judge), would choose the Austerities of a Regular and Conscientious life? Our Saviour at first, (by reason of the Ignorance and Infidelity of Man)

4 The famous Jewish philosopher who flourished in the early first century A. D.
gave his Church the power of Miracles, to convince men to
the belief of finding a felicity in godliness. For albeit,
it be most true, that is memorably spoken by AEneas Silvius;⁵
That admitting Christianity had not by our Saviour and his
Apostles been confirmed by Miracles; yet, it would in time
have been taken up, and entertained and rooted in mens hearts
for the very honesty and integrity of it: yet, by the but
meanly wise and common ductions of bemisted Nature, it would
have been no very powerful Oratory, to perswade the taking up
of our Cross to follow him.⁶ But, when men afterwards came
to see, how in the lowness of disgrace and poverty, and in
the height of pain and torment, Christians became irradiated
with Internal Joys; then Proselytes came in in swarms, and
by the Spirit were taught to wade over all those shallows
which Islanded that Countrey of felicity, in which the truly
pious person dwels. A man that hath not experienced the
Contentments of Innocentive Piety, the sweetenesses that dew
the Soul by the Influencies of the Spirit, and the
Ravishings that sometime from above do shoot abroad in the
Inward Man, will hardly believe there are such Oblectations
that can be hid in godliness. They are the Representations
of the Joys hereafter, which are so high, that like God the
Author of them, we may sooner apprehend them by Negatives,
then Affirmations. We may know what is not there; but, we

⁵Pope Pius II, reigned 1458-1464.

never can come to know what is there, till by a pleased fruition we can find them. Let no man then be discouraged with the pallidness of Piety at first, nor captivated with the seeming freshness of Terrenity: both will change. And though we may be deceived in both; we shall be sure to be cheated but in one.

R. S. 67. Of Business.¹

There are some men that have so great an aversion to Business, that you may as soon persuade a Cat into water, or an Ape to put his fingers into fire, as to get them to enter upon any thing that may prove trouble, or beget attendance. But these, for the most part, are persons, that have pass'd their youth undisclin'd, and have been bred up in that delicacy and tenderness, that they know no other Business but their Pleasures; and are impatient of any thing that looks but like a hinderance of that: yet, this in the end, does many times produce effects, that prove ungrateful and destructive. For hereby the management of affairs do often fall into inferiour hands, and though Covetousness and Ambition, and for want of skill, put all the wheels of Government out of order; till they run both themselves and the State into ruin. Like unpractiz'd and ignorant Apothecaries, they do so disproportion their Ingredients,

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
that instead of saving Physick, they minister but disease and poyson. There are another sort of men quite contrary to these, whom custom and quotidian practice has made so much in love with Action, that if they once come to be put by their Implovment, even life it self seems tedious and an irksome thing; and, like a Spaniel ty'd up from his hunting, they sleep away their time in sadness and a melancholy. Certainly, as the world is more beholding to men of Business, then to men of Pleasure; so the men of Pleasure must be content to be govern'd by those of Implovment. However they are contemned by the vanity of those that look after nothing but Jollity: yet, the Regiment of the world is in their hands; and they are the men that give Laws to the sensual and voluptuous. Therefore, that man is but of the lower part of the world, that is not brought up to business and affairs. And, though there be, that may think it a little too serious for the capering bloud and sprightly vigour of Youth: yet, upon experience, they shall find it a more contentive life then idleness, or perpetual joviality. He that walks constantly in a smooth and a level'd path, shall be sooner tyr'd, then he that beats the rising and descending ground. A calm at Sea is more troublesome, then the gale that swell the Waves. If a man with a Sythe should Mow the empty Air, he sooner would be weary then he that sweats with toyl to cut the standing Corn. Business is the Salt of Life, that not only gives a grateful smack to it, but it dries up those crudities that would offend, preserves from
putrifaction, and drives off all those blowing Flyes, that, without it, would corrupt it. And that this may appear more easie, there are requisite to be had in Business, both Knowledge, Temper, and Time.

Without a man knows what he goes about, he shall be subject to go astray, or to lose much time in finding out the right. And, it will be sure to seem more tedious, then it would if he knew the Road.

And if he want Temper, he shall be sure not to want trouble. Even all the Stars are seen in night, when there is a clear serenity. But tempests rising, darken all the sky, and take those little guides of light away. No storm can shake the Edifice of that Mind that is built upon the Base of Temperance. It placeth a man out of the reach of others, but bringeth others to be within his own. 'Tis the Temper of the Sword that makes it keen to cut, and not be hackt by others striking on it. 'Tis the Oyl that makes the joynt turn smooth, and opens the dore without noise. Caesar with a word appeas'd a daring Mutiny, by calling of his Army Romans, and not his fellow-souldiers. And with as small a matter Psamneticus saw'd the Saccage of a City. Cyrus had newly taken one of his. And the Souldiers in a hurry running up and down, Psamneticus with him, asked What was the matter? Cyrus answer'd; They destroy and plunder your City. Psamneticus replyed, It is not now Sir, mine, but yours. And upon that consideration, they were presently call'd off from the spoyl.
The next is the aptly timing of affairs for which there can be no particular precept, but it must be left to judgment to discern when the season is proper. Men do not reap in seed-time, nor sow in Harvest. Physicians give not purges till they have prepar'd the humours. The smith may strike in vain and tyre his labouring arm, if first with fire his iron be not mollifi'd. Circumstances are many times more then that which is the main, and those must be left to be laid hold on, as they offer themselves to occasion. Men may fit their bayts and cast their nets, and, as the Apostles, fish all night and catch nothing, if they take not the seasons when the shouls do move upon those Coasts they trade in. And let a man be sure to drive his Businesse, rather then let that drive him. When a man is brought but once to be necessitated, he is then become a vassail to his affairs; they maister him, that should by him be commanded. And like a blind man wanting sight for his way, he is led about by his Dog. Any thing posted off till the last, like a snowbal rowls and gathers, and is by far a greater Gyant then it was before it grew to Age. As exhalations once condens'd and gather'd, they break not then but with Thunder. In the last acts of plays, the end of business commonly is a huddle. The Scenes do then grow thick, and quick, and full. As rivers though they run smooth through lengthned Tracts of Earth: yet when they come near the sea, they swel, and roar.

2John 21:3.
and foam. Business is like the Devil, it ever rageth most when the time it hath is shortest. And 'tis hard to say which of the two is worse; Too nice a Scrupulosity, or else too rash a Confidence. He is as mad that thinks himself an Urinal, and will not stir at all for fear of cracking; As he that believes himself to be shot-free, and so will run among the hail of a battail. And surely, it conduces infinitely to the ease of businesse, when we have to deal with honest and with upright men. Facile imperium in bonos. The good and wise doe make the Empire easy. Reason, and Right, give the soonest dispatch. All the intanglements that we meet withal, are by the Irrationabilities arising from our selves or others. With an honest man and wise, A business soon is ended, but with a Fool or Knave there is no conclusion, but never to begin. Though they seem tame beasts and may admit a while to be plaid with; yet on the soddain, and when we think not on't, they will return to their natural deceit and Ferocity, 'Tis not enough that the sea is sometime calm and smooth, but we had need be sure there be no Shelves nor Quick-sands under that still water.
Thomas Sarsannes being asked, what kind of prelate he thought Eugenius the 4th, would prove; His answer was: you may easily guess at that, if you know but the stock he comes of: for such as is his Family, such a Prince shall you find him. 'Tis true, by his own vertues or vices a man does often differ from his progenitors. But usually through successive generations the blood does hold its Tincture. And in a Noble Family for the most part the stream does still hold Noble. Which by wise states hath been sometimes so presumed upon, that they have set marks of Honour upon them; not only out of respect to their Ancestors, but out of hope to find the Successor not to degenerate. It was a Law among the Romans that if there hapned contentions in their elections for the Consul ship, Those that were descended of the Sylvanians, Torquatians, and Fabritians, should in the first place be preferr'd. And we see it common among Princes, That offices of trust, and places of command, are settled on the Heirs of some deserving Familyes, as presuming they will merit to keep what their Ancestors at first by their merit did acquire. Certainly, it is to be believ'd that he which out of nothing, or a mean beginning, is the first founder of a House and Fortune, had something in him beyond the standard of an ordinary man. And 'tis likewise to be believ'd that

1See above S. 93. Of Nobilitie joyned with Vertue, how Glorious.
where the spirits are so by Vertue and Industry rarify'd and refin'd; even in the generation of posterity they do transmit themselves and are propagated to succeeding Ages. Some Families are observable for peculiar eminences in the current of successions. The Romans had not a Family of moer merit then the Scipio's. And it is not unworthy our observing that even the first founders of that Family, were eminent for their piety to the Gods and their Parents. The first whereof, when his Father was blind, as his staff, he was his Guide, and led him about in his way from whence he took his Name. The next being a Child did every day in private set out some time for the Temple. And at 17 years of age brought off his wounded Father encompass'd by the Enemy. And indeed he that discharges his duty to these two, cannot but be eminent in all the rest of his conversation. The foundation of Honour and Greatnesse is layd in obedience and respect to these: But the neglect thereof, or the lewd practice of the contrary, puts a man out of favour with Natures genius: and leaves him to be ravin'd upon, by all the Insects of his own small Appetites, as well as the greater ragings of his intemperate passions. They that are bred under the government of such as are thus wise, they have infinitely the advantage of a Plebeian Race. They are season'd with the Maxims of Honour, and by their education lifted above those grosser vapours that they are subject to, that have their being in the lower Region of men. And if but one in an age stepps up to do this, he leaves it as example; and puts posterity
in the way of continuing it. And not to speak of the helps of Fortune, which (unabus'd) are infinite. They are presidented into Vertue and Honour, and they are deterred from poor and skulking conveyances, by the orientnesse of that fame which their Fore-fathers left them: so that, doubtlesse, earth cannot present us any thing that is more glorious then antient Nobility, when it is illustrated by the rays of Vertue. And though to be a King in Vertue and Wisdome is the brightest Jewel that sparkles in a Regal Crown (as Solomons wisdome renowned him more then his being Monarch of the whole twelve Tribes); yet surely, as in a beautiful Body the temper and transcendency of the spirit is more grateful, so is Vertue also more lustrous and shining in the stemme of antient and ennobled bloud, then in the newness of a rising House. Each may be marble in the Quarry where it lies, and not of that course rag that common pits afford. But it must be art and industry and the diligence of the laborious hand that gives it glosse and smoothnesse; before the streaks and taking veins can be discern'd in it. If there were not something more then ordinary that lay coutht in this bed of Honour, sure Nature never would so have framed the mind of man, as to have planted in it an appetition of it in generous and enlarged Souls. Alexander would needs derive from Jupiter; the Romans from Hercules, from Venus, from AEneas, and the like. And how many Nations have thought it their honour to draw their Descents from the Trojans? As it was an honour to be a Graecian, where vertue and the arts were
learned: so it was held a stain, and he was branded with the name of a Barbarian, that was of another Nation. It was objected to Antisthenes as a disgrace, that but his Mother was a Phrygian; had he not well wiped it off, by replying that Phrygia was the Mother of the Gods. But however it be, it is vertue and true Noblenesse that is the Crown of Honour. It enamels and enchaseth what is Gold, and it guilds what is not, that it makes it like it. They that are of highest merit in themselves, the least insist upon their Ancestry: for they well know Aliena laudat qui genus jactat suum. Who boasts his Stock, commends but what's an others. The best use they can make of glorious Actions by them well achiev'd, is to endeavour that they may outgo them. Or at least to beware, they darken not by their own declination, the splendor that they liv'd in, The best way to keep their Ancestors great acts in memory, is to refresh them with new ones of their own. And let them be sure to remember, they grew up to that brightnesse by degrees. Even fire it self, the quickest of the elements, must be kindled and blown up by degrees, before it shines it self into a flame: when it breaks out on a sodain, it is usually both ominous and harmful. The Sun does rise insensibly to his Meridian glory, but the very light of Lightning burns. He that at the first leap jumps into the height of all his Ancestors, had need be strong and well winded; lest he loose his Race before he gets to the post. He leaves himself no room for casual accidents, nor can he give a loose, if he be put to strein
in his Race. Of the two it is better to be the Fool of the Family, then the Unthrift. An other Generation may prove wise: but the Riotous and indiscreetly prodigal after he hath wasted all the fruit, he diggs up the tree by the root, that it can bear no more. And instead of hop'd applause, he departs the world with infamy, and dwels among the curses of posterity. A degenerate Son of a Noble Family, is a worm at the Root, that would make a Jonas angry; for it takes away the shade from all that shall come after. A Spend-thrift like an earthwuake does shake the house so long, that at last it either falls in pieces, or is swallowed up in Ruine. He pisses on his Fathers Honourable ashes, that by his Vices makes them stir, and ruffles them in his urne. In stead of warming suns; they are the bearded comets of a house, that threaten nothing but portentous horrors. And when they have nothing of their own, but their Fore fathers merits, they subsist but like to Felons, by the protection of that Altar, from whence if pull'd, they fall to death and shame. Who would not rather have dyed over all those deaths that Tyrants have invented; then, being the Son of the elder Scipio appear appear a Candidate so besmeared with vice, as to be fin'd by the Censors, to be turn'd out of the Senate, and have the Signet (with the head of his Glorious Father graven on't) torn from off his finger. Or as Quintus Fabius Maximus, for his horrid Luxury to be forbidden by the Praetor, for meddling

\[^2\text{Jonah 4.}\]
with his Fathers goods, and not one in all Romes Citty to be sorry for it; He is not like to be prevalent in Battail, that without his own stout fighting, thinks it is enough for him, to be covered with the shields of his Ancestors.

-----Quis enim Generesum dixerit hung, Qui
Indignus genere et praeclaro nomine tantum
Insignis? Nanum cujusdam Atlanta vocamus;
AEthiopem, cygnun; parvam extortamque puellam
Europen: canibus pigris scabieque vetusta
Levibus, et siccae lambentibus ora lucernae,
Nomen erit Pardus, Tygris, Leo, si quid adhuc est
Quod fremit in terris violentius: Ergo cavebis
Et metues, ne tu sis Creticus aut Camerinus.3

Who w'le count him Noble that unworthy lives
Of his great stock; and by that only thrives?
We may as well some dwarf an Atlas call;
A More, a Swan; some low crookd Gyule, the tall Europa; 'Tis but as we names bestow
Of Leopard, Tyger, Lyon, or what now,
's more fierce on earth, to mangy Curs that lick
The nasty nozel of some Candlestick.
Beware and fear, then, lest thou prove in fine,
A Cretian false, or prophane Camerine.

3Juvenal, Saturae, VIII, 30-38.
IN every man that we meet with, there be three things that encounter our Consideration. The Minde, the Behaviour, and the Person. As a beauty in any of these, commends the party to our liking; so a blemish in any of these, sticks some disgrace on the unhappy owner. The most beautiful and the most lasting of these, is that which to the eye is not visible; and, though it take not that sense; yet, it casts abroad such Rays, as draws out the love and liking of those, that come to finde the goodness, or the parts, that it is furnisht with. How grateful does the ingenuity of some men make them? 'Tis a wealth by which they live; and many times having none of their own, they are for the handsomeness of their disposition, taken into a partnership of Empire, with those that have abundance. Such was Aristippus, being at first forc'd to read Philosophy to get a living; by the gratefulness of his wit and parts, grew high in the favour with Dionysius. And when he had been shipwrackt at Sea, and cast upon Rhodes; it got him such friends there, that when all his Companions return'd, he was tempted by the favour of the Citizens, to stay from his own Countrey among strangers; with whom he had no Interest, but what his parts had won him. You may take him in the Character that Horace hath left of him.

1See above S. 82. Three things encounter our Consideration, and these three haue three Remedies.
Omnis Aristippum decuit status, & Color, & Res.²

In all the wiles of Fortune he was lovely.

Surely, 'tis the Noblest wealth, and with most ease is carryed every where. 'Tis kept without a sorain Guard, and is of present use wheresoe're a man is throwne. Like the Philosophers stone, it creates a man gold, that before had none of his own. It turns the coarser Mettal into useful Coin, and is such as cannot be lost without our health or being. And truly, the beauty and comliness of the body, does oft-times do the like; nay, with mean capacities, it does a great deal more; for, it suits to their minde, and is more obvious to their senses, that see no deeper then the grounds of Corporal Beauty, and the emanations of a pleasing Aspect. Yet, certainly, 'tis a form that pleaseth all, as well the wise in minde, as the weak in apprehension. Xenophon was of more then ordinary loveliness; and being a youth, by chance was met by Socrates in a narrow Ally at Athens; Socrates liking his aspect, held out his staffe to stop him in his way, and question'd him, where such and such Merchandizes were sold; which Xenophon presently told him. Then he ask'd him, if he knew, where men were made better; to this he said, He could not tell. Then says Socrates, Go with me, and I will shew you.³ Upon this he became his

²Saturae, 2, 3, 100.
³Memorabilia.
Scholler, and afterward grew a Favorite to Cyrus, and for Arts and Armes, left his memory famour to even this very day.

The next is a **handsome Behaviour**. He that demeans himself **well**, is ever **usher'd in by a friend**, that **recommends** him to the **Company** that knew him not. 'Tis not difficult by the **behaviour** to guesse at the Man. This is a motive **Beauty**, which waites upon the whole **body**, as the other does upon the **face** and **complexion**. **Sapienti viro incessus medestior convenit.** A sober Garbe becomes the wiser man. The Emperor Trajan was so winning this way. That his friends would have thought it too much, had he not satisfyed with this Answer, **That he desired to be such a Prince to others**, as he desired **an other Prince should be to him, if he were a Subject**.

There is a **grace** waits upon a **noble meen**, that exacts a **liking**, if not a **love** from all that do behold it. The grave and civil persons flock't about Livia at the Theater, while Julia, like the sive, by her ridling up and down had shak'd up all the chassy ware about her.

As these, being **well complexioned**, procure favour and let us into mens affections: so a stain in any of them, sets us like the Owle among Birds; if there be but light, we shall be sure to be chatter'd at, or struck at. A **mind** that's fill'd with **ignorance**, or the **perversness** of a **froward disposition**, hath many **enemies** and no **friends**. As upon the Sea in a storm, men may look with horror at a distance, but never will covet to come upon it; where, if we escape drowning, we cannot being frightened and wet. He
that is of a bad disposition, wants nothing of being a Tyrant, but Power; and wants not will, but means to do mischief.

He that is a Clown in behaviour, tells people, that it flowes from a rude minde. Diogenes though he had wit, by his currishness got him the name of Dog; and coming once to a feast, the Company call'd him so, and threw him bones: And to make good the appellation that they styl'd him with, as they sate at the Table, like a Dog, he pist on their backs. The Vices that we harbour inwardly, are divulg'd by our outward fashion. Ex minimis poteris cognoscere impudicum; et Incessus ostendit, & manus mota, & interdum Responsum, & relatus ad caput digims, & flexus oculorum. Improbum & insanum, risus, vultus, Habitusque; demonstrat. Even petty things the wanton does discover, the gate, the motion of the hand, sometimes the answer, holding up the finger to the head, or the very cast of the eyes does do it. Laughter, the Countenance, or the Habit discovers to us the wicked and the wilde. And though sometimes, under an unpleasing Aspect, the goodness of a well-disciplin'd inside may be cover'd; yet usually, the deform'd are Envious and Disdaining; and they had need excel others in the minde, being mulcted by Nature with a Corporal deformity. AESop, with all the Morality of his handsome Fables, could not wipe off this coorsness of his outside; which, doubtless, as a chain held him ever in the condition of a slave: who else by the sublimity of his Fancy might have mounted to higher preferment.

The best remedies for these are Divinity, Morality,
Physick. Religion can convert and adorn the mind, which naturally was ill. It is the Reason of a Deity, which doubtless can do more than all that is infused from man; and, comprehending the universal duty of man, as to God, the World, and himself, it must needs excell in this, all that can be gained from man. They that are truly acted from the inspirations of heaven, have all that can be got from below, with the excellencies of what is above.

Though to mend our Conversation, Philosophy can go far, as Socrates did confess to Zopirus, when he taxed him of several Vices; yet it's effects are allowable rather in outward Morality, than in the intrinsick integrities of the soul. And certainly, when that is prevalent within, the outward demeanor is both acquired and directed by it. A wise man ought not in his carriage to commit a Solecism against Wisdom. For there may be many outward gestures that are not in themselves unlawful; yet, highly are undecent.

It was observed by the Jews, that, cum digito loquitur stultus; the pointing finger ensigns out a Fool: though the hand may direct to the text, yet it dwells but in a blank margin. It was one of Solons Adages, In via non properandum; To run upon a Journey, is either necessity or folly. And the Cringes of some are such, as one would take them to be Dancers or Tumblers, rather than persons of stay'd and sober Callings. Men are like Wine, not good

\[4\] See above S. 82, note 3.
before the lees of Clownishness be settled; nor when tis too windy, and will fly out of the Bottle; nor when tis too austere and sower to be tasted. In a midling clarity and quickness it is best: And so is man in his cariage and comportment, when he is neither dull nor vapouring, nor too tart and severe in his way. He that can preserve himself in this temper, shall preserve his body in health the better; and so correct the inconveniences that may by want of that render him lesse gratefull to the company. As 'tis not necessary for every man to be a Doctor in these Arts: so it will be convenient, he have so much of them as may not only keep him from contempt, but procure him approbation abroad.

R. S. 70. Of Dancing.¹

Doubtless, it was out of the jollity of Nature, that the Art of this was first invented and taken up among men. Bate but the Fiddle; the Colts, the Calves, and the Lambs of the field, do the same. So that the thing in it self seems to me to be natural and innocent, begot and born at first out of the springhtly and innocuous Activity and Rarification of the bloud and spirits, excited by the youthful heat that flowes and flowers within the swelling Veins. We need therefore the lesse wonder, that some of the Ancient Grecians should so much extoll it, deriving it not only from the

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
Amoenity and Florianess of the warm and spirited bloud; but, deducing it from heaven it self, as being practiz'd there by the Stars, the Conjunctions, Oppositions, the Aspects and Revolutions, the Ingresses, and the Egresses, and the like; making such a Harmony and Consent, as there seems a well-ordered dance amongst them.²

And we shall finde it not only practiz'd by the Generality of almost all the Nations of the Earth; but by many of them, and those the most Generous and Civiliz'd, brought into the Solemnities of their Religion. As the Phrygians had their Corybantes,³ The Cretians, their Curetes⁴ dancing in Armour. In Delos, nothing sacred scarce ere done without it. The Indian Brackmans, morning and evening dancing did adore the Sun. The AEgyptians, AEthiopians, the ruder Scythian, and the learneder Greek, searse entred upon any thing that solemn was, without it. The Romans had their Salii, their dozen of Priests to Mars; who in pyed Coats, with Swords by their sides, a Javelin in one hand, and a Shield in the other, danc'd about the City.⁵


³Priests of the goddess Cybele who conducted a lively worship service.

⁴Priests of Jupiter whose services were similar to those of the Corybantes.

⁵In an annual festival at the beginning of March.
Socrates that was owned to be the wisest among all the Greeks disdain'd not in his Age to learn to Dance, and after to commend the Exercise. And Seneca tells us of the Meritorious Scipio, that he was not ashamed, ut antiqui illi viri solebant, inter lusum, & festa tempora, virilem in modum tripudiare, as the Antients then had wont, at Playes and Solemn Festivals, in a manly wise to trip it up and down. Even among the Jews, where the Oracles of God were extant, we finde it used among the Rites and Exercises of their Religion, and upon occasions of extraordinary Joy.

Miriam led the Maids their dance, with her Timbrel in her hand. Jephta's daughter met her Father with a dance. And David did it before the Ark; his pious zeal, transporting him to this corporal exultation. 'Tis like, he danced alone; else Mical would have laugh'd at more then him. But yet, if it were not mixt, it was next it; being, as all that we read of, in the sight and view of both sexes.

When the Prophet Jeremiah, foretold the return of the Jews from captivity, Jer. 31. and begins to reckon up the joys that should ensue; Among the rest, he tells them, The Virgins shall rejoice in the Dance: the Latin hath it in Choro; and doubtless, that did oftentimes consist both of men and women together, as well as Virgins; comprehend both sexes. And if Dancing were unlawful, neither would God

6Exodus 15:20-21. 7Judges 11:34.
allow of being served by it; nor would Solomon have told us, There is a time to Dance, as well as there is to mourn.⁠¹⁰
So that tis not the matter and the thing that is condemned, but the manner and corrupt abuse. I finde not that Salust twitted Sempronia, meerly for her dancing; but, for doing it more artificially then an honest woman needed: And 'tis for this that Gavinius and Caelius too, were reproached. Cato, I know, accused Lucius Muraena, for dancing in Asia; and Cicero, that undertook to defend him, said, He durst not maintain it to be well done in respect of the circumstances: but, sure he was, he did not do it constantly; as if the using of it but sometimes, were a kind of justification. And in this sense was his saying, Nemo saltat sobrius, The sober man does seldom act in capers; taking it to be allowed doctrine, That, Aliquando dulce est insanire in loco; 'Tis pleasant to be frolique in season.

Ludovicus Vives¹¹ tells us of some Asians that coming into Spain, and seeing the people dance, did run away affrighted; as thinking them possest with some ill spirit, or else that they were out of their wits. And indeed one would think there were some Sorcery in it, that the tickling of a Sheeps-gut with Hair and a little Rosen, should make a wise man leap up and down like mad. Nor did the wise Alfonsus deem that woman lesse, whom he saw so wildly dancing.

⁠¹⁰Ecclesiastes 3:4.

¹¹Spanish humanist of the sixteenth century. He taught at Oxford.
that he concluded, Surely, 'twould not be long before that Sybil would declare her Oracle; though he himself a little after, with the Emperour Frederick, and his Empress, was content to make one at the sport. To dance too exquisitely is so laborious a vanity, that a man would be ashamed to let any body see, by his dexterity in it, that he hath spent so much time in learning such a trifle. And to be totally ignorant of it, and of the garbe and comportment that by learning it, is learn'd; shewes a man either Stoical or but meanly bred, and not inur'd to Conversation. The best is a kind of careless easiness, as if 'twere rather natural motion, then curious and artificial practizing.

That there have been several offences occasioned by it, is not to me an Argument against it, in it self. Even at Sermons, I have read, that scenes of lust have been lay'd. I would not patronize it for the least offence that is in it. But if it conduces to the bettering of Behaviour, and the handsome Carriage of a mans person among strangers; if it be for a Harmless Exercise, for a Recreation meerly; or, to express inoffensively a justifiable joy; I see not why it should be condemn'd. It is good for a man so to Dance, as not to put his friends, that shall behold him, out of countenance; or, that he need be ashamed, if his enemy should stand by. Some men have an aversness to it, and these it seldom becomes.
Frederick the Third,\textsuperscript{12} us'd often to say, He had rather be sick of a Fever, then endeavour to Dance. And most Martial men are rather for the Drum and Trumpet, then the Lute and Viol. If it were absolutely ill in it self, or if the ill that seems to adhere, were in it self inseparable from it; It were better all were gone, then for the greatest pleasure to keep the least of mischief. But I cannot think that all must sin, if they come but once to humour an Instrument; or, that there cannot be dancing without a danger to Chastity. I had rather hold with Aristippus.

\begin{quote}
\textit{In Liberi patris sacris}  \\
\textit{Mens quae pudica est nesciet corrumpier.}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
The truly modest Will,  \\
In Bacchus Orgies can be modest still.
\end{quote}

And albeit some of the Fathers have declaimed high against this Recreation; yet, I take it to be, as it was rudely and lasciviously used by the Vulgar, and with the infective Pagans of those times. But surely, as solemn Entertainments are among great Persons; and, meetings of Love and Friendship among persons of Quality; There is nothing more Modest, more Decent, or more Civil. Where even the least inclination to Wantonness is held a mark of Rudeness. And having so many eyes upon them, any Place or Time, indeed, were fitter for such purposes, then these. To conclude upon this Theme, I take it to be like Usury; something difficult to be kept in the mean; easie to be let into excess: and almost by all Nations at once decryed and practiz'd.

\textsuperscript{12}Emperor of Germany in the fifteenth century.
R. S. 71. Of the Folly of Sin.¹

IT was the Fool that said, There is no God; for certainly, no Wise man ever thought it. And yet, the Fool had so much wit, as not to prate on't: It was but in his heart he said it. Impudence was not so great, nor inward Conviction so strong, as that he could with Confidence declare it by his Tongue. Nor did he seriously think it in his heart: so that it proceeded no further, then a bare and lazy wish, because he would be glad it were so. But, doubtless, he could no more believe there was no Soul of this vast World, then that there was no spirit to actuate his body: Or, that a Watch could tell us Time, and motion all its Wheels, without a Spring or Ballance. If we believe and see, That the Mind with ease, with pleasure, and without trouble, disposes and commands every motion, and member; every Muscle, and Nerve; every reserve, and posture of our Corporal Frame: we may as well conceive, that Infinite and Incomprehensible Spirit, may as easily dispose and order every particle and accident of this Great and Circumferential World. And then, it cannot but follow, That this Great Soul of All, must be Infinitely Wise, Infinitely Just, Omnipotent, and Omniscient, with all those other glorious Attributes that go to the making up of God. And if God be, and be thus, as Sense and Reason by Demonstration makes evident; Can there be any greater folly

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
in the world, then to incur the anger of this Almighty and All-wise God? Sin is so purely Folly, that it is in the main, assuredly, never less then an Aversion from true Wisdom. Sin can no more be without Folly, then fire without dryness, or, water without moisture. 'Tis Folly that opens the dore, and lets it into the heart; that hugs it, and retains it there, as the Kidney does the Stone, till it eats and grates out that which gave it birth and breeding. It was well said of Stoboeus, Malorum omnium Stultitia est Mater. Of all that's ill, 'tis Folly is the Mother.

When a Man is under a Prince that he knows is exact in his Justice, will he be so unwise as before his face to violate his most equal Law? Sin is so deeply a folly, that it sets a man against himself, and transports him clean contrary to his true and proper Interest. If there be any man more Fool then the wicked, let him take the Gingling Scepter, and the py'd Coat, if he can. Even Nature teaches all things a self-preservation. But the sinner is more brutish then the Beast of the field. He destroyes himself, and locks his own legs in the stocks. Suppose a man raised by a Noble Prince, from the poverty and subjection of a Cottage, to the plenty and command of a Province, and withall hath promise of a glorious Crown hereafter: One would think it were this mans Interest to Honour and observe this Prince,

2A Macedonian who compiled, ca. A. D. 500, an anthology of excerpts from Greek authors.
to be true and faithful to him, to have no complaisance with his Enemies, nor to let them have any thing of his service or attendance. And would not all the world condemn him for a Fool that should for trifles anger him? That should play with Boys, converse with Beggars, consort with Thieves and Traytors, great offenders, and all the looser sort of the silly and the base; and not content alone with this, would be sure to frolick it with his Princess grandest Enemy, and be ready to obey him in all that he should command? Yet, this is the case of every one that is wicked. It was among the simple ones that Solomon saw the young man as a fool going to the correction of the stocks, through his incontinence.3 'Tis the fool that utters slanders, 'tis the fool that sports in mischief, 'tis the fool that rages and is confident, 'tis the fool that dispiseth instruction, though from a fathers love; 'tis the fools lip that enters into contention, 'tis the fool that will be medling, 'tis the fool that folds his hands in sloth; 'tis the fool that trusteth in his own frail heart; 'tis the fool that makes a mock at sin. And the Prophet Jeremy will tell us, He that gets wealth wrongfully, though he may run well, at his end he shall be a Fool.4 Nor indeed is it the want of parts, or an inability of Nature, that so much undoes a man, as the turpitude and stain of sin. Even a Fool and an Innocent may be sometime of similarly sense. And we read not, that a man shall be plagued for a

3Proverbs 7:22.  
4Jeremiah 17:11.
fool by the defect of ordinary comprehension. But the Psalmist will tell us, That Fools, because of their Transgression and Iniquities, are afflicted. And questionless, there is a great deal of reason for this, A man is not condemned for being a natural Innocent; it is not ever his fault: The children that our Saviour received, were such. But 'tis the sin, that exposes us to punishment. All the sufferings in the world, are not in themselves so ill, as is the smallest sin. These a man may indure, and preserve his own uprightness, and be endeared to his Maker for them. But, sin does make us culpable. We break Gods blessed Law, and so by guilt grow fowl, and become abhorrid before him; so that all the pretended pollutions of natural things, are not like the stain of a willing and a knowing sin. Therefore rarely spoke the excellent and admired Seneca, Licet scirem homines ignoraturos, & Deum ignoscitum, tamen peccare nollem, ob peccati turpitudinem, Though I were sure men should never know it, and that God would certainly pardon it; yet, I would not commit a sin for the foulness and dishonesty of the sin in it self. This therefore being the only thing that in all the world we should strive to avoid, Can there be a more furious madness, a blacker phrensie, a deeper simplicity, or a more laden stupidity, then to rush our selves into this Pool of putrefaction? For it not only

5Psalms 107:17.

drenches us in this Lethean Lake, but it rows us into the Sea of offences, and debilitates us in the progress of good. If we would be moving towards Heaven, like a chain about a Prisoners leg, our own sad guilt does twitch us back, and keeps us still in slavery. As creatures that are odious to humanity, hide themselves in the blackness of the night, that neither the Sun nor other Creatures may look upon their deformity: So it is with the depraved sinner, that is too foul for this light. Yet, sins being the works of darkness, we prefer the inconsolable darkness before the pleasure of the brightest Ray. As in Gen. 15, when Abraham fell asleep, an horror of great darkness fell upon him: so, when we are invigilant, and careless of our selves, the blinding darkness of our sins surprizeth us.

Tell me; if in all the shop of Nature, a greater Fool can be found, then he that having a Friend and Father, that loves and will not leave him, till he hath fix'ed him in Eternal Happiness: yet, will giddily, wilfully, ignorantly, and wantonly, run from him to crouch, and creep, and become a slave to him, that he knows will use him with all the Insultation of Tyranny and Torment that Vengeance can invent. Nor is this in the gross, but in each particular offence. Are not men out of their wits, that will play away Estates of Plenty, when after they must live to starve? That by their Lust and Lasciviousness, will make themselves Lazars

7Verse 12.
and Cripples? That by their Ambition, beget themselves trouble and ruine? That by their Covetousness, purchase contempt and curses, and enjoy nothing themselves, but greater fear and guilt? That by their rash Anger, throw themselves into quarrels and destruction? That by Drunkenness make themselves Sots, and get Vizards instead of Faces? That by their Ryot and Gluttony, send all their Riches down the Common-Sewer; and at last, as Lucullus, grown stupid, they must live under the Tutelage of another.® Can a child be simpler, when it is dandled into any thing we mind to put upon it? or for a Gaud or Rattle be made to part with all that can be of benefit to it? Does not the sinner do worse and foolisher, when for a toy, a conceit, a licorish desire, an humor or fancy, he shall dismiss himself of Felicity, and all those saving Graces that can render him happy for ever? Are we not content to be entic'd and gull'd, (like Children stoln by Spirits) with pretended kindness and painted baubles, till we be put under Hatches, and carryed as eternal Exiles from our Native Countrey, Heaven, to lead the life of slaves in shackles under Tyranny? When Lysimachus in Thracia, had delivered up himself and his Army to Domitian for want of water; and, after a draught, considered what he had done: He then does to the Gods exclaim, That he should be so mad, for the pleasure of a dish of water to

®Plutarch, "The Life of Lucullus."
turn himself out of Kingship into a Slave.\(^9\) We traffique
gold for dust, when we purchase ought by sinning. Let a man
be never so great a Politician, yet, if he be a sinner, he
will appear to be simple at last. And though he may think,
By injury to gain upon others, yet, let him remember, That
no man can do an injury to another, but withal, he does
injure himself; and so, though he thinks to show himself of
a deeper reach, and a higher standard of wit then his
neighbour; yet, in the end, he will come forth a fool.

\(^9\)In 292 B. C., Lysimachus, King of Thrace, was forced
by lack of provisions to surrender his army to Dromichaetes,
king of the Getae. Felltham obviously errs in calling the
victor Domitian.

R. S. 72. That the Mind only makes Content.\(^1\)

WE see it is neither ease, nor labour, nor wealth, nor
want, that seats a man in either Pleasure or Discontent.
Some men with liberty, leisure, plenty, and rest, have less
satisfaction then those that toyl in sweating pains and
labour. And others even in pleasure do that, which would
wear out all the happiness of him that is not that may
affected. Repose to an active mind is a tedious and an
irksome thing. And therefore to him that hath not business,
Play is taken up in stead on't; and even that, after a little
time, does tire as much as business; and, in the sequel,

\(^1\)See above S. 86. Content makes Rich.
usually galleth more. We see in those that have plenty to please themselves in all they can imagine; that by their wealth may make Summer and Winter at will, and that seem to others to command all the walks in Paradice, and the Birds to warble what they shall but bid them: yet, this high shine, but makes them nice and wanton, that for want of other diversions, they quarrel with their own felicity, and strangle by their curiousness even all that Providence intended should be pleasing: As, full and queasie stomachs do often coy at that, which the hungry would accept of for delicious. When Apicus found but One hundred Thousand Sesterties was all at last was left him, with shame, in scorn, he quaff his poison'd draught, and dy'd.

---Quid enim maiore chachinno
Excipitur Populi, quam pauper Apicius?

---For, what can People jeer at more, Then once to hear, Apicius is grown poor?

Even Content turns to vexation, and we are weary with having nothing to weary us. All the winds in the Compass, cannot blow one gale that some men shall be pleas'd with. A froward mind makes all the Muses, furies; like bodies over-fat, they are burthen'd with their own lov'd load. Nor can men so attempered, injoy themselves in all the smiles of Fortune.

2Juvenal, Saturae, IX, 2-3. Friedlaender has "vulgi" for "Populi."
The Lilly seems too pale, and the Roses smell is fulsome.
Some men are so cast together of Jealousie, Envy, Pride, and Choler, that, like savage Beasts, they are ready to tear, not only those that seek to tie them up; but such as loose their chains, and bring them food to live with. Tell them what is distasteful, or tell them what is pleasing, they shall carp at both alike. As kindling Charcole, they shall throw out sparks, and crackle, though you shall not blow them. Contradict them, they shall twit; say as they say, they shall blurt and snarl. As Wasps, disturb'd, or let alone, they buzzze and angry make a noyse about you: Being of a nice and tender spirit; nor heat, nor cold, can be indured by them. As Arrows whose feathers are not even set; draw them never so home, and shoot them from what Bow you will, they shall never fly right to the mark. Their own dispositions make but a milder and more terrene Hell. What a pitiful little peek took Haman from all his content? On the other side, where the Mind does incline, and is pleas'd to gratifie the smooth'd Affections; all things seem to have a serene aspect. As through a Stranquo the Air is all delightful, and all the colours that do enrich the Rainbow make it beautiful. Do we not even with wonder often see, how there are many that take pleasure in toyl? They can out-rise the Sun, out-watch the Moon, and out-run the fields wild Beast. Meerly out of fancy and delectation, they can find out mirth.

3Esther 3:5.
in Vociferation; and Musick, in the barking of Dogs; and be content to be led about the Earth, over hedges and through sloughs, by the windings and the shifts of a poor affrighted Vermine: yet, after all, come off, as Messalina\(^4\) from her wantonness, tyr'd, and not satisfied with all that the Brutes can do. But, were a man injoyn'd to this, that did not like it, how tedious, and how punishable to him would it prove? Since in it selfe it differs not from riding post; or, putting a wise man from following and humouring the motions of a child, or simple animal; Let no man therefore wonder at the several Contentments of men: For, unless the desires of men be bounded with Prudence and Moderation, the Appetite of the Mind is various, as the Palate of the Body, for which no man can give a reason. As he is like to be most at ease in his Journey, that likes the pace of the Beast he rides on: So is he that can bring his Mind to approve of that condition God hath set him in. And since the Mind alone is judge of pleasure, 'tis not what others apprehend, but what the party fancies to himself, that satisfies.

\(^4\)The profligate wife of the emperor Claudius.
AMong all the varieties that liberal Nature does bestow upon us; How few things are there, that we take and do make use of, as nakedly they were produc'd at first, but that with circumstance and trimming we strive to improve and beautifie? The rarest and most pretious materials, we think not splendid, till we have refin'd them. We cut and polish Diamonds. We burnish gold and silver. Our silks we scour, and give them gloss and dye. Our Wool we card and mingle; we wear not Cloth till dress'd and dy'd, and then with lace and fancy work it up for wearing. We eat not food, but cook'd with sawce and arted for the palate. Even the Cow eats not her Mother Earths brave sallad, all and only green. Providence hath enamel'd all with beauty, in the orient colours sprinkled in her Mantle, that by the eyes being pleas'd, the appetite may be more enticed out, and the medly become confection, fitter for Natures sustenance. We do not rudely heap our wood and stone together for our dwellings, but we hew and fit them into decent order; we are solicitous to contrive them stately without, and beautiful and convenient within; so that we make them by adorning them, and by the rules of Architecture, rather a Palace then a Prison. Every Calling hath his Badge and Ornament. The Souldier shines in Steel, the Lady in her Jewels, the

There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
Courtier in his Silks. The Law and Physick, have their proper habits, fitted to their known Professions. And in all Religions, Jewish, Heathen, Mahumctan, and Christian; I never found, but their Priests in their Garments were distinguishd from the Laick flock. Only we have found of later years a race of ruder men, that under the pretence of Piety, have taken up a garb both sottish and disdainful; that are afraid to be known by their habits to be Priests of the living God; they can wear a Cypress or a Ribbond for a friend; but, not a Skarf or Girdle, for the Church or State. Surely, a Gown or Surplice may in themselves as well be worn, as either a Shirt, or Band, or Cloke: and they can hardly to unbyassed men give a reason for declining them, unless it be because Authority commands them. As if because the Apostle commands, That things be done decently, and in order, therefore it were sufficient ground for men to be cross, and rude, and common, and slovenly. What would have become of these men, had they been enjoyned to have been attyred as Aaron, in light and flaming colours, with Bels tinkling, and Pomgranates dangling, round about their skirts? How would they have brook'd a linnen Miter of sixteen cubits long, that will rather lose a Living, and the opportunity of saving souls, and the honour of being an agent for Heaven, then own a simple Surplice? As if white were not a colour as lawful as black; or, the

2I Corinthians 14:40.

thrid of the flax as warrantable, as the wool we cut from off the dumb Sheeps back: or, that a Gown were not as legitimate to be worn in a Church, as for them to sit wrapt with, in their own warm house or styddv. I find to the Jews by God himself, there were twelve peculiar habits appointed to the Levites. And surely, (not being forbidden) why may not his Church without offence injoyn some? which are so far from being unlawful in themselves, as we see, they would be worn, if they were not injoyned. And are worn in cadem specie, though not in eadem forma. 'Tis granted by Chemnitz, and I think, by most of the Reformed Divines, That In ritibus Adiaphoris habet Ecclesia Potestatem, In things indifferent the Church wants not authority. He that is Lieutenant of a Province, though in the main he be tyed to govern by the Laws, from which he may not deviate: yet, he is never so bound up, but that in Circumstances he hath a latitude left to discretion. And if (although in it self indifferent) it be once by the Church injoyn'd, it becomes then so far a Divine Law, as 'tis Divine, in Licitis, to obey the Supreme Governor, and Legislative Power. And then, Where will be the difference in refusing an Innocent Ceremony Authoritatively imposed, and assuming a practice of one

4Exodus 28.

5"For the same appearance . . . for the same form."

6Martin Chemnitz (1522-86), Lutheran theologian.

7"In things permitted."
disputable, and not imposed? As Urbius did in Fasting on the Lords Day; for which St. Augustine tells him, That Totas Ecclesias turbaret & damnaret, He would disturb and condemn the Universal Church. It is not possible to perform a Worship without some natural or instituted Ceremony; and while they are not contradictory to the Canon, I cannot think, God will be angry with me for obeying them; or, that being an Anathema, if I hear not the Church, I should come to be so, when I do obey her. While they are not declared Essentials of that Worship, are not cross to the Sacred Text, are ordained only for distinction, order, decency, and helps to Piety and Devotion; I see not, why it may not be in the prudence of a Church, moderately to injoyn them; and become the Piety and Humility of the best, to submit to what shall be injoynd? I remember a passage of a grave Divine upon this Subject, which was this; A Ceremony (saith he) in the judgement of all, is in it self a thing indifferent. To preach the Word, a thing precepted and of necessity. Now, I would have men lay the thing indifferent in one scale, and the thing necessary in the other; and then let them tell me, if it be not better to swallow a Ceremony, then to rend a Church. Obedience and Unity tend to Peace; and Peace is the worlds flourish; but, division and disobedience are as the trains leading to the Mine, that blows up all. If the Ceremony did admit a dispute; yet, being servants to the Church, it would not wholly light upon them that obeyed; and it may well be believed, their submission would be more
acceptable then either their cavil, or their criticism. The Ceremonies of State, though the wise man knows they be not of the sinews of Government, yet, they are the air, and of the countenance thereof; so, beget in common people a kind of awful reverence both of the Person and the Function. There is no doubt, but the practice of decent and seemly Ceremonies does help to preserve a Church not only in fixation, but in esteem. And is as a rail to keep off the profane Julians, who else might do as he did, piss upon the Table. Nor do I find, but as soon as the Church arrived at any state of power, but she took upon her to be as well formally as materially a Church; and besides the rites of Worship by her prescribed, Festivals, and Liturgies, her splendor was such, that with some emulation, if not envy, her Enemies began to cry out, En qualibus vasis Mariae Filio administrant. See but with what costly Vessels they officiate to the Son of Mary! Theod. lib. 3. cap. 12. Though the bark of a Tree be no part of the Timber, fruits, or leaves; yet we see, if that be stript away, the Tree it self will dye. So, a naked Church is no more lasting or comely, then the Body of a Man without clothes is seemly or secure.

8Julian the Apostate, who was accused by his enemies of profaning Christian churches.
R. S. 74. Of the contentment after the overcomming of a strong Temptation.

Every Temptation is a snare, and they that overcome are as Birds escaped, whom Nature suffers not to hold from rejoicing but as soon as they are got loose they chirp and sing out a Joy to themselves. Surely if a man would choose out a happy condition to live in, he could not fancy to himself a better then when he is come off a Conqueror of a great and strong Temptation. Victory is so pleasant a thing, that it leaves a man nothing to fear, unless it be that which he feareth not; The soul put by from God returns in the end with comfort, and sweetly closeth with its Maker, whose goodnesse she knows it is to make her so Victorious. Divided friends when once they come to meet, like Iron and the Loadstone, they do not march but leap to one anothers bosome. They know th' are ever, under the shade of Gods divine protection, but now they fly into the Almighty's arms, and rest secure within his safe Embraces. When Spartan youths had overcome an Enemy, they were brought home with garlands crownd, with musick and rejoycinge. The greatest exultations that we read of, were the Triumphs that were confered on Conquerors. And 'tis worthy our observation what high and splendid Priviledges the Scripture does assign to him that overcommeth. He shall eat of the Tree of

1See above S. 92. Of the Minde of man after the conquest of a strong Temptation.
Life, \(^2\) and of the hidden Manna, \(^3\) Comforts and Inspirations sent from Heaven as the food of the soul, Hidden because only known to himself. And the white Stone with the new name inscribed\(^4\) alluding to the Acquittals and Donations of suprem Princes, bestowed on such as had the Innocence and blessing to light upon them: which were so high to the enjoyers of them, that they were not able to make any other ever understand them. He shall be made a Pillar in the Temple of God, \(^5\) & shall go out no more, and shall at last be permitted to sit in the Throne with Heavens great Maker, and the supreme God of gods. It furnishes him with experience of the crafts and wiles and policies of sharpest enemies, and the Aides, assistances, and unexpected providences, of an Almighty Guardian and defender; and by the exercise of their Faith and patience and their other stock of Vertues, animates and increases them: whereby by overcomming once we learn to overcome again, and master and triumph over all those subtilyes that are lifted up against us. Tis one of a General's strongest Arguments to incite his men to Courage, To put them in mind, how oft they have been victors. It does enkindle industry and add a force to Fortitude, while being overcome declines the rising head and debases all the spirits to a dull and low Terrenity. The air is after Victory more wholesome, then it was before. The concussion

\(^2\)Revelation 2:7. \(^3\)Revelation 2:17. \(^4\)Ibid. \(^5\)Revelation 3:12.
of Arms, and the stirring of the element does raryfie and purge it, and the Conquerour breaths freelier then he did before. He is not checqut by opposition. The present Region is his own to rest and sleep in, where and when he pleaseth. The mind is lightned both of Fear and Care. And he looks upon his own Happinesse as both ascending higher and lasting longer for his late hard Conquest. Which is not only intimated by the Antients in making the Palm-tree the Symbol of Victory, as disdaining to be incu vated by weight, but also being an ever-green with pleasant fruit and of continuance longer then most of others Trees. In which the Holy Ghost is not wholly unaspective to the custome that was used among men, since we find the Triumphers in the Revelation (as badges of Victory) carryed their Palms in their hands. And the Text, a little after, tells us that these were of those that had come out of great Tribulation. For their noble sufferance, their undaunted valour in not yielding, their over-towring Faith, and their coming off with Mastery, against all the Assaults of fiercest Foes, and Tempters; these were not remunerated, with the Vision and Fruition of the Almighty; and for ever after, stood exempted from sorrow, or any other of the disturbing passions of man. And certainly to overcome a Temptation that hath been battering hard upon us; dilates the pleased soul, and, lifting it up to God, does place it in a calm rejoicing.

Though it were materially true, yet mystically it was not so: for the shadow of Alexander was longer after his Conquest, then it was before. It arose up higher in the estimation of men: and extended a protection further to such as had their province to live under his spreading shade. Octavian and Augustus were not the same in one man. A youth at first despis'd and slighted by the experience and haughtiness of his Jealous Emulators; but after bowed and kneeled to, by all that drew breath under the wing of the Romane Eagle. And more then this, it shews the world our parts, which else would steal unseen, from off the stage. It is with vertuous men, as it is with Spices and some kind of fragrant Herbs. Their bruising, by contest, tells all about how rich their odor is.

_Vidi ego iactatas mota face crescere flammis:_

_Et vidi nullo concutiente mori._

How have I seen, the brandisht Torch blaze high;
While that unstirr'd, by standing still, does dye?

As gold is the better for being in the fire, and so is more esteem'd by men when purified: So is man, got off from Temptation, not only better lik'd by those of this world, but he is more endeared to the Deity he serves, for appearing of a try'd Fidelity.

^Ovid, _Ars Amatoria_, 1, 2.
R. S. 75. Of Civility.

UNlesse they be impassionate, The greatest spirits, and those of the best and noblest breeding, are ever the most respective and obsequious in their Garbe, and the most observant and grateful in their Language to all. They know, rudenesse is so course a gobbet that it cannot be digested by a healthful stomach: nor Terms uncivill heard without gall or quarrel. And therefore to prevent the latter they are careful to avoid the first. This we may build upon: The most staid judgements are persons of the Highest Civility. They think, to displease is none of the proper interests of Man: Nature made him Communicable and Sociable. To be rude or foolish is the badg of a Weak mind, and of one deficient in the conversive quality of Man. The Noblest Creatures are the more universally good. The fire refuses not, as well to warm the Beggar as the Prince, The water bears as well the Carrick as the Cork. The earth to all allows her bearing bosome. The equal air as equally serveth all. And the bright Sunne, without distinction shines. To occasion a quarrel is a thing of Reproach. And if a wise man hath unawares provok'd one, It lies in the mind, as mercury does in the Body, ceases not working till it quite be got out. It is not for one Gentleman to speak to another what shall beget either shame or anger, or call up either a blush or

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
frown. And if there be a necessity to displease, yet we ought to do it as nurses do with Children when they are to give them what is bitter, smear it in honey or roll it in sugar, that even the palate (if possible) may be held in content. 'Tis a handsome story of the dying Aristotle when he was sought to by his Schollars to declare his Successor, among which there were two especially of more eminent merit then the rest, Theophrastus a Lesbian, and Menedemus a Rhodian. Aristotle calls for Wine of both those places, pretending to drink his last farewell with his Schollars before he dyed. He tastes the Wine of Rhodes and commends it both for sound and pleasant. Then tasting that of Lesbos, he commendeth both for excellent good, but that of Lesbos to be the more delicious: by which they understood, he meant Theophrastus should hold the succession. So by commending both, he tacitely preferr'd the one without the least disparagement to the other. And in Religion, this will hold as well as in morality and the common Conversation of the World. For that was never found to be a foe to good manners, but that it allowed of a civill respect both in behaviour and words; by paying observance in the one, and giving Titles in the other, according to the degree and quality of the person we have to deal with. Jacob we know to have been a person elect and in Grace with God himself, and though Esau were a prophane person and had sold his Birth right to his younger Brother whereby the priviledges of primogeniture were lost and his right in the Sacred
Covenant disputable if not vacated; yet when Jacob intended to meet him, because he was a great man and in the Nature of a petty Prince and in some kind a Generall; for he had a Band of 400 men: He first sends him a noble present of many numerous Beasts. And commanded his servants, when Esau inquired whose they were, they should say, They were a present for my Lord Esau sent him from his servant Jacob. And when he himself came neer him, he bowed himself seven times to the ground upon his approach to his Brother. Nay all his retinue after him, the handmaids and their Children, Leah and her Children, Joseph and Rachel, all of them bowed themselves; and after that, in discourse he complements him several times with, Let me find Grace in the sight of my Lord; and therefore have I seen thy face, as though I had seen the face of God. David, though he were anointed and designed King; yet when he met Prince Jonathan, he fell on his face three times, and bowed himself to the ground. The Shunamite fell at the Prophet Elisha's feet, and bowed herself to the ground. The Widow of Tekoa told David, As an Angel of God, so is my Lord the King. Though Darius were a Pagan Prince, and had (though unwillingly) yet unjustly, permitted Daniel to the Lyons Den: Yet as soon as he was out, his Language was: O King, live for ever. In the New

2Genesis 32-33.  
4II Kings 4:37.  
3I Samuel 20:41.  
5II Samuel 14:17.  
Testament St. Paul begins his Complement with, King Agrippa. And when Festus charg'd him wrongfully with being mad; His return was not Reviling, nor Recrimination: but, I am not mad, most Noble Festus. Certainly, in those Eastern parts of the World, though they used not to uncover the head, yet the ordinary bowing of the body was equivalent to the putting off the Hat with us: but bowing down to the ground, with all those Reiterations, was farr beyond our practice of uncovering; and descended well neer to a Sacred Veneration. And the Rhetorical Collaudations, with the Honourable Epithites given to their persons, were farr beyond the Appellations that are used in our dayes, yet are we commanded to use to every man the respects that are due to his place, and quality. God himself calls men to Honourable places, and doubtless where he is pleas'd to bestow it, we ought not to deny it. Render to all their dues, Honour to whom Honour belongs. When our blessed Saviour that took upon him the form of a Servant, was living among the Jews, though they hated his Doctrine, and at last condemn'd his Person, yet their common salutation was, Rabbi, Rabboni, Master; And when in Honour to his Descent as allied to the Crown, he was called the Sonne of David, he gave no checque to the Title, but John the 13 he tells them, You call me Master, and you say well. So that safely we may conclude, that,

Behaviour rude and clownish, and indeed unchristian, in keeping on the hat before Nobles, Magistrates, Kings, and Superiours (with that vituperious thou-ing men, and not owning their Titles) comes not from Scripture or any example of the people of God, but from some blacker fiend that under the pretence of Piety and the Spirit, walks contrary to all the practice of the Faithful. The Apostle commands us to submit our selves to every ordinance of Man for the Lords-sake as yielding complyance not so much for our own ends but purely out of Conscience as being a constitution ordained by God himself; whose Wisdome establisheth the World not only in the larger frame where naturally every thing subsides to what is superiour, but even in every Province, and each particular, where Government and Obedience perpetuates the Harmony of all.

R. S. 76. That the present Times are not worse then the Former.¹

IT is the Preachers precept that a man should not say; Why is it, that the former dayes were better then these? For thou dost not inquiere wisely of these things. Some have reduc'd this to those only that smart under present troubles; So passion rather then Reason begets the Complaint. Others limit it to the comparing the Law with the Gospel; and then,

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
there is no doubt, if any be judged besides the Jew, He must be condemn'd of Folly, that would go about to prefer the times of Moses under the load of Ceremonious shadows, before those since Christ wherein the yoke is taken off, and the cloud irradiated with the shine of Evangelical truth. So that we may confidently acknowledge that memorable saying of AEneas Sylvius,² that although the Christian Religion had never been confirm'd by miracles, yet it deserved and would have been taken up by men, for the very Honesty that it carries with it. But since this was writ in Solomons time, so long before the coming of our blessed Saviour among us, we may believe he meant it more universally both of the precedent and successive courses of the World. And surely if we examine all things in a judicious scale, we shall find indeed, we do not wisely, when we vent the Complaint and censure. Humane Nature is more sensible of smart in suffering, then of pleasure in rejoicing, and the present indurances easily take up our thoughts. We cry out for a little pain, when we do but smile for a great deal of Contentment. And from this we blame the present for a little pressure, when we passe over all those soft and smooth demulceations that insensibly do stroke us in our gliding life. Nor indeed are the pungencies of former times in the comprehension of our view, but at distance, and by some Records that have pickt out only what are extraordinary. So

²Pope Pius II, reigned 1458-64.
like Proments at Sea they look high at a distance as if all the Country were an elevated mountain, which when we come to land we find but of the same Altitude with the other parts of the World we have seen. And the mind of man runs with more Celerity to Joy. It's true, sometimes there are intervals of Vertue and Vice, inclinations to Warres and Propensions to peace. The Sybarites had a vein of delicacy. The Spartans a strein of Armes, Athens had her Arts and Learning; and Scythia's fame was Barbarism. And in the same Country, One age runns upon one thing, and another does decline what by former times hath been courted by the Inhabitants of the self-same Climate. But these being but in parts, if the whole be summ'd up together, we shall find the proportion of all to be much about the same fathome of what the World was at before. If the present age exceed in some imbrac'd particulars, we shall read of former, that in other exceeded us. If we have inventions of newer date with us, They certainly had others that now to us are lost. And if we survey the Vices of precedent times, they will appear more Barbarous and more Epidemical then such as now flame in the World. We look upon it as the wonder of Vice to this day, That a stranger could not come to Sodome, but the more then brutish Citizens must burn in sordid Lust, which was so foul that nothing but Fire and Brimstone could purge the stench of it from the world. It was a City of Paedicators.

3Genesis 19.
and Catamites, so wickedly bent that it cost a miracle to preserve the Angels from their Fury; a Vice so new and so inhumane, that neither before, nor since, could the World find any other name for it, but what was deriv'd from that of the City it self; After this, among the AEgyptians was that of the strawlesse Tax. The Graecians under wisest Law-givers approv'd of cunning Theevery. And drinking was so wild a Vice among them, That even the Grammer lost it's sense by their debauchery; Pergraecuri sounding to be mad with Drink. Have we any so vain as Xerxes, that would think to whip the Sea to calmness; or so prodigal as was Alexander, that, as Plutarch tells us, spent twelve millions of Talents upon Hephoestions Funeral, A summ so incredible, that 'tis a question whether at that time the Revenew of the World could afford it. Among the Jews, that by their Religion pretended to more precizeness, we finde Incest, Fratricide, Parricide, and Treason; Oppression, Peremptory and Imperious; Cruelty to the cutting men with Saws, and killing one another, was play and sport for Princes. Absolon, a yonger Son to a Prince of a petty Province, had yet his fifty Footmen dashing by his Chariot side. Lucius Florus tells us of the German Women, that, in their Battails, made their Children their weapons, and would fling their own naked sprawling Infants

4Exodus 5:17.
5King of Persia, fifth century B. C.
6II Samuel 15:1.
in the face of those they fought with; that the horror of the thing might daunt the Roman courage.\(^7\) Under Titus,\(^8\) that was, for the sweetness of his disposition, cry'd up by them of Rome, for the world's delicious jewel. There was yet the number of 500 persons, every day while the Siege was strict, crucify'd before the walls of Jerusalem, till they wanted not only Crosses, but Room to set them in. There was Eleven hundred thousand slain, Nine hundred seventy thousand Captives, and many alive ript up with bloody hands, in hope to finde among the Ordure of the body, the gold they so much coveted. Was there ever since then, any thing like the Ten Persecutions? Was there any thing but Nero's Luxury, equal to Nero's Cruelty? and yet, Domitian in one particular out-went him; He loved to feed his eyes, and see those Tortures Nero but commanded.\(^9\) Where have we now a Licinius Lucullus, that at once put 20000 of the Caucaeia to the Sword, contrary to the Articles of their Rendition?\(^10\) or, like the famous Augustus, who at one time in Perusia, sacrificed 300 of the principal Citizens at the Altar of his Uncle Julius.\(^11\) In whose Triumvirate the Matachine of the world was danc'd; and he that was but sent to, or proscrib'd, he presently

\(^7\)II, xxx.

\(^8\)Roman emperor, A. D. 79-81. The most detailed account of the capture of Jerusalem is by Josephus.

\(^9\)Suetonius, Domitian, X-XII.

\(^10\)Plutarch, "The Life of Lucullus."

\(^11\)Suetonius, Augustus, XV.
kneeld and sent his head for a present. Sylla took 4 Legions
24000 men of the Conquer'd part to mercy: but not willing to
trust them, while the Senate sat, and in their hearing, he
cut them all in pieces. Tiberius would make men to be
fill'd with Wine, then tie them up from Urine, that their
torment might swell with their bodies. Suetonius records
it of Caligula, That is was ordinary with him to brand with
marks of Infamy, the most Honoured and deserving persons.
Then to condemn them to the Mines, shut them up in Cages,
expose them to beasts, or saw them through the middle.

The Covetousness of those times were as great as their
Cruelties. It was crime enough to possess a wealth with
vertue. Accusations were not for Offences, though they were
for Confiscations. Men, Towns, and Temples, scaped not in
their gripe and rifling them of all: yet this, ob praedam, non
ob Delictum: to enrich the Court with Coin, but not to empty
the Common-wealth of Vice. Marcus Antonius in one year, from
the lesser Asia only, raised 200000 Talents. For their
Luxury, their Drinking, and their Feasting, who reads their
stories shall finde they have outgon belief; continuing
sometimes 36 hours at a meal, with the interventions only of
Lust and Vomiting. Their Apparel sometimes only Tiffeny,

12 Plutarch, "The Life of Sylla."
13 Suetonius, Tiberius, LXII.
14 Caligula, XXVII.
15 Plutarch, "The Life of Antony."
inverting Natures institution, who meaning it to hide shame, they us'd it now to show it. Seneca speaks it of their Matrons, *Ne Adulteria quidem plus sui in Cubiculo, quàm in publico ostendunt*. They show as much to the people abroad, as they do to their Adulterers in their retired Bed-chambers. They had nothing of weight about them but their Jewels. Every joint of every finger was particularly design'd his load. They had their Winter and Summer Rings, so that by the sight of their hand, you mick out the season, though you felt neither heat nor cold. Hortensius, a great Orator, sued his fellow Commissioner for disordering a plait in his Robe. And they had their Dinner and their Supper Garments: So curious they were in composing their Hair; so costly in their Apparel, Dyet, Servants, Household-stuff, and all belonging to them; that if we compare the Excesses of those times with the (in respect of them) petty vanities of ours, there will appear the difference between a Court and Cottage, and the vast extention of their enlarged Empire, and the small circumference of our single-moated Island. Every Nation hath its Zenith and its Declination. As they rise in Empire, they enlarge both in Vertue and Vice; and when they decline, they sink in these, as they do decline in Dominion. And though as to themselves one time may be either better or worse then another: Yet, take the world in grosse; and jumbled together, and there is nothing now to be complain'd

16114-50 B. C. Cicero mentions Hortensius often, considering him to be a friend despite their rivalry.
of, in the main; but what hath been as high or higher
heretofore. Every Nation hath endured Oppression, hath felt
of Tyranny, hath admitted Treason, and hath trod the Mazes
of Vice. Only as Ilanders are usually the most Nefarious;
we have, in one thing out-acted all the Lands the Sun did
ever shine upon: A Prince no less by vertue and glorious
parts, then by right of Inheritance and descent of Ancestry;
under the pretence of abused Justice, with the formality of
mis-interpreted Law, hath been sentenc'd (by his sworn
Subjects turn'd into Rebels) to a Decapitation; and, as a
Tyrant put to death, indeed because he ever abhorred to be
so. Creation never yet saw any thing, to equal it. For two
pieces of Treason, we have digged lower towards Hell, then
ever yet did any other people, The Powder, and the
pretended-Parliamental Treason, As if to revenge the attempt of
the one, we had strained to gratifie the authors of it, by
out-doing them in the other. 'Tis apparent in other
particulars, other times have had blacker crimes then ours;
but doubtless, in the general, the World is rather better
then worse then it hath been. Wars, Rapine, Murther,
Treason, Pride and Lust, have ever been since Man was Man.
But, in regard of the influence of Christian Religion, which
corrects the cogitation and intention of all, as well as the
outward act; I believe it hath so wrought upon the general
Genius of the world, as it is not so audaciously and
epidemically facinorous, as it was in times of Paganism, who
were taught by their gods to be loose and lesse then men.
And surely, the considerations of the like to these may so far prevail upon the opinions of men; as though they may be sorry the world is not better; yet, compar'd with what hath formerly been, they need not wonder that tis now so ill.

R. S. 77. Of Three things we ought to know.¹

TWO of them are in our selves, the other is without us; yet, of so great necessity, that, without it, of the best of creatures made for this world, we become the worst and the most unhappy. We ought to understand our own Misery, Gods Love, and our own thankful Obedience. Our own Misery, how deep and fatally extreme; and, to us, the much more disconsolate, by being so just. So intolerable that we cannot but complain; yet, so just, that of none we can complain, but of our selves. If we came not into the World wrapt in Corruptions garments; yet, are we sure here to live with such as are so; and, lying near, like wood in fire, with them we flame and burn. We were lost, before the World e're found us. And yet, we have so much of Misery, as, for the most part, we have the misery to pursue it; or else, like people dying, we droop under so general a weakness, as we are not sensible of any that lies upon us. And in this, as in them, our danger is the greater. The harms foreseen or felt by prudence, we may strive against, and shun: But, when

¹See above S. 77. Three things that a Christian should specially knowe.
they lurk in shades of silent night, before we know we fall into the pit. And, which is worst, our mischief is so desperate, that neither we, nor all the frame of creatures can relieve us. Nay, Time, that triumphs over all, lies down with wearyed wings, but cannot give us remedy. Eternity is only like it self, and being beyond every thing, can be compar'd to nothing.

Nor is God's Love lesse infinite or less incomprehensible. What had we that we deserv'd to be created at first? And what had we not, which might have condemn'd us when made. He hath lov'd us, not only of his own making, but of our own marring. When we would die and spurn the Doctor from us, He pow'r'd in Cordials 'gainst our own consent; and then, without our own help, made us live. God deals with us, as we with our brute beasts; if not tv'd up and forc'd, we have not wit to take the thing should help us: And though, as Cato, we did tear our self-made-wounds, to widen deaths sad entrance: 2 Yet, without our wishes, and against our wils, when we lay gasping in the Road to ruine, by the mercy of this great Samaritan, we were again bound up for life, and for the joyes of Being. 3 So Bats and Owls, that hate the Suns gay light, are yet by the influence of its gracious beams, from their dark holes drawn out to fly and live. We have Being upon Being given us; To Be, and to

2Plutarch, "The Life of Cato the Younger."
Be well, are both large acts of bounty; only the latter is a double creation, or at least a Dis-creation and Creation too. God, the friend, has courted us his enemies; and hath himself, not only been our Redeemer, but hath given us instruction, and found us out ways whereby we may still be preserved. So that the consideration of Gods love, will be, as that of God himself was to the Grave Simonides. the more thought on, the less to be comprehended.

And this being infinitely above all our apprehensions, we cannot in reason give less than all our gratitude: And yet, of that, how small a part is all? When all we can pay, is so simple a little of what we justly owe; we should immeasurably be unjust, if we return'd not all in our ability. Though we have not to requite, we may have what will please, when we give him up his own, and offer up his Offering for us; when we yet remember what we cannot return. The best repository of a benefit, is a minde that will perpetually acknowledge it. We ought to study what will please, we ought to fly from what is offence. And when we have done all we can, we still are short alive, of what the dead earth does. That, yields our seed with multiply'd increase; but, this quick earth of ours, does dwindle what is cast in't. So though we meditate our own Misery, and God's free Grace and Bounty; yet, the great business of our life is Gratitude.

Possibly Simonides of Ceos (fifth century, B. C.), one of the most celebrated of Greek lyric poets.
For that in all it's dimensions and concomitants, will take up all we can possibly do, and yet, at last of all, will leave us still to wish and pray.

R. S. 78. Of the uncertainty of Fame.¹

A Good Fame, is as the beams about the Sun, or the glory about a holy Picture that shews it to be a Saint. Though it be no essential Part, it rises from the body of that vertue, which cannot chuse but shine and give a light through all the clouds of Error and Destruction. And though sometimes the Mists and Vapours of the lower earth impede the light it gives; yet, there will be apparent Rays, that shew there is Desert unseen, which yields those gleams of brightness to the whole Horizon, that it moves and shines in. The Philosopher Bion² was pleas'd to call good Fame, The Mother of years; for that it gives a kinde of perpetuity, when all of us else is gone. And indeed, it may as well be the Daughter of years; for that it is not gotten but by the continued succession of noble actions. However, among all the externals of life, we may observe it, as one of the best, so one of the britlest and most fading blessings. 'Tis the hardest both to get and keep; like a Glasse of curious

¹See above S. 88. Good Name, how it is both the Best, and Brittlest thing that is.

²Greek poet, fl. ca. 100 B. C.
Workmanship, long a making, and broke in a moment. That which is not gain'd, but by a settled habit of eminent Vertues; by one short vitious action, may be lost for ever. The insuccess of an Affair, the mutability of Fortune, the elevation of a Faction, or depression of a Party, the mistake of a Matter, or the craft of a subtile Jugler, how it alters quite the sound that Fames lowd Trumpet makes? Like a Beauty, drawn by some great Artists hand; one dash from a rude Pencil, turns it to a Gorgon. Nay, if it only would in this sort vanish, it would then by many be kept untainted. If it could not be lost, but upon certainties; If it were in our own keeping; or, if not in our own, in the hands of the wise and honest: How possible were it to preserve it pure? But, the misery is, that it rests upon probabilities; which, as they are hard to disprove, so they are easie to perswade: That it is in the hands of others, not our selves; in the custody, not of the discreet and good only, but also of the simple, the cunning, and the vile: Who though they cannot make us worse to our selves: yet, how fowl and sullyed may they render us to others: with bad, we get a taint that spoils our whitest innocence: with cunning men, we are not what we are, but by such lights are seen, as they will please to show us; and with the simple, naked we are left, that men may see our shame. Some are gilded over, that the world is cheated in them. Some are gold within, and by the ignorant and unskilful, are tane for Brass or Copper. Quidam omni tempore venantur famam seculi, & omni tempore
sunt Infames. They ever are upon the haunt of Fame, and yet we see for ever they are Infamous. To vindicate us from the stain of these, there is no remedy but a constant careful discretion. We are in the world, as men in a Town besieged; if we be not alwayes upon our guard, we have so many enemies, we soon may be surprised. A careless Watch invites the vigilant Poe; and by our own remisness, we contribute to our own defamation. We must be wary as well of words as actions. Sometimes a short Laconick stabbing speech, destroyes the Fabrick of a well-built Fame. It was the advice of the sober Epictetus, That they which did desire to hear well, should first learn well to speak: for tis our speech as well as deeds, that charm the ears, and lead the hearts of others. Even all the Art Tiberius e're was master of, could never so disguise his inward rancor, but through his own expressions, oft it would break out. Nor must we be only good, but we must not seem to be ill. Appearance alone which is good is too little, is in evil much too much. He stabs his own fair Faim, that willingly appears in that ill act he did not. It is not enough to be well liv'd, but well to converse, and so be well reported. As well we ought to care we may be honest deem'd, as to our selves to be so. Our friends may know us by the things they see, but strangers judge us by the things they hear. As that is most likely to be truth, wherein all the differing parties do agree: so, that Fame is likeliest to last, and to be real, wherein Friends and Enemies, Strangers and familiars, shall
joyn and concur; and wherein words and actions shall not cross and run counter. The one is as healthful habit and a good complexion; the other, as a handsome carriage and a pleasing countenance. The first best way to a good Fame, is a good life; the next, good discourse and behaviour. Though when all is done, being a thing without us, we are at the mercy of others, whether we shall enjoy it or no. It will therefore be but a fond thing to be too greedy of that which when we have gotten, must be kept and allowed us by others.

R. S. 79. Of Almes.

IT is not necessary they should alwayes come out of a Sack. A man may be charitable, though he hath not an expanding Plenty. A little purse contain'd that mite, which, once put in, was the greatest gift in the Treasury. Nay, sometimes a willing minde (when we want our selves) is acceptable. God being the creator of the will, is sometimes as well pleas'd, when that extendeth towards him, as with the dead collocations of some insensate Treasure. So there are few that may plead Poverty as a total exemption; for, if they have but a rich minde, their return may be as great as his that with wealth did venture a great deal more. But surely, where there is plenty, Charity this way is a duty, not a curtesie. 'Tis a Tribute impos'd by Heaven upon us.

1There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
And he is no good Subject that does refuse to pay it. If God hath caused many Rivers to run into our Sea: we ought in a mutual return of Tide, to water all those low and thrifty places that our waves may reach at. Something Nature seems to speak this way. For questionless, the earth with the benefits it produces, was at the first intended for the use of mankind in the general; and no man ought so to grasp at all, but that another may have a share as well as he. If he be not so fortunate in acquiring it, yet, as a humane creature, he hath a right of Common, though he may not be admitted to break into anothers Inclosure. Sutable to this, we see God in his Moral Law, injoynes us, to love our Neighbour as our selves: and in the Political Laws of the Old Testament, men are commanded (though there were a Civil Right to themselves) to leave in the field, and after Vintage, gleanings and Remains for the poor. And we cannot but take notice, that there are frequenter Precepts, higher Promises, and greater Efficacy, set upon the Grace of giving Alms, then there is almost upon any other humane Vertue. The Precepts for this are every where so obvious, as there needs no mention of particulars of them; we can no where read to misse them. The Promises usually are annex'd to the Precepts; and these contain all that we can expect either in this world, or hereafter. But the efficacy set upon this

Charity, would make one incline at first view to think it had a kind of inherent merit with it. In Daniel, Nebucadnezzar is advised, to break off his sins by righteousness, and his iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor. As if the practice of these could wash off offences; or, like a Coelestial Fullers-earth, could take out the spots of the flesh from the soul. We find it rank'd with Righteousness, and by the Sacred Text, 'tis made almost equivalent. Our most Learned and Laborious Annotator on the New Testament, informs us, and examples it upon the Fifth of Matth. that Almes and Righteousness, are, in the holy Scripture, promiscuously used the one for the other. And this, perhaps, might put Job into the greater Amusement, That his afflictions should befall him, when he had always been so merciful to the poor, as in the 30 and 31 Chapter of his Book he expostulates. But, above all, is that place of St. Luke the 11. and 41. where our Saviour, after he had told the Pharisees of their Cheats and Hypocrisie, He sayses, Nevertheless, give Alms, and all things shall be clean unto you. As if an Alms could expiate a sin, and discharge a scarlet into innocent snow; unless it may be taken, in a sort, as some Ironical Tax upon them, for thinking, Though they cosen'd never so much, did never so little right, and acted never so much stupendious wrong; yet, if they gave but Alms, they thought it would free them from all. But,
however they did, or did not, put condignity of merit upon them; yet, certainly, in regard of the command and encouragement going along, they carry such a Promissory merit with them, that one would wonder any thing Christian should neglect their oft performance.

Nor are the Fathers behind hand in their Elogies and Harangues hereupon. St. Augustine tells us, Eleemosyna mundat peccata, & ipsa interpellat pro nobis. Almes-deeds cleanse us from our sins, and interpose in our behalf to God. St. Chrysostome speaking of Alms, hath left us these inviting passages, Vincula peccatorum ipsa dissolvit, fugat Tenebras, extinguit Ignem; and a little after, Virgo est, habens alas aureas, circumscripta per omnia venustate, sed succincta vultum habens candidum atque mansuetum; pennata est & levis, & semper ante Solium Regale consistit. It dissolves the sinners chains, puts darkness from our souls, and quenches Hell's smart fire.—— A Virgin 'tis, encompass'd all with Graces, ever ready to appear and plead for us, with clear and courteous looks; she's light and fit to mount, and always waits at the Coelestial Throne. Surely, it is the part of a good Steward, to see that all the Family be provided for. And the poor of this world being part of Gods, we discharge not our parts, unless we take care for them. He that does, (if there were no reward) hath certainly a fairer account to give, then such as have expended only on Themselves, on Pride, on Lust, on Ryot and on Wantonness. He that does supply the poor, hath a Warrant from Heaven for
what he so expends. But he that layes out by the By on vanities, at best, he spends but on his own account, and 'tis not likely, all will be allowed him, when his last Audit comes. 'Tis true, there be many poor, that indeed deserve not Charity, if we look at their vices, and the mispending of what they have given them. And therefore (though the Impotent, the Indigent, and the Innocent deserve most, yet) the reward of Charity is not in the receiver so much, as in him that bestows. If I do my part well, I shall not lose the benefit, because an other makes ill use on't. When one blam'd Aristotle for giving to a dissolute fellow, his answer was, He gave not to the Manners, but to the Man. That is properly the best Alms that is given of ones Own, in obedience to the Laws of Charity. And the readiness adds vigor to the benefit. When the seed is long in ripening up Alms, it shews the air of Charity is cold; and, if the season be once past, we sow our grains in wind, but cannot expect that they should grow up to increase. If Heaven be our Country, and we intend to dwell there, 'tis best to make over what we have, to be ready against our arrival. The poor are our Credentials that will help us to treasure in Heaven. What we leave behind, we lose, as never after being likely to make use on't. But, this way bestowed, we both carry it with us, and leave it also here. The Generations of the Merciful shall be blessed, and find it. Like Porcelain-Earth,
we may so bury our wealth in the ground of Poverty, that our Children and Posterity may gather it when we are gone. And, though we be turn'd to dust; yet, by the mercy of our Father above, our good deeds here below may bourgeon and be fruitful.

R. S. 80. Of Promises and keeping ones Word.\(^1\)

IT was but a false Maxim of Domitian, when he said, He that would gain the People of Rome, must promise all things, and perform nothing. For, when a man is known to be false of his word, instead of a Column that he might be for others to rest upon by keeping it, he grows a Reed, that no man will vouchsafe to lean upon. As a floating Island, when we come next day to seek him, he is carryed from his place we left him in, and instead of Earth to build upon, we find nothing but inconstant and deceiving Waves. For a man to be just of his word, he makes himself Canonical, and so becomes divine; having the honour, that not a tittle of what he sayes shall fall to the ground. He is the Anchor of his Friends and Neighbours; the Altar that they fly to, and rely on. And certainly, in Great Persons 'tis one of the supremest both excellencies and advantages that they can be endewed withal,

\(^1\)There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
to be such as will keep their word. Henry the fourth of France so just this way, that he was called The King of Faith. And to the Eternal Renown of the late Prince of Parma, in all his Transactions of War, it could never be charged upon him, that he left one Article of what he undertook, unperformed. A faithful promise, 'tis a shield and Buckler: A guard in both the Rear and Van, by which we march in safety against the piqueerings and ambushes of such as are our Adversaries. Under the cover of a gracious speech, we think our selves securer then in our own tuition: 'Tis the Bridge by which we pass over the River; 'tis the Ship that carryes us safe upon the Ocean, and amidst the several winds of business and affairs. 'Tis indeed the Patron of the other Vertues, that make men cry'd up in the world. He that is just will scorn to deceive; 'tis below the loftiness that dwells in Noble Mindes, and they sooner can do any thing, then wrong. Truth and Fideleity are the Pillars of the Temple of the World. If any blind Sampson break but these, the Fabrick falls and crushes all to peices. Nay, if we be

2 Reigned 1589-1610. Reared a Protestant, Henry converted to Roman Catholicism when he became king. He signed the Edict of Nantes (1593), guaranteeing French Protestants liberty of conscience.

3 Alessandro Farnese (1546-92), who distinguished himself as a military man and as a governor of the Spanish Netherlands. He fought the Protestant Dutch, to whom Queen Elizabeth sent aid in 1585.

not Infidels to Scripture, this Justice does unlock the gates of Heaven, and lets us into Paradise: For, when the question is, Who shall inhabit God's holy Hill? the answer is, he that passes his Word to his Neighbour, and does not disappoint him, though it should redound to his loss. What may he not do, that hath the reputation of a just man? It spares him the trouble of Sureties, he is his own both Pawn and Security. What others have is his, as well as what he owns himself. He makes himself the Master of the World, and, if he can but promise, others will not fear to Trust. The Prophet tells us, The Just shall live by Faith; that is, not only by the dependance on the Providence and Promises that God hath pleased to communicate to Man; but, being just, he shall live by the credit, the esteen, and trust that others put upon him: And, though he hath not wherewithal of his own; yet, the Reputation of his justice shall give him the command of what others do possess. For, no man will deny to afford him what ever he shall engage, and undertake for: Though Aristides by Themistocles was prevail'd against, and ten years space was banisht: yet, when Xerxes, like a raging Sea, came rowling against his Countrey, they were glad to call him home, and be protected by his Wisdom and Justice. And, though he were a Beggar (for, he had not wherewith to bury him): yet, he lived a Prince, and was his

^Perhaps this is a reference to Psalm 15.

^Habakkuk 2:4.
Countreys Angel, for he did both guard and gover'n it.\textsuperscript{7}
There was but one in the world, that durst own the Burial, and was admitted to the honour of embalming our blessed Saviour; and the Text described him to be a good man and a just.\textsuperscript{8} Nor does a Prince lose by being just. When men are under the rule of one that is so, they will be sure to defend him against all his Enemies; because they are all concern'd in their own particular, as having a Governour that abhors to do them injury, and will protect them from their suffering wrong; so they fight for their own Interest, as well as for his safety. But, even Allegiance sits loose, when Injustice shakes the Tenant. A man that breaks his word, by his example teaches to be false; and doubtless, leaves men angry by their being deceiv'd: but, with himself the shame and hate will dwell. When Alcibiades met Socrates at a Feast, he confess'd, he could not but inwardly blush to see him; because he had not performed what he promis'd him. Instead of a blessing, which our Clyents expect, by performance of what we promise, we throw, by the breach of it, a curse and scorn upon them. And perhaps, when they deserve it not, the fate pronounc'd against the Hypocrite and Unjust, our falsity flings upon them. Their Hopes by us are quite cut off and perished. Solomon assures us, that

\textsuperscript{7}Plutarch, "The Life of Aristides."

Hope but deferr'd maketh the heart sick: But, when 'tis frustrate, oft we find it kills. And in this sense, sure it is, that Job compares the failing of Hope to the giving up of the Ghost. Many times a man's whole stock of comfort is laid upon the Hope of a Promise, which when it breaks, his Anchor-hold is gone, and he is left a prey to the unsafe waves, or, the unconstant winds. It takes a man off from the Plausibilities and Benignities of life, and thrusts him down to the horrors of a sad defeat, which makes him desperate, and so dangerous. He doth not wisely consult his own safety, that it prevail'd upon to be false of his word. That friend that will put me upon the violation of my word, does rob me together of my Integrity and my Honour; and what a carkass then is Man, when these two are once gone? They are the Royal Ensigns of Humanity; there will be Reverence paid, while these keep up about us: but, when we once disrobe our selves of these, like naked or disguiz'd, we meet contempt from all. 'Tis on the Rock of Promises that brave men build their Hopes; when these do fail, Foundations shrink, and all the structure reels. When I pass my word, I proffer to my friend the food of Hope; but, when I fail, I feed him with a Lye, which gives him the Malignities both of Saturn and Mars conjoin'd. So, it not only works a man up to disdain and spleen of the discontented and deceived, but, it puts us out of favour with Heaven. When Nehemiah ingaged

the Jews; to shew them what the issue would be if they fail'd, he shakes his lap, that they might see, Who did not keep their words, should so be shaken out of their houses, and emptied from among the people. When Tissaphernes had broke the Truce he had made with King Agesilaus, Agesilaus sends Emssassadors to him, to give him thanks, that by breaking his Promise he had made the Gods his Enemies. Nor is it a wonder, that the failing of a promise should so startle us: for, all the stress of life lies on it. For almost 4000 years, What had the world to live on, but the Promises of the Messiah? And since then, What is't we have for Heaven, but the Promise upon Faith to be admitted in him. So that the weight of all depends upon a Promise. And, if that should fail, we have no other Refuge but must fall to misery. Certainly, the same equity is in all just Promises, though not of so great concern: So that we ought to be as careful to keep our word, as we would be to preserve our happiness. And a great deal rather be slow in making, then backward in performing what we promise. It is no shame with reason to deny; but 'tis a shame once promis'd, not to make good. He cheats his friends, destroys himself, and gratifies his Enemies, that loosely promises, and is negligent in performing. Promises may get friends, but 'tis performance that must nurse and keep them.


12Plutarch, "The Life of Agesilaus."
R. S. 81. Of Love and Likeness.\textsuperscript{1}

I know not whether is more true, that Likeness is the cause of Love; or Love the cause of Likeness. In agreeing-dispositions the first is certain. In those that are not, the latter often comes to pass. The first, is the easier Love; the other, the more voluntary, and so the more noble and obliging. One obliges the Lover; the other, the beloved. He that for likeness is beloved, invites his friend to love him; so that, upon the matter, he loves but his dilated self. 'Tis the affection of Narcissus, when we are pleas'd with the reflex of our selves.\textsuperscript{2} And this is the reason why flatterers are received into grace and favour, when plain speaking shuts out himself from acceptation. We love those that smooth us, as we love our Looking-glass, because it shews us our own face. And, though in truth it oft dissembles and presents us better then we are, yet still we like it, because we think it true. The Nature of man is taken with similitudes. When we see one merry it begets in us a laughter. When we see another in tears, we with him are ready to weep. The soouldier loves the Martial man. The scholar is for an Academy. The Trades-man for the City. The Husband-mans Court is the Countrrey. A Port-Town fits the

\textsuperscript{1}See above S. 98. Whether Likenesse bee the cause of Loue, or Loue the cause of Likenesse.

\textsuperscript{2}Ovid, \textit{Metamorphoses}, III, 407-436.
Marriner; and the Gallant, in the Court inthrones his own felicity. And in all these, we follow but the instinct of Providence, That by joyning like to like, we increase a mutual strength, and keep up one another. And, there is another love, that as well as this, reflects upon our selves: and that is, when we love for eminence of parts in either mind or body. We love beauty, because it pleaseth; and, we love good parts, because they are likewise acceptable; and we promise to our selves either pleasure or profit by enjoying them: So that still in these, the Fountain out of which Love springs arises out of self-love, for that we think by them to gain to our selves some benefit. Thus man does love, because he loves himself; and is incited by what is without him, to love himself within. But with God, the motive is not from us, but purely from his goodness; we cannot yield him profit by all we can perform, nor hath he need, that we should love, or be beloved of him. Nor are we lov'd because we are like him; but, that by loving us for our own good, he may make us so. That surely, is the nobler Love, that riseth like Creation, out of nothing; or else like a Chaos finds us, and by shedding the beams of love upon us, frames us into the beauty of a World. What can we account we had, that God should be induc'd to look upon us? Or, what did we want, that might not have put him off. Surely, since he loved us when we were not like him, we ought to labour that we may be like him. We ought to be like him being our Friend, that was pleas'd to love us, being his Enemies. Though we did not
love him first, because he was not like us: yet, we ought now to be like him, because he first did love us. Socrates could tell us, That since God of all things is the most happy and blessed, he which can be likest him is neerest true felicity. And certainly, if we be not like him, we may conclude we love him not; for questionless, Love is like the Elements, they labour to convert every thing they meet with into themselves. Fire turns all to fire that it does seize upon. Earth doth to Earth reduce what she imbraces; The Air calls out all to it self; and the Water into Water resolves. If the love of God be in us, it cannot but conform us to him. Whereas in dissimilaries, there is a kind of natural contest that hinders all Prosperity. A free and quiet spirit will be gall'd to a Consumption, by being forc'd to live with turbulent and contentious humorists. The Pious and Profane will never peaceably be made cohabitants. Even in Vegetable Nature we often find Antipathies. The Colewort does not only hinder drunkenness, taken inwardly; but, planted nere the Vine, it checks its growth and flourishing. And 'tis no less a wonder, that the Learned and Industrious Salmuth on Pancirollus\(^3\) tells us, Let a Drum be headed at one end with a Wolfs skin; and at the other, covered with a Sheeps skin: If you beat the Wolfs skin, the sheeps skin head will break. Nay, he sticks not to inform us, that

\(^3\)Guido Panciroli was an Italian jurist and scholar of the sixteenth century. His works were translated into Latin by Salmuth.
further yet the antipathy extends; as if the fear and enmity between these creatures out-last ed all the bounds of life, and could create a sense in matters quite inanimate. Cover two several Drums, one with a Wolfs skin, the other with a Sheeps. Let them both be beaten at once, and that with sheeps skin cover'd shall not sound. So Feathers of the Dove with Eagles mixt will easily be consum'd.

Surely, between the Immaculate and most Holy God, and between corrupt and contaminated Man, there is as great aversion. And in our Reason, little reason can by us be found, why this Great God should love us, while we diversifie our selves from him: we fight against his love, and are so much the further from our own Salvation. It is happy, that we are the Creatures of a Being and a Power so Immense and good, that with his Goodness all our ill o'recomes; that with his Power masters all our struglings: That transcends us so in Excellency, that he over-powers all our faults, & loves us into liking and conformity. So great an Agent will have power over us, and ought to have the more, because his love is free. If he love us, it will be found our duty to love and to serve him. Though we cannot serve him as we should; we shall serve him much the better, if we love him. And both these are our Interest.
It is the bridle of the Humane Beast, whereby he is held from starting and from stumbling in the way. It is the Hedge on either side the Road, which hinders us from breaking into other men's propriety. A man had a good live in AEgypt among all the ten Plagues, as in the world among the wicked without Law to defend him. 'Tis every man's Civil Armour, that guards him from the gripes of Rapine. And indeed, 'tis for this chiefly, that Laws are of use among men: For the wise and good do not need them as a guide, but as a shield. They can live civilly and orderly, though there were no Law in the world. And though wise and good men invented Laws: yet, they were fools and wicked that put them upon the study. Being to rule such wild Cattel as ramp up and down on the Earth, there needed both the judgement and the wit of the best and ablest, to find out ways to trammel them, and keep them in a bounded order. And because, they fore-saw that they were like enough to be slighted by the ignorant and scornful, To put the more regard and countenance upon their Laws, and the observance of them, they pretended to receive them from some more raised Deity, of whom men were in awe, and feared to offend, for preserving of themselves

1There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.

2Genesis 7-11.
from punishment. So Minos among the Cretians, affirmed he had discourse with Jupiter; and Lycurgus to have taken his, from Apollo; Numa from the Goddess Rhea; Mahomet from his Pigeon whispering him into an Extasie, as coming from some sacred Spirit. And Moses declares the Two Tables received from God himself in Mount Sinai. And surely, it adds vigour to our complyance with Christianity, that we know our Blessed Saviour to be the Son of the Most High, and to be God as well as Man. Yea, and thereby to put the higher Authority, and the more esteem upon their Kings that are to rule over them, our neighbours of France would have us believe that their Vial of Unction was received from the hands of an Angel. These things doubtless, are all of them so far true, as it is most certain, the original of Laws is divine. And though at first creation, God gave not Man a literal and prescribed Law: yet, he gave him a Law Parole; and inscribed it in his heart, that by those inward dictates, he might be guided and bounded in the course of his Life.

Among the antient Druides, It was absolutely forbidden to Register their Laws in writing. And Caesar, in his

3 A great king of Crete in ancient times, said to be the son of Jupiter by Europa.

4 The lawgiver to Sparta. See Plutarch, "The Life of Lycurgus."

5 Successor to Romulus as king of Rome. The goddess was Egeria, not Rhea. Legend has it that she and Numa married. Livy, I, 19.

6 Exodus 20, 34.
Gallique Warrs, gives us two reasons for it. One that their Mysteries might not come to be prophan'd and encommend by the Vulgar: an other, that not being written they might be more careful ever to carry them in their thoughts and memory. Though doubtless it was as well to preserve their own Authority, to keep the people to a recourse to them, and to a reverence and esteem of their judgments. Besides, it oft falls out that what is written, though it were a good Law when made; yet by the emergencie of affairs, and the condition of men and times, it happens to be bad and alterable. And we find it to be evidently true. That, as where are many Physicians there are many diseases; So where there are many Laws, there are likewise many Enormities. That Nation that swarms with Law, and Lawyers; Certainly abounds with Vice and Corruption. Where you find much fowl resort; you may be sure there is no want of either Water, Mud, or Weeds.

In the beginning of thriving States, when they are more Industrious and innocent, they have then the fewest Laws. Rome it self had at first but 12 Tables. But after, how infinitely did their number of Laws increase; Old States like Bodies, will be sure to contract diseases. And where the Law-makers are many, the Laws will never be few. That Nation is in best estate, that hath the fewest Laws and those good. Variety does but multiply snares. If every

7Livy, III, 34,57.
Bush be limed, there is no Bird can escape with all his feathers free. And many times when the Law did not intend it, men are made guilty by the pleaders Oratory; Either to expresse his eloquence, to advance his practice, or out of maistry to carry his Cause: like a garment pounc'd with dust, the business is so smear'd and tangled that without a Galileo\textsuperscript{8} his glasse, you can never come to discern the spotts of this changeable moon. Sometime to gratifie a powerful party, Justice is made blind through Corruption, as well as out of impartiality. That indeed, by reason of the non-integrity of men. To go to Law, is, for two to contrive the kindling of a Fire at their own cost, to warm others, and sinding themselves to Cynders. Because they cannot agree to what is Truth and Equity, they will both agree to plume themselves, that others may be stuck with their Feathers.

The Apostle throws the brand of Simple among them that would be striving this way consume both their Peace, their Treasure,\textsuperscript{9} and and their time, as if it were of the Fool, to expose a Game to the packing and the shuffling of others, when we might soberly cut and deal the Cards our selves. Is there none wise enough to compound Businesses without

\textsuperscript{8}Galileo. Felltham seems to accept the New Science here. In the resolves of the Short and Long Centuries, he often referred to the immutability of the moon and all supralunary bodies.

\textsuperscript{9}Romans 14:10-23, especially 19.
calling in the Crafty, and the Cunning? Or is there none so wise as to moderate a little, that he may save a great deal more?

Law is like Building, we cast up the charge in grosse and undervalue it: but being in, we are train'd along through severall Items, till we can neither bear the account, nor give off, though we have a mind to't. The troubles, the attendance, the hazard, the checques, the vexatious delays, the surreptitious advantages against us, the defeats of hope, the falsenesse of pretending friends, the interest of parties, the negligence of Agents, and the designs of Ruine upon us, do put us upon a Combat against all that can plague poor man; or else we must lye down, be trodden on, be kickt and dye. And is it not much better to part with a little at first, and lose a lock of hair, or a superstuous nail; then to be leakt out till the Cistern be quite dry, or like flesh upon a spit have all our fat drop't from us, by being turnd with—— before a consuming fire.

Doubtless, the advice of our Saviour was not only Religious but Political and Prudential too; If any man sue thee at Law, and will take away thy Coat let him have thy Cloak also: 

A small lesse is rather to be chosen, then by Contention greater Inconvenience.

If men could coolely have dispatch, and Businesse be

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\[^{10}\text{Matthew 5:40, Luke 6:29.}\]

\[^{a}\text{This lacuna is present in 8.}\]
rightly judg'd; no doubt in things of weight the Decision
would be profitable. And this does sometimes happen. For
questionlesse, there are of this profession that are the
light and wonder of the age. They have knowldg, and
integrity; and by being vers'd in Books and Men, in the
Noble arts of Justice, and of Prudence, they are fitter for
judgment and the Regiment of the World, then any men else
that live. And their Honesty truly weigh'd, is the
gallantest engine that they can use and thrive withall. A
faithful Advocate can never sit without Clients. Nor do I
believe, That man could lose by't in the close, that wou'd
not undertake a cause, he knew not honest. A Gold-smith may
gain an Estate as well as he that trades in every coorser
metal. An Advocate is a limb of friendship; and further
then the Altar, he is not bound to go. And 'tis observ'd,
of as Famous a Lawyer as I think was then in the World, the
Romane Cicero; That he was slain by one he had defended,
when accus'd for the murther of his Father. Certainly he
that defends an injury, is next to him that commits it. And
this is recorded, not only as an example of ingratitude: but
as a punishment, for patronizing an ill cause. In all
pleadings, Foul language, Mallice, Impertinence, and
Recriminations, are ever to be avoided. The cause, more
then the man, is to be convic'd. Over-powring Oratory is
not ever to be practis'd; Torrents of Words, do often bear

11Sextus Roscius.
down even **Trophies of Truth**: which does so fret and anger the party over-born, that the Resort is no more to **paper**, and **pleadings**: but to **powder**, and **steel**.

It is not good to be too **severe**, or to inforce too **rigorously**, the observation of every **petty** and **penal Law**: In **Charity**, there is something to be allowed to **Ignorance**, and **Custome**. **Blood** and Treasure ought to be but sparingly taken: Those **Lawyers** that are sedulous to presse Penalties, they are but **purse Beadles**: and Lashes upon that and a mans fame, enrage the Patient against those that are **instrumental** to afflict them. **Cicero** might have escaped the Sword, had not his **Philippicks** blown up the spleen of **Anthony**, to a **flame unquenchable** but with **Death** or **Retraction**. When **Varus** his **three Legions** were destroyed, the insultation of the **Barbarous** was more against the Lawyers, then against the soldiers that did wound and kill them. They pluckt out the eys of some, and cut off the hands of others. One had his **Tongue** cut out, and his **lipps sticht up**; and, while the Enemy graspt the **Tongue** in his **hand**, he reviles it with — **How now Serpent**: 'Tis well you'le leave Hissing at last?^{12}

So farr is Law to be plac'd in the **scale** with Warre as it is to be the last Refuge, never to be used but when all means else do fail. And then the **Pleaders** ought to hold themselves to that. **Who vindicates the Law**, does no man

wrong: But he that digresses to impertinences, or the personal stains of men, is rather a fly that buzzes and sucks the sore, then a Champion for Truth, or a helmet to keep the head of justice whole.

R. S. 83. Of Conscience.¹

IT is the blushing part of the Soul, that will colour and kick at every little crum that goes awry against it's swallow. And we can neither cozen it, nor be ridd on't. 'Tis a kind of inward Deity. It will be with us wheresoever we are, and will see us whatever we do. It can give us Rest in unjust sufferings, and can whipp us in the midst of unjust Applauses. 'Tis the guard that God hath left us to preserve us from the darts of sinne. And 'tis the Beadle that corrects us, if yet we will be sinning. And though it be cry'd up for impartial and un bribeable, yet I do not see but in many 'tis erroneous, mutable, and uncertain. We often find it pleaded by the same men for very contrary things. How many are there that for interest can dispense with it, and allow of that in themselves, which in others they severely condemn. That use it for an Artifice that they may deceive more handsomely; that can contract it, and dilate it, as best may serve their turn.

In the strictness of the word, It is the knowledg and

¹There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
the judging of our own waies and manners. While it relates to us, 'tis Conscience; when it reaches unto others and without us, 'tis but science. Doubtlesse, if it be rightly informed and regulated according to the precepts of true Divinity, we ought to suffer any thing rather then in the least admit a violation of it. But that which most men pretend to be Conscience is at best but a Present perswasion, Opinion, Interest, captived and corrupted judgment. How many have we known that have held it a hainous offence to eat flesh in a Lent or upon prohibited daies, that afterward have been brought without a checque of Conscience familiarly to do it: Custome wears it quite out, Terror frights it, Knowledge alters it, interest swayes it. So that indeed the main force of it rests in a right understanding, and Integrity.

If it be of weight in any thing, I conceive it may be in relation to a Sacrament, and the propagating of a true Religion: yet we see St. Paul, that thought it one while good Conscience to persecute Christianity, did live to think it better to promote it. He took Timothy and had him circumcised. He bred up Titus, and preserv'd him from it; And did not stick to dispense with many things to the Jews to winne them, and some of those of the Christianity to engage them: and ingeniously confesses, it was because of false Brethren, who attended as Spies, rather then as sincere

2Acts 16:3.  
3Galatians 2:3.
Christians to be rightly instructed, Acts 21. 26. Gall. 2. 3

4. So that it seems to appear, when a greater good to Gods Glory, or the propagation of true Religion, comes in the way, lesser things, that are not simply sinne, and so declared, may be for these dispenced with. While things remain in a dispute, and by reason of their intricacy, cannot cleerly be determined, surely the safest Post to lean upon, is Antiquity, and the Authority under which our God hath placed us; If we should be injoyned to that, which should afterward appear to be wrong, I question whether our Obedience, where we owe submission, would not better bear us out, then the Adhaesion and Tenacity to our own conceited Truth; whereby we cause an eddy in the Tide of Government, which is safer running smooth, then in either Curls or Whirle-pools. But certainly, A plain sinne, we no way ought to venture on.

I see every peevish and Ignorant Action of some simple people is intitled to the sacrednesse of Conscience. And lying under that guard they think to escape, and mate both the Royal and the Reverend power. Have we not some that will not admit the Holy Table to be communicated on but in the Body of the Church, as if it were an offence against Conscience, to do it in the Chancel, though they have the Churches Authority, and their own precedent practice to invite them to it? that will not Christen, but at their Reading-pue, though Antiquity plac't the Font next the door as relating to the Sacrament of Entrance and Initiation?
If it be out of Conscience, Why is it not pleaded? If it be not, why is it done? A simple Quaker cannot be civill to his Superiours, nor swear in judgment, either to ascertain Faith, or to satisfie Law, or to determine a Controversy; But these shall all be Conscience, when indeed they are ignorance, and wilfulnesse: For, what justifiable either Text or Reason, can for these be given? Where is it made a sinne to put off our Hatts to our betters? Or judicially to swear before a Lawful Magistrate? Let anything be proved a sinn, and I hold with them, that would sooner dye then defile their upright Souls: but till it so be manifested, or probably conceived so, I doubt not but 'tis better farr to dispence with such Natural, or Political, or Civil Rites, and to give up our selves to the deliberate Sanctions of such as we ought to obey, then by the stiff maintaining them, take all the hazard on our selves, and disturb and scandal others. I would know (in a Gesture not determined by Scripture) whether he does not better that kneels at the Sacrament, and hath the Authority of the Church to back him, then he that will take it only standing, and hath nothing but his own opinion to support him. And though Conscience in it self, be out of the reach of Compulsion; yet we are beholding to those, that inforce us to do, what in Conscience we ought. 'Tis therefore, that power is given to the Magistrata that he may bend the Refractory, and reduce the willful and the unwise wanderer: I doubt not but they could have pleaded Conscience, that refus'd to come to the Supper
in St. Luke; for they were rooted and grown in another Religion: yet the command is to the servant, that he should compell them to come in.  

If we allow Conscience on our own side, by the equal rules of Justice we ought to allow it on the other. And then the Turk and Jew must be born with, as well, as the grounded professors of Christianity. I remember David George, that justly suffered as an Heretique in the Low Countries, after fiercest Tortures dyed persisting in his false Opinion, That he himself was Christ. Inter excandescentes forcipes conticuit, he shrunk not for the burning pincers, as I meet with in Bucholcerus. Surely, all would have condemn'd it as an error in State if they should have let him alone, and under the plea of Conscience have suffered him to have gone on, to seduce the ignorant to his horrid black opinion. Though it be not in the power of man to force the Conscience, because it is internall and spiritual: Yet it is in the power of Government, to punish those that will maintain a false one, and seduced. The most that can be pleaded is, Who shall be Judg, whether, because some have been on my side, I shall take upon me to be supreme and unappellable: Or whether I shall be content (to the more learned, and more powerful, and such as for their
Authority God hath taken into his own rank, and called Gods with himself) to give up my Cause and Controversie? Doubtlesse, should that be tolerated in private Families which is pleaded and practiz'd in the Oeconomy of Government no man should be Maister or have order, in his own house. If we would not admit of an Independant there, there is the same Reason not to allow him in the State. It is a kind of Solecism in Government, for me to put my self under the protection & Regulation of that Prince, whose Laws I think not fit to obey. Quid iniquius quàm velle sibi obtemperari à minoribus, et nollet obtemperare majoribus? What can be more unjust then for me to exact obedience from my inferiours; when I my self will not obey my superiours? The Laws of God and Man, in things not plainly forbidden by the Word of God, injoyns and expects my obedience: But, if I refuse to obey, I set up my self as Supreme, and make my Will my Princes Master. Cicero I conceive in the right, when he tells us, Inobedientia est ex duritie mentis obstinatae. Disobedience is out of the hardness of an obstinate mind. He dissolves the Bonds of Government, that spurns at Publique Edicts: 'tis refractoriness that ushers in confusion: Not to obey, is to resist; and to resist, does cry up open War. Though Abraham in humanity could not justifie the sacrificing of his son; yet, because he implicitly gave up himself to the obedience of his Superior,
God; he is highly commended, for being but ready to do it.  

Genesis 22:12.

R. S. 84. Of Peace.  

IF men knew rightly, how to value Peace; as is the Empyreal Heaven, this lower world might be. Where all the motions of the comprehending Orbs, all the several Constellations, and the various Position of the Stars, and Planets, produce a beauteous Chorus, and a Harmony truly ravishing. As health to the body, so peace is to the soul. What is wealth, or wit, or honour, when want of health shall ravish from us all of pleasure in them? And what are all the enrichings, the embellishings, and the Imbrockadoings of Fortune to us, when War shall tear these off and trample on our Glories? The richest Wines, the choicest Viands, by sickness prove insipid. The silk does lose his softness, the silver his bright hue, and the gold his pleasing yellow. As the sense of feeling is the ground of all the rest, and active life does cease when that is lost: So is health the foundation of felicities, and the want of it joys privation: yet is it Peace that gives them tast and relish, and affords the sweet enjoyment of all that can be procured.  

Though the other Attributes of God are no doubt beyond our comprehension, yet, this more emphatically is said to

1There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
pass all our understanding. Next his own Glory, 'twas the establishing this, invited God from Heaven. The first branch of that Celestial Proclamation, was, Glory be to God on high; the next was, On Earth Peace. This is the cement between the Soul and Deity, between Earth and Heaven. It leads us softly up the milky way, and ushers us with Musick to the Presence of Divinity, where all her Rarities are heap'd and strewn about us. The enjoyment of Friends, the improvement of Arts, the sweetness of Natures delicacies, the fragrancy of Fruits and Flowers, the flourishing of Nations, and those pleasing contentions, that stream out themselves from all Heroick Vertues are all brought in, and glorified by Peace.

The Drum and Trumpet that in War sound terror and astonishment, in Peace they only echo mirth and jollity. Peace helps the weak and indigent; And health and soundness too, to the sick endeavours. It takes hence only the unsound and languishing, and yet gives leave to them to place their wealth where they first plac'd their loves: That by it they gratifie their friends, and slip from all those smartings that vex them. But, War kills men in health, preys only on the soundest; and, like the savage Lyon, does seize the valiant soonest, as thinking the old and impotent too mean to be his quarry. And though in War sometimes we wear the Victors wreath, yet, that is often purchased at

at much too dear a rate; and many times the Conquerors Garland crowns the Captives head. In the same Battail Hannibal confess'd, though he first was Conqueror, yet, he at last did come off over-come. He had broke Minutius his Forces; but, was by Fabius forc'd to give up all his Palms. Nor is it often better with those that are dependants on that General, that yet commands the field. Victory not seldom does inlet Severity. The Haughtiness of the Conqueror is often to his own, less tolerable then the Triumphs of the Enemy. Success does flame the bloud to pride and boldned insolence; and as often kindles new as it does conclude old Wars. One world sufficed not Alexander. Nor could all the Roman Territories set bounds to Caesars limitless ambition. For, when we once put off from the shore of Peace, we lanch into the Sea that's bottomless. We swim on angry waves, and are carryed, then as the wind of Fortune drives us.

The entrance into War, is like to that of Hell, 'tis gaping wide for any fool to enter at. But, it will require a Hercules with all his labours to redeem one once ingag'd in't. They know not what they part withall, that wanton hence a Jewel so unvaluable. For indeed, if we consider it, What price can be too dear to purchase it? we buy off all the open force, and sly designes of malice, and we intitle our selves to all the good that ever was for Man intended.

3Livy, XXII, 29.
When God would declare, how he would reward and bless the good man, he finds out that which most may crown his happiness. He tells us, He will make his Enemies at peace with him. Securely he enjoyes himself and friends, whose life is guarded with the miss of Enemies. The Pallace of the world stands open to him that hath no foes.

If any man will see in little (for what is an Island or two, to the world?) Let him but well consider, the havock that a few years made among us. The waste of wealth, the wreck of worth, the sad fate lighting on the great and good, the vertuous left to scorn, the Loyal us'd as once the Roman Parricides: as those in sacks, so these shut under Decks with Cocks and Serpents, desperate and malitious persons left to rule and vex them. Wealth prostituted to the beggarly and the base. Pallaces plundered and pulled down, Temples profan'd, Antiquities raz'd, Religion rivuled into petty Issues running thick corruption. Then let men consider, after a little Revolution, how little have the Authors gained. Who would take peace from others, themselves have miss'd it in their hollow graves; the Earth they tore, hath fled them from her bosome and her Bowels, with nought i'th least considerable to the expence of bloud and treasure. Then also, let men see, how the Sacred wheel of Providence hath resurrection'd all our joys. How the Church recovers her late besmeared beauties. How the Tide of Trade returns,

4Proverbs 16:7.
How brightned Swords have now a peaceful glitter; how Glory, Wealth, and Honour, with Loyalty, is return'd. How shouts of joy have drown'd the Cannons Roar; that till men come in Heaven, such joy on Earth can ne're again be expected to be seen. Three Nations looking for a fatal stroke, at once repriev'd from slavery and ruine. So have I known some generous Courser stand, tremble and quake under both whip and spur; but, once turn'd loose into the open fields, he neighs, curvets, and prances forth his joy; and, gladdened now with ease and liberty, he fills himself with pleasure, and all those high contents that bounteous Nature meant him.

Certainly, 'tis Peace that makes the world a Paradice; while War, like Sin, does turn it all to Wilderness; and with wild Beasts Mans conversation makes. In War, the vexed Earth abortives all her fruitfulness: but, in an unstirr'd Culture, ripens all her bounties: that now with Caesaubon's Translation of Euripides, we cannot but approve his much commended Rapture.

O Pax alma! datrix opum,
O Pulcherrima Coelitum!
Quam te mens sitit? Ô Moram!
Obrepat metuo mihi
AEtas ne mala: te prius
Suavem Ô quam tuear diem;

French Huguenot Scholar and translator (1559-1614). He lived in England the last four years of his life.
Plausus undique cum strepant,
Cantusque & Chori, Amicaque,
Commessatio Floribus!

Hail lovely Peace! thou Spring of wealth,
Heavens fairest issue, this worlds health.
O how my Soul does court thy sight?
More pretious, then the pleasing Light.
Let never blacker Day appear,
But dwell, and shine, for ever, here.
Let shouts of Joy still, still, resound:
While Songs, and Dances walk the round,
At Feasts of Friends, with Garlands crown'd.


Every thing that Man can look upon, is both a Miracle for the Creation of it; and a Wonder for the apt contrivance, in fitting it to its parts, and province, wherein it is set to move. So that the World is but Gods great Cabinet of Rarities; which he hath opened to astonish Man, that shall but well consider them. If man shall reflect upon himself, he shall easily find how Infinitely wonderful he is made, beyond all the other world of Creatures. How none but he, by reflective Acts of Understanding, is able to argue, to consider, and to judge of himself. Who is't but he, can

1There is no corresponding resolve in the Short Century.
hope or fear the future? that can curb, incourage, accuse, or commend himself? or that can apprehend, or reverence, either Deity, or Eternity?

And to magnifie the goodness of this great Creator, we shall find that every natural action that Man is capable of doing; affords him pleasure in the execution. To eat, to drink, to sleep, to fast, to wake, to forbear; to speak, to be silent; to move, to rest; to be warm, and to be cool; to be in company, and to retire: They all in themselves are pleasing acts; whereas the things that vex, and trouble, either come from without, or happen by our own disorder. So that a man may live at ease if he will; and if he does not, 'tis by his own default, that it happens. In his Bodies frame, not to descend to all particulars, which are full of admiration, How exquisite, and how fitted are they for all occasions, that at any time may befall him! In his Ears and Nostirils, the one relating to the Head, the other to the Lungs; those slender Hairs are not in vain plac'd there, but, as nets to catch the dust and moats, which without breath we should else draw in, and tabid all our Lungs, the engines of life; or, mix'd with wax, should as as pellets, stop our sense of hearing. In the world, what we complain of for inconvenient, if rightly we examine, we shall find it highly commendable. The unevenness of the Earth is clearly Providence. For since it is not any fix'd sedation, but a floating mild variety, that pleaseth; The Hills and Valleys in it, have all their special use. One helps in wet, and
soaking inundations; the other aids in droughts, in heats, and scorching seasons. And the feet and legs of men, having nerves and sinews, to rise and to descend, to recede and proceed; they are better fitted by the unevenness of the Earth, whereby both are interchangeably exercised and refreshed; then if it were all a levell'd walk, and held a constant evenness. That Weeds without a Tillage voluntarily spring, sure hath a double benefit. One, that Man may have something wherewith to exercise his industry, which else with ease would settle into corruption. Another, that by these the Earth it self, does breed its own manure; and Beasts, and Birds, by them have tables ready spread. Even venemous Creatures have their proper use; not only to gather what to Man might be noysome, but to qualifie other Creatures, that they may be physical and salutiferous to the several constitutions of men. Surely, that Beasts are dumb, and want understanding, is a benefit great unto Man: If they were intelligible, it could not be, that their strength could ever be kept subjected to the service of Man; whose cruel usage, nothing rational could ever long endure. Would the Horse be curb'd, and brought to champ on steel? would he suffer his lazy Rider to bestride his patient back, with his hands and whip to wale his flesh, and with his heels to dig into his hungry bowels? would he be brought in hempen chains, to be made draw beyond his breath, and strength? would he be tyed up to the staved wood, or walk the round all day in rowling ponderous stones? or wear his life away under the
pressure of a heavy burthen?

If they could speak, how would Replying to the rage and insolence of cruel Man, enkindle wrath, and let in death to both? We see it full as necessary, that there should as well be poor as rich; for neither could live without both. We see both fruits and wines will keep with gust, and beauty, until the new appear. God having in his Providence made them to last, till he does provide us more; and, yet, not longer that we might not be idle, or, trusting to our lasting store, grow wanton, and forget the Author, and our selves. Those things of common use, we common have among us: what we need, and will not last, in our own Climate grows: Our Spice and Drugs that we must fetch from far, are freed so from corruption, that they several years indure.

In common Corn, what wonders may we find? how one small grain springs up to several hundreds; how it gives a sustentation by his several parts, both unto Man and Beast; and, because so useful, see but how carefully Nature does preserve it. It grows up in a Corselet, an inward coat, that does from dews defend it: and on the outside a Stand of pikes in bearded ranges upright, do appear, to fence it from the Birds, and catch the falling rain, so by degrees to lead and hold it in to the grains within: but, when 'tis ripe, that moisture is not useful; it downward turns its loaded head, that as before it helped to swell and ripen it, so now, it gently draws it off, that it may not hurt, or rot it: and because, (being weak), if from one grain, one one
single stalk alone should shoot, and grow, each easie wind would break it to unfruitfulness, there springs up many from every several kernel, that getting strength by multitude, it may withstand the assaults of storm and rain. And whereas other fruits from Trees, and such large Plants, last but their year about, or not so long; this, as more useful, several Winters, keeps from all decay, that when there is a plenty (as once in AＥgypt), to help 'gainst dearth, it may be kept in store. Even the enmity of Creatures one against another, is for the advantage of Man; in fear of one another, they are kept from trespassing on him, and by the antipathy of one against the other, we make use of one, to take the other; so serve our selves of both.

By these, and millions of others, and indeed by all, we can see or comprehend, we may conclude as does the Psalmist, O Lord, how wonderful are thy works, in wisdom hast thou made them all:² And if we should complain, as sometime profanely did Alphonsus,³ That God might have ordered many things better in the Creation of the world, then he hath done; We may well return that grave and sober answer of St. Augustine: In Creaturis siguid erratum cogitamus, inde est quod non incongruis sedibus, ea quae rimus, If we complain of defect in the works of Creation, 'tis because we do'n't consider them in their proper spheres and uses.

²104:24.

³Probably the astronomer king of Leon and Castile, Alphonso X, 1221-1284.
Surely, the apprehension of the ordering of all things so infinitely wisely, by so Supreme a Providence, might Tutor us to be less in passion, at any thing that happens. It was an excellent fancy of the wise Philosopher, in discoursing of this matter, when he said; If all the misfortunes of all the men in the world, were crowded together in one Man; and then, every man out of this heap, were to take, but an equal share: He did believe, every man would rather resume his own, then after a proportionate Rate take what should then befall him. Why then should any grumble at their displeas'd condition? Who wisely made the world, as wisely does preserve and govern it. And he that shew'd his Power, and Wisdom in every Worm, in every Fly, and smaller Atome that he did at first create; does in his Providence descend, to order, and dispose of every little particle of this great Main, the World. Who makes a Watch, does look as well to every pin, and nick in every wheel, as to the Spring it self, that guides and steers the whole. As 'tis Maxim'd of the Elements, that, Nullum in suo loco ponderosum. There's none are heavy in their proper places: So nothing is a burthen as God did first design it. And thus, as by contemplation of his glorious works, we never can want cause to admire his Providence, to magnifie his Wisdom, to adore his Goodness, and find a rest for our all warring thoughts: So by our weak complaining, we unhand our hold from Deity that stays us, we proclaim our own defects, and detract from what is due to his Great Glory.
DEO

Authoris Votum.¹

OH Thou every where, and good of All: whatsoever I doe, remember, I beseech thee, that I am but Dust; but as a Vapour sprung from Earth, which even thy smallest Breath can scatter. Thou hast given mee a Soule, and Lawes to govern it. Let that Eternall Rule, which thou didst first appoint to sway Man, order mee. Make mee careful to point at thy Glory, in all my ways: and where I cannot rightly know thee, let me rightly admire thee: that not only my understanding, but my ignorance, may honour Thee. Thou art All that can be perfect: besides Thee, nothing is. Oh, streame thy selfe into my soule, and flow it with thy grace, thy Illumination. Make mee to depend on thee. Thou delightest, that Man should account thee as his Royall Protector: and cast himselfe, as an Honourer of thee, at thy feet. O establish my Confidence in thee: for thou art the Fountaine of all Bounty, and canst not but be mercifull. Nor canst thou deceive the humbled Soule that trusts thee. And because I cannot bee defended by thee, vnlesse I live

¹by, 4,5.

1"The Author's Vow to God." Appended to the whole Resolves, 2-7.
after thy Lawes; Keepe mee, O my Soules Soueraigne! in the obedience of thy will: and that I wound not my conscience, with the killing soiles of Vice: for this I know, will destroy mee within, and make thy cheering Spirit leave mee.

I know, I have already infinitely swerued, from the Tendings of that Divine Guide, which thou hast planted in the minde of Man. And for this I am a sad Prostrate, and a Penitent at the foote of thy Throne. I appeale onely to the abundance of thy Remissions, and the ways thou hast appointed for the bouying vp of drowned Man. O my God, my God, I know it is a Mystery beyond the vast Soules apprehension; and therefore deepe enough for Man to rest in safety in. O thou Being of all Beings: cause me to rowle my selfe to thee, and into the receiving armes of thy Paternall Mercies, throw my selfe.

For outward things, I beleeeuethou wilt not see me want: they are but the Adjectamenta of thy richer Graces: and if it were not for my Sinnes, it would be some distrust to begge them. The Mines and deprivation, are both in thy hands. I care not what Estate thou giuest mee, so thou ray thy selfe into my Soule, and giuest mee but a heart to please thee. I beg no more, then may keepe mee vncontemnedly, and vnpittiedly-honest. Saue mee from the Devill, Lusts, and Men: and for those fond dotages of Mortality, which would weigh downe my Soule, to Lownesse, and Debauchment; Let it bee my Glory (planting my selfe in a Noble height aboue them) to contemne them. Take mee from my selfe; and fill mee, but
with thee. **Summe up thy blessings in these two, that I may**
bee **rightly good and wise. And these for thy eternall**
Truths sake grant, and make mee gratefull.

**FINIS.**
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unless a specific edition for a classical Latin work is given below, the text used is that of the Bibliotheca Classica Latina.


VITA

Ted-Larry Pebworth, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Pebworth of Homer, Louisiana, was born in Shreveport, Louisiana, 19 April 1936. He attended the public schools in Homer and graduated from Homer High School in May of 1954. That summer he entered Centenary College of Louisiana, Shreveport, from which he graduated in May of 1957 with a Bachelor of Arts cum laude in English. He attended the Graduate School of the Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, during the academic year 1957–1958 and received a Master of Arts degree in English there in August of 1958.

The years from 1958 to 1962 were divided between active duty in the United States Army and teaching at a small state college. In the summer of 1962 he enrolled in the Graduate School of Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. He completed the class work for the Ph.D. degree in the spring of 1964, and in the summer of that year was appointed an instructor in the English Department of Louisiana State University. He has accepted an assistant professorship in the English Department of the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle, for the academic year 1966–1967.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Pebworth, Ted-Larry

Major Field: English


Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:

July 12, 1966