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John Tompson

English Miscellanies Consisting Of Various Pieces Of Divinity, Morals, Politicks, Philosophy and History

Vol. 1

Göttingen: By Abram. Vandenhoeck, 1746

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ENGLISH
MISCELLANIES
CONSISTING
OF VARIOUS PIECES

Of Divinity, Morals, Politicks, Philosophy and History;

AS LIKEWISE

Of some choice POEMS;

All collected

Out of the most approved Authors in the English Tongue,

Viz.

TILLOTSON	DENHAM
NICHOLS	DRYDEN
LOCK	BUCKINGHAM
MILTON	PRIOR
COWLEY	ADDISON
WALLER	POPE &c.

And chiefly intended for the Advantage of such, as are willing to apply themselves to the learning of this usefull Language

By JOHN TOMPSON.

Vol. I.

GOTTINGEN

By *ABRAM. VANDENHOECK,*

Printer and Bookseller to the University 1746.

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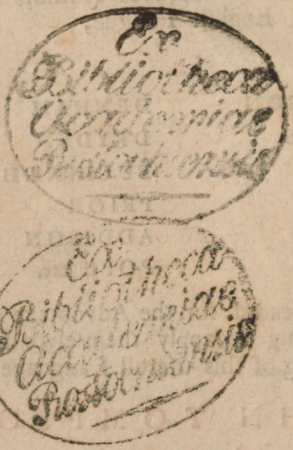

To the

RIGHT HONOURABLE

PHILIP ERNST

COUNT of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

COUNT of LIPPE, SCHAUMBURG

and STERNBERG. &c.

Captain of a Company of Foot

in His Electoral Highness of COLOGNE'S Service,

WHOSE great and amiable Qualities

add no common Lustre

to HIS high Birth:

WHO,

treading in the Foot-steps

of HIS most Noble ANCESTORS,

so gloriously renownd

in Council and Arms,

has renderd HIMSELF,

by HIS eminent Vertues,

the Delight of HIS Illuſtrious HOUSE,

and is likely to prove

the Admiration of IT'S POSTERITY,

These Miscellanies are moſt humbly dedicated, in
Teſtimony of the moſt profound Veneration and
inviolable Reſpect, by

HIS LORDSHIP'S

moſt obedient,

and moſt devot

humble Servt

J. Tipso

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A LECTURE UPON THE ROMAN HISTORY, &c.

Q. What is History?

A. A true Account of the principal Events that have happened in a Country.

Q. What is the Service of History?

A. It provides us with Lessons of Policy and Morality.

Q. What is Policy?

A. The Art of Conduct, or of steering a proper Course in the world, and bringing our Designs to a successful Issue.

Q. What is Morality?

A. The Art of forming our Manners and Conversation upon the Principles of Vertue.

Q. How does History instruct us in Policy?

A. By making us acquainted with what has passed among Men, it puts us in a Way

to encreaſe our Stock of Wiſdom and Knowledge from their good, or ill Conduct.

Q. How does Hiſtory inſtruct us in Morality?

A. By ſetting before us Examples of Vertue and Vice, that we may follow the one, and avoid the other.

Q. What is the Roman Hiſtory?

A. An Account of the principal Actions of the Romans.

Q. Who were the Romans?

A. A People, who took their Riſe from the City of Rome in Italy.

Q. Who gave it the Name of Rome?

A. Romulus it's Founder.

Q. In what Year was Rome built?

A. In the Year of the World Three Thouſand Three Hundred and One, Seven Hundred and Fifty three Years before JESUS CHRIST.

Q. Who was Romulus?

A. A Prince deſcended from the Kings of Alba, a City of Latium, now called Campagna di Roma, and St. Peters Patrimony.

Q. From whom came the Kings of Alba?

A. From Æneas, a Trojan Captain.

Q. The Romans then were the deſcendants of the Trojans. What was done to Romulus when he was born?

A. He was expoſed (commited to Fortune; left to Hazard) in a Boat upon the River Tyber.

Q. Who cauſed him to be expoſed in that Manner?

A. His Grandfather, who was King of Alba.

Q. Why did he ſeek to deſtroy him?

A. Be-

A. Because he apprehended, he would one Day deprive him of his Crown.

Q. How was Romulus preserved?

A. He was found upon the Brink of the River; and, 'tis said, he was suckled by a She-Wolf.

Q. Is that true?

A. No, it is a Fable: The Truth is, he was brought up by a Shepherdess, whom They called Lupa; (i. e. She-Wolf) a Nickname the Romans gave to common Prostitutes; for she was one.

Q. What did Romulus, when he was come to Years of Maturity?

A. He drove out this King of Alba, who had treated him so ill; and built the City of Rome.

Q. What Kind of Government was first set up at Rome?

A. That of Kings.

Q. How many Kings of Rome were there?

A. Seven.

Q. Who was the First?

A. Romulus, the Founder of the City.

Q. Who was the last?

A. Tarquin the Proud.

Q. How long was Rome governed by Kings?

A. Two hundred and forty five Years.

Q. Who was it thrust out Tarquin the Proud.

A. Junius Brutus.

Q. What Change did he make at Rome?

A. It was he, who settled the Republick.

Q. What is the Difference between kingly Government and a Republick?

A. A kingly Government, or Monarchy,

is a State, where one Person only has the Conduct of the Government: A Republick is a State governed by many.

Q. What Magistrates did they set up at Rome, in the Place of Kings?

A. Two Consuls, whom they changed every Year.

Q. What was their Authority?

A. They commanded the Armies, and presided in the Senate.

Q. What mean you by the Senate?

A. The Assembly of the principal Persons of the City, for the Government of the Republick.

Q. What was the Office of Dictator at Rome?

A. He was the Magistrate, who had sovereign Authority.

Q. On what Occasion was he chosen?

A. When the Republick was in Danger.

Q. By whom was Rome first taken?

A. By the Gauls.

Q. Who were the Gauls?

A. The French: Gaul is the Country now called France.

Q. How do you call the Battel, wherein the Gauls defeated the Romans?

A. The Battel of Allia, a River of Italy.

Q. What did the Gauls, after they had carried the City of Rome?

A. They besieged the Capitol, but could not win it.

Q. What was the Capitol?

A. The Fortress of Rome.

Q. Who was it, routed the Gauls, and deliver'd Rome?

A. A Roman Captain, called Camillus.

Q. Who

Q. Who was the greateſt Enemy of the Romans?

A. Hannibal.

Q. Who was Hannibal?

A. A Géneral of the Carthaginians.

Q. Who were the Carthaginians?

A. A People, that took their Riſe, from a City of Africa, called Carthage.

Q. What was the Government of the Carthaginians?

A. Republican, as that of the Romans.

Q. Did they maintain a long War againſt Rome?

A. They were it's moſt potent Enemy.

Q. What did Hannibal atchieve againſt the Romans?

A. He won four Battles.

Q. Which was the greateſt of the four?

A. The Battle of Cannæ in Italy, in which fell forty thouſand Romans.

Q. What falſe Step made Hannibal after the Battel of Cannæ?

A. Inſtead of marching directly to Rome, he loiter'd at a City of Italy, called Capua.

Q. What was ſaid to Hannibal after his Miſtake?

A. He was told, that he knew how to conquer, but knew not how to make Uſe of a Victory.

Q. How do you call the Roman Captain, who conquer'd Hannibal?

A. Scipio Africanus.

Q. Why is he called Africanus?

A. Becauſe he ſubdued Africa.

Q. Was there no other Scipio Africanus?

A. There was another of that Name, who demoliſh'd Carthage.

Q. Who was the greateſt Roman Captain?
A. Julius Cæſar.
Q. What were his greateſt Actions?
A. He conquer'd all the Gauls, and made himſelf Maſter of the Republick.
Q. How long was he employ'd in the Conqueſt of the Gauls?
A. Ten Years.
Q. With whom did he go to War, to make himſelf Maſter of the Republick?
A. With Pompey.
Q. How do they call the Battel, wherein Pompey was defeated?
A. The Battel of Pharſalia, from Pharſalus a City of Macedon.
Q. What did Cæſar, when he had vanquiſh'd his Enemies?
A. He got himſelf declared Perpetual Dictator, and became Abſolute Monarch of Rome.
Q. What was the Concluſion of his Life?
A. He was ſlain by Conſpirators in the midſt of the Senate.
Q. What Surname was given to the Emperors, who ſucceeded him?
A. They were called Cæſars.
Q. Why were they called ſo?
A. Becauſe it was the Name of the Firſt and Greateſt of the Roman Emperors.
Q. Who was the moſt vertuous among the Romans?
A. Cato of Utica.
Q. How did he end his Life?
A. He ſlew himſelf at Utica, a City of Africa; and for that Reaſon was called Cato of Utica.
Q. Why did he kill himſelf?
A. That he might not fall into the Hands of Cæſar, with whom he was at War.
Q. What

Q. What was the Ground of the War between them?

A. Cato defended the Liberty of his Country, and Cæsar resolv'd to seize it.

Q. What other Roman was it, that slew himself?

A. Brutus, the Chief of the Conspirators, who slew Julius Cæsar.

Q. Why did he kill himself?

A. Because he had been defeated by Antony and Augustus, who sought to revenge the Death of Cæsar.

Q. Who are those, they call the last of the Romans?

A. Brutus and Cassius.

Q. Why are they called so?

A. Because these were the last, that defended the Liberty of their Country.

THE HEROES OF THE ROMAN REPVBLICK, &c.

Q. What People of Antiquity produced the greateſt Men, and furniſh'd the moſt Examples of Vertue?

A. The Diſpute can only lie between the Greeks and Romans: 'Tis in the Hiſtory of theſe two Nations, that we find the beſt Models of Pagan Vertue.

Q. And which of the Two has the Advantage?

A. We muſt diſtinguiſh a little. In the firſt place, Greece furniſh'd out all the Fabulous Heroes of Antiquity, as their Hercules, their Achilles, and a great many others; not to mention the Heathen Gods, which were Gretians, that were adored after their Death. In this the Greeks have the better of the Romans.

With reſpect to Great Men, whoſe Lives were not fabulous, Plutarch has compared the Principal of the Greeks and Romans; and it appears from their Lives, which he collected, that there were, within a ſmall Matter, as Great Perſonages on one Side, as the other, for Vertue, Courage, and the Art of War.

But it may be obſerv'd to the Advantage of the Romans, that, if there were as great Men among the Greeks, they had not near ſo great a Number of them, nor any Examples of ſo round, and univerſal a Vertue. Plutarch compares together the moſt Illuſtrious: But with reſpect

respect to the Romans, he passes over a great many; who were not, indeed, so renown'd, as those, he speaks of, but who were, nevertheless, great Captains, and Men of exalted Vertue. The two, or three first Ages of the Roman Republick hardly furnish'd any other: And hence it may be said, that, if there was a Parity of great Vertues between the two Nations, there was no such Thing, as to the Numbers of the Vertuous.

In a word, the Romans have not only a great Majority on the Poll, but, for the Space of three or four hundred Years, they were an entire Body of People, all alike martial, vertuous, disciplin'd, and equally irreproachable; which can not be said of the Greeks, among whom there was always a strange Medley of Vices and Vertues.

2. What Judgement may one form of the illustrious Greeks and Romans compared together by Plutarch?

A. Methinks, there is something more sparkling and heroic in the Greeks; something, that comes nearer Romance and the Magnificence of the Buskin; but their Vertues were more embroil'd and unequal. Those of the Romans were more steady and regular. For instance, in the Comparison of Alexander and Caesar, one may perhaps observe something more elevated in Alexander; but there was more Contradiction and Inequality in his Manners and conduct. The same Inconsistencies may be charged upon many others. The Vertues of the Greeks appear more like the Brood of Constitution and a natural Greatness of Soul: Those of the Romans were more the Fruits of Art and Discipline. The first were more easy and familiar; The other more rough and severe.

Q. How many Sorts of great Men do you find in the Roman Republick?

A. I consider them under three different Characters. The first were Persons of consummate Vertue, but a little untractable; of an Austerity sometimes extravagant; men of rough Minds and small Acquaintance with the Arts and Sciences. Of this sort were Fabricius, Curius, and many others of the two, or three first Ages of the Roman Republick. The second, who came after, were the most accomplish'd Heroes of Rome, for this Reason, that, with the true vertue of the first, they were greater Captains; and had, besides the advantage of much more Learning and Politeness, a better Insight into Things. Such were the Scipios, the Catos, and some others, who were born in a purer Age, and in the middle of the time of the Republick. The third appear'd in her last Days, when the Minds of Men were wholly refin'd, and the Sciences in their Perfection. This was the Time of the Greatest Captains; such as Cæsar, Pompey, and Marius. But there was now a general Corruption of Manners; the old Roman Integrity was, in a manner, gone; and all these great Persons are better distinguish'd by Ambition, than true Vertue.

Q. Who were the greatest Men of the first Character?

A. The most illustrious were Camillus, Coriolanus, Manlius Torquatus, Quintius Cincinatus, Fabricius and Curius.

Q. What do you observe of Camillus?

A. He was the greatest Captain and the most illustrious Person of his Time. He won the City of Veji, the strongest of Italy, after a ten Years Siege; and routed the Gauls, who had burnt the City of Rome. He was called the second Romulus.

Q. What

Q. What was Coriolanus?

A. He was call'd Martius. He had the Name of Coriolanus for taking the Town of Corioli. Being afterwards baniſh'd from Rome, he made War upon his Country, and the Romans, who had always been victorious under his Conduct, were driven before their Enemies, when he was at the Head of them.

Q. What did Manlius Torquatus?

A. He was a very ſevere Captain. He put to Death his own Son, for engaging an Enemy without Orders. He took the Name of Torquatus on Account of a Collar, he wreſted from a Gaul, whom he vanquiſh'd in ſingle Combat, at the Head of the two Armies. He won the Battle againſt the Latins, which was one of the moſt hazardous, the Romans ever fought.

Q. What was Quintius Cincinatus?

A. It was he, who was called from the Plough to be made Dictator. Tillage was the ordinary Employment of the greateſt Men of Rome; and Cincinatus was at Work, when he was called to command the Roman Armies. He held the Dictature fifteen Days, put an End to the War, and went and reſum'd his old Occupation.

Q. What was Fabricius?

A. He was a Roman Captain of great Vertue. He defeated Pyrrhus in the laſt Battel, this King loſt againſt the Romans. Pyrrhus taking all poſſible Methods to win him over to his Party, and promiſing him the ſecond Place in his Kingdom; he anſwer'd, that, if his Subjects knew the Difference, there was between them, they would give him the Firſt.

Q. What remarkable Things did Curius?

A. He was the greateſt Example of Roman Moderation. He commanded the Army with Fa-

Fabricius, when Pyrrhus was defeated. After three Victories, and three Triumphs, he died so poor, that the Public was fain to provide his Daughters with Fortunes, to marry them. The Samnite Ambassadors being order'd to wait on him, they found him boiling of Rapes; and offering him a present of Gold, he told them, that he had rather have the Conduct of those, who had Gold, than be Master of any himself.

Q. What Examples of excessive Severity do you observe In the History of those Times?

A. Every one knows the Action of Horatius, who kill'd his Sister, for bewailing an Enemy of Rome, whom he had vanquish'd. Brutus, who drove out Tarquin the Proud, sentenc'd to Death his two Sons for holding Intelligence with Tarquin; and was himself a Witness of their Execution. Manlius Torquatus was still more severe in the War with the Latins. He order'd, that none should fight the Enemy without Leave from the Generals: His Son receiving a challenge from one of them, did not mind his Father's Orders, but fought his Enemy, and kill'd him; Manlius caused his Head to be struck off in the Presence of the whole Army.

Q. What Examples have you of Justice and Generosity?

A. History mentions two, that are remarkable: One of Camillus; the other of Fabricius. Camillus besieging a Town of Tuscany, the Publick Preceptor, who had the Care of the Youth, deliver'd up to him all the Children of the Town. Camillus remitted him to the Enemy, to be punish'd, and restor'd the Children. This generous Action won the Inhabitants to a voluntary Submission. In the War, that Pyrrhus made upon the Romans, his Physician engag'd to Fabricius, to poison

poison his Master. Fabricius gave this Prince Advice of it; and told him, he was happier in the Choice of his Enemies, than of his Friends.

A. What Examples of military Bravery?

Q. We have already mention'd some Instances. Mucius Scævola burnt his hand, to shew Porsenna, King of Hetruria, his Contempt of Pain. A Roman, nam'd Valerius Corvinus, vanquish'd a Gaul, who had challeng'd him: It was observ'd in the Combat, that a Raven sided with the Roman; and while it held, attack'd the Gaul with Beak and Claws. Hence the Roman took the name of Corvinus. Another, called Manlius, alone defended the Capitol against the Gauls, who attempted to surprise it in the Night, but were discover'd by the Cries and Gagling of Geese. In a War with the Veientes, the Family of the Fabii, consisting of three hundred Persons, undertook to maintain it alone against the Enemy, and defeated them in many Encounters; but at length were cut to pieces in Ambushes, that were laid for them.

Q. What Instances of Persons giving their Lives for their Country?

A. Curtius, a Roman Knight, threw himself into a dreadful Chasm, produc'd by an Earthquake in the middle of the Forum, or Common Place, after the Augurs had pronounced, that the Sovereignty and Dominion of Rome would continue for ever, if the Romans would throw into this Chasm the most Precious Thing, they had; and that the Gap would not close, till this was done. By the word Precious they understood a Vertuous Man. The Decii, two Roman Generals, devoted themselves to Death in two several Battels, to turn the Victory on the Side of their Forces.

Q. What

Q. What was this Custom?

A. When the Troops were press'd, and it went hard with an Army, the Roman General devoted himself for the common Safety; and after certain Ceremonies of Consecration, threw himself into the Midst of the Enemies; and, by his Death, drew the Victory over to his own Side. This was practis'd by the two Decii with equal Success.

Q. What Instances have you of Publick Vertue?

A. Two among others: One of Resolution to Death; the other of Constancy in Misfortune.

Q. What is the first?

A. At the taking of Rome by the Gauls, the Romans, seeing they could not defend the City, resolv'd to maintain the Capitol. As the Place could not receive a great Number of People, the young Fellows, who were able to defend it, shut themselves up there, and the old Men resolv'd to wait for Death at their Houses, and not to survive their Country. Such, as had been Magistrates, wore, on that occasion, the Badges of their Dignity, and all placed themselves at their Doors, where they waited the coming of the Gauls, who massacr'd them.

Q. What is the second Instance of Constancy?

A. When Pyrrhus had gain'd two Battels against the Romans, he offer'd them Conditions of Peace: But they would treat none with him in their ill Fortune; and persisted in their Resolution to drive him out of Italy. His Ambassadors, who had Presents for the Roman Ladies, could prevail with none, to accept of them. It was then, that Cineas, Ambassador of Pyrrhus, told his Master, that the Senate of Rome had appear'd to him like a Consistory of Kings.

Q. Who

Q. Who were the greateſt Perſons of the ſecond Character, you have noted?

A. The moſt illuſtrious were the two Scipios, Fabius Maximus, Marcellus, Paulus Æmilius, the two Catos, Regulus, and Brutus.

Q. Who was the greateſt Perſon of the Roman Republick?

A. The greateſt of all the Romans, and the moſt accompliſh'd Hero, was Scipio Africanus, the firſt of that Name, who conquer'd Hannibal. He yields to never a Roman Captain, as well for the Number of his Victories, as the Valour of the Chief, whom he defeated. He ſav'd his Father's Life in the firſt Battel, that was preſented againſt Hannibal. At twenty three Years of Age he was appointed General againſt the Carthaginians. He conquer'd Hannibal at the Battel of Zama in Africk, and pull'd down for ever the Power of Carthage. His Vertue was as compleat, as that of any of the Romans, but more eaſy and familiar. He had a very lofty Mien, and ſuch an Acquaintance with Literature, as to be thought the Author of Part of the Comedies of Terence. He was the particular Friend of Lælius, called the Sage; and they are reckon'd among the celebrated Friends of Antiquity.

Q. What was the laſt Part of the Life of Scipio Africanus?

A. After all his great Atchievements, Envy rais'd him up an Accuſer. He appear'd before his Judges; but inſtead of making his Defence, he put the People in Mind, that, ſuch a Day, he had gain'd a celebrated Victory; and that it was juſt, to go and offer Thanks for it to the Gods. The whole Aſſembly follow'd him to the Capitol in a Kind of Triumph, and aban-don'd his Accuſer. Livy ſays of Him, that

He

He had a Heart too great to submit to the Part of a Man accus'd. In the End, seeing his Enemies did not oppose it, he banish'd himself voluntarily from Rome, and died at a Country-house.

Q. What was the second Scipio Africanus?

A. He was the Son of Paulus Æmilius, and had the Name of Scipio only by Adoption. His Merit comes very near that of the first Scipio. He destroy'd two Cities, the most formidable Enemies of Rome; Carthage in Africk, whence he had the Surname of Africanus; and Numantia in Spain. He is particularly celebrated for great integrity, and a rigorous Observation of military Discipline.

Q. Was there no other Scipio of Note?

A. The Brother of the first Africanus. He was called Asiaticus, because he defeated Antiochus, the most potent King of Asia: his Brother, the Great Scipio, was pleased to be his Lieutenant in that War.

Q. What perform'd Fabius Maximus?

A. He was called the Buckler of the Romans, because he was the first, who put a Stop to the Victories of Hannibal, and gave Rome Opportunities to recover herself after her Losses. His Character was Gravity and unshaken Constancy. He made Hannibal lose many Campaigns, by giving him no Opportunity of coming to an Engagement: For which he was call'd the Temporiser.

Q. What was Marcellus?

A. He was a Captain of great Valour and Execution. 'Tis said, he was present in thirty nine Battels. He was called the Sword of the Romans, because he was all for fighting; and that, contrary to Fabius, he was always en-

engag'd with Hannibal, and haras'd him with continual Onsets. His Conduct was, in the End, more unhappy, than that of Fabius; for He was surpriz'd and slain in the Ambushes, Hannibal had laid for him.

Q. What was Paulus Æmilius?

A. A Captain of great Wisdom and Vertue. He put an End to the Kingdom of Macedon, having defeated and taken Prisoner Perses, the last King of the Macedonians. This War was finish'd in fifteen Days. Two Children, he had left, dying upon the Day of his Triumph, he made a Speech, full of Magnanimity, to the Senate, declaring, that his Joy for the Publick Prosperity, made him forget his private Misfortunes.

Q. How many were there of the Cato's?

A. Two among others, very illustrious Persons, of the same Family; Cato the Censor, and Cato of Utica.

Q. What was Cato the Censor?

A. He was distinguish'd by this Appellation, for the uncommon Rigour, he shew'd in the Exercise of the Censure. He was also called Cato the Wise: He is celebrated for a good Commander, a great Orator, and an excellent Statesman. He was the greatest Personage in Rome, and the most severe; indefatigable in Employment, a strict Observer of Discipline, and a great Reformer of the Republick.

Q. What was Cato of Utica?

A. He was so called, because he slew himself at Utica, a City of Carthage, after his Party had been routed by Julius Cæsar. This is the Roman, who passes for the most ver-

tuous, and the greateſt Aſſertor of Liberty. He was of the Sect of the Stoicks, the ſevereſt of all the Sects of Philoſophers. He embrac'd the Party of Pompey, or rather that of the Republick, againſt Cæſar. After the Death of Pompey, he ſided with Scipio, for the Defence of Roman Liberty. But ſeeing Cæſar victorious, he ſlew himſelf, for fear of falling into his Hands, or of being oblig'd to ſuffer his Domination.

Q. Who were the moſt illuſtrious Romans, that ſlew themſelves after the Defeat of their Party?

A. The two moſt celebrated Perſons, who fell in this manner, were Cato and Brutus.

Q. What was Brutus?

A. He was Cato's Nephew, vertuous as he, and of the Family of the firſt Brutus, who drove out Tarquin the Proud. He join'd the Party of Pompey againſt Cæſar, and after the Battel of Pharſalia, Cæſar having receiv'd him into the Number of his Friends, he did, nevertheleſs, conſpire againſt him, and put himſelf at the Head of thoſe, that ſlew him, with the ſingle View of retrieving the Liberty of his Country. He was defeated with Caſſius in the Battel, they fought againſt Auguſtus and Anthony in Macedonia. Caſſius killed himſelf the firſt, and Brutus after he had loſt a ſecond Battel.

Q. Which deſerves the moſt Praiſe, the Death of Cato, or that of Brutus?

A. All theſe voluntary Deaths went for Vertues among the Heathens. In that of Cato there appears more Conſtancy and Philoſophy: For, before he kill'd himſelf, he took Care for the Preſervation of all his Friends; and when he

he had provided for every one's Security, he put under the Head of his Bed a Poniard, and Plato's Book of the Immortality of the Soul, which he read, before he ſtruck the Blow. After he had ſtabb'd himſelf, he tore off the Bandages, which had been put over his Wound, and died in that manner. There was more of Deſpair in the Death of Brutus: Some even pretend to ſay, that, in his laſt Moments, he complain'd of Vertue, as an unprofitable Name, and a Thing of no Force againſt the Accidents of Fortune.

Q. What is the moſt illuſtrious Death in Antiquity?

A. The moſt glorious among the Romans was that, which was ſuffer'd for their Country, and of this Rank there is none to be compar'd with that of Regulus.

Q. What was his Adventure?

A. He was a Roman Conſul, who, after many Victories, was taken Priſoner in a Battel, which he loſt againſt the Carthaginians. They ſent him to Rome, upon his Parole, with a Propoſition for an Exchange of Roman Priſoners with thoſe of Carthage. In Spite of his private Intereſt, he perſuaded the Senate to reject it; alledging, that the Thing was unequal, and the Treaty diſadvantageous to Rome. He afterwards return'd to Carthage, to diſcharge his Parole, and died in the Tortures, he very well knew were prepar'd for him.

Q. Why do you prefer this Death to all the others?

A. It was not a Death from Deſpair, as was that of the Romans, who ſlew themſelves. He ſuffer'd it for his Country, be-

cause it was in Consequence of the salutary and disinterested Counsel, he had given her. It was honourable, since he chose rather to die, than to break his Word. There appears a nobler Contempt of Life in it, than in all the others; and there was much more Constancy, as there was much more Cruelty.

Q. Who were the Principal Romans of the last Character?

A. The most illustrious were Marius, Sylla, Sertorius, Lucullus, Pompey and Cæsar.

Q. What observe you of Marius?

A. He was a Man of mean Extraction, and who rais'd himself by his Valour. His principal Atchievements were against the Cimbri, who, at that time, were the most dangerous Enemies of the Roman People. He slew above three hundred Thousand of them in two Engagements. There was a most bloody civil War between him and Sylla, upon a Competition for the Command in the Expedition against Mithridates, of which both would have the Conduct. Sylla drove him out of Rome, where Marius afterwards recover'd his Ground, and took a bloody Revenge upon his Enemies. He left that War to his Son, and died at the time, that Sylla was preparing to return into Italy. He was one of the best Roman Captains, but very ambitious and revengeful.

Q. What was there remarkable in the Revolutions of his Fortune?

A. He was seven times Consul, which fortun'd to no other Roman; and yet was reduc'd to such an Extremity in the War with Sylla, that, being proscrib'd, and a Price set upon his head, Marius, now above seventy Years

Years of Age, after six Consulates, which he had exercis'd with equal Authority and Glory, was forc'd to speed away from Rome on Foot, without Friend, or Domestick, to accompany him in his Flight. After travelling some Time in this deplorable Condition, he was oblig'd, in order to avoid a Party of Sylla's, that was in Pursuit of him, to throw himself into a Morass, where he pass'd the whole Night, sunk and buried up to the Neck in Mud. He got out at Break of Day, to endeavour to gain the Sea side, in Hopes of finding some Vessel, which might facilitate his Escape out of Italy: But being known by some People of Minturnae, they stopp'd him. He was conducted into that City with a Rope about his Neck, quite naked and cover'd with Dirt; and the Chief Magistrate, to obey the Orders of the Senate, sent immediately a public Slave, a Cimber by Nation, to put him to Death.

Marius seeing this Slave enter his Prison, and guessing his Design by a naked Sword, which he had in his Hand, cry'd out to him with a stout Voice: Barbarian, hast thou the Hardiness to assassinate Cajus Marius? The Slave, terrified with the very Name of a Man, so dreadful to the Cimbri, drops his Sword, and issues out of the Prison quite disorder'd, and crying: It is impossible for me to kill Marius. The Magistrates of Minturnæ look'd upon the Fear and Trouble of this Slave, as an Impulse of Heaven, which watch'd for the Preservation of this great Man; and, touch'd with a Sense of Religion, restor'd him his Liberty: „Let him wander (said they) „wherever his Destinies shall lead him; and let

„ him ſuffer the Decree of the Senate any
„ where, but here: We only beſeech the Gods
„ to pardon us, if we are compell'd, by a ſupe-
„ rior Authority, to thruſt out of this City the
Man, who formerly deliver'd all Italy from
the Incurſion of the Barbarians." The People
of Minurnæ even furniſh'd him with a Veſſel,
which convey'd him forthwith to the Iſle of
Ænaria, where he found a Senator of his Par-
ty, called Granius, and ſome others of his
proſcrib'd Friends, who inform'd him, that his
Son had taken Refuge in the Court of Man-
deſtral, King of Numidia; which determin'd
Marius to paſs into Africk. He was oblig'd
by ſtormy Weather, (ſome ſay, in order to
take in freſh Water) to put into ſome Part of
Sicily, and there he met with new Dangers.
He was hardly got a ſhore, but a Roman
Queſtor, who commanded in the Country,
and who, by Accident, was at the ſame Place,
reſolv'd to ſtop him. They came to Blows;
and Marius got not clear of this Danger, till
he had loſt Sixteen Men of his Company,
who made a ſtout Reſiſtance at the Sea-ſide,
while he was re-imbarking. He afterwards
arriv'd in Africk, and landed near Carthage.
Sextilius commanded in that Province, in Qua-
lity of Pretor: And as Marius had never diſ-
oblig'd him, he flatter'd himſelf, he would rea-
dily connive at the Place of his Retreat; and
that he ſhould, at length, find an Aſylum,
where he might quietly recover himſelf from
the Fatigues of the Sea.

But he had not paſs'd above a Day, or two
on this Coaſt, when he ſaw a Lictor arrive;
who ſignified to him an Order of the Pretor
to depart his Government, with Menaces to
attack

attack him, as an Enemy of the Roman People, if he staid there longer. Marius, penetrated with Grief and Anger, that he could not find one Corner of the Earth, where he might be secure, after he had seen himself, as it were, Master of the whole World, kept a pensive Silence, looking haughtily upon the Lictor: But the Lictor pressing him for an Answer, tell thy Master, said he, that thou hast seen Cajus Marius, banish'd from his Country, seated upon the Ruins of Carthage: As if, by the Comparison of his Misfortunes with the Carthaginians, he meant to instruct the Prætor in the Instability of the greatest Fortunes.

Some Time after he appear'd again at Rome, and was the seventh time elected Consul.

Q. What considerable Things did Sylla?

A. He was the First Roman, who seiz'd the Government of the Republick, and the only one, who afterwards voluntarily resign'd it. He had the Conduct of the first War against Mithridates; and defeated him in two Battels. He was the Author of the bloodiest Proscription, that was ever known at Rome, having put to Death, in one Day, Four Thousand Roman Citizens. He was called the Fortunate, because he succeeded in every Thing that he undertook, and particularly in his War with the Marian Faction, which he ruin'd with wonderful Facility. He afterwards quitted the Dictature, and had the good Fortune to die peaceably in his Bed, after the Exercise of so many Cruelties.

Q. What were the principal Actions of Sertorius?

A. He was a Roman of the Faction of Marius. He fled into Spain; where being pursued by Sylla's Captains, he retir'd into Portugal, and exercis'd the Portuguese so well in the Roman Discipline, that with them he beat all the Armies, that were sent against him. He was one of the greatest roman Captains; principally excellent in the Art of conducting a War with Address, and retrieving a false Step. He kept a white Bitch, which, he pretended, was given him by Diana, to be his Counsellor on all Occasions. After he had gain'd several Advantages in Engagements with Metellus and Pompey, he was betray'd and assassinated by one of his Friends, called Perpenna.

Q. What did Lucullus?

A. He had the Conduct of the second War of the Romans against Mithridates, and defeated him: in two Battels; in the last of which this King lost a Hundred Thousand Men, and the Romans but Five Thousand: This is the Battel, which carries it from all, that ever were fought, for so terrible a Slaughter on one Side, with so little Loss on the other. It is remarked of Lucullus, that, having hardly any Experience in War, when he set out to go against Mithridates, he became a great Soldier in the Way, by Dint of Reading and Reflection; insomuch that he atchiev'd, at the first Push, as great Things, as any of the Romans. He excelled all Rome in the Magnificence of his Buildings, his Furniture, and his Entertainments. History says, that the Halls of his Palace had each a several Regulation for the Expence of a Repast there; and that, when he ate in the Apollo, which was the

the Chief, the Regalio cost Ten Thousand Crowns.

Q. What do you observe of Pompey?

A. It was He, who arriv'd at the greatest Reputation and the most flourishing Fortune of all the Romans; but who, in the End, was stript of his Prosperity by the greatest Disasters: so that, if we set aside the last Misfortunes of his Life, he may be look'd upon as the most Fortunate of all the Heroes of Rome. He was called the Great, an Appellation given him by Sylla, whose Faction he supported. He was the only Roman, who triumph'd three Days successively over Three Parts of the World, Europe, Africa, and Asia; in each of which he had gain'd many Victories. He put the last Hand to the War against Mithridates, whom he utterly defeated; and gave the greatest Progress to the Roman Empire in Asia, having conquer'd Syria and Judæa. After these great Actions, he had the principal Authority in Rome, till the civil War broke out between him and Cæsar, which put an End to the publick Liberty. He was defeated by Cæsar at the Battel of Pharsalia; and flying into Ægypt, was slain at the Port of Alexandria, by Order of King Ptolemy, who presented his Head to Cæsar.

Q. What were the Principal Atchievements of Cæsar?

A. There were his foreign Wars, and those, which he made upon his Country. With Respect to the First, his greatest Toil was the Conquest of the Gauls, which cost him ten Years Time. He first vanquish'd the Germans and the Swiss; and subdued all the Gauls as far as the Rhine, over which he built

that famous Bridge, called Cæsar's Bridge, which he himself describes in his Commentaries. He was the First, who pass'd into England, the Inhabitants of which he defeated; but he left there no Roman Settlement. The Conquest of the Gauls was his greatest Glory, for the Number and Quality of the Enemies, he vanquish'd. The most dangerous was Vercingetorix, of the Country of Auvergne. He was chosen General of the Gallish Troops; and all their Forces drew together in the Neighbourhood of Clermont in Auvergne, which Cæsar besieg'd, and which was defended by Eighty Thousand Gauls. Vercingetorix was there defeated at the Head of three hundred thousand Men, and the City surrender'd. Cæsar, after the Conquest of the Gauls, was in a Condition to make War upon his Country, having a most experienc'd Army, and the Assistance of the gallish Soldiery. His civil Wars were against Pompey, and the Chiefs of his Party. He won the Battel of Pharsalia, where the Germans and the Gauls did him great Service. After the Death of Pompey, he defeated Ptolemy, King of Ægypt, and run a great Hazard in that War, having been oblig'd to cast himself into the Sea, in order to rejoin his Fleet. He conquer'd Pharnaces, King of Pontus, with so much Dispatch, that the War was begun and ended in a Day. This is what he noted by these Words: Veni, Vidi, Vici: I came, I saw, I overcame. But he had yet two Wars to go through, to make himself Master of the Republick; that in Africk against Scipio and Cato; and that in Spain against Pompey's Sons.

Q. What

Q. What were the Personal Qualities of Cæsar?

A. He was the greatest Warrier, and the most excellent Captain of all the Romans, and perhaps, of all Antiquity. Pliny reports, that he fought fifty pitch'd Battels, kill'd above two Millions of Men, and made above five hundred thousand Prisoners. His principal Quality, as a General, was a wonderful Vigilance and Activity, with great Judgment in the Choice of his Measures on difficult Occasions. He was so learned and eloquent, that it is pretended, he had carried it from all the Philosophers and Orators of his Time, if he had not made War his principal Occupation. His Memory and Presence of Mind were so great, that he dictated, at the same Time, different Letters to five or six Secretaries. He was the Author of the first Reformation, that was made in the Roman Calendar. His principal moral Vertues were Liberality and Clemency, in which he excelled all the Age, he liv'd in. He was, besides, an Enemy to Excess: and Cato said of him, that he was the only Man of that Temper, who had undertaken to ruin the Republick. His reigning Vice was Ambition; which render'd the greatest Part of his Wars unjust, and made him usurp the Sovereignty of his Country.

Q. Who was Cæsar's Successor, after he was slain by the Conspirators?

A. Augustus, Grand Nephew of Cæsar. He was the Son of Accia, Daughter of Julia, Cæsars Sister.

Q. Did Augustus reign alone, after the Death of Cæsar?

A. No:

A. No: He join'd in the Government with Anthony and Lepidus; and this Confederacy was call'd a second Triumvirate.

Q. Was their Government gentle, and agreeable to the Romans?

A. No: They proscrib'd to the Number of three hundred Senators, and two thousand Roman Knights. By this Stroke of Vengeance the Triumvirate was enrich'd, and the Number and Power of the Republicans diminish'd. Rome was no more; or, at least, her Liberty was gone; and nothing of a Republick was to be seen, but in the Camp of the Conspirators.

Q. What became of the Triumvirate?

A. It lasted but a few Years. Augustus saw himself sole Master of the World; and the World, in his Time, saw a general Peace. It was then JESUS CHRIT was born, about fifteen Years before the Death of Augustus.

Q. To whom did Augustus leave the Empire at his Death?

A. As he had no Male Issue, he adopted Tiberius, the Son of his Wife Livia.

Q. How long reign'd Augustus?

A. Fifty seven Years. Agrippa and Mecænas were his great Favourites.

Q. What memorable Thing happen'd in the Reign of Tiberius?

A. The greatest Event, that was ever heard of, THE DEATH OF JESUS CHRIST. Tiberius propos'd to the Senate to place him in the Number of the Gods, but the Senate would not consent to it, on Account of the Law of the twelve Tables, against admitting the Gods of Strangers.

Q. Was

Q. Was the roman Empire long govern'd by heathen Emperors?

A. Till the Reign of Constantine the Great, who was the first, that embrac'd the Christian Religion, being converted by a Miracle. A Cross appear'd in the Air; which instructed him, the THE CRUCIFIED JESUS had made him triumph over the Tyrant Maxentius.

Q. What was the most considerable Action of Constantine, during his Reign?

A. He enrich'd and embellish'd the City of Constantinople with the Spoils of his Enemies. It was call'd New Rome, and he chose it for the Seat of his Empire.

Q. What Error is objected to Constantine?

A. He is blam'd for having left his three Sons Joint-Heirs of the Empire, which they divided among them. This Partition was the Cause of many Wars.

Q. What other Vexations happen'd to the Empire?

A. The Arian Heresy, of which some Emperors made Profession; and the Desertion of Julian the Apostate; who, after he had been proclaim'd Emperor at Paris, renounc'd the Christian Faith, to promote the Worship of Idols. He was punish'd for his Apostacy; for he was routed by the Persians, and, in the Battel, was wounded with an Arrow, without any Man being able to discover the Hand, it came from. 'Tis said, that, in Desperation, he took a Handful of the Blood, which issued from his Wound, and threw it into the Air, crying, Vicisti, Galilæe; Thou hast overcome, Galilæan; Thou hast overcome.

Q. Did not the Empire recover it self a little, after it's Losses.

A. The

A. The great Theodosius defeated all the Tyrants, who troubled the Repose of the Empire. He gain'd a celebrated Victory over the Tyrant Eugenius, whose Troops were join'd by those of Arbogastus, who had caused Valentinian to be strangled at Vienna. Eugenius was taken Prisoner; Arbogastus kill'd himself.

Q. What became of the Empire after the Death of the Great Theodosius?

A. It was divided between his two Children, Arcadius and Honorius. Arcadius had the East, and Honorius the West.

Q. What was the Genius of Arcadius?

A. He was too much govern'd by his Wife Eudoxia. That Princess was the Ruin of Religion and the State.

Honorius was good-natur'd, agreeable, an Enemy to Trouble, shuning Affairs; but zealous for Religion. In his Reign the Goths over-run Italy; they made themselves Masters of Rome; and several Tyrants usurp'd the sovereign Authority: so that the Reign of Honorius was full of Troubles and Wars, raised by the Vandals, the Huns, and many other Nations.

Q. What were the principal Causes of the Fall of the Roman Empire?

A. Inundations of Barbarians. Their frequent Victories chang'd the Face of the Empire. Rome was taken and retaken by Alaric, King of the Goths, and afterwards by Attila.

Then it was, (about the Year 420.) that Pharamond founded the French Monarchy upon the Ruins of the Roman Empire.

OF

OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ROMANS.

Q. HOw did the Romans divide their Months, and into how many Parts?

A. Into Three Parts, call'd Calends, Nones and Ides. The word Calends is a Greek Term, signifying a Calling together; for on that Day the Pontiff call'd the People, and gave them Notice, how many Days there were to the Nones, which were the ninth before the Ides. The Ides signify Division; for they divided the Month, in a Manner, into two equal Parts.

Q. When commenc'd the Calends, the Nones and the Ides?

A. The Calends commenc'd the first Day of the Months of March, May, July, and October, which contain'd thirty one Days; and the Ides the fifteenth. In the other Months, which contain'd but thirty Days, the Nones fell outh the fifth, and the Ides the thirteenth.

Q. How did the Romans count the Days of the Month?

A. The first Day was call'd the Calends. The second Day, if the Nones of the Month were the seventh, was called the sixth before the Nones: if they were the fifth, it was call'd the fourth before the Nones. The Day after the Nones, was always call'd the eighth before the

the Ides. The Months of March, May, July and October had six Days before the Nones; the rest but four: Every Month had eight Ides.

Q. How many Sorts of Slaves were there in the Roman Republick?

A. There were three Sorts of them. The first were the Childern of the Slaves themselves. The second were Slaves, the Property of the Publick, who were sold. The third were Slaves, the Right of private Persons, who had taken them in the Wars, or bought them at the Publick Sale.

Q. How many Sorts of Free Persons were there among the Romans?

A. Three Sorts: Such as were born Free, and of Parents, who had been always Free: The Childern of Freed-Men; and the Freed-Men themselves; who, of Slaves, had been set at Liberty by their Masters.

Q. Into how many Orders was the City of Rome divided, at it's first Foundation?

A. Into two Orders: The Patricians, or Nobles; and the Plebeians, or Populace. The Patricians only might aspire to Dignities. But afterwards the Plebeians had the same Privilege.

Q. How were the Roman Armies, so memorable for their Atchievements, divided?

A. They were divided into three Bodies: The first was the Roman Legions, compos'd entirely of Roman Citizens: The second consisted of the Allies of the Roman People: In the third were the Auxiliary Troops, sent them by other Nations.

The Allies serv'd gratis: Nothing was given them but Corn. The Auxiliary Troops were paid every Day.

Q. Of what consisted a Roman Legion?

A. A

A. A Legion was a certain Number of Horse and Foot. The Infantry and Cavalry (in a Legion) were divided into ten Companies and Troops. In each Company of Foot (cohors) were three Bands (Manipuli) of Soldiers, and in each Band two Centuries.

The Troops of Horse were divided each into three Decuries; and, consequently, there were in each Legion sixty Centuries and thirty Decuries.

Q. By whom was the Roman Infantry commanded?

A. By six Tribunes, with sixty Centurions. The Decuries were commanded by thirty Decurions; and they by a single Officer, with the Title of Prefect, who was at the Head of the whole Wing.

Each Company of Foot consisted sometimes of four Hundred and twenty Men. The Troops of Horse contain'd but thirty Men.

The Pretorian Regiment was a most considerable Body; and grew at length so powerful, that, instead of guarding Emperors, they dethron'd and destroy'd them, as the Fancy took them.

Q. Was the Number of the Legions very considerable?

A. In the second Punick War, the Romans had in Italy, Sicily and Spain, to the Number of twenty five Legions. In the Civil War of Cæsar and Pompey they amounted to Forty. At the Siege of Modena, the Army of Antony, and that of the Consuls, were compos'd of fifty Legions.

Q. Of how many Sorts of Soldiers was the Roman Infantry compos'd?

A. Of four Sorts: The First were lightly arm'd, and consequently fitter to pursue: These

were ordinarily young Fellows. The second Pike-Men, something older. The third carried a Buckler, and made Use of Sabres. The Fourth were old Soldiers, who fought in the third Rank: They us'd Bucklers, Pikes and Sabres.

Q. How many Sorts of Chiefs, or Commanders, were there?

A. Three Sorts: 1. The Tribunes and Centurions commanded the Infantry. 2. The Prefects and Decurions commanded the Cavalry. 3. The General and Lieutenant Generals commanded the Whole.

He who was Centurion of the Pike-Men, had the Name of First Pike-Man. The Tribunes commanded the Legions. The Centurions commanded Cohorts, or Companies of Foot. The Prefect commanded the Cavalry in the Wing.

Q. To whom did they give the Title of Emperor?

A. It was given to the Cæsars, and to those, who were authoriz'd to make War under their own Auspices. It was given also to those, who, after they had gain'd some Victory, received this Title, first from their Soldiery, and afterwards from the Senate; and then they were allow'd a Publick Thanksgiving to the Gods, and sometimes also the Triumph.

Q. What were the Roman Ensigns?

A. An Eagle, a Wolf, a Minotaur, a Horse, and Boar. The Eagle was of Gold, and fix'd upon an arm'd Pike. This was the Standard of the Roman Legions alone; so that they were numberd by Eagles.

Q. Into how many Battalions did the Romans divide their Armies?

A. Into

A. Into two, or three Battalions: Into two, when they form'd in two Wings, one to the Right, the other to the Left; and into three, when between the two Wings they plac'd a third Battalion. The Romans were posted in the Center, the Allies in the two Wings.

The General was encompass'd by the Pretorian Bands, and from thence he commanded the whole Army.

Q. What Honours were paid to Conquerors?

A. When any one had gain'd some signal Victory, he dispatch'd Letters to the Senate, cover'd with Laurels, to request a Decree for the Title of Imperator, and a Publick Thanksgiving. Then the Senators repair'd to the Temples, to thank the Gods, and offer'd Sacrifices. Publick Feasts and Entertainments were made; and the Rejoicings were longer, or shorter, according to the Nature of the Victory, and the Quality of the Victor.

The lesser Triumph was called Ovation, from the Shouts and Acclamations of the Soldiers: In this a Sheep was sacrific'd; and in the greater Triumph, a Bull.

Q. Who might aspire to this Triumph?

A. He, who was neither Dictator, nor Consul, and who had conquer'd no fair or worthy Enemy (only Slaves, Rebels, Pirates, &c.) They crown'd him with Myrtle; and in that Manner he enter'd the City, preceded by several Players upon Flutes.

Q. What was the Pomp of the Triumph?

A. It was led up by Flutes and Trumpets: After them came the Oxen for the Sacrifice, adorn'd with Flowers and Ribbons. These were follow'd by the Spoils of the Enemy

(their Horses, Arms, Gold, Silver, Machines, Tents, &c.) with the Titles and Plans of the Cities and Countries subdued. The Chiefs of the Enemy follow'd the Pageants, their Kings and Princes bound, and loaden with Chains. The Imperator was mounted upon a Car, or Chariot, and clad in a Robe proper for the Triumph (generally in a purple Robe, embroider'd with Figures of Gold, setting forth his glorious Atchievements): He was crown'd with Laurels, and held a Laurel-Branch in his Hand.

Q. What was the Triumphal Car drawn by?

A. Sometimes by Stags; now and then by Lions, or Elephants; but generally by four white Horses.

Q. Who assisted next the Car?

A. It was followed by the Children, the Relations and the Friends of the Conqueror. Next came the Victorious Army, the Cavalry and Infantry, all in their Ranks, all crown'd with Laurels, and all singing certain Verses, and holding in their Hands the Tokens of their Valour; some Bracelets; others, Pikes; the most part, Crowns; and several, Collars or Helmets.

Q. Where was the End of this Procession?

A. The Conqueror proceeded to the Capitol, where he perform'd his Sacrifice; after which the Senate made a great Entertainment at the Expence of the Republick. The Temple, consecrated to Jupiter, upon the Tarpeian Mount, or Capitol Hill, was called the Capitol. Domitian employ'd three Millions of Livres, (which is, about two hundred and twenty five Thousand Pounds Sterling) in the

the Gilding of it. In this Temple were three Altars, one dedicated to Juno; an other to Minerva; the third, which was in the Middle, and the moſt magnificent, to Jupiter.

Q. What was the Office of the Augurs among the Romans?

A. Their Buſineſs was to interpret Dreams, unuſual Appearances, and Oracles, by the Singing and the Flight of Birds, and by the Manner of their Feeding.

Q. From how many Things did they take their Preſages?

A. From five Things: From the Air, by Thunder and Lightning: From the Cry of certain Birds, as of the Raven, the Crow, and the Owl: From the Flight of Eagles and Vultures: From Chickens, by offering them Meat early in a Morning: If they did not fall upon it with Eagerneſs; if they chirp'd, or flew away, it was of ill Portent; If the contrary happen'd, they took it for a happy Omen. Four-footed Beaſts were alſo of Uſe to the Augurs; Wolves, Foxes, Goats, Aſſes, Weaſels and Mice. In ſhort, every Thing, that ſeem'd extraordinary, whether in the Houſes, or in the Fields, or even upon the Bodies of Perſons, furniſh'd Matter for the Augurs. For Inſtance, the ſpying of a Weaſel, Mice getting to the Honey; the hearing of Voices, &c.

Q. How did the Diviners proceed with the Victims?

A. They conſider'd them well, before they had them kill'd, and the Manner, in which they follow'd him, who led them to the Altar; as, whether they did it willingly, or with much ado: and, next, the great, or ſmall

Quantity of Blood, that was drawn from them, and the good, or ill Condition of the Heart, or Liver.

Q. What was the Attire of the Romans?

A. They put over their Tunic (TUNICA, a kind of Waſt-coat, or Under-Garment) a long woollen Gown, or Mantle (Toga) ſometimes four-corner'd, but ordinarily in the Figure of a Semi Circle.

The Magiſtrates, Prieſts and Childern of Quality till the Age of Seventeen, wore the Gown, with a Border of Purple (Prætexta) with an other Mark of Nobility, of Gold, in the Form of a Heart, faſten'd to a Collar.

At the Age of ſeventeen, they aſſum'd the Virile Gown, (Toga Virilis) which was quite plain (to ſhew, that they then enter'd on a ſerious Age): Girls wore the Prætexta, or Gown border'd with Purple, till Marriage.

The Tunic of the Populace was without Nails: There were ſmall ones upon that of the Knights, and very large ones on that of the Senators: Theſe Nails were Knots or Boſſes of Purple, in Form of Nails, ſtitch'd or embroider'd upon the Cloth.

Q. What were the Funeral Ceremonies of the Romans?

A. Such as had the Care of the Dead (Pollinctores) embalm'd them. Perſons of Note were expos'd to View for eight Days at their Doors; after which they were bore to the Funeral Pile. Thither were alſo carried the Enſigns of their Nobility, the Trophies of Arms, and the Standards, they had taken from the Enemy: And then followed the Buſts and Figures of their Anceſtors, in Wax or Painting.

Such

Such as had done eminent Services to the Republick, were carried to the Forum, where their Funeral Orations were made; after which they proceeded to the Place, where the Body was to be burnt. A great Pile was erected of resinous Wood, and abundance of Cypress-Trees set round about it. Upon the Pile were thrown the Arms, the Apparel, and, lastly, the Body of the Deceas'd; and the nearest Relation set Fire to it. The Ashes were gather'd to be preserv'd in an Urn; and the Priest sprinkled Water upon all the Company; who took their Leave, saying: Adieu, Adieu, we shall follow Thee, when Nature pleases. VALE, VALE, VALE; NOS TE ORDINE QVO NATVRA PERMISERIT SEQVEMVR.

FINIS

MAXIMS
AND VARIOUS
REFLECTIONS.

SPEAK little, and speak well, if you would be look'd upon as a Man of Merit.

He that does not use himself to speak with Wariness and Reserve in Things of little Consequence, will be sure to slip in Affairs of Importance.

Nothing is so tiresome in Conversation, as long Speeches, void of all Grace and Attraction.

The Way to please and succeed in Conversation, is not to take half so much Pains to bring one's own Wit into play, as the Wit of other People.

A Spirit of Contradiction turns the sweetest Conversations into downright Wranglings: It is almost impossible, in such a Conjuncture, to avoid Offence on one Side, or the other.

Conversation ought to be easy, and full of Temper: The Rule is: to hear, answer pertinently, and contradict nothing.

Exaggerations must be avoided; That Manner of speaking always offends, either against Truth, or Discretion; and betrays the shallow Capacity and ill Taste of the Speaker.

There are many People in the World, who, upon the Credit of being vertuous, or, at least, of appearing so, become insupportable; because, it seems, they may take all Manner of Privileges. He

He that careſſes you beyond his Cuſtom, either wants your Aſſiſtance, or means to deceive you.

He that parts with his Eſtate, before he dies, prepares himſelf for Abundance of ill Uſage.

To know the Value of Money, the beſt Way is to be oblig'd to borrow it.

Truth, Juſtice, and Reaſon looſe all their Force, and all their Luſtre, when they are not accompanied with agreeable Manners.

Nothing is ſo catching, as Example; and we are never the Authors of very worthy, or very baſe Actions, which do not produce the like.

It is not ſo dangerous to do moſt Men Injuries, as to do them too many Favours.

The readieſt Way to be cheated, is to think ones ſelf cunninger, than other People.

People, who are well in the World, are not apt to mend their Faults: When Fortune ſmiles upon their Follies, they always think them reaſonable.

The Favours, we have receiv'd from any one, oblige us to give him a little way, when he does us an Injury.

None are afraid of Contempt, but ſuch, as are really contemptible.

What we call Liberality, is often nothing, but the Vanity of Giving; of which we are fonder, than of the Thing, we give.

We find but few People ungrateful, while we are in a Condition to do Favours.

We ſhould often be aſham'd of our fineſt Actions, if the World was to ſee all the Motives, that produce them.

We often forgive those, who are tiresome to us; but we cannot forgive them, to whom we are tiresome.

Pride will not owe, and Self-Love will not pay.

The Knowledge of one's self is the Foundation of all Vertues; as the Ignorance of one's self is the Source of all Vices.

Misfortunes surprize us, only for Want of duly reflecting on the Condition of our Nature, and the Miseries, that are inseparable from it.

What makes People dissatisfied with their Condition, is the Chimerical Idea, they form of the Happiness of others.

Decency and Interest are the ordinary Sources of the Tears, we see shed by a great many People.

There are many People, a Man esteems, because he knows them not.

It requires as much Skill and Address, to tell the Truth, as to conceal it.

People often do Truth an ill Office, by their Manner of defending her.

True Cunning is nothing but exact Discretion, which makes a Man sincere without being silly, and quick-sighted without being a Knave.

The frequent Use of Cunning is always the Effect of great Incapacity, and the Mark of a narrow Genius.

We ought to cultivate the Friendship of all Men, and depend, in a manner, upon none: There are Few, that are able and willing to serve us; but every one may do us ill Offices.

Friendship can not be maintain'd without the Forgiveness of many Faults on both Sides.

It

It is as difficult to find a true Friend, as it is, to meet with Persons, who are capable of giving us good Counsels, who excuse our Faults, and succour us in Necessity.

Want of Respect and Esteem makes Friendship inconstant, and ruins it's strongest Foundations.

It is not the Person, that is ordinarily belov'd; 'tis his Fortune, his Riches, his Employment. This is plainly seen in Misfortunes.

We ought to prefer Enemies, that are too bitter, to Friends, that are too sweet; because the first often speak Truth, and the others never do.

If we had the Art of concealing our Infirmities, our Enemies could have no Opportunity to hurt us; because we are always attack'd and vanquish'd in that Quarter.

An Enemy is more severely punish'd by Contempt and Oblivion, than by the sharpest Tortures: For to slight and forget him, is, in a manner, to reduce him to Nothing.

When once People have taken Offence, they think, they have an eternal Right to suspect the Person, that gave it; This is what makes it a most difficult Thing, to meet with hearty Reconciliations.

The Quarrels of the Great are hardly to be reconcil'd; because they are continually kept up by Suspicions and Reports; and it always happens; that one of them can not, or will not, put Faith in the other.

Change of State and Condition does not always change the Humour of Men: It often serves but to give them an Opportunity of discovering what they had dissembled, to arrive at their Ends.

A pla-

A plain and natural Behaviour is the most agreeable: A forc'd, affected Carriage is as insupportable to others, as it is painful to such, as practise it.

A Man imposes on himself, when he thinks to impose upon others; and it usually happens, that, in covering some little Imperfection, he discovers some of the greatest.

A Conduct full of Disguises does a Man Hurt; and makes him suspected of many criminal Actions, which often he does not commit.

Every Condition of Life has it's Manners and Decorums, and even certain Vertues, which are peculiar to it. These a Man ought to know, and carefully preserve and practise; otherwise he falls into Ridicule.

There is Good and Bad every where; a good and a bad Side: All the Art is to find it out. This is the Reason, there are some, who are always content; and others, who are never satisfied.

A serious and compos'd Air is very deceitful; but of excellent Use in covering a Man's Imperfections.

Though a serious Air is tedious and burthensome to others, it makes a Man often respected, and rarely contemn'd.

Those, that have neither Wit, nor Learning, generally practise with Gravity, to draw others into an Opinion of their great Sense, Penetration and Capacity.

Men in Power are always unhappy, in being almost always expos'd to Envy and Suspicions in good Events, and to Reproach and Contempt in bad ones.

The Moderation of Conquerors is often nothing, but a Desire to augment the Glory, they have purchas'd by Victory. Men

Men call'd up to Greatness and Power, become ordinarily contemptible in the Place of their Birth, Envy throwing a Shade over every Thing, but the Imperfections, they had before their Elevation.

Princes and Great Men should distinguish themselves from the rest of Mankind, only by the Power, they have, to do more Good than they.

Interest is the Soveraing of Princes. There are few of them, who had not rather wound their Consciences, than their States.

The Science of a Prince should be the Art of Government; which is better taught by Experience, than Books.

The Courts of Princes are the ordinary Abode of Lying, Dissimulation, Envy and Flattery.

There are no People more unhappy, than those, that hang upon the Courts of Princes; since there is no sort of Part, which they are not oblig'd to play.

All Power, and all Superiority, excites the Envy of most Men, and is hateful to them. This is the Reason, they decry, with so much Licence, the Conduct of those, who are put over their Heads, and whose Authority they cannot dispute.

There are no People more dangerous, than those, that unworthily possess the Affection of Princes.

Magistrates ought not to go upon what the People say, who speak and act only by Passion.

It is necessary to tolerate certain Vices and Abuses, when they cannot be rooted out without overturning the State.

Every Nation ought to govern it self according to the Neceſſity of it's Affairs, and the Preſervation of the Publick-Weal.

We ought, properly, to fear and love nothing but GOD; ſince there is nothing but HE alone, that can make us happy, or unhappy.

Every one makes his Happineſs conſiſt in the Poſſeſſion of what he loves, and not of what is lovely, and what would too be more for his Honour and Advantage.

It is not enough, in order to do good and generous Actions, that a Man has divine Intentions; he muſt likewiſe make Choice of proper Moments to ſucceed in them, and be extremely prudent in the Executions of his Deſigns.

There is nothing, properly, but Vertue, that makes Men honour'd and eſteem'd. The moſt Debauched themſelves cannot help praiſing it, and reſpecting thoſe that practice it.

Vertue is never without Reward; ſince a good Action is well recompens'd by the Pleaſure, there is, in having done it. The Practice of certain Vertues, and the Shunning of certain Vices, is not all, that is required in the Character of a good Man.

There is more Glory and Honour in doing common and ordinary Things, when they are uſeful to the Publick, than in doing ſuch, as are ſhining and extraordinary, when they are burthenſome, or of no Uſe to it.

True Honour always conſiſts in doing what our Duty requires of us, however mean and troubleſome it may appear.

Moſt Men paſs their Lives without Aim or Deſign. Their Minds are in a continual Revery, without knowing whither they tend, or where they would be.

A

A Man might pass away his Life with Pleasure, if he did not trouble himself so much about other Peoples affairs: 'Tis a mad Thing, to be so sensible to what does not concern us, and to be so little so to what does concern us.

The ill Use, we make of Life, disorders it, and renders it unhappy. This is what makes the Happiness of Life seem always too short to us, tho' Life be long enough.

The greatest Part of the Incumbrances of old Age, are ordinarily owing to the ill Use of one's Youth.

Men do not always grow wiser, as they grow older; because the Infirmities of the Mind increase with those of the Body.

If a Man had the Art of setting Bounds to his Desires, he might escape a great many Sorrows, and meet with Satisfactions.

We are so fond of Truth, that we would, all, we love, was Truth.

It would cost Men less Trouble to correct their Imperfections, than to disguise them, as they do, with such a Number of Artifices.

The Debauch of the Conscience is the Source of all humane Imperfections.

The ill Use, we make of our Prosperity, is often the Cause of our Misfortunes.

Good and bad Fortune are necessary to Man, to make him knowing and dextrous.

Bad Fortune is more advantageous to Man than Good: The one serves to humble him, and convince him of the Inconstancy of worldly Things; the other only serves to puff him up with Pride.

Bodily Pain is the only Evil of Life, that Reason cannot cure, nor abate.

In

In order to appear worthy of an Employment, the Fatigues of it must be born with Patience, without shewing any Signs of them without Doors.

'Tis very difficult for a Magistrate, addicted to Luxury and Debauch, to be disinterested and incorruptible.

Opportunities of advancing one's self are not wanting: What makes the Unfortunate, is, not seeing them, or not knowing how to improve them.

The surest Method of Consolation against all, that can happen, is always to expect the Worst.

'Tis Want of Judgement, not to see Danger; 'tis Stupidity, or Rashness, not to fear it, and to expose one's self unadvisedly to it.

Genealogies almost always change with Fortune: This is what provides the Rich with such a Multitude of Relations, and leaves the Poor almost quite without.

Mariages of Interest are Sources of Divisions and Quarrels, instead of being Bands of Love.

As Men are naturally vain, Flattery quite spoils them; because it stops them from reflecting on their Faults, and correcting them.

If we would live in Peace, we must accustom ourselves to bear the Fooleries of other People; as a Man accustoms himself to see ugly Faces, without being scar'd at them.

A Man were a Fool, not to know how to hide his Follies, and to pretend to excuse them: The Defence of a bad Cause is worse than the Cause it self.

Sorrow and Disquiet are Remedies for nothing: they make us still more wretched in ill Fortune.

There

There is nothing so troublesome in the Commerce of Life, as a vain Wit, prepossess'd with his own Merit.

Shallow People ordinarily make a Mistery of every Thing, even of the greatest Trifles: Every Thing seems extraordinary to them.

Morose fantastical Natures are always alledging Faults against all the World; because they apprehend, they are justly blam'd themselves, for the very Faults, they falsly charge upon other People.

'Tis sometimes of admirable Use to a Man, to feign, that he is deceiv'd; for when he lets an artful Man see, that he discovers his Artifices, he gives him Occasion to augment them.

The World judges now a-days so superficially of Things, that the Grace of ordinary Words and Actions, done and spoken with a good Air, with some Knowledge of what passes in the World, often succeeds better, than the greatest Abilities.

To be too much dissatisfied with one's self, is a Weakness: To be too well satisfied with one's self, is a Sottishness.

The Chief Wisdom of Man consists in knowing his Follies.

There is as much Wit in bearing the Imperfections of others, as in discovering their good Qualities.

True Eloquence is that of good Sense, plain and natural: That, which stands in Need of Figures and Ornaments, is only founded upon this, that most Men are very short-sighted, and have but a Glimpse of Things.

The soft and idle Lives of most Men and their continual Distraction, with Regard to outward Objects, make them contented with

seeming Persons of Vértue, without tàking any Pàins to become so.

No body can chuse, but our selves, whether we shall be vértuous, and reputed so: We cannot chuse, that others shall be oblig'd to believe it, and to allow us this Quality: Nevertheless we làbour, only to be allowed the Reputation of virtuous People, without taking any Càre to deserve it.

Truly virtuous People àre always like themselves: they every where maintain the Good Man's Character: they have a great deal of Indulgence for all the World, and always judge charitably of their Neighbour.

Such, as are virtuous in Appearance, are obig'd to put themselves under many Constraints, and to observe great Measures, in order to pass for what they are not: Soon, or late, they contradict and betray themselves, because they act upon contradictory Principles.

The too great Goodness of a virtuous Man exposes him to Tricks and Deceits. As he always judges well of his Neighbour, he does not provide against the Artifices of wicked People.

Riches don't teach a Man to cure himself of his Passion for Riches. The Possession of great Wealth does not give the Repose, there is in desiring none.

'Tis very rare, that Reason cures the Passions: One Passion is cured by an other: Reason often goes over to the strongest: There is no violent Passion, that has not it's Reason to authorize it.

'Tis Strength of Mind, frankly to confess our Defects and our Perfections; and it is a Weakness, not to be satisfied with what is Good, or Bad in us.

To

To attend well, and to answer well, is a greater Perfection, than that of speaking well and a great deal, without attending and answering to the Things, that are said to us.

Shallowness of Wit, Ignorance and Presumption are the Causes of Obstinacy; for the Obstinate will believe nothing, but what they comprehend, and they comprehend but a very few Things.

'Tis a very common Fault with People, never to be satisfied with their Fortune, nor dissatisfied with their Wit. The Society, and even the Friendship, of most Men, is nothing but a Traffick of Interest, which lasts no longer, than 'tis wanted.

Life is good in it self, and the greatest Blessing in the World, but the worst manag'd: 'Tis of our Irregularities, and not of Life, that we ought to complain.

The Secret to please in Conversation, is not to explain Things too much, tell them by halves, and leave them a little to conjecture: 'Tis a Mark of the good Opinion, one has of others, and nothing so much tickles their Self-Love.

Rallery is often a Mark of the Barrenness of the Mind: It comes into a Man's Assistance, when good Arguments fail him.

True Friendship consists in Speaking with Sincerity; and telling one's Sentiments without Flattery.

Ambition is the Queen of Passions. Love it self and the Laws are subject to her. There are no Unions, she does not dissolve.

Every Thing is fortuitous in Life, even one's equal Birth. There is nothing certain but Death: And yet we act, as if it was the only Thing uncertain.

Put your self always in the Place of him, to whom you would do an Injury, and you won't offend him.

Avoid speaking of your self with too much Advantage. Never search for the Imperfections of other People. 'Tis the only Secret to escape the Lashes of Slander.

Treat all the World civilly at all Times, and never insult over your Neighbour's Calamity, if you would be belov'd by every Body.

True Merit depends not upon the Time, nor the Fashion.

Nothing is more weak, and less reasonable, than to submit one's Judgment to that of other People, without any Use of one's own.

In sad Events, don't pretend to too great Strength of Mind: There is as much Weakness in it, as in excessive Weeping, which is rather a Token, that one would be thought afflicted, than the Proof of a real Affliction.

Above all Things avoid Law-Suits: The Conscience is affected, the Health impair'd, and the Substance squander'd away in them.

Self-Love is the greatest of all Flatterers, and cunninger, than the cunningest in the World.

We have, all of us, Strength enough, to support the Misfortunes of other People.

The Duration of our Passions depends no more upon us, than the Duration of our Lives.

Good Fortune requires greater Vertues to support it, than bad.

Passion often makes a Fool of the most ingenious Man, and often makes the greatest Blockheads ingenious.

If we had no Pride of our own, we should not complain of that of other People.

The Sun and Death cannot be look'd upon steadfastly.

Wha-

Whatever Inequality there appears in the Fortunes of Men, there is, nevertheless, a Compensation of Good and Evil, that makes them equal.

To fix themselves in the World, People do all, they can, to appear fix'd in it.

Fortune turns every Thing to the Advantage of those, she favours.

Our Actions seem to have their fortunate, or unfortunate Stars, to which they owe a great Part of the Praise, and the Blame, they meet with

There is no Kind of Disguise, that can long conceal Love, where it is; nor counterfeit it, where it is not.

Man is the Fire, and Woman the Tow, and the Devil drops in with the Bellows.

Silence is the surest Choice for him, that distrusts himself.

'Tis more dishonourable to suspect our Friends, than to be deceiv'd by them.

Men would not live long together in Society; if they where not the Dupes of one another.

Old Men love to give good Precepts, because they are no longer in a Condition to give bad Examples.

The Mark of an extraordinary Merit, is to see, that those, who envy it the most, are forc'd to praise it.

He that knows not how to ask, knows not how to give.

There are good Marriages; but there are no delicious ones.

Courteous Language is worth much, and costs but little.

To try your Friend, tell him a Trifle: If he keeps your Secret, tell him the most important Matters.

He, that has no Sense at Thirty, will never have any.

Don't put off till to morrow, what you ought to do to-day.

Let us not rest upon the Vertue of our Ancestors: Let us be Persons of Worth our selves.

Peace and Patience, and Death with Repentance.

People give nothing so freely, and so readily, as Counsel.

The Politeness of the Mind lies in forming vertuous and delicate Reflections.

We are so accustom'd to disguise our selves to others, that, in the End, we are a Secret to our selves.

If we did not flatter our selves, the Flattery of others could not hurt us.

Hope, as deceitful as it is, serves, at least, to lead us to the End of Life, by a pleasant Road.

The World oftner rewards the Appearances of Merit, than Merit it self.

When Vices forsake us, we flatter our selves with an Opinion, that 'tis we, who forsake them.

Vertue would not go far, if Vanity did not keep her Company.

We easily forget our Faults, when they are known to none, but our selves.

Most People judge of Men only by the Vogue, they are in, or by their Fortune.

Hypocrisy is a Kind of Hommage, that Vice pays to Vertue.

We are not much troubled for the Misfortunes of our Friends, when they serve to make our Tenderness for them noted.

Youth

Youth is a continual Quarrel; 'tis the Fever of Reason.

Affected Simplicity is a delicate Imposture: the Merit of Men has its Season, as well as Fruits.

We always love those, who admire us; but we don't always love those, whom we admire.

The Gratitude of most Men, is nothing but a secret Longing to receive greater Favours.

Almost every Body takes a Pleasure, in acquitting themselves of small Obligations: Many People have Gratitude for indifferent ones; but there is hardly any body, that is not unthankful for great ones.

We meet with few People of good Sense, but those, that are of our Opinion.

When our Friends have deceiv'd us, we owe nothing, but Indifference, to the Marks of their Friendship; but we always owe some Sensibility to their Misfortunes.

A Man is sometimes a Fool with Wit; but he is never so with Judgment.

Old age is a Tyrant, who forbids, upon Pain of Death, all the Pleasures of Youth.

'Tis easier to be wise for others, than for one's self.

A Man is never so ridiculous by the Qualities, he has, as by those, he affects to have.

No body loves to praise other People; and when they do it, 'tis always with some View. Praise is a close, subtle Flattery, which satisfies both the Giver and the Receiver.

The Disclaiming of Praises is often a Desire, to be prais'd again.

'Tis not enough to have great Qualities; a Man must know how to manage them.

Our Merit gains us the Esteem of worthy Men; and our Star the Esteem of the Public.

There are People distasteful with Merit, and others, who please with Faults.

Vices enter into the Composition of Vertues, as Poisons enter into the Composition of Medicines.

Our Repentance is not so much a Sorrow for the Evil, we have done, as a Dread of that, which may befall us for it.

We had better employ our Minds in supporting the Misfortunes, that befall us, than in foreseeing those, that may befall us.

All People are not despis'd, who have Vices; but every one is despis'd, who has no Vertue.

The Health of the Soul is no more secure, than that of the Body: And though a Man appear forsaken of Passions; he is as much in Danger of being carried away by them, as of falling sick, when he is well.

True Valour is, to do, without Witnesses, what a Man might be capable of doing before all the World

'Tis difficult to judge, whether a clear, ingenuous and honest Proceeding be the Effect of Probity, or of Art.

It makes a Man mad, to be trick'd by his Enemies, and betray'd by his Friends; and he is often content to be both by himself.

The subtlest Point of Cunning is, to dissemble well the falling into the Traps, that are laid for us: And a Man is never so easily deceiv'd, as when he thinks of deceiving others.

Every one gives his Heart a good Character; but no body dares give his Wit one.

What sours us so much against those, who put Tricks upon us, is, that they think themselves cunninger, than we.

The

The greatest Effort of Friendship is, not to shew our own Faults to a Friend, but to let him see his.

We should desire but few Things ardently, if we perfectly knew what we desire.

Most Men adapt Religion to their Interests, instead of adapting their Interests to Religion.

The Vertue of most Men lies, most commonly, in outward Practices, in which the Heart has no manner of Share.

Nothing is more dangerous, than the false Appearances of Piety and Devotion. Hypocrisy has always been the Mask, made Use of, to cover the most pernicious Deligns.

Mistrust your self, and you won't be deceiv'd.

Every one complains of his Memory, but no body complains of his Judgment.

There are Persons, whose Imperfections become them; and others, who are disgrac'd with their good Qualities.

The Happiness of Man in this Life does not consist in being without Passions, but in becoming the Master of them.

Most Men content themselves with knowing, or believing the Things, ordain'd by Religion, without taking Care to follow them.

The Merit and Greatness of a Man should be measur'd only by his Vertue, and not by his Fortune.

True Merit does not consist in great Advantages of the Mind, Body, or Fortune, but in the good Use, we make of those Things.

'Tis the Employment of a great Soul rather to do Things, worthy to be admir'd, than to admire what he himself has done.

Vertue will make a Man noble without the Help of Heraldry, and will get him Veneration

without an Apotheosis: it will gain him Esteem; and Esteem to Vertue is like a fine Air to Plants and Flowers, which makes them blow and prosper.

Sobriety is that, which will secure a Man against Distempers, and make Life pleasant to him; for the Harvest of Diseases do's arise from the Seeds of Intemperance.

Think an Hour before you speak, and a Day before you promise. Hasty Promises are commonly followed with speedy Repentance.

To be humble to superiors is Duty; to Equals, Courtesy; to Inferiors, Nobleness; to all, Safety. Fortune may begin a Man's Greatness; but 'tis Vertue, that must continue it.

All Things, by Nature, in the Universe, are subject to Alteration and Change. How ridiculous then is it, when any Thing do's happen, to be disturbed, or to wonder, as if some strange Thing had happened.

Most Men are guided by Custom, Interest and Passion, and not by Reason.

Such, as can not put themselves forward by true Merit, make a Merit of their Vices and ill Qualities.

True Merit is always accompanied with Civility and Modesty, as the false is with Vanity and Haughtiness.

'Tis often more difficult to support great Merit, than great Imperfections.

There is nothing so vain, nor, at the same Time, so false, as those Marks of Esteem and Affection, Men give one an other, because there is nothing less sincere.

Fine Words and great Promises make no Impression, but upon the Minds of Fools and silly People.

Tis

'Tis a great Weakneſs to be credulous, nothing being more common, than Lying.

If we would know what is ſaid of us in our Abſence, we have nothing to do, but to conſider, what is ſaid of others in our Preſence: No more Regard will be had for us, than for other People.

The ſureſt way to baffle the Reports, that are rais'd of us, and the Rumours, that annoy us, is, to deſpiſe them, and take no Notice of them.

Patience is the ſureſt Remedy againſt Calumnies: Time, ſoon or late, diſcovers the Truth.

Nothing is more capable of confounding our Enemies, than Patience in Injuries. A touchy Man commonly ſhews them his Foibles, and gives them an Opportunity to make an Advantage of it.

There is more Glory in forgiving, than there is Pleaſure in revenging.

Complaints and Reproaches are Remedies for nothing, but to bring thoſe, that make them, into Contempt.

A Man generally reſembles the Company, he keeps. This ought to oblige us, to have no Commerce, but with wiſe and vertuous Perſons.

A Man ſhould endeavour to cure the Suſpicions of others, by a ſincere and ingenuous Way of proceeding: Excuſes and Explanations often ſerve only to render us culpable.

Such, as are for Eclairciſements upon every Thing, have never any Quiet. The Way to live contentedly, is to turn our Eyes from the Cauſes of Diſcontent, that are given us, and to diſſemble them dexterouſly.

The

The Hebrews say, there is no Vertue in forbearing to do any one Wrong; but 'tis a great Vertue, to suffer patiently the Wrong, that is done us.

Opinion is the Cause of most of the Plagues of Mankind. A white Elephant has cost Millions of Men to the Kings of Siam and Pegu. Other Princes have hazarded their own Lives, and those of their People, to make themselves Masters of the Tooth of an Ape, which was become their God.

Merit is not always rewarded. Chance has often more to do in't, than Reflection. Favours are almost always in the Hands of Fortune, and rarely in the Power of Reason; unless they are distributed by that Sort of Men, who know the Worth of Vertue, by their own Experience.

There is in the Heart of Man a continual Propagation of Passions, so that the Ruin of one is almost always the Establishment of an other.

Philosophy easily triumphs over Evils past, and Evils to come; but present Evils triumph over Philosophy.

We are more able, than willing: And 'tis often to excuse us to our selves, that we imagine, Things are impossible.

Truth does not do so much Good in the World, as it's Appearances do Mischief.

Good Grace is to the Body, whad good Sense is to the Mind.

The Love of Justice is, in most Men, nothing but the Fear of suffering Injustice.

In the Troubles of our best Friends, we always find something, that does not displease us.

We oftner please, in the Commerce of Life, by our Imperfections, than by our good Qualities.

While

While Supinity and Timourousnes keep us in our Duty, our Vertue has often all the Honour of it.

We confes our Imperfections, in order to repair, by our Sincerity, the Prejudice, they do us in the Minds of others.

We never confes our Imperfections, but out of Vanity.

Too great Haste to acquit an Obligation, is a Kind of Ingratitude.

There is as much Eloquence in the Tone of the Voice, in the Eyes, and in the Air of the Person, as in the Choice of Words.

A Man has but few Imperfections, which are not more pardonable, than the Methods, he takes, to hide them.

Nothing should so much abate the Satisfaction, we have in our selves, as to see, that we disapprove at one Time, what we approv'd at an other.

Whatever Care a Man takes to cover his Passions, by the Shews of Piety and Honour, they always appear through these Vails.

Men are not only subject to forget both Benefits and Injuries; but they even hate those, that have oblig'd them, and cease to hate those, who have wrong'd and abus'd them. The Trouble in requiting a good Turn, and revenging an ill one, appears a Servitude to them, they have much ado to submit to.

We promise according to our Hopes, and we hold according to our Fears.

Interest speaks all Languages and acts all Parts, even that of the disinterested.

They, that apply themselves too much to little Things, generally become incapable of great ones.

If Lo-

If Love be judg'd of by moſt of it's Effects, it looks more like Hatred, than Affection.

There is but one ſort of Love, but there are a thouſand different Copies.

It is with true Love, as with Apparitions; every body talks of them, but few have ſeen any.

Love lends his Name to an infinite deal of Commerce, that is attributed to him; and wherein he has no more Share, than the Doge in what's done at Venice.

We can love nothing, but with an Eye to our ſelves; and we do nothing, but follow our Humour and our Pleaſure, when we prefer our Friends to our ſelves. 'Tis, nevertheleſs, thro' this Preference alone, that Friendſhip can be true and perfect.

The firſt Movement of Joy, we have for the Proſperity of our Friends, is neither owing to the Goodneſs of our Nature, nor the Friendſhip, we have for them; but is an Effect of Self-Love, which flatters us with the Hope of being happy in our Turn, or of reaping ſome Advantage from their good Fortune.

What Men call Friendſhip, is nothing but a mutual Cultivation of Intereſts, and a Trucking of Good Offices; nothing but a Commerce, wherein Self-love always propoſes to be a Gainer.

The Blindneſs of Men is the moſt dangerous Effect of their Pride. It ſerves to nouriſh and augment it; and hinders us from ſeeing the Remedies, which might alleviate our Miſeries, and cure us of our Diſorders.

Self-love augments, or diminiſhes the good Qualities of our Friends in our Eſteem, in Proportion to the Satisfaction, we have in them: And we judge of their Merit by their Way of living with us.

In

In Friendship, as in Love, a Man is often happier by the Things, he knows not, than by those, he knows.

There are People, who would never have been in Love, if they had never heard talk of Love.

A Man would have but little Pleasure, if he did not flatter himself.

A Man is never so happy, nor so unhappy, as he thinks himself.

'Tis a Kind of Happiness to know, how far a Man is to be unhappy.

When a Man finds not his Repose in himself, 'tis in vain to seek it elsewhere.

Happiness is in the Relish, and not in Things; and 'tis in possessing what he likes, that a Man is happy, and not in possessing what others fancy.

Whatever Shame we have deserv'd, 'tis almost always in our Power to recover our Reputation.

A Man does not please long, when he has but one Sort of Wit.

Wit sometimes helps us stoutly to play the Fool.

In Love, he that is first cur'd, is always best cur'd.

Young Women, who would not appear wanton, and Men in Years, who would not be ridiculous, should never talk of Love, as a Thing, they could share in.

All the Passions make us commit Faults; but Love makes us commit the most ridiculous.

Fortune and Maggotry govern the World.

Penetration has an Air of divining, which flatters our Vanity more, than all the other Qualities of the Mind.

It is easier to know Man in general, than to know one Man in particular.

The surest Mark of being born with great Qualities, is to be born without Envy. We

We ought not to judge of the Merit of a Man by his great Qualities, but by the Use, he makes of them.

Our Pride is often augmented by what we retrench from our other Imperfections.

There are no Fools so troublesome, as those, that have Wit.

We should be greater Gainers by shewing our selves as we are, than by endeavouring to appear what we are not.

Our Enemies come nearer the Truth, in the Judgments, they make of us, than we do our selves.

There is often more Pride, than Goodness, in lamenting the Misfortunes of our Enemies: We shew them Sings of Compassion, to let them see, that we are above them.

We have not the Courage to say in general that we have no Imperfections, and our Enemies no good Qualities; but if we come to Particulars, we are not far from thinking so.

Four Things are necessary to the Happiness of Life; Health, Tranquillity of Mind, Goods of Fortune, sincere Friends.

Flatteries make indifferent Persons sick, irritate the envious, and displease even those, that receive them.

Whatever Care a Man takes to disguise himself, the Passions, soon or late, shew him in his true Colours.

What is done in Passion, is always done against Reason; and gives, afterwards, abundant Matter of Repentance. A Moment of Anger, or of Delight, a Word spoken in Heat, costs sometimes Sorrow, which lasts a Man's whole Life.

The Contempt of Riches was in the Philosophers a secret Desire to revenge their Merit upon the

the Injustice of Fortune, by the Contempt of those very Goods, of which she depriv'd them: 'T was a secret, to secure themselves from the Disgrace of Poverty; a By-way, to come at the Esteem, they could not have by Riches.

Sincerity is an Opening of the Heart: 'Tis found in very few People; and what is ordinarily seen, nothing but an artful Dissimulation, to win the Confidence of others.

If we had no Faults our selves, we should not take so much Pleasure in remarking them in others.

Moderation in good Fortune is nothing, but an Apprehension of the Shame, that follows upon Passion and Transport, or the Fear of losing what a Man has.

A Man never forgets Things better, than when he is weary of talking of them.

The Moderation of Persons, who are easy in the World, is owing to the Calm, that good Fortune gives to their Humours.

Moderation is a Fear of falling into the Envy and Contempt, that such deserve, as are intoxicated with their good Fortune. 'Tis a vain Ostentation of our Fortitude. In a Word, the Moderation of Men, in their highest Elevation, is a Desire to appear greater, than their Fortune.

Moderation is like Sobriety: A Man would willingly eat more; but he is afraid of doing himself Hurt.

The Clemency of Princes is often nothing but a Policy, to gain the Affection of the People.

This Clemency, of which Men make a Vertue, is one While practis'd out of Vanity, another While, out of Supinity, often out of Fear, and almost always out of all three together.

The Caprichio of our Humour is ſtill more fantaſticall, than that of Fortune.

Thoſe, that think they have Merit, make a Brag of being unfortunate, to perſuade others and themſelves, that they are worthy to be the Butts of Fortune.

A Man muſt be able to anſwer for his Fortune, to be able to anſwer for what he ſhall do hereafter.

How can a Man anſwer for what he ſhall do hereafter, ſince he knows not preciſely what he ſhall do at the preſent Time.

There are Men, who make Uſe of their Friends, as they do of their Cloaths, which they leave off, when they have worn them thread-bare.

There is nothing more ridiculous, than to fall into a long Peal of Laughter; and 'tis not a Whit the better, to be the firſt, to laugh at your own Story.

He, who knows but little, has ſoon ſaid what he knows: But 'tis common with thoſe, that know nothing, to love to talk of what they are unacquainted with. This Intemperance of the Tongue is one of the greateſt Plagues of Life.

The whole Univerſe is your Library: Converſation, living Studies, and Remarks upon them are your beſt Tutors.

Man is a vain glorious Animal, who employs his wit in ſearching for the Imperfections of his Fellow.

Patience and tranquillity of Mind contribute more, than the whole Art of Medecine, to cure the Diſtempers of the Body. Brutes, that have not ſo many Anxieties, are neither ſo long, nor ſo dangerouſly ſick, as Men; and cure them

themſelves without Phyſick, by Repoſe alone.

Let nor Price, nor Promiſe of Honours bribe thee, to take Part with the Enemy of thy natural Prince: aſſure thy ſelf, whoever wins, thou art loſt. If thy Prince prevail, thou art proclaimed a Rebel, and branded for Death; if the Enemy proſper, thou ſhalt be reckoned but as a meritorious Traitor, and not ſecure of thy ſelf: He, that loves the Treaſon, hates the Traitor.

If thy Strength of Parts hath rais'd thee to an eminent Place in the Common-wealth, take heed, thou ſit ſure: If not, thy Fall will be the greater: As Worth is fit Matter for Glory; ſo Glory is a fair Mark for Envy. By how much the more thy Advancement was thought the Reward of Deſert; by ſo much thy Fall will adminiſter Matter for Diſdain: It is the ill Fortune of a ſtrong Brain, if not to be dignifi'd as meritorious, to be depreſt as dangerous.

There are three Sorts of Government; Monarchical, Ariſtocratical, Democratical; and they are apt to fall three ſeveral ways into Ruin. The firſt by Tyranny; the ſecond by Ambition; the laſt by Tumult. A Common-wealth grounded upon any one of theſe, is not of long Continuance; but wiſely mingled, each guards the other, and makes that Government exact.

That Religion to me ſeemeth beſt, which is moſt reaſonable; eſpecially if we conſider how much of Intereſt, and the ſtrong Impreſſions of Education there is in that, which Men call Religion. Not that we are to try the Articles of our Creed by the Touch-Stone of Ariſtotle.

A ſound Faith is the beſt Divinity; a good Conſcience the beſt Law, and Temperance the beſt Phyſick.

Set Bounds to Zeal, by Discretion, to Error, by Truth, to Passion, by Reason, to Divisions, by Charity.

Take an exact Account of your Life: be not afraid to look upon the Score, but fearful to encrease it: to despair, because a Man is sinful, is to be worse, because he has been bad.

Religion lies not so much in the Unterstanding, as in the Practise: 'tis to no Purpose to talk like Christians, and live like Infidels. This was it, that made a famous heathen Philosopher say: That there was nothing more glorious, than a Christian in his Discourse, nothing more miserable in his Actions.

Let that Common-wealth, which desires to flourish, be very strict, both in her Punishments and Rewards, according to the Merits of the Subject, and Offence of the Delinquent: let the Service of the Deserver be rewarded, lest thou discourage Worth; and let the Crime of the Offender be punish'd, lest thou encourage Vice: the Neglect of the one weakens a Common-Wealth; the Omission of both ruins it.

It is Wisdom for him, that sits at the Helm of a settled State, to demean himself toward his Subjects, at all times, so, that, upon any evil Accident, they may be ready to serve his Occasion: He, that is only gracious at the Approach of a Danger, will be in Danger, when he expects Deliverance.

That Prince, who stands in Fear more of his own People, than of Strangers, ought to build Fortresses in his Land: But he, that is more afraid of Strangers, than of his own People, shall build them more secure in the Affections of his Subjects.

Carry

Carry a watchfull Eye upon Dangers, before they come to Ripeneſs; and when they are ripe, let looſe a ſpeedy Hand: He that expects them too long, or meets them too ſoon, gives Advantage to the Evil: Commit their Beginnings to Argus his hundred Eyes, and their Ends to Briareus his hundred Hands, and thou art ſafe.

It is neceſſary Wiſdom in a Prince to encourage, in his Kingdom, Manufacture, Merchandiſe, Arts, and Arms: In Manufacture lye the vital Spirits of the Body Politick: In Merchandiſe, the Spirits Natural: In Arts and Arms, the Animal. If either of theſe flouriſh, the Body flouriſhes:

It is more excellent for a Prince, to have a provident Eye, for the preventing future Miſchiefs, than to have a potent Arm, for ſuppreſſing preſent Evils: Miſchiefs, in a State, are like hectick Feavers in a Body. In the Beginning hard to be known, but eaſy to be cured; but, let it alone a while, it becomes more eaſy to be known, but more hard to be cured.

It is an infallible Sign of approaching Ruin in a Republick, when Religion is neglected, and her eſtabliſh'd Ceremonies interrupted: Let therefore that Prince, that would be potent, be pious; and that he may puniſh Looſneſs the better, let him be religious. The Joy of Jeruſalem depends upon the Peace of Sion.

It is a Princely Alchymy, out of a neceſſary War, to extract an honourable Peace, and more beſeeming the Majeſty of a Prince, to thirſt after Peace, than Conqueſt: Bleſſedneſs is promis'd to the Peace-maker, not to the Conqueror. It is a happy State, whoſe Prince hath a peacefull

Hand, and a martial Heart, able both to use Peace and to manage War.

If thou be ambitious of Honour, and yet fearfull of the Canker of Honour, Envy; so behave thy self, that Opinion may be satisfied in this, that thou seekest Merit, and not Fame; and that thou attributest thy Preferment rather to Providence, than to thy own Vertue: Honour is a due Debt to the Deserver; and who ever envied the Payment of a Debt; a just Advancement is a providential Act; and who ever envied the Act of Providence?

It is very requisite for a Prince, to keep the Church always in Proportion to the State. If the Government of the one be Monarchical, and the other Democratical, they will agree, like Metal, joined with Clay, but for a while. Durable is that State, were Aaron commands the People, and where Moses commands Aaron; but most happy, in the Continuance, where God commands both.

If a Prince expect vertuous Subjets, let his Subjects have a vertuous Prince; so shall he the better punish the Vices of his degenerate Subjects; so shall they trulier prize Vertue, and follow it, being exemplified in their Prince.

Three Ways there are to begin a Repute, and gain Dignities in a Commonwealth. The first, by the Vertue of glorious Parents, which, till thou degenerate too much, may raise thee upon the Wings of Opinion: The second is, by associating with those, whose Actions are known eminent: The third, by acting some Exploit, either publick, or private, which in thy Hand has proved honourable. The two first may miss, being founded on Oplnion: the last seldom fails; being grounded upon Evidence.

A

A Promise is a Child of the Understanding and the Will; the Understanding begets it, the Will brings it forth: he that performs it, delivers the Mother: he that breaks it, murthers the Child. If it be begotten in the Absence of the Understanding, it is a Bastard, but the Child must be kept. If thou mistrust thy Understanding, promise not: if thou hast promised, break it not: it is better to maintain a Bastard, than to murther a Child.

Charity is a naked Child, giving Hony to a Bee without Wings: naked, because excuseless and simple; a Child, because tender and growing; giving Hony, because Hony is pleasant and comfortable; to a Bee, because a Bee is laborious and deserving; without Wings, because helpless and wanting. If thou denyest to such, thou killest a Bee; if thou givest to other, than such, thou preservest a Drone.

Before thy Undertaking of any Design, weigh the Glory of thy Action with the Danger of the Attempt; if the Glory outweigh the Danger, it is Cowardize to neglect it; if the Danger exceed the Glory, it is Rashness to attempt it; if the Ballances stand poiz'd, let thy own Genius cast them.

Would'st thou know the Lawfulness of the Action, which thou desirest to undertake? let thy Devotion recommend it to divine Blessing: if it be lawful, thou shalt perceive thy Heart encouraged by thy Prayer: if unlawful, thou shalt find thy Prayer discourag'd by thy Heart. That Action is not warrantable, which either blushes to beg a Blessing, or having succeeded, dares not present Thanksgiving.

If evil Men speak good, or good Men evil of thy Conversation, examine all thy Actions, and

ſuſpect thy ſelf. But if evil Men ſpeak evil of thee, hold it as thy Honour, and by way of Thankfulneſs, love them, but upon Condition, that they continue to hate thee.

If thou hope to pleaſe all, thy Hopes are vain; if thou fear to diſpleaſe ſome, thy Fears are idle. The Way to pleaſe thy ſelf, is not to diſpleaſe the beſt, and the way to diſpleaſe the beſt, is to pleaſe the moſt: if thou canſt faſhion thy ſelf to pleaſe all, thou ſhalt diſpleaſe him, that is all in all.

If thou neglecteſt thy Love to thy Neighbour, in vain thou profeſſeſt thy Love to God: for by thy Love to God, the Love to thy Neighbour is begotten, and by the Love to thy Neighbour, thy Love to God is nouriſht.

Thy Ignorance, in unrevealed Myſteries, is the Mother of ſaving Faith; and thy Underſtanding in revealed Truths, is the Mother of a ſecret Knowledge: underſtand not therefore, that thou mayeſt believe, but believe, that thou mayeſt underſtand. Underſtanding is the Wages of a lively Faith, and Faith is the Reward of an humble Ignorance.

Pride is the Ape of Charity; in Show, not much unlike, but ſomewhat fuller of Action. In ſeeking the one, take Heed, thou light not upon the other: they are two Parallels; never but aſunder: Charity feeds the Poor, ſo does Pride: Charity builds an Hoſpital, ſo does Pride: in this they differ; Charity gives her Glory to God; Pride takes her Glory from Man.

Flatter not thy ſelf in thy Faith to God, if thou want'ſt Charity for thy Neighbour; and think not, thou haſt Charity for thy Neighbour, if thou want'ſt Faith to God; where they are not both together, they are both wanting; they are both dead, if once divided.

Be

Be not too slow in the breaking of a sinful Custom: a quick couragious Resolution is better, than a gradual Deliberation in such a Combat: he is the bravest Soldier, that lays about him without Fear, or Wit: Wit pleads, Fear disheartens; He that would kill Hydra, had better strike off one Neck, than five Heads. Fell the Tree, and the Branches are soon cut off.

Be carefull rather of what thou dost, than of what thou hast: for what thou hast, is none of thine, and will leave thee at thy Death, or thou the Pleasure of it, in thy Sickness. But what thou dost, is thine, and will follow thee to thy Grave, and plead for thee, or against thee, at thy Resurrection.

Let not thy Fancy be guided by thine Eye; nor let thy Will be governed by thy Fancy: thine Eye may be deceived in her Object, and thy Fancy may be deluded in her Subject: let thy Understanding moderate between thine Eye, and thy Fancy, and let thy Judgement arbitrate between thy Fancy and thy Will; so shall thy Fancy apprehend what is true: so shall thy Will elect what is Good.

Endeavour to subdue as well thy irascible, as thy concupiscible Affections: To endure Injuries with a brave Mind, is one half of the Conquest: and to abstain from pleasing Evils with a couragious Spirit, is the other. The Sum of all Humanity, and Height of moral Perfection is, bear, and forbear.

It thou desire not to be too poor, desire not to be too rich: he is rich, not he, that possesses much, but he, that covets no more: and he is poor, not he, that enjoys little, but he, that wants much: The contented Mind wants nothing,

thing, which it hath not: the covetous Mind wants not only what it hath not, but likewise what it hath.

The outward Senses are the Common Cinqueports, where every Subject lands towards the Understanding. The Ear hears a confused Noise, and presents it to the common Sense. The common Sense distinguishes the several Sounds, and conveys it to the Fancy. The Fancy wildly descants on it. The Understanding (whose Object is Truth) apprehending it to be Musick, commends it to the Judgement: The Judgement severally, and jointly examines it, and recommends it to the Will: The Will (whose Object is Good) approves it, or dislikes it, and the Memory records it. And so in the other Senses, according to their Subjects. Observe this Progress, and thou shalt easily find, where the Defect of every Action lies.

The Way to subject all Things to thy self, is to subject thy self to Reason: Thou shalt govern many, if Reason govern thee: Would'st thou be crowned the Monarch of a little World? command thy self.

Search into thy self, before thou accept the Ceremony of Honour: If thou art a Palace, Honour (like the Sun-Beams) will make thee more glorious: If thou art a Dung-hill; the Sun may shine upon thee, but not sweeten thee. Thy Prince may give Honour, but not make thee honourable.

A Vow, a Promise, and a Resolution, have all one Object, only differ in Respect of the Persons, to whom they are made. The first is between God and Man. The second between Man and Man. The third between Man and his own Soul. They all bind, if the Object be law-

lawful, to Neceſſity of Performance: if unlawful, to Neceſſity of Sin; they all take thee Priſoner. If the Object be lawful, thy Performance hath redeem'd thee; if unlawful, Blood and Tears muſt ranſom thee.

If thou haſt any Buſineſs of Conſequence in Agitation; let thy Care be reaſonable, and ſeaſonable. Continual ſtanding bent weakens the Bow, too haſty drawing breaks it. Put off thy Cares with thy Cloaths; ſo ſhall thy Reſt ſtrengthen thy Labour, and ſo ſhall thy Labour ſweeten thy Reſt.

When thy inordinate Affections do flame towards tranſitory Happineſs, quench them thus: think with thy ſelf; if my Prince ſhould give me what Honour he hath to beſtow, or beſtow on me what Wealth he hath to give; it could not ſtay with me, becauſe it is tranſitory, nor I with it, becauſe I am mortal. Then reviſe thy Affections, and weigh them with their Object, and thou wilt either confeſs thy Folly, or make a wiſer Choice.

With three Sorts of Men enter in to no ſerious Friendſhip: the ungratefull Man: the multiloquious Man; the Coward: the firſt cannot prize thy Favours; the ſecond cannot keep thy Councel; the third dares not vindicate thy Honour.

God is Alpha and Omega, in the great World; make him ſo in the little World; make him thy Evening Epilogue, and thy Morning Prologue; practice to make him thy laſt Thought at Night, when thou goeſt to ſleep; and thy firſt Thought in the Morning, when thou awakeſt: ſo ſhall thy Fancy be ſanctified in the Night, and thy Underſtanding rectified in the Day; ſo ſhall thy Reſt be peaceſull, thy Labo-

Labours prosperous, thy Life pious, and thy Death glorious.

Natural Anger glances into the Breasts of wise Men, but rests in the Bosom of Fools: in them it is Infirmity; in these, a Sin: there is a natural Anger; and there is a spiritual Anger; the common Object of that, is the Person; of this, his Vice: Be angry, but sin not; He, that is always angry with his Sin, shall seldom sin in his Anger.

When thou seest misery in thy Brother's Face, let him see Mercy in thine Eye: the more the Oil of Mercy is pour'd on him by thy Pity, the more the Oil in thy Cruse shall be encreased by thy Piety.

Read not Books alone, but Men, and amongst them chiefly thy self: if thou find any Thing questionable there, use the Commentary of a severe Friend; rather than the Gloss of a sweetlip'd Flatterer: there is more Profit in a distasteful Truth, than in deceitful Sweetness.

Deliberate long, before thou consecrate a Friend, and when thy impartial Judgement concludes him worthy of thy Bosom, receive him joyfully, and entertain him wisely: impart thy Secrets boldly, and mingle thy Thoughts with his. He is thy very self, and use him so; if thou firmly think him faithful, thou mak'st him so.

As there is no worldly Gain, without some Loss; so there is no worldly Loss without some Gain. If thou hast lost thy Wealth, thou hast lost some Trouble with it; if thou art degraded from thy Honour, thou art likewise freed from the Stroak of Envy; if Sickness hath blurt'd thy Beauty, it has deliver'd thee from Pride; set the Allowance against the Loss, and thou shalt find

no

no Loss great: He loses little, or nothing, that reserves himself.

If thou art rich, strive to command thy Money, lest she command thee: if thou know how to use her, she is thy Servant, if not, thou art her Slave.

So use Prosperity, that Adversity may not abuse thee: if, in the one, Security admits no Fears; in the other, Despair will afford no Hopes: He, that in Prosperity can foretel a Danger, can in Adversity foresee Deliverance.

If thy Faith have no Doubts, thou hast just Cause to doubt thy Faith; and if thy Doubts have no Hope, thou hast just Reason to fear Despair; when therefore thy Doubts shall exercise thy Faith, keep thy Hopes firm to qualify thy Doubts; so shall thy Faith be secured from Doubts: so shall thy Doubts be preserved from Despair.

If thou desire to be truly valiant, fear to do any Injury; He, that fears not to do Evil, is allways afraid to suffer Evil: He, that never fears, is desperate; and he, that fears always, is a Coward: He is the true valiant Man, that dares nothing, but what he may, and fears nothing, but what he ought.

If thou desire that inestimable Grace of saving Faith, detest that insatiable Vice of damnable Covetousness: It is impossible, one heart (though never so double) should lodge both: Faith possesses thee of what thou hast not; Covetousness dispossesses thee of what thou hast: Thou canst not serve God, unless Mammon serve thee.

He that professes himself thy open Enemy, arms thee against the Evil, he means thee; but he that dissembles himself thy secret Friend, stri-

ſtrikes beyond Caution, and wounds above Cure; from the firſt, thou mayſt deliver thy ſelf: from the laſt, good Lord deliver thee.

Not to give to the Poor, is to take from him: not to feed the Hungry, if thou haſt it, is the utmoſt of thy Power to kill him: That therefore thou may'ſt avoid both Sacrilege and Murther, be charitable.

So often as thou remembreſt thy Sins without Grief, ſo often thou repeateſt thoſe Sins, for not grieving: He, that will not mourn for the Evil, which he hath done, gives Earneſt for the Evil, he means to do: Nothing can aſſwage that Fire, which Sin hath made, but only that Water, which Repentance hath drawn.

Look well, before thou leap into the Chair of Honour: The higher thou climbeſt, the lower thou falleſt: if Vertue prefer thee, Vertue will preſerve thee; if Gold, or Favour, advance thee, thy Honour is but pinn'd upon the Wheel of Fortune; when the Wheel ſhall turn, thy Honour falls, and thou remain'ſt an everlaſting Monument of thy own ambitious Folly.

Thou didſt nothing towards thy own Creation, for thou wert created for thy Creator's Glory: Thou muſt do ſomething towards thy own Redemption, for thou wert redeemed for thy own good: He, that made thee without thee, will not ſave thee without thee.

Gold is Cæſar's Treaſure, Man is God's: Thy Gold hath Cæſar's Image, and thou haſt God's: Give therefore thoſe Things unto Cæſar, which are Cæſar's; and thoſe things unto God, which are God's.

In the Commiſſion of Evil, fear no Man ſo much, as thy own ſelf: an other is but one Witneſs againſt thee, thou art a thouſand: an

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other thou may'ſt avoid, but thy ſelf thou canſt not; Wickedneſs is it's own Puniſhment.

Let thy Recreation be manly, moderate, ſeaſonable, lawful; if thy Life be ſedentary, more tending to the Exerciſe of thy Body; if active, more to the refreſhing of thy Mind: the Uſe of Recreation, is to ſtrengthen thy Labour and ſweeten thy Reſt.

Take Heed of that Honour, which thy Wealth hath purchaſed thee; for it is nether laſting, nor thine own. What Money creates, Money preſerves: if thy Wealth decays, thy Honour dies: it is but a ſlippery Happineſs, which Fortunes can give, and Frowns can take; and not worth the owning, which a Night's Fire can melt, or a rough Sea can drown.

Spend a hundred Years in Earth's beſt Pleaſures; add after that, a hundred more, to which, being ſpent, add a thouſand; and to that, ten thouſand more; the laſt ſhall as ſurely end, as the firſt are ended, and all ſhall be ſwallowed with Eternity. He, that is born to day, is not ſure lo live a Day; he, that hath lived the longeſt, is but as he, that was born yeſterday. The Happineſs of the one is, that he hath liv'd; the Happineſs of the other is, that he may live; and the Lot of both is, that they muſt die. It is no Happineſs to live long, nor Unhappineſs to die ſoon: happy is he, that hath liv'd long enough, to die well.

Hath any wronged thee? Be bravely reveng'd: ſlight it, and the Work's begun; forgive it, and 'tis finiſh'd: he is below himſelf, that is not above an Injury.

In all the Ceremonies of the Church, which remain indifferent, do according to the Conſtitution of that Church, where thou art; The

The God of Order and Unity, who created both the Soul and the Body, expects Unity in the one, and Order in both.

Let the Foundation of thy Affection be Vertue, then make the Building as rich, and as glorious, as thou canst: if the Foundation be Beauty, or Wealth, and the Building Vertue; the Foundation is too weak for the Building, and it will fall; happy is he, the Palace of whose Affection is founded upon Vertue, wall'd with Riches, glaz'd with Beauty, and roof'd with Honour.

The Birds of the Air die to sustain thee; the Beasts of the Field die to nourish thee; the Fishes of the Sea die to feed thee. Our Stomacks are their common Sepulcher. Good God, with how many Deaths are our poor Lives patch'd up! How full of Death is the miserable Life of momentary Man!

In seeking Vertue, if thou find Poverty, be not ashamed: the Fault is none of thine. Thy Honour, or Dishonour, is purchased by thy own Actions. Though Vertue give a ragged Livery, she gives a golden Cognizance: If her Service make thee poor, blush not. Thy Poverty may disadvantage thee, but not dishonour thee.

Take no Pleasure in the Folly of an Idiot, nor in the Fancy of a Lunatick, nor in the Frenzy of a Drunkard. Make them the Object of thy Pity, not of thy Pastime; when thou behold'st them, behold, how thou art beholding to him, that suffered thee not to be like them. There is no Difference between thee and them, but God's Favour.

Use Law and Physick only for Necessity: they, that use them otherwise, abuse them sel-

ſelves into weak Bodies, and light Purſes: they are good Remedies, bad Buſineſſes, and worſe Recreations.

If thou art call'd to the Dignity of a Prieſt, the ſame Voice calls thee to the Honour of a Judge; if thy Life and Doctrine be good, thou ſhalt judge others; if thy Doctrine be good, and thy Life bad, only thy ſelf: if both be good, thou teacheſt thy People to eſcape Condemnation: if this be good, and that bad, thou teacheſt God to condemn thee.

If thou deſire the Happineſs of thy Soul, the Health of thy Body, the Proſperity of thy Eſtate, the Preſervation of thy Credit, converſe not with a Harlot; her Eyes run thy Reputation in Debt; her Lips demand the Payment; her Breaſts arreſt thee; her Arms impriſon thee; from whence, believe it, thou ſhalt hardly get forth, till thou haſt either ended the Days of thy Credit, or pay'd the utmoſt Farthing of thy Eſtate.

If thou haſt an Eſtate, and a Son to inherit it, keep him not too ſhort, leſt he think, thou liveſt too long: What thou alloweſt him, let him receive from thy Hand, as a Gift, not from thy Tenants, as Rent: keep the Reins of thy Eſtate in thy own Hand, leſt, thou forſaking the Soveraignty of a Father, he forget the Reverence of a Child: let his Liberty be grounded on thy Permiſſion; and keep him within the Compaſs of thy Inſtruction: let him feel, thou haſt the Curb, though Occaſion urge thee not to check. Give him the Choice of his own Wife, if he be wiſe. Counſel his Affection, rather than croſs it, if thou beeſt wiſe, leſt his Marriage-bed be made in ſecret, or depend upon thy Grave. If he be given to

bad Company, endeavour to ſtave him off with lawfull Recreations; be chearfull with him, that he may love thy Preſence; and wink at ſmall Faults, that thou mayſt gain him: be not always chiding, leſt thou harden him, neither knit thy Brow too often, leſt thou diſhearten him remember, the Diſcretion of a Father oft-times prevents the Deſtruction of a Child.

Money is both the Generation and Corruption of purchas'd Honour. Honour is both the Child and Slave of potent Money; the Credit, which Honour hath loſt, Money hath found; when Honour grew mercenary, Money grew honourable. The Way to be truly noble, is to contemn both.

Hath any wounded thee with Injuries? meet them with Patience; haſty Words wranckle the Wound, ſoft Language dreſſes it: Forgiveneſs cures it, and Oblivion takes away the Scarr. It is more noble, by Silence, to avoid an Injury, than, by Argument, to overcome it.

Be not inſtable in thy Reſolutions, nor various in thy Actions, nor inconſtant in thy Affections: ſo deliberate, that thou may'ſt perform; ſo perform, that thou may'ſt perſevere: Mutability is the Badge of Infirmity.

Wouldſt thou traffick with the beſt Advantage, and crown thy Ventures with the beſt Return; Make the Poor thy Chapman, and thy Purſe thy Factor: So ſhalt thou give Trifles, which thou could'ſt not keep, to receive Treaſures, which thou canſt not loſe: There's no ſuch Merchant, as the charitable Man.

Love thy Neighbour for God's ſake, and God for his own ſake, who created all Things for thy ſake, and redeemed thee for his Mercy's ſa-

ſake: If thy Love have any other Object, it is falſe Love; If thy Object have any other End, it is Self-Love.

Let thy Converſation with Men be ſober and ſincere; let thy Devotion to God be dutiful and decent: Let the one be hearty, and not haughty; let the other be humble, and not homely: So live with Men, as if God ſaw thee; ſo pray to God, as if Men heard thee.

In thy Diſcourſe take heed, what thou ſpeakeſt, to whom thou ſpeakeſt, how thou ſpeakeſt, and when thou ſpeakeſt: what thou ſpeakeſt, ſpeak truly; when thou ſpeakeſt, ſpeak wiſely. A Fool's Heart is in his Tongue; but a wiſe Man's Tongue is in his Heart.

If thou wouldſt preſerve a ſound Body, uſe faſting and walking; if a healthful Soul, faſting and praying; walking exerciſes the Body; praying exerciſes the Soul, faſting cleanſes both.

Deſir'ſt thou Knowledge? know the End of thy Deſire: Is it only to know? then it is Curioſity: Is it becauſe thou mayſt be known? then 'tis Vanity: If, becauſe thou mayſt edifie, it is Charity; if, becauſe thou mayſt be edified, it is Wiſdom. That Knowledge turns to meer Excrement, that hath not ſome Health of Wiſdom to digeſt it.

Wiſdom without Innocency is Knavery; Innocency without Wiſdom is Foolery; be therefore as wiſe, as Serpents, and innocent, as Doves: the Subtilty of the Serpent inſtructs the Innocency of the Dove: the Innocency of the Dove the Subtilty of the Serpent: what God hath joyn'd together, let no Man ſeparate.

Hath Fortune dealt thee ill Cards? let Wisdom make thee a good Gamester: in a fair Gale every Fool may sail, but wise Behaviour in a Storm commends the Wisdom of a Pilot: to bear Adversity with an equal Mind, is both the Sign and Glory of a brave Spirit.

Consider what thou wert, what thou art, what thou shalt be: what's above thee, what's beneath thee, what's against thee; what was before thee, what shall be after thee; and this will bring to thy self Humility, to thy Neighbour Charity, to the World Contempt, to thy God Obedience; He, that knows not himself positively, can not know himself relatively.

If, being a Magistrate, thou connivest at Vice, thou nourishest it: if thou sparest it, thou committest it: What is not by thee punisht in others, is made punishable in thee. He, that favours present Evils, entails them upon his Posterity: he, that excuses the Guilty, condems the Innocent.

Demean thy self more warily in thy Study, than in the Street: If thy publick Actions have a hundred Witnesses, thy private have a thousand. The Multitude looks but upon thy Actions, thy Conscience looks into them: the Multitude may chance to excuse thee, if not acquit thee; thy Conscience will accuse thee, if not condemn thee.

If thy Sin trouble thee, let that Trouble confort thee; as Pleasure in the Remembrance of Sin exasperates Justice; so Sorrow in the Repentance of Sin mollifies Mercy: it is less Danger to commit the Sin, we delight in, than to delight in the Sin, we have committed; and more Joy is promis'd to Repentance, than to Innocency.

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Consider not so much what thou hast, as what others want; what thou hast, take Heed, thou lose not; what thou hast not take Heed, thou covet not. If thou hast many above thee; turn thy Eye upon those, that are under thee: if thou hast no Inferiours, have Patience a While, and thou shalt have no Superiours. The Grave requires no Marshal.

If the wicked flourish, and thou suffer, discourage not: they are fatted for Destruction, thou art dieted for Health: they have no other Heaven, but the Hopes of a long Earth; thou hast nothing on Earth, but the Hopes of a quick Heaven: If there were no Journey's End, the travelling of a Christian would be most comfortless.

Take Heed, thou Harbour not that Vice call'd Envy, left an others Happiness be thy Torment, and God's Blessing become thy Curse: Vertue, corrupted with vain Glory, turns Pride: Pride, poyson'd with Malice, becomes Envy: joyn therefore Humility with thy Vertue, and Pride shall have no footing, and Envy shall find no Entrance.

The two Knowledges of God, and thy self, are the high Way to thy Salvation: that breeds in thee a filial Love; this a filial Fear. The Ignorance of thy self is the Beginning of all Sin; and the Ignorance of God, is the Perfection of all Evil.

Rather do nothing to the Purpose, than be idle, that the Devil may find thee doing. The Bird, that sits, is easily shot, when Fliers 'scape the Fowler. Idleness is the dead Sea, that swallows all Vertues, and the self-made Sepulcher of a living Man. The idle Man is the Devil's Hireling, whose Livery is Rags,

whose Diet and Wages are Famine and Diseases.

With the same Height of Desire thou hast sinn'd, with the like Depth of Sorrow thou must repent: Thou hast sinn'd to day, deferr not thy Repentance till to morrow; he, that hath promised Pardon to thy Repentance, hath not promised Life, till thou repent.

Take heed, how thou receivest Praise from Men: from good Men, neither avoid it, nor glory in it. From evil Men, neither desire it, nor expect it. To be praised of them, that are evil, or for that, which is evil, is equal Dishonour: He is happy in his Worth, who is praised by the good, and imitated by the bad.

Dost thou want Things necessary? Grumble not: Perchance it was a necessary Thing, thou shouldst want: Endeavour lawfully to suply it; if God bless not thy Endeavour, bless him, that knoweth what is fittest for thee: Thou art God's Patient. Prescribe not thy Physician.

If thou expect Death as a Friend, prepare to entertain it: if thou expect Death as an Enemy, prepare to overcome it; Death has no Advantage, but when it comes a Stranger.

God has sent thee a Cross; take it up and follow him: use it wisely, lest it be unprofitable; bear it patiently, lest it be intolerable; behold in it God's Anger against Sin, and his Love towards thee, in punishing the one, and chastising the other: if it be light, slight it not; if heavy, murmur not: not to be sensible of Judgement, is the Symptom of a hardned Heart; and to be displeas'd at his Pleasure, is a Sign of a rebellious Will.

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If thou desire to be magnanimous, undertake nothing rashly, and fear nothing, thou undertak'it: fear nothing, but Infamy: dare any thing, but Injury: the Measure of Magnanimity, is neither to be rash, nor timerous.

Be not punctual in taking Place, if he be thy Superiour, 'tis his Due; if thy Inferiour, 'tis his Dishonour: it is thou must honour thy Place; the Place not thee. It is a poor Reward of Worth, that consists in a right Hand, or a Brickwall.

Insult not over Misery, nor deride Infirmity, nor despise Deformity. The first shews thy Inhumanity; the second thy Folly; the third thy Pride: he, that made him miserable, made thee happy, to lament him: he, that made him weak, made thee strong, to suport him: he, that made him deform'd, gave thee Favour, to be humbled: he, that is not sensible of an other's Unhappiness, is a living Stone; but he, that makes Misery the Object of his Triumph, is an incarnate Devil.

Praise no Man too liberally before his Face, nor censure him too lavishly behind his Back: the one savours of Flattery, the other, of Malice, and both are reprehensible: the true Way to advance an other's Vertue, is to follow it; and the best Means to cry down an other's Vice, is to decline it.

If thou giveſt to receive the like, it is Exchange; if to receive more, it is Covetousness; if to receive Thanks, it is Vanity; if to be seen, it is vain Glory; if to corrupt, it is Bribery; if for Example, it is Formality? if for Compassion, it is Charity; if because thou art commanded, it is Obedience. Affection in doing the Work, gives a Name to the Work done.

If the Knowledge of Good whet thy Desire to Good, it is a happy Knowledge; if, by thy Ignorance of Evil, thou art surpriz'd with Evil, it is an unhappy Ignorance. Happy is he, that hath so much Knowledge of Good, as to desire it, and but so much Knowledge of Evil, as to fear it.

In civil Things follow the most; in Matters of Religion, the fewest; in all Things follow the best: So shall thy Ways be pleasing to God; so shall thy Behaviour be plausible with Men.

If Opinion hath lighted the Lamp of thy Name, endeavour to encourage it with thy own Oyl, lest it go out and stink. The chronical Disease of Popularity is Shame. If thou be once up, beware: From Fame to Infamy is a beaten Road.

Cleanse thy morning Soul with private and due Devotions; till then admit no Business: the first born of thy Thoughts are God's, and not thine, but by Sacrilege: think thy self not ready, till thou hast prais'd him, and he will be always ready to bless thee.

In all thy Actions think, God sees thee; and in all his Actions labour to see him: that will make thee fear him, this will move thee to love him. The Fear of God is the Beginning of Knowledge, and the Knowledge, of God is Perfection of Love.

Make Use of Time, if thou lov'st Eternity: know, yesterday cannot be recall'd, to morrow can not be assured; to day is only thine; which, if thou procrastinate, thou loseſt; which lost, is lost for ever.

A Speech of the Salick Law, made by Henry Chichelle, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, who lived in the Times of HENRY the V. and VI. Kings of England.

(*In the Life of this Prelate, written in Latin by Arth. Duck, LL. D. and reprinted in English at London* 1699. *p.* 50.)

King *Edward* III. Son to *Edward* II. by *Isabella*, Daughter of *Philipp* the fair, King of France, demanded the *Crown* of *France* by his Embassadors; but this claiming being rejected under Pretence of the *Salick Law*, by which the *Crown* is to descend upon the *Male-line* only, asserting, that no *Woman* should inherit in *Salick Land*, and *Philipp* de Valois, Son to *Charles* de Valois, who was Brother to *Philipp* the fair, and Germain to the late King *Charles*, the fair, only surviving Male-Heir of the Line of *Philipp*, the fair, his Father dying without Issue, and Valois being acknowledged for King of France; *Edward* presently assumed the Title of King of France, which the Kings

of England have used ever since. *Edward* successfully invaded France, and entailed the Quarrel upon his Successors. *Richard* II. a weak Prince, desisted wholly from the War of France. *Henry* IV. a vaillant Prince, being diverted by Rebellions of the *Welsh* and intestine Commotions, would not employ the whole Force of the Kingdom against the French. But in *Henry* V. all Opportunities concurred for carrying on the War, a vigorous Age, a great Courage, Riches and Peace at home. Besides which the Arch-Bishop *Chichelle* thought, that the fierce and restless Dispositions of the young King ought to be employ'd in some difficult *Enterprise*, and that the only Way to keep him from making any *Disturbances* at home, was to shew him an Enemy abroad; as there is no other Way to stop the Fury of a *Torrent*, but by dividing the *Water* into several *Channels*. For this End he rose from his Seat in the House of Lords, and addressed himself to the King, who sate on his *Throne*, in this Manner.

May it please Your Highness,

In this Consultation about the publick Affairs of the *Kingdom*, when so many Things have been proposed, tending to restrain the *Vices* of Your *Subjects* by good *Laws*, to the impartial Administration of *Justice*, and to the Establishment of the *Kingdom*, it would be accounted the highest Ingratitude, if I alone, who by Your Bounty have been lately advanced to the highest *Pitch* of Honour, should conceal those Things, which seem so necessary to me, for enlarging the *Bounds* of Your *Dominion* and advancing Your Reputation amongst foreign *Nations*. For although by establishing good

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and wholesome *Laws*, by the due Administration of *Justice*, and by the Settlement of *Peace* at home, You may live safely and securely; yet certainly You will have but little Regard to Your *Honour*, unless You look abroad, and consider, how You may extend the *Limits* of Your *Empire*, and revenge the Injuries done to You by Your *Enemies*. For this Opinion hath been constantly received by all Princes whatsoever, that the *Eminence* of Kingly Dignity doth consist not so much in the *Nobility* of their *Birth*, the Enjoyment of *Pleasures*, the Abundance of all Things, the *Wealth* of their Subjects, and the *Peace* of their Kingdoms; as in the Extent of their Dominion, the Multitude of their Subjects and the Number of their *Towns*. And though the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, which are devolved upon You from a long Series of Your Ancestors, may sufficiently furnish You with all these; yet they are very small, if compared with the spacious Kingdom of *France*, which in Number of *People*, the *Wealth* of it's Cities, in strong *Garrisons* and fortified *Towns*, exceeds all the Kingdoms in the *World*, containing, as the French themselves report, above eighty *Provinces* exceeding populous; one hundred and eight *Bishop's - Sees*, above one thousand *Convents*, and thirteen thousand *Parishes*. All which descending to Your Highness by Right of Inheritance from *Edward* the third, Your Great-Grand-Father, are injustly detained by *Charles* the sixth, commonly call'd King of France; to say nothing of those Injuries, which are daily offerr'd Your Subjects in *Normandy*, *Gascogne*, *Aquitain*, and the Provinces of *Anjou* and *Maines*, which Your Ancestors long

long ago possessed by an other Kind of *Title*, and with the Consent of the French them selves. And that they may have some Colour for this Injustice, they obtrude upon You the *Salick Law*, made by *Pharamond*, the first King of Francs, by which Law, they say, it is provided, that no *Woman* shall succeed in *Salick Land*, affirming by a fallacious Interpretation, that, by the *Salick-Land*, is meant the *Kingdom of France*; and by this Cheat they would debar the *Female Line* of their Right of *Succession*, and defraud them of their Inheritance. Now the very *Title* of the *Law* doth sufficiently evince the *Novelty* of this Interpretation. For it is affirmed by most of the Writers of that Nation, that *Pharamond* was only Duke of *Franconia* in Germany, that he never passed the *Rhine*, nor ever came near the Confines of France; but that, four hundred Years after his Death, when *Charles* the great had conquer'd the *Saxons*, and brought them over to Christianity, some of his Soldiers passing the *Rhine*, settled their Habitations upon the River *Sala* (who from thence were called *Salick Francs*) in that Part of *Germany*, which now is call'd *Misnia*; and that, being very much offended at the immodest Behaviour of the German *Women*, they made a Law, by which they excluded that *Sex* from inheriting any Part of the *Salick-Land*. So that this Constitution is absurdly ascribed to *Pharamond*, which had it's Original from a People, that sprung up four hundred Years after him, and can no more concern the *French*, than it doth the *Belgian*, who, at that time, were contain'd within the Bounds of *France*, or any other neighbouring

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Nation. But suppose, that it did oblige the *French*, yet even then it relates only to private Inheritances, and not to publick *Right* of *Government*, or the Succession of the Kingdom; and therefore, when ever the French Kings disputed the *Title* with one an other, they never made any Account of this *Law*; but when they contended with foreign Princes, they then alledged it, that, by this means, they might exclude them from the *Government*. For *Pepin*, who deprived the Race of *Pharamond* of the Kingdom, by deposing *Childeric*, claimed the *Crown*, as next Heir to *Blithild*, Daughter to *Clotaire* the first, which *Title* was confirmed by Pope *Zachary* and by the Consent of the People of *France*: When his Posterity had reigned for two hundred Years, *Hugh Capet* put by *Charles*, Duke of *Lorrain*, who was the only surviving Heir of the Line of *Pepin* and *Charles* the great, pretending himself to be lineally descended from *Lingarda*, the Daughter of *Charlemain*, who was Grandson to *Charles* the great, by which *Title* he obtained the *Crown*. His Grandson *Lewis* IX. who was canonised for a Saint, and whom all we Christians honour as such, being not very well satisfied with the Right of his Grandfather, *Capet*, out of a religious Scruple would have declined the *Government*, had he not call'd to Mind, that his Grandmother, Queen *Isabell*, was next Heir to *Ermingarda*, Daughter and Heir of *Charles* of *Lorrain*, whom *Capet* had impiously deprived both of his Life and Kingdom. From him all these later *Kings* of *France*, and this *Charles* the Sixth, who now reigns, are descended; and all these obtained the Kingdom in *Right* of *Female Succession*, which,

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by the *Salick Law*, they would now debar You of, and would fain terrify You with this *Bugbear*, which they themselves surely contemn. Nor can that be properly called *a Law*, which hath no Shew of *Equity*, or *Justice* in it, nay which contradicts all *Laws*, both *Divine* and *Humane*; but ought rather to be term'd a *Mask*, or *Shadow* of a *Law*. For by the *Civil Laws* of the *Romans*, which are approved by the Consent of all Nations, *Women* are admitted to inherit equally with *Men*; and the distinction of *Agnation* and *Cognation* is taken away upon very good Grounds: for they, that introduced it, seem'd to have laid the Blame upon *Nature*, for producing some *Women*, as well as *Men*, and *Women* suffer through the Fault of their *Parents*, in beign born of that *Sex*, and not of the *Male*. These *Laws* were afterwards admitted by the *Sicilians*, *Neapolitans*, *Navarrois*, *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, *Scots*, and (to say nothing of ourselves) by allmost all *Nations*; by the Constitutions of all which *Women*, for Want of *Male-Heirs*, are admitted to the *Government*; and herein they all follow the Prescription of that *Divine Law*, which God Almighty gave the *Jews* by *Moses*, in the twenty seventh Chapter of *Numbers*: *If a Man die and have no Son, the inheritance shall pass to his Daughter*. To which Ordinance if any *Laws* in any *Nation* whatsoever be found repugnant, they are not *Laws*, but *Corruptions*, seeing they depart from that principal *Rule* of *Justice*, which the great *Law-Giver* prescribed to his own People. But setting aside those *Women*, who governed that very People, and those *Kings*, who inherited that *Crown* in *Right* of their *Mothers*; we Christians do all acknowledge,

ledge, that JESUS CHRIST was the lawfull Heir of the *Jewish* Kingdom; now they, who deny a Right of Succession to be derived from the *Female Sex*, do not oppose his *Title*, but also deprive us of those exceeding great *Benefits*, which God hath promised to *Mankind* through CHRIST. For God having promised *Abraham*, that in his *Seed* all the Nations of the Earth should be blessed, because the *Messias* was to come out of his *Family*; and the Prophets *Isaiah* and *Micah*, by the Inspiration of the *Holy Ghost*, having prophesied many Ages before, that CHRIST should spring out of the *Root* of *Jesse*, and out of the *Family* of *David*, and that the *Tribe* of *Judah* should be the noblest of all the rest, because CHRIST was to arise out of it, who should govern the People of *Israël*; if the Right of Succession be taken away from the *Female Sex*, we shall find no Truth in these Divine Oracles; for CHRIST, being begotten by an Eternal Father, could not spring from the *Seed* of *Abraham*, from the *House* of *David*, and from the *Tribe* of *Juda* but by Inheritance from his *Mother*. But the French chuse rather to destroy the Veracity of the Divine *Promises*, than to submit to a foreign Prince; and they, that call them selves most *Christian*, do preferr a supposititious *Law* of *Pharamond*, a Heathen, before those sacred *Laws*, given by *God* himself. I would ask the French, why they exclude *Women* from a Right of governing, whom all other Nations do admit? Is it because their Government is so much better, than that of all other Nations, and even than that of the *Jews*, which was constituted by God himself, that only Men are capable of administring? or doth

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France, which, as they say, produceth the bravest *Men* in the World, bring forth the weakest and most despicable *Women*? Or did your Grand Father's Mother, *Isabella*, commit some hainous *Crime*, for which she, a King's Daughter, and Sister to Kings, deserved to be depriv'd of the *Crown*? But though we should grant them all this; yet seing, they have formerly rejected Your Great Grand Father, King *Edward*, and do now disclaim any Authority, that Your Highness hath over them, they are very manifestly convicted of *Treason* against You. For admitting the *Salick Law* to be in Force in the Kingdom of France; let *Females* be excluded, and the *Male Issue* only inherit the *Crown*; yet by what Words of that *Law* are the Sons of those Females excluded? Shall a *Law*, that debars *Women* from inheriting, in Respect of the natural *Levity* of their *Sex*, be made to contradict it self, and, for a quite contrary Reason, to put by *Men* also? Or will they, by a Kind of malicious Comprehension, extend those Words of the *Law* to the *Male-Sex*, which reach only the *Female*? Wherefore, though they exclude *Isabella*, why did they not admit her Son *Edward*, a magnanimous and prudent Person? Why do they not invite *Your Highness*, a Prince every way qualified for *Government*? For it is a received *Maxim* amongst the *Lawyers*, that one unworthy, or incapable may transmit some Sort of *Right* to his Heir, and that those *Laws*, that take away from *Females* the *Right* of *Inheritance*, are contrary to right *Reason* and natural *Justice*; that none, but the strictest *Interpretation* of them is to be admitted, and that they may not be stretched beyond the very Letter from

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Women to *Men*; nor to the Excluſion of a Sex, that is not mentioned in them; but ought rather to be taken in the moſt favourable *Acceptation*. Seing therefore, *Moſt Mighty Prince*, that You are call'd to the Kingdom of France by the *Laws* both of *God* and *Men*; aſſert that Right, which is denied You by the French, by Force of *Arms*; ſtrike off that *Crown* from the *Head* of the *King* of *France*, which he hath unjuſtly put on: repreſs the *Rebellions* of that People with *Fire* and *Sword:* maintain the ancient *Honour* of the *English* Name amongſt foreign *Nations*, and ſuffer not Poſterity to accuſe Your *Tameneſs* in paſſing by thoſe *Affronts*, put upon You by Your *Enemies*. For, beſides a very *juſt Cauſe*, which is commonly attended with the divine Aſſiſtance, You have all Things, that can be deſired for carrying on a *War* with Succeſs; a vigorous *Age*, a ſtrong and healthful *Conſtitution*, a loyal *Nobility* and *Commonalty*, and a flouriſhing *Kingdom*; and laſtly we, Your Subjects of the *Clergy*, have granted *Your Highneſs* a greator Sum of Money. than Your *Predeceſſors* ever received of our *Order*, which we very readily and chearfully offer You, for the *Charges* of this *War*, and ſhall daily in our *Prayers* implore the *Divine Majeſty*, that, by the proſperous Succeſs of Your *Arms*, he would make known to all the *World* the *Juſtice* of Your *Cauſe*.

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For what Reasons a Prince may be Merciful to his Subjects.

[*William Nicholls, D.D. in the Religion of a Prince, printed at London* 1704. *Ch.* 9. *p.* 142.]

THere may be sometimes very good Reasons for sparing *Delinquents*, which are very obnoxious to the *Laws*, or have committed such Faults, to which the greatest Punishments are due. These may arise from *natural Tenderness*, or from *Reasons of State*, and the best *Rules of Prudence*. The *tender Age* of some young Offenders is a great *Plea* for their *Indemnity*, it being to be presumed, that their *Inexperience* in the World suffer'd them to be led into such precipitate *Attempts*, by the *Craftiness* of other *Criminals:* That, since they have seen the Danger, which Wickedness exposes them to they will, for the future, pursue the better and safer Courses of *Virtue*. Old Age may some times be an Argument of *Pity*, their Weaknesses apologizing for their Faults, and because it is so sad and lamentable a *Sight*, to behold an aged Sufferer, and to see such a one violently sent out of the *World*, who is just going off of the *Stage* of *Life* by the Course of *Nature*. Some are of too high a *Dignity*, with Safety to demand Punishment from; and an over

over looking of their Faults, or a gentle Rebuke, may make them, together with their Families and Dependants, out of *Gratitude*, espouse with Heartiness the Interest of a *Prince*, who so readily forgave their Injuries. Some are of too mean and low a *Fortune*, for a Prince to extend his Severity to; for his *Justice* will grow too cheap, when it is reached out to such a Number of poor sorry Offenders, who are not of Figure enough to be *Example* to others, and which were drawn into their Faults by the Countenance or Command of greater Persons. Now for a Prince to tie himself up to an inexorable *Severity*, when there are so many good and justifying Reasons for *Clemency*, is violently to transgress those *Rules* of *Wisdom* and *Goodness*, which are the chief Ornaments, as well as Duties, of Princely Dignity. An obstinate *Severity* is contrary to all the true *Ends of Governments*. It is the End of a Prince's Rule, to succour and defend his *People*, and not to destroy them; and when he is forced to take away the Lives of any; it should be only in order to make the Lives of the rest the more comfortable, by the Removal out of the Way of those incorrigible Persons. 'Tis to be his Study and constant Care, how to encrease the *Security* and Happiness of his Subjects; and not to be like a great wild *Beast*, leaping out of his *Den*, ready to devour every one, he can catch, and whom all Men with *Dreath* and *Horrour* fly from; but one, whom all Persons with Joyfulness may apply to, for Succour and Relief. A *Prince* does sustain the like Office in the *State*, as a *Father*, or *Tutor* in *a Family*. Now a *Father* will not execute upon his *Son* the greatest

Severity at first; he will use gentle *Admonition*, when he begins to be faulty; and 'tis with great Reluctancy, that ever he comes to *Blows*; but to cut him off from his *Family*, by disinheriting, will be the last *Remedy*, he will have Recourse to. He is a bad *Master*, who is for flaying his *Scholar*, upon every Neglect of his *Lesson*; and he is an ill *Surgeon*, who is for running to Amputation, upon every Pain in a Member. And for the same Reasons, it is a Fault in a *Prince*, to inflict upon any offending Subject capital Punishment, when he is reclaimable by any less Degere of *Severity*. Besides to inflict the heaviest Punishment upon lesser *Offenders*, is to make the Authority too cheap, 'tis only to embolden *Malefactors*, and to make them despise the *Penalties*, when they are grown common. And a *Prince*, who sets a Value upon his Skill in well governing, should, for his own Reputation sake, take Care, that the Persons, he animadverts upon by capital *Censures*, be very few: because a Number of such incorrigible *Offenders* are a *Reproach* to his *Government*, which, that they are so many, will be judged to be owing to some Fault in his Administration. But if he would keep up his *Honour* to the Hight; he should be as much concerned, to have a Subject executed under his Government, as a *Physician* is, to have a Patient die under his Cure. But farther, if a *Prince*, by inflicting Punishment upon his Subjects, designs only the *Observation* of *Laws*; (as every good Prince can have no other Aim) rigorous *Severity* is but the worst Expedient, to bring that End about by. For the Generality of *Men* are *stubborn* and *cross-grain'd*; they don't care to be *drove*, but *led*;

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and when they find one of the Company unmercifully treated, for doing any thing, they will be inclined to do the same Thing, out of pure *Opposition*, though they had little, or no Liking to it before. For *Subjects* are like high-mettled *Horses*; the more you *curb* them in, the more *eager* they are to run out. Besides, a mercifull and good natur'd *Governor* takes such firm Possession of the Hearts of his *Subjects*, that they are ashamed to offend one, who is unwilling to punish; and they can not find in their Heart to do an Action, which their *Prince* is forced to punish with so much Reluctancy. Add to this, that, when ever a mild and mercifull *Magistrate* does punish, it carries the greater Weight and Authority with it, and the *Sufferers* are allways more affected therewith. For when Punishments are frequently and hastily inflicted, they are look'd upon to proceed only from the *Anger* of the *Magistrate*, or his Affectation of Power: but when they are extorted from a calm and gentle Mind, *Offenders* are thoroughly convinc'd, that their Fault has really deserved a *Penalty*, which was adjudged by a *Nature*, so very averse to all *Severity*. There is such a vast Power, which is lodged in a *Prince's* Hand over the Lives and Liberties of *Subjects*, that, if ever he should think fit to execute it to it's full Extent, he would make a *Solitude* of his most populous *Cities*, and drive Men into *Woods* or *Caves*, or foreign *Territories*, if they should be prosecuted upon every Omission of a *Duty*; and if they should have the full Extent of the Letter of each *Law*, which they have transgressed, turned upon them, there would be no tolerable living in the *World*. Therefore

it is the Part of every wise and good *Prince*, to overlook subordinate *Magistrates*, that they be not over-busy in extending the *Laws* beyond their Design and Meaning, to the Detriment of their Subjects; and if it shall happen, that any well-designing, or any other not irreclaimable Person, should, by any Misfortune, or Failure, incurr the *Lash* of a very severe *Law*, he should extend the Plenitude of this his high Power, to exempt him from such Punishment. All *Princes*, who have spared their *Subjects* Lives, or Estates, which were forfeited by *Law*, or have freed them from any great Punishment, do enjoy the Satisfaction of seing such Persons to be living *Monuments* of their Praise, and to set forth the Commendation of their *Clemency* to the whole Nation. For what can a *Prince* get by sending a Man out of the *World?* But when a Life is given back to one, that had forfeited it, such a one lives ever after to the *Glory* of his *Preserver*; every one, that sees him, ascribing the Cause of his living and of his being a Comfort to his Friends and *Relations*, to the Goodness of that merciful *Prince*, that hath rescued him from a Sentence, which would have deprived him of all these *Benefits*. Nay farther, oftentimes a Prince, by forgiving a Subject, has of an imbittered *Enemy* procur'd himself a fast Friend. A remarkable Instance whereof we have in *Augustus Cæsar* his forgiving *Lucius Cinna*, who was engaged in a Conspiracy against his Life. He was for some Time in great *Perplexities*, not being willing, to condemn a Person of an honourable Family, who had great *Dependents*, and perhaps not less *Accomplices* of his *Crime:* neither did he think

think it safe, to let a Person, who was plotting against his Life, go on with *Security* in so dangerous a Design. Whilst he was fluctuating in these Thoughts, his Wife, *Livia*, interposed. Come (says she) will you admit of a *Woman's* Counsel? Do like the *Physicians*, when common *Remedies* fail of their Success, try their Contraries. You see, that your *Severity* has not hitherto prevail'd. You have caus'd to be executed *Salvidienus*, *Lepidus*, *Murena*, *Cæpio*, *Egnatius*, with many others, who were but just contriving a Plot against you. Now try, how your *Clemency* will succeed, and pardon *Cinna*: for his Plot is discovered, and he being wholly in your *Power*, can do you no *Harm*; but your pardoning him may get you Reputation. *Augustus* thanks *Livia* for her good Counsel, sends for *Cinna*, orders him a Chair, and puts all the other Company out of the Room. He tells him, how he had preserved his *Life* once before, and gave him back his *Estate*, which was forfeited to him: That he had freely given him one of the greatest *Offices* of the *Empire*, when it was sued for to him by some of the Sons of them, who had fought in his *Cause*. And yet, (says he) *Cinna*, you have a Mind to take away my *Life*. For what End, I pray? Do you think, that you can protect the whole *Roman* Empire, that can't defend your own Family-Affairs against so poor an *Adversary?* For the other Day you were cast in a Trial against the *Son* of a *Slave*. And yet you think, you are able to cope with *Cæsar*. But, pree-thee, supposing, that I were not able to oppose your Attempts, do you think, that the *Pauli* and *Cossi*, the *Fabii* and *Servilii*, and all these

ancient noble *Families* will submit to you? Come; *Cinna*, I give your Life to you once again; at first as to an *Enemy*, but not as to a *Parricide* and an *Assassinator*. From this Day, let us have a *Friendship* begun between us, and let us strive to outdo one another in *Heartiness* and *Sincerity*; let us try, whether I do the more *willingly* give you your *Life*, or you the more *thankfully* receive it. After this he procured him the *Consulship*, when he had not the Confidence to petition for it; and had him all his Life-time his constant and fast *Friend*; and the other was so far from engaging in any Designs against his *Benefactor*, that, when he died, he made *Cæsar* his Heir.



Of

Of the Imperfection of human Wit and Knowledge.

[*David Abercromby M. D. in the Discourse of Wit, printed at London* 1689. *Sect.* 7. *pag.* 85.]

'Tis a common Saying: *Scientia inflat*; but I doubt, if it be not likewise a vulgar Error. For I am so far from believing, that *true Knowledge* does puff up a Man, and swell him with Pride, that I can conceive nothing fitter to make us *truly humble*, without either Hypocrisie, or Dissimulation. 'Tis easy, to conjecture, upon what Grounds I run thus contrary to the *Stream* and the general Opinion of most Men, because, me thinks, 'tis evident, that the chief Source of *true Humility* and Humiliation too, is a perfect *Knowledge* of our *Weakness* and Imperfections, of our Incapacity and little Insight in most Things, which I take to be proper to those only, who are the most *knowing* for our Mankind. I look upon such, as true *Scepticks* in this Sense, that, what ever is not laid open to their Eyes, either by the *Light* of undeniable *Demonstration*, or by some Sort of *Self-evidence*, they justly doubt of, because they understand perfectly the Difficulties on both Sides, which, holding their Iudgement in *Æquilibrio*, equally in the Middle,

and in Suspence, hinder them from joyning closely with either of the *Extreams*. Hence it appears, that as the greatest *Wits* have most Doubts; so the dullest are commonly those, that doubt almost of nothing. I speak not here of Matters of Faith; for, as *Christians*, we are meer *Believers*, not *Philosophers*; but of Nature, and natural Things of the World, and what it contains, or whatever is within us, or without us, whereof we have so little *Knowledge*, that, the self evident *Principles* excepted, we know nothing evidently, or, at least, by *Demonstration*. We know indeed certainly, that we are, as having some sensible Foundation both in *Essence* and *Existency*; that there is in us a certain internal *Principle*, whereby we move, subsist and understand, which we call *Soul*. But how it performs all these things, what it is, whether *Spiritual*, or *Corporal*, we know not. I believe my *Soul* to be both *immortal* and *spiritual*, and I have read several Treatises, pretending to a clear Demonstration of it's *Spiritual Nature*, which I could never yet see, nor any impartial Iudge, I am afraid, shall ever be sensible of, because we can have no Certitude from the *Light* of *Reason*, that she hath either Being or Operation, not depending upon *Matter*, or some material *Phantasma*, and what in the other Life shall be her *Way* of *acting*, we shall not know, so long as we remain in this. I am not altogether unacquainted with the chief *Prerogatives* of our *Souls*, which are, to conceive and to frame general Notions; to prescind, or rather devide, by her *sharp Edge*, the Matter into various Parts, severally intelligible; to raise *Influences* from the *general* to the *particular*, and from the particular, though more illegally,

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to the *general*; to remember Things past; envisage the present, and frame not unlikely *Conjectures* of what is to come: But all this, amounting to no more, than to some Degrees of *Probability*, offers nothing, like a *demonstration*, of the *Spirituality* of our *Souls*. For I conceive no Reason, why *God*, who made all Things of *nothing*, may not likewise make what he pleaseth of something. Where is there then any Contradiction, if we say: That *God*, who created the Matter of *nothing*, may change the same into a Being, capable to do, and in more perfect manner too, whatever our *Soul* performs? For I conceive it to be but a meer *Prejudice*, and not *Reason*, that leads us to say, that, what ever thinks, or reasons, is of a *Spiritual* Nature? 'Tis observable then, whensoever we pretend to reveal, by *Demonstration*, such hidden *Mysteries*, we allways suppose, what, in the first Instance, we should prove; I mean, that *God* is neither so powerful, to elevate the *Matter* to what he pleaseth; nor so skillful, as to change it into a *Form*, capable of most perfect *Operations*, or at least of those, that we allow to our *Souls*, supposed to be *Spiritual*. But if we understand not the Nature of our *Souls*, we can conceive almost as little of the *Fabrick* of our *Bodies*. Here we are *Admirers*, and not *Philosophers*, since we can give but a very imperfect, and a scarce rational *Account* of what we behold in our selves; and know not, neither, how we *live*, how we grow, how we move, nor from what Part of the Bodies the Blood begins to *circulate*, or in what Part of the *Eye* the *Vision* is made, or whether the *Child* breaths in the Womb, or not &c. In one Word, the whole *Texture* of our

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Body is such a Piece of *Wonder* to the understanding Sort, that it seems to some to be no less beyond the *Reach* of our Capacity, than the very Nature of a meer *Spirit*. (2) I do firmly believe, what all true *Christians* believe; but this fundamental *Article* of all *Religion*, that there is a *God*, though I were not a *Christian*, I could prove to my self, and perhaps to others too, by a convincing *Demonstration*: yet such is the *Weakness*, or rather the *Darkness* of humane Understanding, that the clearest *Demonstrations* of this important *Truth* are refused by some one, or other, whose Obstinacy they can't conquer. And *Vasquez*, if I misremember not, a subtile *Romish Divine*, after a large Confutation of whatever had been said before his Time, in order to prove the *Existency* of a *Sovereign Being*, admits at length but a meer moral *Demonstration* of this fundamental Point, though so evident indeed, that it cuts away all Pretence and Excuses to Infidelity. As to the other *Mysteries*, for instance the *Trinity* and *God's contingent Degrees*, which our Reason reaches not, 'tis a piece of Madness and Folly for us to endeavour their Discovery by the *Light* of *Reason*, &c. (3) But, what Wonder, if Men are so short sighted in Things far above the *Reach* of their *Capacity*, since they know not the *Nature* and natural *Properties* of the most famous and most obvious Objects, viz: (*the Author alledgeth here many Instances out of the old and new Philosophy*) that, whatever we see under so many different Figures, Shapes and Sizes, is only occasioned by a various *Texture* and *Coalition* of Corpuscules &c. that the Cause of the *ebbing* and *flowing* of the Sea is attributed to the *Stars*, or more particular

cularly to the *Moon*, &c. that the *Loadstone*, being an unpolish'd Piece of Work, and looking like an excrementitious Part of *Nature*, draws and holds closely *Iron*, rather than other Metal, thrusts from it the *Needle* whith one *Pole*, and attracts it again with the other &c. that the *celestial Bodies* have so many Effects, Influences &c. that there is a natural *Sympathy* and *Antipathy*, Poison and Countrepoison, &c. (*At last he concludes so:*) I am of Opinion, that in this Life we shall never reach to a perfect *Knowledge* of such odd Pieces of *Wonder*. Let us then acknowledge, that there is no true *Philosophy* in the World, but *Scepticism*; not, that I take *Scepticks* here for Men, that doubt of every thing, yea and of their own *Existency* too; for 't is perhaps a vulgar Frror to believe, that there were ever any such in the *World*, and withal not meer Fools. I Mean then by *Scepticks* those, that are come to such a Pitch of *Knowledge*, as to doubt rationally of every disputable *Matter*, because, seeng nothing under one *Light* only, and looking narrowly into the *Reasons* of both Sides, they discover but some few, or more degrees of *Probability*, without the very *Twilight* of *Evidence*.



Of

Of our Knowledge of the Existence of a GOD.

[*John Locke, Gent. in the Essay concerning Humane Understanding, printed at London* 1706. *B* 4. *Ch.* 10. *f.* 529.]

§. 1.

Though GOD has given us no innate *Ideas* of himself; though he has stamped no original *Characters* on our Minds, wherein we may read his *Being:* yet having furnished us with those *Faculties*, our *Minds* are *endowed* with, he hath not left himself without *Witness*; since we have Sense, Perception and *Reason*, and can not want a clear *Proof* of him, as long as we *carry* our selves about us. Nor can we justly complain of our *Ignorance* in this great Point, since he hath so plentifully provided us with the *Means* to discover and *know* him, so far, as is necessary to the End of our Being and the great Concernment of our *Happiness*. But though this be the most obvious *Truth*, that *Reason* discovers; and though it's Evidence be (if I mistake not) equal to *mathematical* Certainty: yet it requires *Thought* and *Attention*; and the Mind must apply it self to a regular *Deduction* of it from some Part of our intuitive

tuitive *Knowledge*, or else we shall be as uncertain, and ignorant of this, as of other Propositions, which are in themselves capable of clear Demonstration. To shew therefore, that we are capable of *knowing*, i. e. *being certain, that there is a GOD*, and how we may come by this Certainty, I think we need go no farther, than ourselves, and that undoubted *Knowledge*, we have of our own *Existence*.

§. 2. I think, it is beyond Question, that *Man has clear Perception of his own Being*; he knows certainly, that he exists, and that he is *some thing*. He that can doubt, whether he be *any thing*, or no, I speak not to, no more than I would argue with pure *nothing*, or endeavour to convince *Non entity*, that it were *some thing*. If any one pretends, to be so *sceptical*, as to deny his own *Existence*, (for really to doubt of it, is manifestly impossible) let him, for me, enjoy his beloved *Happiness* of being *nothing*, untill Hunger, or some other Pain convince him of the contrary. This then, I think, I may take for a *Truth*, which every one's certain *Knowledge* assures him of, beyond the Liberty of doubting, *viz:* that he is *something*, that actually exists.

§. 3. In the next Place Man knows by an intuitive Certainty, that bare *nothing can no more produce any real Being, than it can be equal to two right Angles.* If a man knows not, that *Non Entity*, or the Absence of all Being, can not be equal to two right *Angles*; it is impossible, he should know any *Demonstration* in *Euclid*. If therefore we know, there is some real *Being*, and that *Non-Entity* can not produce any real *Being*, it is an evident Demonstration, that from *Eternity* there has been

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something; since what was not from Eternity had a Beginning; and what had a Beginning, must be produced by something else.

§. 4. Next it is evident, that what had it's *Being* and Beginning from an other, must also have all that, which is in and belongs to it's *Being*, from an other too. All the Powers, it has, must be owing to, and received from the same *Source*. This eternal *Source* then of all Being must also be the *Source* and Original of all *Power*; and so this eternal *Being* must be also the most *powerful*.

§. 5. Again a Man finds in himself *Perception* and *Knowledge*. We have then got one Step farther; and we are certain now, that there is not only some *Being*, but some *knowing* intelligent *Being* in the *World*. There was a Time then, when there was no knowing *Being*, and when *Knowledge* began to be; or else there has been also a knowing *Being* from *Eternity*. If it be said, there was a Time, when no *Being* had any *Knowledge*, when that eternal *Being* was void of all Understanding: I reply, that then it was impossible, there should ever have been any *Knowledge*; it being as impossible, that Things wholly void of *Knowledge*, and operating blindly, and without any *Perception*, should produce a knowing *Being*, as it is impossible, that a *Triangle* should make it self three *Angles* bigger, than two right ones. For it is as repugnant to the *Idea* of senseless *Matter*, that it should put into it self Sense, Perception and Knowledge, as it is repugnant to the *Idea* of a *Triangle*, that it should put into it self greater *Angles*, than two right ones.

§. 5.

§. 5. Thus from the *Consideration* of our selves, and what we infallibly find in our own Constitutions, our *Reasons* leads us to the *Knowledge* of this certain and evident *Truth*, that *there is an eternal, most powerful and most knowing Being*; which whether any one will please to call *God*, it matters not. The Thing is evident, and from this *Idea*, duly considered, will easily be deduced all those other *Attributes*, which we ought to ascribe to this eternal *Being*. If nevertheless any one should be found so senseless arrogant, as to suppose *Man* alone *knowing* and *wise*, but yet the Product of meer *Ignorance* and *Chance*; and that all the rest of the Universe acted only by that blind *Hap-hazard*: I shall leave with him that very rational and emphatical Rebuke of *Tully*, *lib.* 2. *de Leg.* to be consider'd at his Leisure: *What can be more sillily arrogant, and misbecoming, than for a Man to think, that he has a Mind and Understanding in him; but yet in all the Universe besides there is no such Thing? or that those Things, which, with the utmost Stretch of his Reason he can scarce comprehend, should be moved and managed without any Reason at all?* From what has been said, it is plain to me, we have a more certain *Knowledge* of the *Existence* of a *GOD*, than of any Thing, our Senses have not immediately discover'd to us. Nay, I presume, I may say, that we more certainly know, that there is a GOD, than that there is any Thing else without us. When I say, we *know*, I mean, there is such a *Knowledge* within our Reach, which we can not miss, if we will but apply our Minds to that, as we do to several other *Enquiries*.

§. 7. How far the *Idea* of a most perfect *Being*, which a Man may frame in his Mind, does, or does not, prove the *existence* of a GOD, I will not here examine. For in the different Make of Men's *Tempers*, and Application of their *Thoughts*, some Arguments prevail more on one, and some on another, for the Confirmation of the same *Truth*. But yet I think, this I may say, that it is an ill *Way* of establishing this *Truth*, and silencing *Atheists*, to lay the whole Stress of so important a Point, as this, upon that sole *Foundation*; and take some Men's having that *Idea* of GOD in their Minds (for 'tis evident, some Men have none, and some worse than none, and the most very different) for the only Proof of a *Deity*; and, out of an over-*Fondness* of that darling Invention, cashier, or, at least, endeavour to invalidate all other *Arguments*, and forbid us to hearken to those *Proofs*, as being weak, or fallacious, which our own *Existence*, and the sensible Parts of the *Universe*, offer so clearly and cogently to our *Thoughts*, that I deem it impossible for a considering Man, to *withstand* them. For I judge it as certain and clear a *Truth*, as can anywhere be delivered, that *the invisible Things of GOD are clearly seen from the Creation of the World, being understood by the Things, that are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead.* Though our own Being furnishes us, as I have shewn, with an evident and incontestable Proof of a *Deity*; and I believe, no body can avoid the *Cogency* of it, who will but as carefully attend to it, as to any other *Demonstration* of so many Parts: yet this being so fundamental a Truth, and

of

of that Consequence, that all *Religion* and genuine *Mortality* depend thereon, I doubt not, but I shall be forgiven by my Reader, if I go over some Parts of this *Argument* again, and enlarge a little more upon them.

§. 8. There is no *Truth* more evident, than that *some thing* must be from *Eternity*. I never yet heard of any one so unreasonable, or that could suppose so manifest a *Contradiction*, as a Time, wherein there was perfectly *nothing*; this being of all Absurdities the greatest, to imagine, that pure *nothing*, the perfect Negation and Absence of all Beings, should ever produce any real *Existence*. It being then unavoidable for all rational *Creatures* to conclude, that *something* has existed from *Eternity*, let us next see, what Kind of Thing that must be.

§. 9. There are but two sorts of *Beings* in the world, that Man knows, or conceives. (1.) such as are purely *material*, without Sense, Perception, or Thought, as the *Clippings* of our Beards and Paring of our Nails. (2.) *Sensible*, thinking, perceiving *Beings*, such as we find our selves to be, which, if you please, we will hereafter call *cogitative* and *incogitative* Beings; which, to our present Purpose, if for nothing else, are, perhaps, better Terms, than *material* and *immaterial*.

§. 10. If then there must be something eternal, let us see, what sort of Being it must be. And to that it is very obvious to *Reason*, that it must necessarily be a *cogitative Being*. For it is as impossible to conceive, that ever bare

incogitative Matter should produce a thinking *intelligent Being*, as that nothing should of it self produce *Matter*. Let us suppose any parcel of *Matter* eternal, great or small, we shall find it, in it self, able to produce *nothing*. For Example: let us suppose the *Matter* of the next *Pebble*, we meet with, eternal, closely united, and the Parts firmly at Rest together; if there were no other *Being* in the World, must it not eternally remain so, a dead inactive *Lump?* Is it possible to conceive, it can add *Motion* to it self, being purely *Matter*, or produce any thing? *Matter* then, by it's own Strentgh, cannot produce in it self so much as *Motion*, the *Motion* it has, must also be from *Eternity*, or else be produced and added to *Matter* by some other *Being*, more powerfull, than *Matter*; *Matter*, as is evident, having not Power to produce Motion in it self. But let us suppose Motion eternal too; yet Matter, *incogitative Matter* and Motion, whatever Changes it might produce of Figure and Bulk, could never produce *Thought*. *Knowledge* will still be as far beyond the Power of Motion and *Matter* to produce, as *Matter* is beyond the Power of *nothing*, or *Non-entity* to produce. And I appeal to every one's own Thoughts, whether he can not as easily conceive *Matter* produced by *nothing*, as *Thought* to be produced by pure *Matter*, when before there was no such Thing, as *Thought*, or an intelligent *Being* existing. Divide *Matter* into as minute Parts as you will; (which we are apt to imagine a Sort of *Spiritualizing*, or making a thinking Thing of it) vary the *Figure* and Motion of it, as much as you please, a *Globe*, *Cube*, *Cone*, *Prism*, *Cylinder* &c. whose *Diameters* are

are but 1000000 th. part of a *Gry* (*) it will operate no otherwise upon other Bodies of proportionable Bulk, than those of an *Inch*, or *Foot-Diameter*; and you may as rationally expect to produce Sense, Thought and *Knowledge*, by putting together, in a certain Figure and Motion, gross Particles of *Matter*, as by those, that are the very minutest, that do any where *exist*. They knock, impell, and resist one an other, just as the greater do, and that is all they can do. So that if we will suppose *nothing* first, or eternal; *Matter* can never begin to be: if we suppose bare *Matter* without Motion, eternal; Motion can never begin to be; if we suppose only *Matter* and *Motion* first, or eternal; Thought can never begin to be. For it is impossible to conceive, that *Matter*, either with, or without *Motion* could have originally, in and from it self, Sen-

* *A Gry is* $\frac{1}{10}$ *of a Line, a Line* $\frac{1}{10}$ *of an Inch, an Inch* $\frac{1}{10}$ *of a philos. foot, a philosophical foot* $\frac{1}{2}$ *of a pendulum, whose Diadroms, in the latitude of 45. degrees, are each equal to one second of time, or* $\frac{1}{60}$ *of a minute. I have affectedly made Use of this Measure here, and the Parts of it, under a decimal Division with Names to them, because I think, it would be of general Convenience, that this should be the common Measure in the Commonwealth of Letters.*

Sense, Perception and *Knowledge*; as is evident from hence, than then Sense, Perception and Knowledge must be a Property eternally inseparable from *Matter* and every Particle of it. Not to add, that though our general, or specifick Conception of *Matter* makes us speak of it as one thing; yet really all *Matter* is not one individual Thing, neither is there any such Thing existing, as one material *Being*, or one single *Body*, that we know, or can conceive. And, therefore, if *Matter* were the eternal first cogitative *Being*, there would not be one eternal infinite cogitative *Being*, but an infinite Number of eternal finite cogitative *Beings*, independent one of another, of limited Force, and distinct *Thoughts*, which could never produce that Order, Harmony and Beauty, which is to be found in *Nature*. Since therefore whatsoever is the first eternal *Being*, must necessarily be cogitative; and whatsoever is first of all Things, must, necessarily contain in it, and actually have, at least, all the *Perfections*, that can ever after exist; nor can it ever give to another any Perfection, that it hath not, either actually in in it self, or at least in a higher *Degree*; it necessarily follows, that the first eternal *Being* can not be matter.

§. 11. If therefore it be evident, that *something* necessarily must exist from *Eternity*; 'tis also as evident, that that *something* must necessarily be a cogitative *Being*: For it is as impossible, that incogitative *Matter* should produce a cogitative *Being*, as that nothing, or the *Negation* of all *Being*, should produce a positive *Being* of *Matter*.

§. 12.

§. 12. Though this Discovery of the necessary *Existence* of an *Eternal Mind* does sufficiently lead us into the *Knowledge* of *GOD*; since it will hence follow, that all other knowing *Beings*, that have a Beginning, must depend on him, and have no other Ways of *Knowledge*, or Extent of Power, than what he gives them; And therefore if he made those, he made also the less excellent Pieces of this *Universe*, all inanimate Beings, whereby his *Omniscience*, *Power* and *Providence* will be established, and all his other *Attributes* necessarily follow: yet to clear up this a little farther, we will see, what Doubts can be raised against it.

§. 13. First: Perhaps it will be said, that, though it be as clear, as *Demonstration* can make it, that there must be an eternal *Being*, and that *Being* must also be *knowing:* yet it does not follow, but that thinking *Being* may also be *material.* Let it be so; it equally still follows, that there is a GOD. For if there be an eternal, omniscient, omnipotent *Being*; it is certain, that there is a GOD, whether you imagine that *Being* to be *material* or no. But herein, I suppose, lies the Danger and Deceit of that *Supposition:* There being no Way to avoid the *Demonstration*, that there is an eternal knowing *Being*, Men, devoted to *Matter*, would willingly have it granted, that this knowing *Being* is material; and then letting slide out of their Minds, or the Discourse, the *Demonstration*, whereby an eternal knowing *Being* was proved necessarily to exist, would argue all to be *Matter*, and so deny a GOD, that is, an eternal cogitative *Being:* whereby they are so far from establishing, that they destroy, their own *Hypothesis.* For if there

can be, in their Opinion, eternal *Matter*, without any eternal cogitative *Being*, they manifestly separate *Matter* and thinking, and suppose no necessary Connexion of the one with the other, and so establish the Necessity of an eternal *Spirit*, but not of *Matter*; since it has been prov'd allready, that an eternal cogitative *Being* is unavoidably to be granted. Now, if thinking *Matter* may be separated, the *eternal Existence* of *Matter* will not follow from the *eternal Existence* of a cogitative *Being*, and they suppose it to no Purpose.

§. 14. But now let us see, how they can satisfy themselves, or others, that this *eternal* thinking *Being* is *material*. First I would ask them, whether they imagine, that all *Matter*, every Particle of *Matter*, thinks? This, I suppose, they will scarce say, since then there would be as many eternal thinking *Beings*, as there are Particles of *Matter*, and so an Infinity of *Gods*. And yet, if they will not allow *Matter*, as *Matter*, that is, every Particle of *Matter*, to be as well cogitative, as extended, they will have as hard a *Task*, to make out to their own Reasons a cogitative *Being* out of incogitative Particles, as an extended *Being* out of unextended Parts, if I may so speak.

§. 15. Secondly: If all *Matter* does not think, I next ask, whether it be only one *Atom*, that does so? This has as many *Absurdities*, as the other; for then this *Atom* of *Matter* must be alone *eternal*, or not. If this *alone* be eternal, then this *alone*, by it's powerful Thought, or Will, made all the *rest* of *Matter*. And so we have the Creation of *Matter* by a powerful Thought, which is that, the *Materialists* stick at. For if they suppose one single thinking *Atom*,

Atom, to have produced all the *rest* of *Matter*, they can not ascribe that *Preeminency* to it, upon any other Account, than that of it's *thinking*, the only supposed Difference. But allow it to be by some other Way, which is above our *Conception*; it must be still Creation, and these Men must give up their great Maxim: *Ex nihilo nil fit.* If it be said, that all the *rest* of *Matter* is equally eternal, as that thinking *Atom*, it will be to say any thing at pleasure, though never so absurd: For to suppose all *Matter* eternal, and yet one small Particle in *Knowledge* and *Power* infinitely above all the *rest*, is without any, the least, Appearance of *Reason* to frame any *Hyppothesis.* Every Particle of *Matter*, as *Matter*, is capable of all the same Figures and Motions of any other; and I challenge any one in his *Thoughts* to add any Thing else to one above another.

§. 16. Thirdly: If then neither one peculiar *Atom* alone can be this eternal thinking *Being*; nor all *Matter*, as *Matter*, i. e. every Particle of *Matter*, can be it; it only remains, that it is some certain *System* of *Matter*, duly put together, that is this thinking eternal *Being*. This is that, which, I imagine, is that *Notion*, which men are apteſt to have of GOD; who would have him a material *Being*, as most readily suggested to them, by the ordinary *Conceit*, they have of themselves, and other Men, which they take to be material thinking *Beings*. But this *Imagination*, however more natural, is no less absurd, than the other: For to suppose the eternal thinking *Being* to be nothing else, but a *Composition* of Particles of *Matter*, each whereof is incogitative, is to ascribe all the *Wisdom* and *Knowledge* of that eternal

Being only to the *Juxtaposition* of Parts; than which nothing can be more absurd. For unthinking Particles of *Matter*, however put together, can have nothing thereby added to them, but a new *Relation* of Position, which 'tis impossible should give *Thought* and *Knowledge* to them.

§. 17. But farther: This *Corporeal System* either has all it's Parts at Rest, or it is a certain *Motion* of the Parts, wherein it's *thinking* consists. If it be perfectly at Rest, it is but one *Lump*, and so can have no Priviledges above one *Atom*. If it be the Motion of it's Parts, on which it's thinking depends; all the *Thoughts* there must be unavoidably *accidental* and limited, since all the Particles, that, by Motion, cause *Thought*, being each of them in it self without any *Thought*, can not regulate it's own Motions, much less be regulated by the *Thought* of the whole; since that *Thought* is not the Cause of Motion, (for then it must be *antecedent* to it, and so without it) but the Consequence of it, whereby Freedom, Power, Choice and all *rational* and wise thinking, or acting will be quite taken away: So that such a thinking *Being* will be no better, nor wiser, than pure blind *Matter*; since to resolve all into the accidental unguided Motions of blind *Matter*, or into *Thought*, depending on unguided Motions of blind *Matter*, is the same Thing; not to mention the Narrowness of such *Thoughts* and *Knowledge*, that must depend on the Motion of such Parts. But there needs no Enumeration of any more Absurdities and Impossibilities in this *Hypothesis*, (however full of them it be) than that before mentioned; since, let this thinking *System* be all, or a part of

of the *Matter* of the Universe, it is impossible that any one Particle should either *know* it's own, or the Motion of any other Particle, or the whole *know* the Motion of every particular; and so regulate it's own *Thoughts*, or Motions, or indeed have any *Thought*, resulting from such Motion.

§ 18. Others would have *Matter* to be *eternal*, notwithstanding that they allow an eternal, cogitative, immaterial *Being*. This though it take not away the Being of a *GOD*, yet since it denies one and the first great Piece of his *Workmanship*, the Creation, let us consider it a little. *Matter* must be allowed *eternal:* why? because you can not conceive, how it can be made out of nothing; why do you not also think your self *eternal?* You will answer perhaps, because about twenty, or forty Years since, you *began* to *be*. But if I ask you, what *that you* is, which began then to be, you can scarce tell me. The *Matter*, whereof you are made, began not then to be: for if it did, then it is not *eternal:* But it began to be put together in such a Fashion and Frame, as makes up your *Body*; but yet the Frame of Particles is not *you*, it makes not that thinking Thing, *you* are: (for I have now to do with one, who allows an eternal, immaterial, thinking *Being*, but would have unthinking *Matter* eternal too) therefore when did that thinking Thing *begin* to be? If it did never begin to be, then have you always been a thinking Thing from Eternity; the absurdity whereof I need not confute, till I meet with one, who is so void of *Understanding*, as to own it. If therefore you can allow a thinking Thing

Thing to be made out of *nothing*; (as all Things, that are not eternal, muſt be) why alſo can you not allow it poſſible for a material *Being*, to be made out of *nothing* by an equal Power, but that you have the Experience of the one in View, and not of the other? Though, when well conſidered, *Creation* of a *Spirit* will be found to require no leſs Power, than the *Creation* of *Matter*. Nay poſſibly, if we would emancipate our ſelves from vulgar *Notions*, and raiſe our *Thoughts* as far, as they would reach, to a cloſer *Contemplation* of Things, we might be able to aim at ſome dim and ſeeming Conception, how *Matter* might at firſt be made, and *begin* to exiſt by the Power of that eternal firſt *Being*: But to give Beginning and Being to a *Spirit*, would be found a more inconceivable Effect of *Omnipotent* Power. But this being what would perhaps lead us to far from the Notions, on which the *Philoſophy* now in the *World* is built; it would not be pardonable to deviate ſo far from them, or to enquire ſo far, as *Grammar* it ſelf would authorize, if the common ſettled Opinion oppoſes it: eſpecially in this Place, where the received *Doctrine* ſerves well enough to our preſent Purpoſe, and leaves this paſt Doubt, that the *Creation*, or Beginning of any one SUBSTANCE out of nothing, being once admitted, the Creation of all other, but the *Creator* himſelf, may, with the ſame Eaſe, be ſuppoſed.

§. 19. But you will ſay: is it not impoſſible to admit of the making any thing out of *nothing*, ſince we can not poſſibly conceive it? I anſwer, no; becauſe it is not reaſonable to deny

deny the Power of an infinite *Being*, because we can not comprehend it's Operations. We do not deny other Effects upon this *Ground*, because we cannot possibly conceive the Manner of their *Production*. We can't conceive, how any thing, but *Impulse* of *Body*, can move *Body*; and yet that is not a Reason sufficient to make us deny it possible, against the constant *Experience*, we have of it in our selves, in all our voluntary *Motions*, which are produced in us only by the free Action, or Thought of our own *Minds*: and are not, nor can be, the Effects of the *Impulse*, or Determination of the *Motion* of blind Matter in, or upon, our *Bodies*; for then it could not be in our *Power*, or Choice to alter it. For Example: My *right* Hand writes, whilst my *left* Hand is still: what causes Rest in one, and Motion in the other? Nothing but my *Will*, a *Thought* of my *Mind*; my Thought only changing, the *right* Hand rests, and the *left* Hand moves. This is *Matter* of Fact, which cannot be denied: Explain this and make it intelligible, and then the next Step will be to understand *Creation*. For the giving a new Determination to the *Motion* of the animal *Spirits*, (which some make Use of to explain voluntary *Motion*) clears not the Difficulty one *Iot*. To alter the Determination of *Motion*, being in this Case no easier, nor less, than to give *Motion* it self; since the new Determination, given to the animal *Spirits*, must be either immediatly by *Thought*, or by some other *Body*, put in their Way by *Thought*, which was not in their Way before, and so must owe it's *Motion* to Thought; either of which leaves voluntary *Motion* as unintelligible, as it was before. In the mean Time, 'tis an

over valuing our ſelves, to reduce all to the narrow *Meaſure* of our Capacities; and to conclude all Things impoſſible to be done, whoſe Manner of doing exceeds our *Comprehenſion*. This is to make our Comprehenſion infinite, or GOD finite, when what he can do, is limited to what we can conceive of it. If you do not underſtand the *Operations* of your own *finite Mind*, that thinking Thing within you; do not deem it ſtrange, that you cannot comprehend the *Operations* of that eternal *infinite Mind*, who made and governs all Things, and whom the Heaven of Heavens can not contain.

DIALOGUES

Upon the Usefulness of

ANCIENT MEDALS.

CYNTHIO, *Eugenius* and *Philander* had retired together from the Town to a country Village, that lies upon the *Thames*. Their Design was to pass away the Heats of the Summer among the fresh Breezes, that rise from the River, and the agreeable Mixture of Shades and Fountains, in which the whole Country naturally abounds. They were all three very well versed in the politer Parts of Learning, and had travelled into the most refined Nations of *Europe:* so that they were capable of entertaining themselves on a thousand different Subjects, without running into the common Topics of defaming publick Parties, or particular Persons. As they were intimate Friends, they took the Freedom to dissent from one another in Discourse, or, upon Occasion, to speak a *latin* Sentence, without fearing the Imputation of Pedantry, or Ill-breeding.

They were one Evening taking a Walk together in the Fields, when their Discourse accidentally fell upon several unprofitable Parts of Learning. It was *Cynthio's* Humour to run down every Thing, that was rather for Ostentation, than Use. He was still preferring good Sense to Arts and Sciences, and often took

took a Pleasure to appear ignorant, that he might the better turn to Ridicule those, that valued themselves on their Books and Studies; though, at the same Time, wone might very well see, that he could not have attacked many Parts of Learning so successfully, had not he borrowed his Assistances from them. After having rally'd a Set or two of *Virtuoso's*, he fell upon the Medallists.

These Gentlemen, says he, value themselves upon being Critics in Rust, and will undertake to tell you the different Ages of it, by it's Colour. They are possessed with a Kind of learned Avarice, and are for getting together Hoards of such ~~Mony~~ Money only, as was current among the *Greeks* and *Latins*. There are several of them, that are better acquainted with the Faces of the *Antonines*, than of the *Stuarts*, and would rather chuse to count out a Sum in Sesterces, than in Pounds sterling. I have heard of one in *Italy*, that used to swear *by the Head of Otho*. Nothing can be pleasanter, than to see a Circle of these *Virtuoso's* about a Cabinet of Medals, descanting upon the Value, Rarity and Authenticalness of the several Pieces, that lie before them. One takes up a Coin of Gold, and after having well weighed the Figures and Inscription, tells you very gravely, if it were Brass, it would be invaluable. Another falls a ringing a *Pescennius Niger*, and judiciously distinguishes the Sound of it to be modern. A third desires you to observe well the *Toga* on such a Reverse, and asks you, whether you can in Conscience believe the Sleeve of it to be of the true *Roman* Cut.

I must confess, says *Philander*, the Knowledge of Medals has most of those Disadvantages, that can

can render a Science ridiculous to such, as are not well versed in it. Nothing is more easy, than to represent as Impertinencies any Parts of Learning, that have no immediate Relation to the Happiness, or Convenience of Mankind. When a Man spends his whole Life among the Stars and Planets, or lays out a Twelve month on the Spots in the Sun, however noble his Speculations may be, they are very apt to fall into Burlesque. But it is still more natural to laugh at such Studies, as are employed on low and vulgar Objects. What curious Observations have been made on Spiders, Lobsters, and Cockle-shells? yet the very naming of them is almost sufficient, to turn them into Raillery. It is no Wonder therefore, that the Science of Medals, which is charg'd with so many unconcerning Parts of Knowledge, and built on such mean Materials, should appear ridiculous to those, that have not taken the Pains to examine it.

Eugenius was very attentive to what *Philander* said on the subject of Medals. He was one, that endeavour'd rather to be agreeable, than shining in Conversation, for which Reason he was more beloved, though not so much admired as *Cynthio*. I must confess, says he, I find my self very much inclined to speak against a Sort of Study, that I know nothing of. I have, however, one strong Prejudice in Favour of it, that *Philander* has thought it worth his While to employ some Time upon it. I am glad then, says *Cynthio*, that I have thrown him on a Science, of which I have long wished to hear the Usefulness. There, says *Philander*, you must excuse me. At present you do not know, but it may have it's Usefulness: But should I endeavour to convince you of it, I might fail

in my Attempt, and so render my Science still more contemptible. On the contrary, says *Cynthio*; we are already so perswaded of the Unprofitableness of your Science, that you can but leave us, where you find us; but if you succeed, you increase the Number of your Party. Well, says *Philander*, in Hopes of making two such considerable Proselytes, I am very well content to talk away an Evening with you on this Subject; but on this Condition, that you will communicate your Thoughts to me freely, when you dissent from me, or have any Difficulties, that you think me capable of removing. To make Use of the Liberty, you give us, says *Eugenius*, I must tell you what, I believe, surprizes all Beginners, as well as my self. We are apt to think your Medallists a little fantastical in the different Prices, they set upon their Coins, without any Regard to the ancient Value, or the Metal, of which they are composed. A silver Medal, for Example, shall be more esteemed, than a golden one, and a Piece of Brass than either. To answer you, says *Philander*, in the Language of a Medallist, you are not to look upon a Cabinet of Medals, as a Treasure of Mony, but of Knowledge; nor must you fancy any Charms in Gold, but in the Figures and Inscriptions, that adorn it. The intrinsic Value of an old Coin does not consist in its Metal, but in it's Erudition. It is the Device, that has raised the Species, so that at present an *As*, or an *Obolus*, may carry a higher Price, than a *Denarius* or a *Drachma*; and a Piece of Mony, that was not worth a Penny, fifteen hundred Years ago, may be now rated at fifty Crowns, or perhaps a hundred Guineas. I find, says *Cynthio*, that, to have a Relish for ancient Coins, it is necessary

to

to have a Contempt of the modern. But I am afraid, you will never be able, with all your medallic Eloquence, to perſwade *Eugenius*, and my ſelf, that it is better to have a Pocket full of *Othos* and *Gordians*, than of *Jacobus's*, or *Louis d'ors*. This however we ſhall be Iudges of, when you have let us know the ſeveral Uſes of old Coins.

The firſt and moſt obvious one, ſays *Philander*, is the ſhewing us the Faces of all the great Perſons of Antiquity. A Cabinet of Medals is a Collection of Pictures in Miniature. *Juvenal* calls them very humorouſly,

Conciſum argentum in titulos, facieſque minutas.

Sat. 5.

You here ſee the *Alexanders*, *Cæſars*, *Pompeys*, *Trajans*, and the whole Catalogue of Heroes, who have, many of them, ſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt of Mankind, that we almoſt look upon them as an other Species. It is an agreeable Amuſement, to compare in our own Thoughts the Face of a great Man with the Caracter, that Authors have given us of him, and to try, if we can find out in his Looks and Features, either the haughty, cruel, or merciful Temper, that diſcovers it ſelf in the Hiſtory of his Actions. We find too on Medals the Repreſentations of Ladies, that have given Occaſion to whole Volumes on the Account only of a Face. We have here the Pleaſure to examine their Looks and Dreſſes, and to ſurvey at Leiſure thoſe Beauties, that have ſometimes been the Happineſs, or Miſery of whole Kingdoms: Nor do you only meet the Faces of ſuch, as are famous

in History, but of several, whose Names are not to be found any where, except on Medals. Some of the Emperors, for Example, have had Wives, and some of them Children, that no Authors have mentioned. We are therefore obliged to the Study of Coins, for having made new Discoveries to the Learned, and given them Information of such Persons, as are to be met with on no other Kind of Records. You must give me Leave, says *Cynthio*, to reject this last Use of Medals. I do not think it worth while, to trouble my self with a Person's Name, or Face, that receives all his Reputation from the Mint, and would never have been known in the World, had there not been such Things, as Medals. A Man's Memory finds sufficient Employment on such, as have really signalized themselves by their great Actions, without charging it self with the Names of an insignificant People, whose whole History is writen on the Edges of an old Coin.

If you are only for such Persons, as have made a Noise in the World, says *Philander*, you have on Medals a long List of heathen Deities, distinguished from each other by their proper Titles and Ornaments. You see the Copies of several Statues, that have had the politest Nations of the World fall down before them. You have here too several Persons of a more thin and shadowy Nature, as Hope, Constancy, Fidelity, Abundance, Honour, Virtue, Eternity, Justice, Moderation, Happiness, and in short a whole Creation of the like imaginary Substances. To these you may add the Geniuses of Nations, Provinces, Cities, Highways, and the like allegorical Beings. In Devices of this Nature one sees a pretty poetical Invention, and may

may often find as much Thought on the Reverse of a Medal, as in a Canto of *Spenser*. Not to interrupt you, says *Eugenius*, I fancy, it is this Use of Medals, that has recommended them to several History-Painters, who, perhaps, without this Assistance, would have found it very difficult, to have invented such an airy Species of Beings, when they are obliged to put a moral Virtue into Colours, or to find proper Dress for a Passion. It is doubtless for this Reason, says *Philander*, that Painters have not a little contributed to bring the Study of Medals in Vogue. For, not to mention several others, *Carraccio* is said to have assisted *Aretine* by Designs, that he took from the *Spintriæ* of *Tiberius*. *Raphael* had throughly studied the Figures on old Coins. *Patin* tells us, that *Le Brun* had done the same. And it is well known, that *Rubens* had a noble Collection of Medals in his own Possession. But I must not quit this Head, before I tell you, that you see on Medals, not only the Names and Persons of Emperors, Kings, Consuls, Proconsuls, Praetors, and the like Characters of Importance; but of some of the Poets, and of several, who had won the Prizes at the Olympick Games. It was a noble Time, says *Cinthio*, when Trips and *Cornish* Hugs could make a Man immortal. How many Heroes would *Moorfields* have furnished out in the Days of old? A Fellow, that can now only win a Hat, or a Belt, had he lived among the *Greeks*, might have had his Face stampt upon their Coins. But these were the wise Ancients, who had more Esteem for a *Milo*, than a *Homer*, and heapt up greater Honours on *Pindar's* Jockies, than on the Poet himself. But by this Time I suppose, you have drawn up all your medallic People; and indeed

they make a much more formidable Body, than I could have imagined. You have shewn us all Conditions, Sexes and Ages, Emperors and Empresses, Men and Children, Gods and Wrestlers. Nay you have conjured up Persons, that exist no where else, but on old Coins, and have made our Passions and Virtues and Vices visible. I could never have thought, that a Cabinet of Medals had been so well peopled. But in the next Place, says *Philander*, as we see on Coins the different Faces of Persons, we see on them too their different Habits and Dresses, according to the Mode, that prevailed in the several Ages, when the Medals were stampt. This is another Use, says *Cinthio*, that, in my Opinion, contributes rather to make a Man learned than wise, and is neither capable of pleasing the Understanding, or Imagination. I know, there are several supercilious Critics, that will treat an Author with the greatest Contempt imaginable, if he fancies, the old *Romans* wore a Girdle; and are amazed at a Man's Ignorance, who believes, the *Toga* had any Sleeves to it, till the Declension of the *Roman* Empire. Now I would fain know the great Importance of this Kind of Learning, and why it should not be as noble a Task, to write upon a Bib and Hanging-sleeves, as on the *Bulla* and *Prætexta*. The Reason is, that we are familiar with the Names of the one, and meet with the other no where, but in learned Authors. An Antiquary will scorn to mention a Pinner, or a Night-rail, Petticoat, or a Manteau; but will talk as gravely, as a Father of the Church on the *Vitta* and *Peplus*; the *Stola* and *Instita*. How would an old *Roman* laugh, were it possible for him to see the solemn Dissertations, that have been made on the-

these weighty Subjects. To set them in their natural Light, let us fancy, if you please, that about a thousand Years hence, some profound Author shall write a learned Treatise on the Habits of the present Age, distinguished into the following Titles and Chapters:

Of the old *British* Trowser.
Of the Ruff and Collar-band.
The Opinion of several learned Men concerning the Use of the Shoulderknot.
Such a one mistaken in his Account of the Surtout, &c.

I must confess, says *Eugenius*, interrupting him, the Knowledge of these Affairs is in it self very little improving, but as it is impossible without it to understand several Parts of your ancient Authors, it certainly hath its Use. It is Pity indeed, there is not a nearer Way of coming at it. I have sometimes fancied, it would not be an impertinent Design to make a Kind of an old *Roman* Wardrobe, where you should see *Toga's* and *Tunica's*, the *Chlamys* and *Trabea*, and in short all the different Vests and Ornaments, that are so often mentioned in the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors. By this Means a Man would comprehend better, and remember much longer, the Shape of an ancient Garment, than he possibly can from the Help of tedious Quotations and Descriptions. The Design, says *Philander*, might be very useful, but after what Models would you work? *Sigonius*, for Example, will tell you, that the *Vestis Trabeata* was of such a particular Fashion; *Scaliger* is for another; and *Dacier* thinks them both in the wrong. These are, says *Cynthio*, I suppose the Names

of three *Roman* Taylors: for is it possible, Men of Learning can have any Disputes of this Nature? May not we as well believe, that hereafter the whole learned World will be divided upon the Make of a modern Pair of Breeches? And yet, says *Eugenius*, the Critics have fallen as foul upon each other, for Matters of the same Moment. But as to this Point, where the Make of the Garment is controverted, let them, if they can find Cloth enough, work after all the most probable Fashions. To enlarge the Design, I would have another Room for the old *Roman* Instruments of War, where you might see the *Pilum* and the Shield, the Eagles, Ensigns, Helmets, Battering-rams and Trophies: in a Word, all the ancient military Furniture in the same Manner, as it might have been in an Arsenal of old *Rome*. A third Apartment should be a Kind of Sacristie for Altars, Idols, sacrificing Instruments, and other religious Utensils. Not to be tedious, one might make a Magazine for all Sorts of Antiquities, that would show a Man in an Afternoon more, than he could learn out of Books in a Twelvemonth. This would cut short the whole Study of Antiquities, and perhaps be much more useful to Universities, than those Collections of Whale-bones and Crocodile-skins, in which they commonly abound. You will find it very difficult, says *Cynthio*, to persuade those Societies of learned Men, to fall in with your Project. They will tell you, that Things of this Importance must not be taken on Trust; you ought to learn them among the Classic Authors, and at the Fountain-head. Pray consider what a Figure a Man would make in the Republick of Letters, should he appeal to your University-War-

Wardrobe, when they expect a Sentence out of the *Re Vestiaria*: or how do you think a Man, that has read *Vegetius*, will relish your *Roman* Arsenal? In the mean Time, says *Philander*, you find on Medals every Thing, that you could meet with in your Magazine of Antiquities; and when you have built your Arsenals, Wardrobes, and Sacristies; it is from Medals, that you must fetch their Furniture. It is here too, that you see the Figures of several Instruments of Music, Mathematics and Mechanics. One might make an entire Gally out of the Plans, that are to be met with on the Reverses of several old Coins. Nor are they only charged with Things, but with many ancient Customs, as Sacrifices, Triumphs, Congiaries, Allocutions, Decursions, Lectisterniums, and a thousand other antiquated Names and Ceremonies, that we should not have had so just a Notion of, were they not still perserved on Coins. I might add under this Head of Antiquities, that we find on Medals the Manner of spelling in the old *Roman* Inscriptions. That is, says *Cynthio*, we find that *felix* is never written with an *æ* Diphthong, and that in *Augustus's* Days, *civis* stood for *cives*, with other Secrets in Orthography of the same Importance.

We come then to a more weighty Use, says *Philander*; it is certain, that Medals give a very great Light to History, in confirming such Passages, as are true in old Authors, in settling such, as are told after different Manners, and in recording such, as have been omitted. In this Case a Cabinet of Medals is a Body of History. It was indeed the best Way in the World to perpetuate the Memory of great Actions, thus

to coin out the Life of an Emperor, and to put every great Exploit into the Mint. It was a Kind of Printing, before the Art was invented. It is by this Means, that Monsieur *Vaillant* has disembroiled a History, that was lost to the World before his Time, and out of a short Collection of Medals, has given us a Chronicle of the Kings of *Syria*. For this too is an Advantage, Medals have over Books, that they tell their Story much quicker, and sum up a whole Volume in twenty or thirty Reverses. They are indeed the best Epitomes in the World, and let you see, with one Cast of an Eye, the Substance of above a hundred Pages. Another Use of Medals is, that they not only shew you the Actions of an Emperor, but at the same Time mark out the Year, in which they were performed. Every Exploit had it's Date set to it. A Series of an Emperor's Coins is his Life digested into Annals. Historians seldom break their Relation with a Mixture of Chronology, nor distribute the Particulars of an Emperor's Story into the several Years of his Reign, or where they do it, they often differ in their several Periods. Here therefore it is much safer to quote a Medal, than an Author; for in this Case you do not appeal to *Suetonius*, or a *Lampridius*, but to the Emperor himself, or to the whole Body of a *Roman* Senate. Besides that a Coin is in no Danger of having it's Characters altered by Copiers and Transcribers. This, I must confess, says *Cynthio*, may in some Cases be of great *Moment*, but, considering the Subjects, on which your Chronologers are generally employed, I see but little Use, that rises from it. For Example, what signifies it to the World, whether such an Elephant appeared in the Amphi-theatre in the second

cond or the third Year of *Domitian?* or what am I the wiſer, for knowing, that *Trajan* was in the fifth Year of his Tribuneſhip, when he entertained the People with ſuch a Horſe-race or Bull-baiting? Yet it is the fixing of theſe great Periods, that gives a Man the firſt Rank in the Republic of Letters, and recommends him to the World for a Perſon of various Reading and profound Erudition.

You muſt always give your Men of great Reading Leave, to ſhow their Talents on the meaneſt Subjects, ſays *Eugenius*; it is a Kind of ſhooting at rovers, where a Man lets fly his Arrow, without taking any Aim, to ſhow his Strength. But there is one Advantage, ſays he, turning to *Philander*, that ſeems to me very conſiderable, although you Medalliſts ſeldom throw it into the Account; which is the great Help to Memory, one finds in Medals: for my own Part, I am very much embarraſſed in the Names and Ranks of the ſeveral *Roman* Emperors, and find it difficult to recollect, upon Occaſion, the different Parts of their Hiſtory: but your Medalliſts, upon the firſt naming of an Emperor, will immediately tell you his Age, Family and Life. To remember where he enters in the Succeſſion, they only conſider in what Part of the Cabinet he lies; and by running over in their Thoughts ſuch a particular Drawer, will give you an Account of all the remarkable Parts of his Reign.

I thank you, ſays *Philander*, for helping me to an Uſe, that perhaps I ſhould not have thought on. But there is another, of which, I am ſure, you could not but be ſenſible, when you were at

at *Rome*. I must own to you, it surprized me, to see my *Ciceroni* so well acquainted with the Busts and Statues of all the great People of Antiquity. There was not an Emperor, or Empress, but he knew by Sight, and as he was seldom without Medals in his Pocket, he would often shew us the same Face on an old Coin, that we saw in the Statue. He would discover a *Commodus* through the Disguise of the Club and Lion's Skin, and find out such a one to be *Livia*, that was dressed up like a *Ceres*. Let a Bust be never so disfigured, they have a thousand Marks, by which to decipher it. They will know a *Zenobia* by the sitting of her Diadem, and will distinguish the *Faustinas* by their different Way of tying up their Hair. Oh! Sir, says *Cynthio*, they will go a great deal farther, they will give you the Name and Titles of a Statue, that has lost his Nose and Ears; or if there is but half a Beard remaining, will tell you, at first Sight, who was the Owner of it. Now I must confess to you, I used to fancy, they imposed upon me an Emperor or Empress at Pleasure, rather than appear ignorant.

All this however is easily learnt from Medals, says *Philander*, where you may see likewise the Plans of many the most considerable Buildings of old *Rome*. There is an ingenious Gentleman of our own Nation extremely well versed in this Study, who has a Design of publishing the whole History of Architecture, with it's several Improvements and Decays, as it is to be met with on ancient Coins. He has assured me, that he has observed all the Nicety of Proportion in the Figures of the different Orders, that compose the Buildings on the best preserved Me-

Medals. You here see the Copies of such Ports & triumphal Arches, as there are not the least Traces of, in the Places, where they once stood. You have here the Models of several ancient Temples, though the Temples themselves, and the Gods, that were worshiped in them, are perished many hundred Years ago. Or if there are still any Foundations, or Ruines of former Edifices, you may learn from Coins what was their Architecture, when they stood whole and entire. These are Buildings, which the *Goths* and *Vandals* could not demolish, that are infinitely more durable, than Stone or Marble, and will perhaps last as long, as the Earth it self. They are, in short, so many real Monuments of Brass,

Quod non imber edax, non aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series, & fuga temporum.

Which eating Show'rs, nor North-Wind's feeble blast,
Nor Whirle of Time, nor Flight of Years can waste. Mr. *Creech.*

This is a noble Panegyric on an old copper Coin, says *Cynthio.* But I am afraid, a little malicious Rust would demolish one of your brazen Edifices, as effectually as a *Goth*, or *Vandal.* You would laugh at me, says *Philander*, should I make you a learned Dissertation on the Nature of Rusts. I shall only tell you, there are two, or three Sorts of them, which are extremely beautiful in the Eye of an Antiquary, and preserve a Coin better, than the best artificial Vernish. As for other Kinds, a skilful Medallist knows

knows very well, how to deal with them. He will recover you a Temple, or a triumphal Arch, out of it's Rubbish, if I may so call it, and with a few Reparations of the Graving-tool restore it to it's first Splendour and Magnificence. I have known an Emperor quite hid under a Crust of Drois, who after two or three Days cleansing, has appeared with all his Titles about him as fresh and beautiful, as at his first coming out of the Mint. I am sorry, says *Eugenius*, I did not know this last Use of Medals, when I was at *Rome*. It might perhaps have given me a greater Taste of its Antiquities, and have fixed in my Memory several of the Ruines, that I have now forgotten. For my Part, says *Cynthio*, I think, there are at *Rome* enow modern Works of Architecture to employ any reasonable Man. I never could have a Taste for old Bricks and Rubbish, nor would trouble my self about the Ruines of *Augustus's* Palace, so long as I could see the *Vatican*, the *Borghese*, and the *Farnese*, as they now stand. I must own to you, at the same Time, this is talking like an ignorant Man: Were I in other Company, I would perhaps change my Style, and tell them, that I would rather see the Fragments of *Apollo's* Temple, than St. *Peter's*. I remember, when our Antiquary at *Rome* had led us a whole Day together from one Ruine to an other, he at last brought us to the *Rotunda*; And this, says he, is the most valuable Antiquity in *Italy*, notwithstanding it is so entire.

The same Kind of Fancy, says *Philander*, has formerly gained upon several of your Medallists, who were for hoarding up such Pieces of Money only, as had been half consumed by Time, or Rust.

Ruft. There were no Coins pleaſed them more than thoſe, which had paſſed through the Hands of an old *Roman* Clipper. I have read an Author of this Taſte, that compares a ragged Coin to a tattered Colour. But to come again to our Subject. As we find on Medals the Plans of ſeveral Buildings, that are now demoliſhed; we ſee on them too the Models of many ancient Statues, that are now loſt. There are ſeveral Reverſes, which are owned to be the Repreſentations of antique Figures; and I queſtion not, but there are many others, that were formed on the like Models, though, at preſent, they lie under no Suſpicion of it. The *Hercules Farneſe*, the *Venus* of *Medicis*, the *Apollo* in the *Belvedera*, and the famous *Marcus Aurelius* on Horſe-back, which are perhaps the four moſt beautiful Statues extant, make their Appearance, all of them, on ancient Medals, though the Figures, that repreſent them, were never thought to be the Copies of Statues, till the Statues themſelves were diſcovered. There is no Queſtion, I think, but the ſame Reflexion may extend it ſelf to antique Pictures: for I doubt not, but, in the Deſigns of ſeveral *Greek* Medals in particular, one might often ſee the Hand of an *Apelles*, or *Protogenes*, were we as well acquainted with their Works, as we are with *Titian's*, or *Vandike's*. I might here make a much greater Show of the Uſefulneſs of Medals, if I would take the Method of others, and prove to you, that all Arts and Sciences receive a conſiderable Illuſtration from this Study. I muſt however tell you, that Medals and the Civil Law, as we are aſſured by thoſe, who are well read in both, give a conſiderable Light to each other, and that ſeveral old Coins

are

are like so many Maps, for explaining of the ancient Geography. But besides the more solid Parts of Learning, there are several little Intimations, to be met with on Medals, that are very pleasant to such, as are conversant in this Kind of Study. Should I tell you gravely, that, without the Help of Coins, we should never have known, which was the first of the Emperors, that wore a Beard, or rode in Stirrups, I might turn my Science into Ridicule. Yet it is certain, there are a thousand little Impertinencies of this Nature, that are very gratifying to Curiosity, tho' perhaps not very improving to the Understanding. To see the Dress, that such an Empress delighted to be drawn in; the Titles, that were most agreeable to such an Emperor; the Flatteries, that he lay most open to; the Honours, that he paid to his Children, Wives, Predecessors, Friends or Collegues, with the like Particularities, only to be met with on Medals, are certainly not a little pleasing to that inquisitive Temper, which is so natural to the Mind of Man.

I declare to you, says *Cynthio*, you have astonished me with the several Parts of Knowledge, that you have discovered on Medals. I could never fancy, before this Evening, that a Coin could have any nobler Use in it, than to pay a Reckoning.

You have not heard all yet, says *Philander*: there is still an Advantage to be drawn from Medals, which, I am sure, will heighten your Esteem for them. It is indeed an Use, that no body has hitherto dwelt upon. If any of the Antiquaries have touched upon it, they have immediately quitted it, without considering it in it's full Latitude, Light and Extent. Not to keep

keep you in Suspence, I think, there is a great Affinity between Coins and Poetry, and that your Medalliſt and Critic are much nearer related, than the World generally imagines. A Reverſe often clears up the Paſſage of an old Poet, as the Poet often ſerves to unriddle a Reverſe. I could be longer on this Head, but fear, I have already tired you. Nay, ſays *Eugenius*, ſince you have gone ſo far with us, we muſt beg you, to finiſh your Lecture, eſpecialy ſince you are on a Subject, that, I dare promiſe you, will be very agreeable to *Cynthio*, who is ſo profeſſed an Admirer of the ancient Poets. I muſt only warn you, that you do not charge your Coins with more Uſes, than they can bear. It is generally the Method of ſuch, as are in Love with any particular Science, to diſcover all others in it. Who would imagine, for Example, that Architecture ſhould comprehend the Knowledge of Hiſtory, Ethics, Muſic, Aſtronomy, natural Philoſophy, Phyſic and the civil Law? Yet *Vitruvius* will give you his Reaſons, ſuch as they are, why a good Architect is Maſter of theſe ſeveral Arts and Sciences. Sure, ſays *Cynthio*, *Martial* had never read *Vitruvius*, when he threw the Cryer and the Architect into the ſame Claſs.

Duri ſi puer ingeni videtur
Præconem facias, vel Architectum.

If of dull Parts the Stripling you ſuſpect,
A Herald make him, or an Architect.

But to give you an Inſtance out of a very celebrated Diſcourſe on Poetry, (becauſe we are on

that Subject,) of an Author's finding out imaginary Beauties in his own Art: *I have observed,** says he, (speaking of the natural Propension, that all Men have to Numbers and Harmony) *that my Barber has often combed my Head in Dactyls and Spondees, that is, with two short Strokes and a long one, or with two long ones successively. Nay,* says he, I *have known him sometimes run even into Pyrrichius's and Anapœstus's.* This you will think perhaps a very extravagant Fancy, but I must own, I should as soon expect to find the *Prosodia* in a Comb, as Poetry in a Medal. Before I endeavour to convince you of it, says *Philander*, I must confess to you, that this Science has its Visionaries, as well, as all others. There are several, for Example, that will find a Mystery in every Tooth of *Neptune's* Trident, and are amazed at the Wisdom of the Ancients, that represented a Thunderbolt with three Forks, since, they will tell you, nothing could have better explained it's triple Quality of piercing, burning, and melting. I have seen a long Discourse on the Figure and Nature of Horn, to shew, it was impossible to have found out a fitter Emblem for Plenty, than the *Cornu-Copiæ*. These are a Sort of Authors, who scorn to take up with Appearances, and fancy an Interpretation vulgar, when it is natural. What could have been more proper, to shew the Beauty and Friendship of the three Graces, than to represent them naked, and knit together in a Kind of Dance? It is thus, they always appear in ancient Sculpture, whether on Medals, or in Marble, as I doubt not, but *Horace* allu-

* *Vossius de viribus Rythmi.*

alludes to Designs of this Nature, when he describes them after the same Manner:

------- *Gratia*
Junctis nuda sororibus:
---- *Segnesque nodum solvere Gratiæ.*

The Sister *Graces* hand in hand
Conjoin'd by love's eternal hand.

Several of your Medallists will be here again astonished at the Wisdom of the Ancients, that knew how to couch excellent Precepts of Morality under visible Objects. The Nature of Gratitude, they will tell you, is better illustrated by this single Device, than by *Seneca's* whole Book *de Beneficiis*. The three Graces teach us three Things. I. To remark the doing of a Courtesie. II. The Return of it from the Receiver III. The Obligation of the Receiver to acknowledge it. The three Graces are always Hand in Hand, to show us, that these three Duties should be never separated. They are naked, to admonish us, that Gratitude should be returned with a free and open Heart; and dancing, to shew us, that no Vertue is more active, than Gratitude. May not we here say with *Lucretius?*

Quae bene & eximie quamquam dispostа ferantur,
Sunt longe tamen a vera ratione repulsa.

It is an easy Thing, says *Eugenius*, to find out Designs, that never entered into the Thoughts of the Sculptor, or the Coiner. I dare say, the same Gentlemen, who have fixed this Piece of Morality on the three naked Sisters, dancing Hand

in Hand, would have found out as good a one for them, had there been four of them, sitting at a Distance from each other, and covered from Head to Foot. It is therefore, says *Philander*, that the old Poets step in, to the Assistance of the Medalist, when they give us the same Thought in Words, as the Masters of the *Roman* Mint have done in Figures. A Man may see a Metaphor, or an Allegory, in Picture, as well as read them in Description. When therefore I confront a Medal with a Verse, I only shew you the same Design, executed by different Hands, and appeal from one Master to another of the same Age and Taste. This is certainly a much surer Way, than to build on the Interpretation of an Author, who does not consider, how the Ancients used to think, but will be still inventing Mysteries and Applications out of his own Fancy. To make my self more intelligible: I find a Shield on the Reverse of an Emperor's Coin, designed as a Complement to him from the Senate of *Rome*. I meet with the same Metaphor in ancient Poets, to express Protection, or Defence. I conclude therefore, that this Medal compliments the Emperor, in the same Sense, as the old *Romans* did their Dictator *Fabius*, when they called him the Buckler of *Rome*. Put this Reverse now, if you please, into the Hands of a mystical Antiquary. He shall tell you, that the Use of the Shield being to defend the Body from the Weapons of an Enemy; it very aptly shadows out to us the Resolution, or Continence of the Emperor, which made him Proof to all the Attacks of Fortune, or of Pleasure. In the next Place, the Figure of the Shield being round, it is an Emblem of Perfection, for *Aristotle* has said, the round Fi-

Figure is the most perfect. It may likewise signify the immortal Reputation, that the Emperor has acquired by his great Actions, Rotundity being an Emblem of Eternity, that has neither Beginning, nor End. After this I dare not answer for the Shield's Convexity, that it does not cover a Mystery; nay, there shall not be the least Wrinkle, or Flourish upon it, which will not turn to some Account. In this Case therefore * Poetry being, in some Respects an Art of designing, as well as Painting, or Sculpture, they may serve as Comments on each other. I am very well satisfied, says *Eugenius*, by what you have said on this Subject, that the Poets may contribute to the Explication of such Reverses, as are purely emblematical; or when the Persons are of that shadowy, allegorical Nature, you have before mentioned; but I suppose, there are many other Reverses, that represent Things and Persons of a more real Existence. In this Case too, says *Philander*, a Poet lets you into the Knowledge of a Device better, than a Prosewriter, as his Descriptions are often more diffuse, his Story more naturally circumstanced, and his Language enriched with a greater Variety of Epithets: So that you often meet with little Hints and Suggestions in a Poet, that give a great Illustration to the Customs, Actions, Ornaments, and all Kinds of Antiquities, that are to be met with on ancient Coins. I fancy, says *Cynthio*, there is nothing more ridiculous, than an Antiquary's reading the *Greek*, or *Latin* Poets. He never thinks of the Beauty of the Thought, or Language; but is for searching into what he calls the Erudition of the Author. He will turn you over all *Virgil*, to find out the Figure of an old *Rostrum*; and has

* *Poema est pictura loquens.*

the greteſt Eſteem imaginable for *Homer*, becauſe he has given us the Faſhion of a *Greek* Scepter. It is indeed odd enough to conſider, how all Kinds of Readers find their Account in the old Poets. Not only your Men of the more refined, or ſolid Parts of Learning, but even your Alchymiſt and Fortune-teller will diſcover the Secrets of their Art in *Homer* and *Virgil*. This, ſays *Eugenius*, is a Prejudice of a very ancient Standing. Read but *Plutarch's* Diſcourſe on *Homer*, and you will ſee, that the Iliad contains the whole Circle of Arts, and that *Thales* and *Pythagoras* ſtole all their Philoſophy out of this Poet's Works. One would be amazed, to ſee, what Pains he takes to prove, that *Homer* underſtood all the Figures in Rhetoric, before they were invented. I do not queſtion, ſays *Philander*, were it poſſible for *Homer*, to read his Praiſes in this Author, but he would be as much ſurprized, as ever Monſieur *Jourdain* was, when he had found, he had talked Proſe all his Life-time, without ever knowing what it was. But to finiſh the Task, you have ſet me, we may obſerve, that not only the Virtues, and the like imaginary Perſons, but all the heathen Divinities appear generaly in the ſame Dreſs among the Poets, that they wear in Medals. I muſt confeſs, I believe both the one and the other took the Mode from the ancient *Greek* Statuaries. It will not perhaps be an improper Tranſition, to paſs, from the heathen Gods, to the ſeveral Monſters of Antiquity, as *Chimæras*, *Georgons*, *Sphinxes*, and many others, that make the ſame Figure in Verſe, as on Coins. It often happens too, that the Poet and the Senate of *Rome* have both choſen the ſame Topic, to flatter their Emperor upon, and have ſometimes fallen upon the ſame Thought. It is certain,

tain, they both of them lay upon the Catch for a great Action: It is no Wonder therefore, that they were often engaged on one Subject, the Medal and the Poem being nothing else, but occasional Compliments to the Emperor. Nay, I question not, but you may sometimes find certain Passages among the Poets, that relate to the Particular Device of a Medal.

I wonder, says *Eugenius*, that your Medallists have not been as diligent in searching the Poets, as the Historians, since I find, they are so capable of enlightning their Art. I would have some body put the Muses under a Kind of Contribution, to furnish out whatever they have in them, that bears any Relation to Coins. Though they taught us but the same Things, that might be learnt in other Writings, they would, at least, teach us more agreeably, and draw several over to the Study of Medals, that would rather be instructed in Verse, than in Prose. I am glad, says *Philander*, to hear you of this Opinion; for to tell you truly, when I was at *Rome*, I took Occasion to buy up many Imperial Medals, that have some affinity with Passages of the ancient Poets, so that I have by me a Sort of poetical Cash, which I fancy I could count over to you in *Latin* and *Greek* Verse. If you will drink a Dish of Tea with me to-morrow morning, I will lay my whole Collection before you. I cannot tell, says *Cynthio*, how the Poets will succeed in the Explication of Coins, to which they are generally very great Strangers: We are, however, obliged to you, for preventing us with the Offer of a Kindness, that, you might well imagine, we should have asked you.

Our three Friends had been so intent on their Discourse, that they had rambled very far into the Fields, without taking Notice of it. *Philander* first put them in Mind, that, unless they turned back quickly, they would endanger being benighted. Their Conversation ran insensibily into other Subjects; but as I design only to report such Parts of it, as have any Relation to Medals, I shall leave them to return home as fast as they please, without troubling my self with their talk on the Way thither, or with their Ceremonies at parting.



--*causa*

A PARALLEL between the Ancient and Modern MEDALS.

------ causa est descriminis hujus
Concisum argentum in titulos faciesque minutas.
Juv. Sat. 14.

PHILANDER used every Morning to take a Walk in a neighbouring Wood, that stood on the Borders of the *Thames*. It was cut through by Abundance of beautiful Alleys, which terminating on the Water, looked like so many painted Views in Perspective. The Banks of the River and the Thickness of the Shades drew into them all the Birds of the Country, that, at Sun-rising, filled the Wood with such a Variety of Notes, as made the prettiest Confusion imaginable. I know, in Descriptions of this Nature, the Scenes are generally supposed to grow out of the Author's Imagination, and if they are not charming in all their Parts, the Reader never imputes it to the Want of Sun, or Soil, but to the Writer's Barenness of Invention. It is *Cicero's* Observation on the Planetree, that makes so flourishing a Figure in one of *Plato's* Dialogues, that it did not draw it's Nourishment from the Fountain, that ran by it, and watered it's Roots, but from the Richness of the Stile, that describes it. For my own Part, as I design only to fix the Scene of the following Dialogue, I shall not endeavour to give it any other Ornaments, than those, which Nature has bestowed upon it.

Philander was here enjoying the Cool of the Morning, among the Dews, that lay on every

Thing about him, and that gave the Air such a Freshness, as is not a little agreeable in the hot Part of the Year. He had not been here long, before he was joyned by *Cynthio* and *Eugenius*. *Cynthio* immediately fell upon *Philander* for breaking his Night's Rest. You have so filled my Head, says he, with old Coins, that I have had nothing but Figures and Inscriptions before my Eyes. If I chanced to fall into a little Slumber, it was immediately interrupted with the Vision of a *Caduceus*, or a *Cornucopiæ*. You will make me believe, says *Philander*, that you begin to be reconciled to Medals. They say, it is a sure Sign, a Man loves Money, when he is used to find it in his Dreams. There is certainly, says *Eugenius*, something like Avarice in the Study of Medals. The more a Man knows of them, the more he desires to know. There is one Subject in particular, that *Cynthio*, as well as my self, has a Mind to engage you in. We would fain know, how the ancient and modern Medals differ from one another, and which of them deserves the Preference. You have a Mind to engage me in a Subject, says *Philander*, that is perhaps of a larger Extent, than you imagine. To examine it throughly, it would be necessary to take them in Pieces, and to speak of the Difference, that shews it self in their Medals, in the Occasion of stamping them, in the Inscriptions, and in the Figures, that adorn them. Since you have divided your Subject, says *Cynthio*, be so kind, as to enter on it without any further Preface.

We should first of all, says *Philander*, consider the Difference of the Metals, that we find in ancient and modern Coins; but as this Spe-

Speculation is more curious, than improving, I believe, you will excuse me, if I do not dwell long upon it. One may understand all the learned Part of this Science, without knowing, whether there were Coins of Iron, or Lead among the old *Romans*; and if a Man is well acquainted with the Device of a Medal, I do not see, what Necessity there is, of being able to tell, whether the Medal it self be of Copper, or *Corinthian* Brass. There is, however, so great a Difference between the antique and modern Medals, that I have seen an Antiquary lick an old Coin, among other Trials, to distinguish the Age of it by it's Taste. I remember, when I laught at him for it, he told me, with a great deal of Vehemence, there was as much Difference between the Relish of ancient and modern Brass, as between an Apple and a Turnep. It is Pity, says *Eugenius*, but they found out the Smell too of an ancient Medal. They would then be able to judge of it by all Senses. The Touch, I have heard, gives almost as good Evidence, as the Sight, and the Ringing of a Medal is, I know, a very common Experiment. But, I suppose, this last Proof, you mention, relates only to such Coins, as are made of your baser Sorts of Metal. And here, says *Philander*, we may observe the Prudence of the Ancients above that of the Moderns, in the Care, they took, to perpetuate the Memory of great Actions. They knew very well, that Silver and Gold might fall into the Hands of the Covetous, or Ignorant, who would not respect them for the Device, they bore, but for the Metal, they were made of. Nor were their Apprehensions ill founded; for it is not easily imagined, how many of these noble Monuments of History have perished in the Gold-

Goldsmiths Hands, before they came to be collected together by the learned Men of these two, or three last Centuries. Inscriptions, Victories, Buildings, and a thousand other Pieces of Antiquity were melted down in these barbarous Ages, that thought, Figures and Letters only served to spoil the Gold, that was charged with them. Your Medallists look on this Destruction of Coins, as on the burning of the *Alexandrian* Library, and would be content to compound for them, with almost the Loss of a *Vatican*. To prevent this in some Measure, the Ancients placed the greatest Variety of their Devices on their brass and copper Coins, which are in no Fear of falling into the Clippers Hands, nor in any Danger of melting, till the general Conflagration. On the contrary, our modern Medals are most in Silver, or Gold, and often in a very small Number of each. I have seen a golden one at *Vienna*, of *Philip* the second, that weighed two and twenty Pound, which is probably singular in it's Kind, and will not be able to keep it self long out of the Furnace, when it leaves the Emperor's Treasury. I remember another in the King of *Prussia's* Collection, that has in it three Pound Weight of Gold. The Princes, who struck these Medals, says *Eugenius*, seem to have designed them rather as an Ostentation of their Wealth, than of their Virtues. They fancied probably, it was a greater Honour to appear in Gold, than in Copper; and that a Medal receives all it's Value from the Rarity of the Metal. I think the next Subject, you proposed to speak of, were the different Occasions, that have given Birth to ancient and modern Medals.

Be-

Before we enter on this Particular, says *Philander*, I must tell you, by Way of Preliminary, that formerly there was no Difference between Money and Medals. An old *Roman* had his Purse full of the same Pieces, that we now preserve in Cabinets. As soon as an Emperor had done any thing remarkable, it was immediately stamped on a Coin, and became current through his whole Dominions. It was a pretty Contrivance, says *Cynthio*, to spread abroad the Virtues of an Emperor, and make his Actions circulate. A fresh Coin was a Kind of a *Gazette*, that published the latest News of the Empire. I should fancy, your *Roman* Bankers were very good Historians. It is certain, says *Eugenius*, they might find their Profit and Instruction mixed together. I have often wondered, that no Nation among the Moderns has imitated the ancient *Romans* in this Particular. I know no other Way of securing these Kinds of Monuments, and making them numerous enough, to be handed down to future Ages. But where Statesmen are ruled by a Spirit of Faction & Interest, they can have no Passion for the Glory of their Country, nor any Concern for the Figure, it will make among Posterity. A Man, that talks of his Nation's Honour a thousand Years hence, is in very great Danger of being laught at. We shall think, says *Cynthio*, you have a Mind to fall out with the Governement, because it does not encourage Medals. But were all your ancient Coins, that are now in Cabinets, once current Money? It is the most probable Opinion, says *Philander*, that they were all of them such, excepting those, we call Medalions. These, in Respect of the other Coins, were the same, as modern Medals, in Respect of modern Money.

They

They were exempted from all Commerce, and had no other Value, but what was set upon them by the Fancy of the Owner. They are supposed to have been struck by Emperors, for Presents to their Friends, foreign Princes, or Ambassadors. However, that the Smallness of their Number might not endanger the Loss of the Devices, they bore, the *Romans* took Care generally to stamp the Subject of their Medalions on their ordinary Coins, that were the running Cash of the Nation. As if in *England* we should see, on our Half-peny and Farthing Pieces, the several Designs, that show themselves in their Perfection on our Medals.

If we now consider, continued *Philander*, the different Occasions, or Subjects of ancient and modern Medals, we shall find, they both agree in recording the great Actions and Successes in War, allowing still for the different Ways of making it, and the Circumstances, that attended it in past Ages, and in the present. I shall instance one. I do not remember, in any old Coin, to have seen the Taking of a Town mentioned, as indeed there were few Conquerors, could signalize themselves that Way, before the Invention of Powder and Fortifications, a single Battle often deciding the Fate of whole Kingdoms. Our modern Medals give us several Sieges and Plans of fortified Towns, that show themselves in all their Parts, to a great Advantage, on the Reverse of a Coin. It is indeed, a Kind of Justice, says *Eugenius*, that a Prince owes to Posterity, after he has ruined, or defaced a strong Place, to deliver down to them a Model of it, as it stood whole and entire. The Coin repairs, in some Measure, the Mischiefs of his Bombs and Ca-

Canons. In the next Place, says *Philander*, we see, both on the ancient and modern Medals, the several noble Pieces of Architecture, that were finished at the Time, when the Medals were stamped. I must observe however, to the Honour of the latter, that they have represented their Buildings according to the Rules of Perspective. This I remember to have seen but in very few of the Plans on ancient Coins; which makes them appear much less beautiful, than the modern, especially to a mathematical Eye. Thus far our two Setts of Medalls agree, as to their Subject. But old Coins go farther in their Compliments to their Emperor, as they take Occasion to celebrate his distinguishing Virtues; not as they showed themselves in any particular Action, but as they shone out in the general View of his Character. This Humour went so far, that we see *Nero's* fidling, and *Commodus's* Skill in fencing, on several of their Medals. At present, you never meet with the King of *France's* Generosity, nor the Emperor's Devotion recorded after this Manner. Again, the *Romans* used to register the great Actions of Peace, that turned to the Good of the People, as well as those of War. The Remission of a Debt, the taking off a Duty, the giving up a Tax, the Mending a Port, or the making a Highway, were not looked upon as improper Subjects for a Coin. They were glad of any Opportunity, to encourage their Emperors in the Humor of doing good, and knew very well, that many of these Acts of Beneficence had a wider and more lasting Influence on the Happiness and Welfare of a People, than the gaining a Victory, or the Conquest of a Nation. In *England* perhaps it would have looked a little odd, to have stamped a Medal

dal on the abolishing of Chimney-Money in the last Reign, or on the giving a hundred thousand Pounds a Year, towards the carrying on a War, in this. I find, says *Eugenius*, had we struck in with the Practice of the ancient *Romans*; we should have had Medals on the fitting up our several Docks, on the making of our Rivers navigable, on the building our Men of War, and the like Subjects, that have certainly very well deserved them. The Reason, why it has been neglected, says *Philander*, may possibly be this: Our Princes have the coining of their own Medals, and perhaps may think, it would look like Vanity, to erect so many Trophies and Monuments of Praise to their own Merit; whereas, among the ancient *Romans*, the Senate had still a watchful Eye on their Emperor; and if they found anything in his Life and Actions, that might furnish out a Medal, they did not fail of making him so acceptable an Offering. 'Tis true, their Flatteries betray often such a Baseness of Spirit, as one would little expect to find among such an Oder of Men. And here, by the Way, we may observe, that you never find any thing, like Satyr, or Raillery, on old Coins.

Whatever Victories were got on foreign Enemies, or the several Pretenders to the Empire obtained over one another, they are recorded on Coins, without the least Bitterness, or Reflection. The Emperors often jested on their Rivals, or Predecessors, but their Mints still maintained their Gravity. They might publish Invectives against one another in their Discourses, or Writings, but never on their Coins. Had we no other Histories of the *Roman* Emperors, but those, we find on their Money, we should take them

them for the most virtuous Race of Princes, that Mankind were ever blessed with: whereas, if we look into their Lives, they appear, many of them, such Monsters of Lust and Cruelty, as are almost a Reproach to human Nature. Medals are therefore so many Compliments to an Emperor, that adscribe to him all the Virtues, and Victories, he himself pretended to. Were you to take from hence all your Informations; you would fancy *Claudius* as great a Conqueror, as *Julius Cæsar*, and *Domitian* a wiser Prince, than his Brother *Titus*. *Tiberius* on his Coins is all Mercy and Moderation; *Caligula* and *Nero* are Fathers of their Country; *Galba* the Patron of public Liberty, & *Vitellius* the Restorer of the City of *Rome*. In short, if you have a Mind to see the religious *Commodus*, the pious *Caracalla*, and the devout *Heliogabalus*, you may find them either in the Inscription, or Device in their Medals. On the contrary, those of a modern Make are often charged with Irony and Satyr. Our Kings no sooner fall out, but their Mints make War upon one an other, and their Malice appears on their Medals. One meets sometimes with very nice Touches of Raillery; but as we have no Instance of it among the ancient Coins, I shall leave you to determine, whether, or no, it ought to find a Place there. I must confess, says *Cynthio*, I believe, we are generally in the wrong, when we deviate from the Ancients; because their Practice is, for the most part, grounded upon Reason. But if our Fore-fathers have thought fit to be grave and serious, I hope, their Posterity may laugh without Offence. For my Part, I cannot but look on this Kind of Rallery as a Refinement on Medals; and do not see, why there may not be some for Diversion, at the same Time, that there

are others of a more solemn and majestic Nature; as a Victory may be celebrated in an Epigram, as well as in an Heroic Poem. Had the Ancients given Place to Rallery on any of their Coins; I question not, but they would have been the most valued Pars of a Collection. Besides the Entertainment, we should have found in them, they would have shown us the different State of Wit, as it flourished, or decayed in the several Ages of the *Roman* Empire. There is no Doubt, says *Philander*, but our Fore-fathers, if they had pleased, could have been as witty, as their Posterity: but I am of Opinion, they industriously avoided it on their Coins, that they might not give us Occasion to suspect their Sincerity. Had they run into Mirth, or Satyr, we should not have thought, they had designed so much to instruct, as to divert us. I have heard, says *Eugenius*, that the *Romans* stamped several Coins on the same Occasion. If we follow their Example, there will be no Danger of deceiving Posterity: since the more serious Sort of Medals may serve as Comments on those of a lighter Character. However it is, the Rallery of the Moderns cannot be worse, than the Flattery of the Ancients. But hitherto you have only mentioned such Coins, as were made on the Emperors. I have seen several of our own Time, that have been made, as a Compliment to private Persons. There are Pieces of Money, says *Philander*, that, during the Time of the *Roman* Emperors, were coined in Honour of the Senate, Army, or People. I do not remember to have seen, in the upper Empire, the Face of any private Person, that was not, some Way, related to the Imperial Family. *Sejanus* has indeed his Consulship mentioned on a Coin of *Tiberius*, as he has the Honour to give a Name to the Year,

in

in which our Saviour was crucified. We are now come to the Legend, or Inscription of our Medals, which as it is one of the more essential Pars of them, it may deserve to be examined more at Length. You have chosen a very short Text to enlarge upon, says *Cynthio*: I should as soon expect to see a Critique on the Posie of a Ring, as on the Inscription of a Medal.

I have seen several modern Coins, says *Philander*, that have had Part of the Legend running round the Edges, like the *Decus & Tutamen* in our milled Mony; so that a few Years will probably wear out the Action, that the Coin was designed to perpetuate. The Ancients were too wise to register their Exploits on so nice a Surface. I should fancy, says *Eugenius*, the Moderns may have chosen this Part of the Medal for the Inscription, that the Figures on each side might appear to a greater Advantage. I have observed, in several old Coins, a Kind of Confusion between the Legend and the Device. The Figures and Letters were so mingled together, that one would think, the Coiner was hard put to it, on what Part of the Mony to bestow the several Words of his Inscription. You have found out something like an Excuse, says *Philander*, for your milled Medals, if they carried the whole Legend on their Edges: But at the same Time, that they are lettered on the Edges, they have other Inscriptions on the Face and the Reverse. Your modern Designers cannot contract the Occasion of the Medal into an Inscription, that is proper to the Volume, they write upon: so that, having scribled over both Sides, they are forced, as it were, to write upon the Margin: The first Fault therefore, that I shall find with a modern Legend, is it's Diffusi-

veneſs. You have ſometimes the whole Side of a Medal overrun with it. One would fancy the Author had a Deſign of being *Ciceronian* in his *Latin*, and of making a round Period. I will give you only the Reverſe of a Coin, ſtampt, by the preſent Emperor of *Germany*, on the raiſing of the Siege of *Vienna*. VIENNA AVSTRIAE $\frac{4}{14}$ IVLII AB. ACHMETE II. OBSESSA $\frac{2}{12}$ SEPT. EX INSPERATO AB EO DESERTA EST. I ſhould take this, ſays *Cynthio*, for the the Paragraph of a *Gazette*, rather than the Inſcription of a Medal. I remember, you repreſented your ancient Coins as Abridgments of Hiſtory; but your modern, if there are many of them like this, ſhould themſelves be epitomized. Compare with this, ſays *Philander*, the Brevity and Comprehenſiveneſs of thoſe Legends, that appear on ancient Coins.

Salus Generis humani. Tellus ſtabilita. Gloria orbis Terrae. Pacator Orbis. Reſtitutor Orbis Terrarum. Gaudium Reipublicæ. Hilaritas populi Romani. Bono Reipub. nati. Roma renaſcens. Libertas reſtituta. Sæculum Aureum. Puellæ Fauſtinianæ. Rex Parthis datus. Victoria Germanica. Fides mutua. Aſia ſubacta. Judæa capta. Amor mutuus. Genetrix orbis. Sideribus recepta. Genio Senatus. Fides exercitus. Providentia Senatus. Reſtitutori Hiſpaniæ. Adventui Aug. Britanniæ. Regna Adſignata. Adlocutio. Diſciplina Auguſti. Felicitas publica. Rex Armenis datus.

What a Majeſty and Force does one meet with in theſe ſhort Inſcriptions! Are not you amazed

zed, to see so much History gathered into so small a Compass? You have often the Subject of a Volume in a Couple of Words.

If our modern Medals are so very prolix in their Prose, they are every whit as tedious in their Verse. You have sometimes a dull Epigram of four Lines. This, says *Cynthio*, may be of great Use, to immortalize Punns and Quibbels, and to let Posterity see their Forefathers were a Parcel of Blockheads. A Coin, I find, may be of great Use to a bad Poet. If he cannot become immortal by the Goodness of his Verse, he may, by the Durableness of the Metal, that supports it. I shall give you an Instance, says *Philander*, from a Medal of *Gustavus Adolphus*, that will stand as an eternal Monument of Dullness and Bravery.

Miles ego Christi, Christo duce sterno tyrannos,
Haereticos simul & calco meis pedibus.
Parcere Christicolis me, debellare feroces
Papicolas Christus dux meus en animat.

It is well, says *Cynthio*, you tell us, this is a Medal of the Great *Gustavus*: I should have taken it for some one of his *Gothic* Predecessors. Does it not bring into your Mind *Alexander* the Great's being accompanied with a *Chærilus* in his *Persian* Expedition? If you are offended at the Homeliness of this Inscription, says *Philander*, what would you think of such, as have neither Sense, nor Grammar in them? I assure you, I have seen the Face of many a great Monarch hemmed in with false *Latin*. But it is not only the Stupidity and Tediousness of these Inscriptions, that I find Fault with; supposing them of a moderate Length and proper

Sense: why must they be in Verse? We should be surprized to see the Title of a serious Book in Rhime; yet is every whit as ridiculous, to give the Subject of a Medal in a Piece of an Hexameter. This however is the Practice of our modern Medallists. If you look into the ancient Inscriptions, you see an Air of Simplicity in the Words, but a great Magnificence in the Thought; on the contrary, in your modern Medals, you have generally a trifling Thought wrapt up in the Beginning, or End of an heroic Verse. Where the Sense of an Inscription is low, it is not in the Power of *Dactyls* and *Spondees* to raise it; where it is noble, it has no Need of such affected Ornaments. I remember a Medal of *Philip* the second, on *Charles Quint's* resigning to him the Kingdom of *Spain*, with this Inscription: *Ut Quiescat Atlas.* The Device is a *Hercules* with the Sphere on his Shoulders. Notwithstanding the Thought is poetical, I dare say, you would think the Beauty of the Inscription very much lost, had it been - - - - *requiescat ut Atlas.* To instance a Medal of our own Nation. After the Conclusion of the Peace with *Holland*, there was one stampt with the following Legend - - - - - *Redeant Commercia Flandris.* The Thought is here gteat enough: but, in my Opinion, it would have looked much greater in two or three Words of Prose. I think truly, says *Eugenius*, it is ridiculous enough, to make the Inscription run like a Piece of a Verse, when it is not taken out of an old Author. But I would fain have your Opinion on such Inscriptions, as are borrowed from the *Latin* Poets. I have seen several of this Sort, that have been very prettily applied, and I fancy, when they are chosen with Art, they should not be thought unworthy of a Place in your Medals.

Which

Which ever Side I take, says *Philander*, I am like to have a great Party against me. Those, who have formed their Relish on old Coins, will, by no means, allow of such an Innovation; on the contrary, your Men of Wit will be apt to look on it, as an Improvement on ancient Medals. You will oblige us however, to let us know, what Kind of Rules you would have observed in the Choice of your Quotations, since you seem to lay a Stress on their being chosen with Art. You must know then, says *Eugenius*, I do not think it enough, that a Quotation tells us plain Matter of Fact, unless it has some other accidental Ornament, to set it off. Indeed if a great Action, that seldom happens in the Course of human Affairs, is exactly described in the Passage of an old Poet; it gives the Reader a very agreeable Surprize, and may therefore deserve a Place on a Medal.

Again, if there is more than a single Circumstance of the Action specified in the Quotation, it pleases a Man, to see an old Exploit copied out, as it were, by a modern, and running parallel with it in several of it's Particulars.

In the next Place, when the Quotation is not only apt, but has in it a Turn of Wit, or Satyr; it is still the better qualified for a Medal, as it has a double Capacity of pleasing.

But there is no Inscription fitter for a Medal, in my Opinion, than a Quotation, that, besides it's Aptness, has something in it lofty and sublime: for such a one strikes in with the natural Greatness of the Soul, and produces a high Idea of the Person, or Action, it celebrates, which is one of the principal Designs of a Medal.

It is certainly very pleasant, says *Eugenius*, to see a Verse of an old Poet revolting, as it were, from it's original Sense, and siding with a modern Subject. But then it ought to do it willingly, of it's own Accord, without being forced to it by any Change in the Words, or the Punctuation: for when this happens, it is no longer the Verse of an ancient Poet, but of him, that has converted it to his own Use.

You have, I believe, by this Time, exhausted your Subject, says *Philander*; and I think the Criticisms, you have made, on the Poetical Quotations, that we so often meet with in our modern Medals, may be very well applied to the Mottos of Books, and other Inscriptions of the same Nature. But before we quit the Legends of Medals, I cannot, but take Notice of a Kind of Wit, that flourishes very much on many of the modern, especially those of *Germany*, when they represent in the Inscriptions the Year, in which they were coined. As to mention to you another of *Gustaphus Adolphus*. CHRISTVS DVX ERGO TRIVMPHVS. If you take the Pains to pick out the Figures from the several Words, and range them in their proper Order, you will find they amount to 1627. the Year, in which the Medal was coined: for do not you observe some of the Letters distinguish themselves from the rest, and top it over their Fellows? these you must consider in a double Capacity, as Letters, or as Cyphers. Your laborious *German* Wits will turn you over a whole Dictionary for one of these ingenious Devices. You would fancy perhaps, they were searching after an apt classical Term; but instead of that, they are looking out for a Word, that has an L. an M. or a D. in it.

When

When therefore you see any of these Inscriptions, you are not so much to look in them for the Thought, as for the Year of the Lord. There are foreign Universities, where this Kind of Wit is so much in Vogue, that, as you praise a Man in *England* for being an excellent Philosopher, or Poet, it is an ordinary Character among them to be a great Chronogrammatist. These are probably, says *Cinthio*, some of those mild Provinces of Acrostic Land, that Mr. *Dryden* has assigned to his Anagrams, Wings and Altars. We have now done, I suppose, with the Legend of a Medal. I think you promised us in the next Place to speak of the Figures.

As we had a great deal of Talk on this Part of a Coin, replied *Philander*, in our Discourse on the Usefulness of ancient Medals; I shall only just touch on the chief Heads, wherein the ancient and the modern differ. In the first Place, the *Romans* always appear in the proper Dress of their Country, insomuch that you see the little Variations of the Mode in the Drapery of the Medal. They would have thought it ridiculous, to have drawn an Emperor of *Rome* in a *Grecian* Cloak, or a *Phrygian* Mitre. On the contrary, our modern Medals are full of *Toga's* and *Tunica's*, *Trabea's* and *Paludamentums*, with a Multitude of the like antiquated Garments, that have not been in Fashion these thousand Years. You see very often a King of *England*, or *France*, dressed up like a *Julius Cæsar*. One would think, they had a Mind to pass themselves upon Posterity for *Roman* Emperors. The same Observation may run through several Customs and Religions, that appear in our ancient and modern Coins. Nothing is more usual, than to see Allusions to

Roman Cuſtoms and Ceremonies on the Medals of our own Nation. Nay very often they carry the Figure of a heathen God. If Poſterity take it's Notions of us from our Medals, they muſt fancy, one of our Kings paid a great Devotion to *Minerva*; that another was a profeſſed Worſhipper of *Appollo*, or at beſt, that our whole Religion was a Mixture of Paganiſme and Chriſtianity. Had the old *Romans* been guilty of the ſame Extravagance, there would have been ſo great a Confuſion in their Antiquities, that their Coins would not have had half the Uſes, we now find in them. We ought to look on Medals, as ſo many Monuments, conſigned over to Eternity, that may poſſibly laſt, when all other Memorials of the ſame Age are worn out, or loſt. They are a Kind of Preſent, that thoſe, who are actually in being, make over to ſuch, as lie hid within the Depths of Futurity. Were they only deſigned to inſtruct the three, or four ſucceeding Generations, they are in no great Danger of being miſunderſtood: but as they may paſs into the Hands of a Poſterity, that lie many Removes from us, and are like to act their Part in the World, when it's Governments, Manners, and Religions, may be quite altered; we ought to take a particular Care, not to make any falſe Reports in them, or to charge them with any Devices, that may look doubtful, or unintelligible.

I have lately ſeen, ſays *Eugenius*, a medallic Hiſtory of the preſent King of *France*. One might expect, methinks, to ſee the Medals of that Nation in the higheſt Perfection, when there is a Society penſioned and ſet apart on Purpoſe for the deſigning of them.

We will examine them, if you please, says *Philander*, in the Light, that our foregoing Observations have set them; but on this Condition, that you do not look on the Faults, I find in them, any more, than my own private Opinion. In the first Place then, I think it is impossible to learn from the *French* Medals either the Religion, Custom, or Habits of the *French* Nation. You see on some of them the Cross of our Saviour, and on others *Hercules's* Club. In one you have an Angel, and in another a *Mercury*. I fancy, says *Cynthio*, Posterity would be as much puzzled on the Religion of *Louis le Grand*, were they to learn it from his Medals, as we are at present on that of *Constantine* the Great. It is certain, says *Philander*, there is the same Mixture of Christian and Pagan in their Coins: nor is there a less Confusion in their Customs. For Example, what Relation is there between the Figure of a Bull, and the planting of a *French* Colony in *America?* The *Romans* made Use of this Type, in Allusion to one of their own Customs, at the sending out of a Colony: but for the *French*, a Ram, a Hog, or an Elephant, would have been every whit as significant an Emblem. Then can any thing be more unnatural, than to see a King of *France* dressed like an Emperor of *Rome*, with his Arms stripped up to the Elbows, a Laurel on his Head, and a *Chlamys* over his Shoulders? I fancy, says *Eugenius*, the Society of Medallists would give you their Reasons for what they have done. You your self allow the Legend to be *Latin*, and why may not the Customs and Ornaments be of the same Country, as the Language? especially since they are all of them so universally understood by the Learned.

I own

I own to you, says *Philander*, if they only design to deliver down to Posterity the several Parts of their Great Monarch's History, it is no Matter for the other Circumstances of a Medal: but I fancy, it would be as great a Pleasure and Instruction for future Ages, to see the Dresses and Customs of their Ancestors, as their Buildings and Victories. Besides, I do not think they have always chosen a proper Occasion for a Medal. There is one struck, for Example, on the *English* failing in their Attempts on *Dunkirk*, when in the last Reign they endeavoured to blow up a Fort, and bombard the Town. What have the *French* here done to boast of? A Medal however you have with this Inscription, DUNKIRKA ILLAESA. Not to cavil at the two K's in *Dunkirka*, or the Impropriety of the Word *Illæsa*, the whole Medal, in my Opinion, tends not so much to the Honour of the *French*, as of the *English*,

---------- *quos opimus*
Fallere & effugere est triumphus.

I could mention a few other Faults, or, at least, what I take for such. But at the same Time must be forced to allow, that this Series of Medals is the most perfect of any among the Moderns, in the Beauty of the Work, the Aptness of the Device, and the Propriety of the Legend. In these and other particulars, the *French* Medals come nearer the Ancients, than those of any other Country; as indeed it is to this Nation, we are indebted for the best Lights, that have been given to the whole Science in general.

I must not here forget to mention the Medalic History of the Popes, where there are many Coins

Coins of an excellent Workmanship, as I think they have none of those Faults, that I have spoken of in the preceeding Sett. They are always *Roman* Catholic in the Device and in the Legend, which are both of them, many Times, taken out of the holy Scriptures, and therefore not unsuitable to the Character of the Prince, they represent. Thus when *Innocent* XI. lay under terrible Apprehensions of the *French* King, he put out a Coin, that on the Reverse of it had a Ship tossed on the Waves, to represent the Church. Before it was the Figure of our Saviour walking on the Waters, and St. *Peter* ready to sink at his Feet. The Inscription, if I remember, was in *Latin: Help Lord, or else I perish.* This puts me in Mind, says *Cynthio*, of a Pasquinade, that at the same Time was fixed up at *Rome: Ad Galli cantum Petrus flet.* But, methinks, under this Head of the Figures on ancient and modern Coins, we might expect to hear your Opinion on the Difference, that appears in the Workmanship of each. You must know then, says *Philander*, that till about the End of the third Century, when there was a general Decay in all the Arts of designing, I do not remember to have seen the Head of a *Roman* Emperor drawn with a full Face. They always appear in *Profil*, to use a *French* Term of Art, which gives us the View of a Head, that, in my Opinion, has something in it very majestic, and, at the same Time, suits best with the Dimensions of a Medal. Besides that it shows the Nose and Eye-brows, with the several Prominencies and fallings in of the Features, much more distinctly, than any other Kind of Figure. In the lower Empire you have Abundance of broad *Gothic* Faces,

Faces, like so many full Moons, on the Side of a Coin. Among the Moderns too, we have of both Sorts, though the finest are made after the Antique. In the next Place, you find the Figures of many ancient Coins rising up in a much more beautiful *Relief*, than those on the modern. This too is a Beauty, that fell with the Grandeur of the *Roman* Emperors; so that you see the Face sinking by Degrees in the several Declensions of the Empire, till, about *Constantine's* Time, it lies almost even with the Surface of the Medal. After this it appears so very plain and uniform, that one would think, the Coiner look'd on the Flatness of a Figure, as one of the greatest Beauties in Sculpture. I fancy, says *Eugenius*, the Sculptors of that Age had the same Relish, as a *Greek* Priest, that was buying some religious Pictures at *Venice*. Among others he was shown a noble Piece of *Titian*. The Priest having well survey'd it, was very much scandalized at the Extravagance of the *Relief*, as he termed it. You know, says he, our Religion forbids all Idolatry; we admit of no Images, but such, as are drawn on a smooth Surface: The Figure, you have here shown me, stands so much out to the Eye, that I would no sooner suffer it in my Church, than a Statue. I could recommend your *Greek* Priest, says *Philander*, to Abundance of celebrated Painters on this Side of the *Alps*, that would not fail to please him. We must own however, that the Figures on several of our modern Medals are raised and rounded to a very great Perfection. But if you compare them, in this Particular, with the most finished among the Ancients, your Men of Art declare universally for the latter.

Cynthio

Cynthio and *Eugenius*, though they were well pleaſed with *Philander's* Diſcourſe, were glad however to find it at an End: for the Sun began to gather Strength upon them, and had pierced the Shelter of their Walks in ſeveral Places. *Philander* had no ſooner done talking, but he grew ſenſible of the Heat himſelf, and immediately propoſed to his Friends the retiring to his Lodgings, and getting a thicker Shade over their Heads. They both of them very readily cloſed with the Propoſal, and by that Means give me an Opportunity of finiſhing my Dialogue.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

ABRIDGED OUT OF MR. PUFFENDORF'S INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY of EUROPE.

§. 1.

In ancient Time *Britainy*, which was then esteemed the biggest Island of the World, was not ruled by one Prince, but devided into a great many petty States, each of them govern'd by it's own King; but this Multitude of petty Princes, as it caused great Divisions among them; so it exposed them to the Danger of being overcome by their foreign Enemies. This Island was scarce known to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, till *Julius Cæsar's* Time, who, after he had conquer'd the greatest Part of *France*, undertook an Expedition into this Island, hoping, as 'tis suppos'd, to meet there with great Booty and Riches. But he enter'd not very far into the Country, and, after some Skirmishes with the Inhabitants, returned again, without leaving a Garrison, or exacting any Contributions. After this *Britainy* was not attack'd again by the *Romans*, till under the Reign of the Emperour *Claudius*, who bent his Arms against it in good earnest, and the Inhabitants being divided among themselves, and not joined in a mutual Defence against the common Enemy, he

he, without great Difficulty, conquer'd Part of it: At which time *Britainy* was made a *Roman* Province, a constant Army being maintained there by the *Romans*, who, by Degrees, conquered one Part after another, yet not without receiving some Defeats. At last, under the Reign of *Domitian*, *Julius Agricola* marched with his victorious Army through the whole Island, and, giving a signal Overthrow to the *Caledonians*, who are now called the *Scots*, subdued them; tho' the *Romans* could never entirely conquer the utmost Parts of *Britainy*, being almost inaccessible. Wherefore, afterwards, the Emperours *Adrian* and *Severus*, by building a Wall cross the Island from Sea to Sea, divided them from the *Roman* Province, hoping, thereby, to stop their Incursions. But the *Romans* never came into *Ireland*. After the *Britains* had been above 400 Years under Subjection to the *Romans*, the northern Nations at that time overrunning the western Parts of the *Roman* Empire; the *Romans* left this Island voluntarily, being obliged to recall their Legions, which were posted in *Britainy*, to oppose their Enemies.

§. 2. *Britainy* being thus without an Army, and, besides this, mightily exhausted in it's Strength, for that the *Romans* had made Use of their young Men in their Wars; the *Picts* and *Scots*, from their barren Country, made an Inroade into these plentifull Provinces, destroying all before them. The *English*, to make the better Head against them, had chosen one *Vortigern* for their King; but he, perceiving himself to be no ways able to resist their Power, and Assistance being denied him from the *Romans*, called in the *Angles*, a *Saxon* Nation, living then

in *Holstein*: One Part of which retains that Name to this Day; tho' some will have them to have been *Frieslanders*, others *Goths*; it being certain, that the modern Language of the *Frieslanders* has a great Affinity with the ancient *English* Tongue. These *Angles*, under their Leaders *Hengist* and *Horsa*, coming with some thousands of Men to the Assistance of the *Britains*, beat out the *Scots*. But they, being mightily taken with the Fruitfulness of the Country, resolved to subdue it, and to lay the Yoak upon the *Britains*, who had called them in, to deliver them from it. As soon as the *Britains* perceived, what their Intention was, they endeavour'd to drive them out of the Island; but these, taking up Arms, and calling in a great many thousands of their Countrymen to their Assistance, first took from the *Britains* the eastern Parts of the Island and the western Parts, which were yet in the Possession of the *Britains*, being afterwards extreamly wasted by Plague and Famine, so that the *British* King *Cadwalladar* retired into the *lesser Britainy*: The *Saxons* took Hold of this Opportunity, conquering all the rest of *Britainy*, except the Province of *Wales*, which, being surrounded with Mountains, they were not able to subdue. This abovementioned *Cadwalladar* was the last King of the ancient *British* Race, who, perceiving, that he was no ways able, any longer to resist the Power of the *Saxons*, retired to *Rome* into a Convent. But *Britainy* received the Name of *Anglia*, or *England*, from the *Angles*.

§. 3. These *Saxons* erected seven Kingdoms, which, however, had not their Beginning all at one Time, but according as they had taken one

one Part after another from the Inhabitants: At last they fell together by the Ears among themselves, till, one having swallowed up an other, all were united into one Kingdom; which, how it happened, we will briefly relate. The first Kingdom, then, was that of *Kent*, which began in the Year 455, and during the Reigns of seventeen Kings, lasted till the Year 827, when it was subdued by the *West Saxons*. The second was the Kingdom of *Sussex*, which began in the Year 488, and, under five Kings, lasted till the Year 631, when it was likewise made a Province by the *West Saxons*. The third was that of the *West Saxons*, which began in the Year 519, and lasted, under nineteen Kings, 561 Years. The Eleventh of these Kings, named *Ino*, did order, that each Subject, that was worth ten Pence, should yearly give one Penny to the Pope of *Rome*, which Tax was first called *the King's Alms*, and afterwards *Peter's Pence*. The fourth Kingdom was that of *Essex*, which began in the Year 527, and lasted, under fourteen Kings, till the Year 808, when it was also conquered by the *West Saxons*. The fifth was that of *Northumberland*, which began in the Year 547, and lasted, under three and twenty Kings, till the Year 926, when it also was brought under Subjection by the *West Saxons*. The sixth Kingdom was that of the *Mercians*, which had it's Beginning in the Year 522, and lasted, under twenty Kings, till the Year 724, when it also fell into the Hands of the *West-Saxons*. The seventh was that of the *East Angles*, which began in the Year 575, and lasted, under fifteen Kings, till the Year 928, when, under it's King *Athelstan*, it was united with the rest. But

after *Egbert*, King of the *West Saxons*, had either subdued the rest, or forced their Kings, to acknowledge him for their supream Head; he and his Successours were henceforward called no more Kings of the *Saxons*, but of *England*. Under his Reign the *Danes* first enter'd *England*, as they continued to do under the following Kings, tho', in the Beginning, they were, at several Times, bravely repuls'd: Nevertheless they got footing, at last, in the northern Parts of *England*, where they lived, for a While, pretty quietly under the Protections of the Kings of *England*. But in the Time of King *Ethelred*, who began his Reign in the Year 979, the *Danes* made Introdes into the southern Parts of *England*, forced the *English*, to pay them great Summs of Money, ravish'd their Women, and committed such Outrages, that they got the Name of *Lord Danes*. And tho' the *English* conspir'd against the *Danes*, and cut them all off; yet the *Danish* King return'd the next Year, and made prodigious Havock among the *English*; their great Preparations, which were made against the *Danes*, being, by the Craft of the Traitor *Edrick*, (notwithstanding *Ethelred* had made him Duke of *Mercia*, giving him his Daughter for a Wife,) render'd ineffectual; so that *Ethelred* was obliged to leave his desolate Kingdom, and to retire into *Normandy*. *Sueno*, while he was busy in plundering the Nunnery of St. *Edmund*, having been kill'd by a Sword, which no body knew from whence it came; *Ethelred* return'd out of *Normandy* into *England*, and forced *Canute*, *Sueno's* Son, to retire out of *England* into *Denmark*: but he return'd quickly with a much greater Force, and *Ethelred*, making all imaginable

Preparati-

Preparations against him, died in the Year 1016, whose Son *Edmund*, surnamed "*Ironside*, did defend himself with great Bravery against the *Danes*, and might have obtained several Victories over them, if he had not been therein prevented by that Traitor *Edrick*. At last it was agreed, that both Kings should make an End of the War by a single Combat, in which, tho' *Edmund* had the Advantage of giving *Canute* a dangerous Stroke; yet was he perswaded to finish the Combat, by dividing the Kingdom with the *Danes*; and was afterwards, as he retired privately, to ease Nature, treacherously murther'd by *Edrick*.

§. 4. After the Death of *Edmund*, *Canute* called together the *English* Lords, and asked them, whether, at the Time, when the Kingdom was divided, there was any thing mentioned, concerning the Right of Succession of the Brothers and Sons of *Edmund*; and the *English*, out of Fear, answering *there was not*, he received Homage of them, and was crowned King of *England*. After he had rid himself of all, that were left, of the Royal Race, he, to curry Favour with the People, married *Emma*, the Widow of King *Ethelred*, sent most of his *Danes* Home, and reigned with great Applause. Some of his Parasites, who pretended to attribute to him something above a Humane Power, he ridicul'd, by causing a Chair to be set near the Sea-side, commanding the Seas not to wet his Feet; but the Tide rolling on the Waves as usually, he told them, that from thence they might judge of what Extent was the Power of all worldly Kings. He died in the Year 1035. His Son *Harald* succeeded, by Reason of his Nimbleness surnamed *Harefoot*: He did nothing,

worth mentioning, but that he caused his Stepmother *Emma*, and her Sons, whom he had, with fair Words, perſuaded to come over out of *Normandy*, to be miſerably murther'd. He died in the Year 1039, leaving no Children behind him. After his Death the great Men of the Kingdom called out of *Denmark*, *Hardiknut*, his Brother, born of *Emma* and *Canute*, who was famous for nothing, but his greedy Appetite, he being uſed to keep Table four Times a Day. His Subjects were ſo averſe to him, that, when he happened to die at a Feaſt, after he had reign'd but two Years, the *Engliſh* made publick Rejoicings in the Streets, which they called *Hocks-tide*; the *Danes*, after his Death, growing ſo deſpicable to the *Engliſh*, that the *Daniſh* Government in *England* expired, after they had ravag'd *England* for the Space of 240, tho' they poſſeſſed the Throne but 26. Years. After the Death of *Hardiknut*, *Edward*, ſurnamed *the Confeſſor*, Son of King *Ethelred* and *Emma*, Brother of *Hardiknut*; on the Mother's ſide, who had ſought Sanctuary in *Normandy*, was called in, to be King of *England*: He was crowned in the Year 1042; and to gain the Affection of the People, he remitted a Tax, called *Danegeld*, which had been conſtantly paid, for forty Years laſt paſt. He reigned very peaceably, except that he was now and then peſter'd with the *Iriſh* and *Daniſh* Pirates, whom, nevertheleſs, he quickly overcame. He was the firſt, to whom was attributed that Vertue, which, even to this Day, the Kings of *England* are ſaid to have, to heal, by touching, that Diſeaſe, which in *England* is called *the King's Evil*. He died without Childern. He intended to have left the Kingdom to his Coſin *Edgar Athel-*

Atheling, Grandson of King *Edmund Ironside*; but he being very young, *Harald*, Son of *Goodwin*, Earl of *Kent*, who had the Tuition of *Edgar*, put the Crown upon his own Head, but did not enjoy it above nine Months; being slain, in a Battel, by *William* Duke of *Normandy*, whereby the Crown of *England* was transferr'd to the *Norman* Family.

§. 5. This *William*, surnamed *the Conquerour*, was Son of *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, who was descended from *Rollo*, a *Dane*, who, about the Year 900, with a great Number of his Country-men and *Norwegians*, fell into *France*, and ravaging the Country without Resistance, *Charles* the *Simple*, the then King of *France*, thought it the best Way, to set him at Quiet, by putting him into Possession of the Province of *Neustria*, which afterwards was called *Normandy*, and giving to him in Marriage his Daughter *Geisa*, under Condition, that he should become a Christian. *Rollo* had a Son, whose Name was *William*, surnamed *Long-sword*; whose Son was *Richard* II. surnamed *the Good*, who was succeeded by his Son *Richard* III. as he was by his Son *Richard* IV. But he dying without Issue, after him *Robert* became Duke of *Normandy*. This *Robert* was Father to *William the Conquerour*, whom he had by one *Arlotte*, a Furrier's Daughter, with whom, 'tis said, he fell in Love, seeing her dance among other Maids in the Country, and afterwards married her. And notwithstanding this *William* was a Bastard, yet his Father made him his Successour, and got the Nobility to acknowledge him as such, when he was but nine Years of Age, and died soon after. This *William* met with great Troubles and Dangers

in his younger Years, which he had the good Fortune to overcome by his Valour, and acquired thereby great Reputation. After the Death of *Edward the Confessor*, *William*, understanding, that *Harald* had made himself King, resolv'd to demand the Crown of *England*, as belonging to him, by Virtue of the last Will of King *Edward*, who, he pretended, had left the same to him, as an Acknowledgment for the great Favours, he had received from his Father *Robert*. There are others, who say, that *Edward* did only promise this by Word of Mouth; and that *Harald*, being then in *Normandy*, was forc'd to engage by Oath, to help him in obtaining the Crown of *England*. It is possible, this was only made Use of, as a Pretence. But, however it be, *William* landed without Resistance with a great Army, compos'd of *Normans*, *French* and *Netherlanders*, whilst the Fleet of *Harald* was sailed to the northern Coast of *England*, to oppose his Brother and *Harald Harfager*, King of *Norway*, who were enter'd *England* on that Side, and both vanquish'd by him: but thereby he left open the Door to *William*, to enter into the Kingdom, and brought his Soldiers back much weakened and fatigued by their great Marches. Yet, having reinforc'd his Army as well as he could, he offer'd Battel to *William*, near *Hastings* in *Sussex*; which Battel was fought on both Sides with great Obstinacy, till, *Harald* being mortally wounded by an Arrow, the Victory and Crown of *England* remain'd to *William*, *England*, without any further Resistance, acknowledging him a King. The *English* were, at first, extream ly well satisfy'd with his Government, he leaving each in Possession of what was his own, and

and only giving the vacant Land to his *Normans*; partly, also, because he was related to the former King of *England*; partly, because he was greatly recommended to them by the Pope. He was also very strenuous in securing himself, commanding all the Arms to be taken from the People, and, to prevent nocturnal Assemblies and Commotions, he ordered, that, after the Bell had rung at eight in the Evening, no Fire, nor Candle should be seen in their Houses. Besides this, he built several Forts in the most commodious Places. Notwithstanding all this, *Edgard Atheling*, being with some of the Nobility retir'd into *Scotland*, and being assisted by the *Danish* Pirates, continually ravag'd the northern Parts of *England*, burning the City of *York* it self, wherein all the *Normans* were put to the Sword; but he forced them afterwards thence. There was also a dangerous Conspiracy set on Foot against him, which was happily suppress'd by him, before the Conspirators could join their Forces. His Son *Robert* also endeavoured to take from him *Normandy*, against whom his Father led a great Army out of *England*, and the Father and Son encountring one another in the Battel, the first was dismounted by the latter; but he, discovering him to be his Father, by his Voice, immediately dismounted, embraced him, and begg'd his Pardon, and was reconcil'd to his Father, who freely pardon'd all past Injuries. This King also forc'd *Wales* to pay him Tribute, and King *Malcolm* of *Scotland*, to swear Fealty to him. But perceiving, that this new-conquer'd People would not be govern'd altogether by Mildness, he began to act more severely, taking away out of the Convents what Gold and

Silver he could meet with, of wich there was great Store convey'd thither, as into Sanctuaries. He also impoſed heavy Taxes, he appropriated to himſelf a great Part of the Lands of *England*, which he gave unto others, reſerving to himſelf out of them a yearly Revenue. He took upon him the Adminiſtration of the Goods, and Poſſeſſions of all Minors, till they came to the 21ſt Year of Age, allowing them only ſo much, as was requiſite for their Maintenance. He reviſed all their Priviledges, introduced new Laws in the *Normau* Tongue, whereby a great many, that did not underſtand that Language, fell under ſevere Penalties: He erected new Courts of Judicature, and employed great Tracts of Ground for the Conveniency of his Hunting. This King introduced firſt the Uſe of the long Bow in *England*, whereby he had chiefly obtained the Victory againſt *Harald*, and whereby afterwards the *Engliſh* did great Miſchief to the *French*, and gained many Battels from them. At laſt, *Philip* I. King of *France*, by ſtirring up his Son *Robert* againſt him, endeavouring to raiſe Diſturbances in *Normandy*, he went in Perſon over into *Normandy*, where the Son was quickly reconcil'd to the Father. But being obliged to keep his Bed at *Roan*, by Reaſon of an Indiſpoſition in his Belly, which was very groſs, the King of *France* ridicul'd him, aſking, *How long he intended to lie in:* to whom *William* ſent this Anſwer: *That, as ſoon, as he could go to Church, after his lying in, he had vow'd to ſacrifice a thouſand Candles in* France; and he was as good as his Word; for he was no ſooner recover'd, but he invaded *France*, and burnt all where ever he came: But he, having overheated himſelf, fell ill and died, leaving,

leaving, by his last Will, to his eldest Son *Normandy*, but to the second, called *William*, the Crown of *England*.

§. 6. *William* II. sirnamed *Rufus*, met, at first, with some Disturbances, occasioned by his Brother *Robert*, who, pretending to the Crown, was back'd by a great many of the Nobility: but he appeased him, by promising to pay him yearly the Summ of 3000 Marks, and that he should succeed him after his Death. But the Nobles, who had dispersed themselves up and down in the Country, he, partly by fair Means, partly by Force, reduced to Obedience. This Rebellion proved very beneficial to the *English*, the Rebels being, most of them, *Normans*, wherefore the King afterwards rely'd more upon the *English*, as the most faithfull. He waged War twice with *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, whom he forced, in the first, to swear him Fealty, but, in the last, he killed both him and his eldest Son. He also subdued the Province of *Wales*. Among other Inventions to get Money, one was remarkable; for he summon'd together 20000 Men, under Pretence to go with them into *Normandy*; but, when they were just a going to be shipp'd off, he caused Proclamation to be made, that every one, who was willing to pay ten Shillings, should have Leave to stay at Home, unto which every one of them readily consented: He was kill'd by a random Shot in hunting. Him succeeded his younger Brother *Henry*, who, being present, when the King died, seized upon his Treasures, whereby he procured himself a great many Friends, so that he was preferr'd before *Robert*, his elder Brother, who, at that Time, assisted in the taking of *Jerusalem*, which proved no less,

than

than the Loss of a Crown to him. For *Henry*, the better to establish himself in the Throne, remitted not only several Taxes, which were laid upon the People by the former Kings; but also secured unto his Interest the King of *Scotland*, *Edgar*, his most dangerous Neighbour, by marrying his Sister *Maud*. 'Tis reported, that this *Maud* had vow'd Chastity, and that, when her Brother forced her to marry, she wish'd, that such Childern, as should be born out of this Marriage, might never prove fortunate; which Wish was afterwards sufficiently fulfilled in her Children, and a great many of their Posterity. Notwithstanding this, *Robert* landed a great Army in *England*; but *Henry* and *Robert*, by the Mediation of some Friends, and a Promise of a yearly Pension, to be paid to *Robert* from *Henry*, were reconcil'd, which Pension also afterward *Robert* remitted to *Henry*. But afterwards repenting of what he had done, *Henry* was so exasperated against him, that he made a Descent in *Normandy* with a great Army, and vanquish'd him in a bloody Battel, wherein he took him Prisoner. He kept him not only a Prisoner all his Life Time, but also, at last, put his Eyes out, uniting *Normandy* to the Crown of *England*. But King *Lewis* of *France*, sirnamed *Crassus*, being very jealous of the Greatness of *Henry*, undertook, with the Assistance of *Fulco*, Earl of *Anjou*, and *Baldwyn*, Earl of *Flanders*, to restore unto *William*, Son of *Robert*, the Dukedom of *Normandy*; whereupon a bloody War ensued, which was at last composed under this Condition: that *William*, Son of *Henry*, should swear Fealty to *France*, for this Dukedom of *Normandy*. And it obtained afterwards as a Custom, that

that the King's eldest Son was called *Duke of* Normandy, as long, as this Province was united to *England*. The new Duke of *Normandy* did also marry the Daughter of the Earl of *Anjou*: And *William*, Son of *Robert*, being then made Earl of *Flanders*, and endeavouring, a second Time, to regain *Normandy*, was slain in that War. It is related by some, tho' others contradict it, that this King was the first, who admitted the Commons unto the Grand Council of the Kingdom, unto which the Nobility and Bishops only were admitted, before it came to be devided into the Higher and Lower House. His Son *William* being, by the Carelessness of a drunken Master of a Ship, drowned at Sea, with a great many other Persons of Quality of both Sexes, as they were coming back from *Normandy* to *England*, he endeavoured to settle the Crown upon his Daughter *Maud*, and her Heirs; she being at first married to the Emperour, *Henry* IV, by whom she had no Children, and afterwards to *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, Son to *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*. Her Father made the States of *England* take Oaths of Fealty to her in his Life Time. He died in the Year 1135, and with him ended the Male Race of the *Norman* Royal Family in *England*.

§. 7. After the Death of *Henry*, *Stephen* Earl of *Boulogne*, *Henry's* Sister's Son, did, by great Promises, obtain the Crown of *England*, notwithstanding that both he and the States had taken the Oaths, to acknowledge *Maud* for their Sovereign, which they endeavoured, by a great many frivolous Pretences, to prove to be of no Force. The better to establish himself in the Throne, he gained the Affection of the States

States with Presents, and discharged the People of several Taxes, giving Authority to the Nobility, to build fortify'd Castles, which afterwards proved very mischievous to him. He also married his Son *Eustace* to *Constantia*, the Daughter of *Ludovicus Crassus*, King of *France*. This King's Reign was overwhelmed with continual Troubles. For the *Scots*, at first, and afterwards a great many of his Nobles, trusting in their strong Castles, raised great Disturbances; yet he bridled the Insolence of the *Scots*, giving them a signal Overthrow. But his greatest Contest was with the Empress *Maud*; for she, landing in *England*, was received by a great many; and King *Stephen*, in a Battel fought near *Chester*, was taken Prisoner. But she refusing to restore to the *Londoners* King *Edward's* Laws, they sided with her Enemies, and besieged her very closely in the City of *Oxford*, from whence she narrowly escaped; and King *Stephen* also got an Opportunity, to get out of Prison. These Troubles continued, till *Henry*, Son of *Maud*, came to the nineteenth Year of his Age, who, being Lord of four large Dominions, as having inherited *Anjou* by his Father's, *Normandy* by his Mother's Side, *Guienne* and *Poictou* by his Wife *Eleonora*, Daughter and Heiress of *William*, the last Duke of *Guienne*, he also endeavoured to obtain the Crown of *England*; for which Purpose he landed with an Army in *England*. But he obtained his End without any great Opposition; for *Eustace*, King *Stephen's* Son, dying suddenly, an Agreement was made betwixt them, whereby *Stephen* adopted him, and constituted him his Heir and Successour, and died not long after in the Yar 1154. *Henry* II.

II. therefore ſucceeded him, who, among other memorable Actions, demoliſh'd ſuch fortify'd Caſtles of the Nobility and Biſhops, as were built with the Conſent of King *Stephen*. After he had reigned near eighteen Years in Peace and Quietneſs, he had a Mind to have his Son *Henry* crowned: the better to ſecure the Succeſſion, he rtceived him as his Copartner in the Government; but he being married to *Margaret*, the Daughter of *Lewis* the younger, King of *France*, this proved the Cauſe of great Diſturbances afterwards. For ſome perſuaded young *Henry*, that his Father, having abdicated himſelf from the Government, had committed thereby the ſame to his Management. *France* envy'd, that a King of *England* ſhould have ſuch vaſt Poſſeſſions in *France*. The *Scots* wiſh'd for nothing more, than to have an Opportunity of committing Depredations in *England*. Wherefore the *French* and *Scots*, joining with young *Henry*, fell upon *Henry* II. all at one Time, but were as vigorouſly repulſed by him; the *Scots*, eſpecially, ſuffered the moſt in this War, and loſt all *Huntingtonſhire*. A Peace was alſo concluded with *France*; *Adela*, Daughter of *Lewis*, King of *France*, being promiſed in Marriage to *Richard*, the ſecond Son of *Henry*. But the old King, as 'tis reported, falling in Love with her, privately kept her her Company, and therefore oppoſed the Conſummation of the Marriage betwixt her and his Son *Richard*. This ſo exaſperated *Richard*, who, after the Death of his eldeſt Brother *Henry*, was now the next Heir to the Crown, that he made Head againſt his Father; and *Philip Auguſtus*, King of *France*, taking Hold of this Opportunity, took the City of *Mans*. King

Henry

Henry seeing himself, besides this, deserted by his Friends, Wife, and Children, died in few days of Grief. This *Henry* also conquer'd *Ireland*, and united it to *England*, which he and his Successours govern'd under the Title of *Lords* of Ireland, till the Time of *Henry* VIII, who, after he had withdrawn himself from the Obedience of the Pope, to nettle him the more, assumed the Title of *King of* Ireland; because the Pope pretends to the sole Right, to bestow the Title of King in Christendom, and that none ought to take it upon him without his Consent; wherefore the Pope afterwards, to make his Pretence the more plausible, freely gave the same Title to *Mary* Queen of *England*. *Henry* also had some Differences with *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who pretended, it was derogatory to the Glory of God, that the Priests, according to the King's Commands, should be subject to the Civil Judicatures. There is a fabulous Relation concerning this Archbishop *Thomas*, that, he riding a Horse back, one Time, through a Village, the Country Fellows cut off the Tail of his Horse, and that their Children, afterwards, were born with such Tails.

§. 8. *Richard* I. who succeeded his Father *Henry* in the *Kingdom*, did, out of a preposterous Zeal, undertake an Expedition into the *Holy Land*, with 35000 Men, being accompanied by *Philip Augustus*, King of *France*. In this War he took the Island of *Cyprus*, which he gave to *Guido Lusignanus*, who, in Consideration thereof, resigned his Right to *Jerusalem*; and in the Year 1192 he was present at the taking of *Ptolomais*, where the Standard of Duke *Leopold* of *Austria* being set up first, he pull'd it

it down again, putting his own in the Place. But when they were in great Hopes of gaining *Jerusalem*, *Philip* returned home, engaging himself by a solemn Oath, that he would not injure *Richard* in any of his Dominions. *Hugo*, Duke of *Burgundy*, afterwards followed his Example, which greatly encouraged *Saladin*: And *Richard* understanding, that the *French* were fallen into *Normandy*, he also made a Peace with *Saladin*; and taking his Way by Land *incognito*, was discovered in his Journey through *Austria*, where Duke *Leopold*, remembring the Affront, done to him near *Ptolemais*, took him Prisoner, and delivered him to the Emperour, who, after fifteen Months Imprisonment, made him pay 100000. Pounds for his Ransom. After his Return home, he found every thing in Confusion, the *French* having not only ravaged *Normandy*, and other Provinces, belonging to him; but also his Brother had made a Pretension to the Crown; but he obliged the latter to implore his Pardon, and beat the *French* back into their own Country. He died, not long after, of a Wound, which he received in a Siege of some inconsiderable Place in *France*. After his Death his Brother *John* took upon him the Crown of *England*, who was opposed by *Arthur*, Earl of the *lesser Britainy*, his elder Brother's Son; who, finding himself alone not strong enough, sought for Aid of the King of *France*, who was ready, upon all Occasions, to create Troubles in *England*. He took a great many Cities in *Normandy* and *Anjou*. Wherefore King *John* was obliged to make a dishonourable Peace with him, giving in Marriage to *Lewis*, King *Philipp's* Son, *Blanch* Daughter of *Alfonsus*, King of *Castile*, and of his Sister *Eleonora*,

to whom he gave, as a Dowry, all the Cities, which *Philipp* had taken from him, except *Angiers*. Then he married *Iſabella*, Daughter and Heireſs of the Earl of *Angouleſme*, who was promiſed before to *Hugh* Earl of *Marche*. He, to revenge this Affront, join'd his Forces with the King of *France*, and Prince *Arthur* of *Britainy*, and fell into *Touraine* and *Anjou*. But King *John*, falling upon them unawares, routed the Enemy, and took Prince *Arthur* Priſoner in *Roan*. But *Conſtantia*, the Mother of *Arthur*, made her Complaints to *Philipp*, King of *France*, whoſe Vaſſal King *John* was, on the Score of ſuch Provinces, as he was poſſeſs'd of in *France*, and the King of *France* ſummon'd King *John*, to appear before him, and to anſwer for the Death of *Arthur*. But he not appearing, it was declar'd, that King *John* had forfeited what Fiefs he was poſſeſs'd of in *France*, and King *Philip* took from him *Normandy* 316 Years after *Rollo* the *Norman* had conquered the ſame. But the *French* afterwards attack'd alſo *Angiers*, where they were repulſed with great Loſs by King *John*, whereupon a Truce was concluded betwixt them for two Years: During which Time he routed the *Scots*, and ſuppreſſed the Rebels in *Ireland* and *Wales*. The Truce being expired, the War began afreſh with *France*, and King *John's* Army being routed, he made another Truce with *France*. But this ill Succeſs had much diminiſhed his Authority among his Nobles, who alſo hated him, becauſe he had impoſed heavy Taxes upon them; wherefore they, with joint Conſent, demanded from him the Reſtitution of their ancient Privileges; but perceiving, that he only intended to give them fair

fair Words for Deeds, they called to their Aid *Lewis*, Son of *Philip*, King of *France*, who, landing with a great Army in *England*, was received with a general Applause, and whilst King *John* endeavoured to make Head against him, he died overwhelm'd with Troubles.

§. 9. Him succeeded his Son *Henry* III. whose tender Age wrought Compassion on most, and extinguish'd the Hatred, which had been conceiv'd against his Father. And the Earl of *Pembroke*, to whose Tuition he was committed, having totally routed the *French* near *Lincoln*, and destroyed the *French* Forces at Sea, that were sent to their Assistance, *Lewis* did renounce all his Pretensions upon the Crown of *England*, and retir'd into *France*. This King's Reign was very long, but also very troublesome, occasion'd chiefly by the great Concourse of Foreigners into *England*, who crept into all Places of Profit: For the Pope sent at one Time 300 *Italians*, who, being admitted into Church Benefices, did so lay about them, that their yearly Rents amounted to 60000 Marks of Silver, which was a greater Revenue, than the Crown had at that Time. And by Reason of the Prodigality of the King, tho' constantly burthening the People with Taxes, he was always in great Want of Money. He married, besides this, the Daughter of the Earl of *Provence*, who having Abundance of poor Kindred, they enrich'd themselves out of the Treasury of the King. This caused, at last, an open War betwixt the King and the principal Men of the Kingdom, in which *Henry* resign'd to the King of *France*, all his Pretensions upon *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Touraine* and *Mans*, in Consideration of the Summ of 300000 Pounds,

paid him by the *French* King, and he was himself taken Prisoner in the first Battel: But his Son, Prince *Edward*, gathered another Army, and killed the General of the Rebels, *Simon* of *Monfort* Earl of *Leicester*, delivering thereby his Father, and suppressing the whole Rebellion. He did nothing worth mentioning abroad, except that he undertook two Expeditions into *France*, both which prov'd fruitless. He died in the Year 1272. Him succeeded his Son *Edward*, who was at that Time in the *Holy Land*; and tho' he did not come into *England* till a Year after his Father's Death, yet took quiet Possession of the Crown. This King entirely united the Principality of *Wales* to the Crown of *England*, the last Prince, *Lyonel*, being slain in a Battel. Under his Reign also began a bloody War, and an implacable Hatred was raised betwixt the *English* and *Scotch* Nations, which, for 300 Years after, caused Abundance of Bloodshed betwixt both Nations. The Occasion was thus: After the Death of *Alexander* III. King of *Scotland*, who died without Heirs, there were several, that pretended to the Crown of *Scotland*, wherefore King *Edward* took upon him the Arbitration of this Matter, that Crown having depended on his Predecessors, and the *Scots* being still obliged to do Homage to the King of *England*. The Matter being examined, it so proved, that *John Baliol* Earl of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce*, were found to have the best Title to that Crown. But these two having contested for the same, during the Space of six whole Years, *Edward* sent under Hand to *Bruce*, telling him, that he would decide the Difference, concerning the Crown of *Scotland*, in Favour of him, if he would swear Fealty to

to *England*, which *Bruce* refuſed, anſwering, that he was not ſo fond of the Crown, as to purchaſe the ſame with the Prejudice of the Liberty of his Native Country. But *John Baliol*, receiving the ſame Offer, was made King of *Scotland*. There was about that Time a capital Quarrel in *Scotland*, betwixt the Earl of *Fife* and the Family of *Alberneth*, who had kill'd the Earl's Brother, and the King of *Scotland* had, by his Sentence, abſolv'd the latter. The Earl, therefore, appeal'd to the *Engliſh* Court, whither King *Baliol* was called to appear, and to ſit with the King in Parliament: But as ſoon as this Matter came under Debate, he was admoniſhed to riſe from his Seat, and to give an Account concerning his Sentence. He pretended to anſwer by his Advocate, which being denied him, he was obliged to anſwer in Perſon from the ſame Place, where others uſed to plead their Cauſes; which both he and the *Scots* reſented as ſo ſignal an Affront, that, no ſooner was he returned home, but he renounced his Oath to King *Edward*, pretending the ſame to have been unjuſt, and that it was not in his Power to make ſuch a Promiſe; and renewing the ancient Alliance with *France*, he denounced War againſt *England*. King *Edward*, therefore, enter'd *Scotland* with an Army, took the beſt ſtrong Holds, and forced the *Scots* and their King to ſwear Fealty to him; their King he ſent a Priſoner into *England*, leaving conſiderable Forces in *Scotland*, which were, nevertheleſs, ſoon after beaten out of *Scotland* by the *Scots*, under the Conduct of a Gentleman of a mean Fortune, whoſe Name was *William Wallis*. But King *Edward* ſoon returned, kill'd 40000 *Scots* in a Battel near

Torkirke, and forced them to swear Fealty to him a third Time. Notwithstanding all these Oaths, *Robert Brunce*, who had been *John Baliol's* Competitor, took upon him the Crown, who was several Times worsted, but who also beat the *English* at other Times, particulary when King *Edward*, going with an Army against *Robert*, in Person, fell sick and died. This King *Edward* had also had some Differences before with *France*. For some of his Subjects in *Aquitain*, having done considerable Mischief, by Privateering on the Coast of *Normandy*, King *Philip*, firnam'd *the Handsome*, summon'd *Edward* to appear at his Court, as his Vassal, and to answer the same, which *Edward* refusing to do, he declared all his Possessions, which he held from the Crown of *France*, to be forfeited; taking from him, by Force of Arms, *Bourdeaux* and some other Places; against whom *Edward* enter'd into a Confederacy with the Earl of *Flanders* and the Emperour *Adolphus*. But coming into *Flanders* with an Army, and finding every thing in Confusion and Disorder, he made a Truce with King *Philip*, promising, that his Son *Edward* should marry *Isabella*, *Philipp's* Daughter. This King caused, likewise, all the *Jews* to be banished out of *England*, not allowing them to carry away any thing more, than what they could carry themselves.

§. 10. Him succeeded his Son *Edward* II. who, at the very Beginning of his Reign, married *Isabella*, Daughter of *Philip*, firnamed *the Handsome*, with whom he had for a Dowry *Guienne*, and the County of *Ponthieu*, the greatest Part whereof had been taken from his Father by the *French*. This King was very unfortunate in his

his Wars against the *Scots*, who, in the Battel, fought near *Bannoksborough*, with an Army of 30000 Men, defeated 100000 *English*, which struck such a Terrour among them, that 100 *English* durst scarce face three *Scotchmen:* And the *English* were continually beaten by the *Scots*, (except in *Ireland*, where they beat the *Scots* out, who had enter'd that Kingdom) so that *Edward* was at last obliged to make a Truce with them. He met also with great Disturbances at home, the great Men of the Kingdom pressing him, without Intermission, to leave to their Mercy his Favourites *Gaveston*, and after him the *Spencers*, which he refusing to consent to, they fell into open Rebellion, in which they proving unsuccessfull, several of the Nobility paid with their Lives for it. But the Queen, pretending, that the *Spencers* had diverted the King's Love from her, retir'd first into *France*, and from thence into *Hainault*, and returning with an Army, took the King Prisoner, and caused the *Spencers* to be executed. The King was carried from Place to Place, and greatly abused during his Imprisonment, having been forced before by the Parliament, to resign the Kingdom to his Son *Edward*. At last, about six Months after his Deposition, he was miserably murther'd.

§. 11. *Edward* III. was very young, when the Crown was confer'd upon him, wherefore the Administration of the Government was, during his Minority, committed to his Mother, and managed under her chiefly by her Favorite *Roger Mortimer*. She immediatly, at the Beginning, made a dishonourable Peace with *Scotland*, whereby *Edward* renounced

the Sovereignty and all other Pretenſions upon that Kingdom; and the *Scots* renounced their Title to *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*. This and ſome other matters, laid to their Charge, was the Reaſon why, ſome Years after, the Queen was condemned to a perpetual Impriſonment, and *Mortimer* was hanged. Afterwards a moſt cruel War broke out betwixt *England* and *France:* for *Lewis*, *Philip* and *Charles*, all three Sons of *Philip*, ſirnamed *the Handſom*, dying without Iſſue, *Edward* did pretend a Right to the *French* Crown, as being the late King's Siſter's Son; alledging, that, if his Mother, as being a Woman, might be thought incapable of governing the Realm, the ſame ought not to be prejudicial to him, as being a Man. But *Philip de Valois*, notwithſtanding he was a Degree farther of, as being the late King's Father's Brother's Son, yet prevailed with the States, who, under Pretence of the *Salick* Law, and the Hatred, they bore to a foreign Sovereign, being, beſides this, encouraged thereunto by the Earl of *Artois*, ſet him upon the Throne. *Edward*, being afterwards ſummon'd by *Philip*, to come in Perſon, and to do Homage for the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, went thither in Perſon, he being then but young, and *England* full of inteſtine Commotions, notwithſtanding this ſeemed to be very prejudicial to his Pretenſions: And King *Edward*, appearing, in the Church at *Amiens*, with the Crown upon his Head, his Sword and Spurs on, was ordered to lay them aſide, and to take Oath upon his Knees; which ſo exaſperated *Edward*, that *France* afterwards felt the Effects of it. Not long after, *Edward Baliol*, Son of *John Baliol*, made Pretenſions to

to the Crown of *Scotland* against the young King, being assisted by King *Edward*, notwithstanding King *David* of *Scotland* had married his Sister. During which Commotions the *English* recovered *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, and in one Battel killed 30000. *Scots*, whereupon *Edward Baliol* did do Homage to the King of *England* for the Crown of *Scotland*. By this time King *Edward*, being come to his riper Years, upon the Instigation of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*, undertook an Expedition into *France*, and taking upon him the Title and Arms of *France*, renewed his Pretensions to that Crown. In this Expedition he entirely routed the *French* Fleet near *Sluys*, which was sent to hinder his landing, and defeated 30000. Men: and after he had besieged *Tournay*, he made a Truce with them for twelve Months. In the mean while the *English* were engaged in a War with the *Scots*, who, under the Conduct of their former King *David*, had driven out *Edward Baliol*: The Time of the Truce being expir'd, the War began afresh in *France*, where, among other Places, the *English* took *Angoulesme*. King *Edward* himself came with a great Army into *Normandy*, and took, both there and in *Picardy*, a great many Places from the *French*: At last a bloody Battel was fought betwixt them near *Crecy* in *Picardy*, wherein the *English*, tho' but 30000. strong, fought against 60000 *French*, killing 30000. upon the spot, among whom were 1500. persons of Quality. The next Day after 7000. *French* were cut to Pieces by the *English*, who, not knowing what happened the Day before, were upon their March to the *French* Camp. In this Battel no Quarter was given on either Side. Much

about the same Time King *David* of *Scotland* enter'd *England* with an Army of 60000. Men, to make a Diversion in behalf of *France*; but he was defeated in a great Battel, and himself taken Prisoner. The *English* had no less Success the same Year in *Britainy* and *Guienne*. In the Year next following King *Edward* took the City of *Calais*, which he fill'd with *English* Inhabitants. Prince *Edward*, Son to *Edward* III, whom his Father had sent with an Army into *Guienne*, behaved himself very valiantly, making great Havock where-ever he came. *John* King of *France* drew out an Army against him of 60000. Men, tho' the Prince was not above 8000. strong: upon this the King, thinking, he had catch'd the Bird in the Net, would not accept of any Conditions, tho' never so advantageous. But Prince *Edward*, having posted his Men betwixt the Bushes and Vineyards, from thence so gall'd the *French* Horse with his long Bows, that they, being repulsed, put all the rest in Confusion; King *John* himself was taken Prisoner, as also his youngest Son, and above 1700 Persons of Quality were slain. This Battel was fought about two Leagues from *Poictiers*. At last, after King *Edward* had with three Armies over-run the greatest Part of *France*, a Peace was concluded, by the Mediation of the Pope, at *Bretaigny*, not far from *Chartres*. The Conditions of this Peace were, that *England*, besides what it had before in *France*, should be put in Possession of *Poictou*, *Xaintogne*, *Rochelle*, *Pais d'Aulnis*, *Angoumois*, *Perigord*, *Limosin*, *Quercy*, *Agenois*, and *Bigorre*, with an absolute Sovereignty over the same; besides this, the City of *Calais*, the Counties of *Oye*, *Guisnes*, and *Ponthieu*, and three Milli-

Millions of Crowns were to be given as a Ransom for the King; and that King *John* should give his three younger Sons, his Brother, and thirty other Persons of Quality as Hostages for the Payment of the said Summs. But that, on the other Side, the *English* should restore all the other Places, which they had taken from the *French*, and renounce their Right and Title to the Crown of *France*. The Peace being thus concluded, Prince *Edward*, to whom his Father had given the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, restored *Peter* King of *Castile* to his Kingdom. But in his Journey, the Souldiers being very mutinous for Want of Pay, he levyed an extraordinary Tax upon his Subjects, which they complaining of to the King of *France*, he summon'd the Prince to appear before him, who answer'd, he would suddenly appear with an Army of 60000. Men: therefore *Charles* V, King of *France*, denounced War against the *English*, pretending, that the promised Sovereignty, at the last Peace, was void, because the Prince had not fulfilled the Articles of the same, and had committed Hostilities against *France*. But whilst Prince *Edward* was busie in making great Preparations against *France*, he died suddenly, and with him the *English* good Fortune; for the *French* took from them all the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, except *Bourdeaux* and *Bayonne*. The King was so troubled at the Loss both of so brave a Son, and his Conquests in *France*, that he died within ten Months after his Son.

§. 12. Him succeeded *Richard* II. Son of that brave Prince *Edward*, who, being but eleven Years of Age, when he came to the Crown, was despised by the *French*, who burnt several

ral Places on the *English* Coast. The *Scots* also made an Inrode on the other Side of *England*, and the War being carried on with various Fortune, after several Truces expired, a Peace was at last concluded. There were also great Commotions in the Kingdom under this King's Reign: For in *Kent*, and other neighbouring Counties, there was an Insurrection of the Rabble, occasioned by the Insolence of one of the Receivers of the Poll Tax: This Rabble's Intention was to have murthered both the Nobility and Clergy, except the *Mendicant* Fryars; but were soon restrained by the King's Valour. But there were continual Discontents betwixt the King and the Lords, the King being resolved to rule according to his Pleasure, and to maintain his Favourites against the Lords, who were for removing his Favourites, and bringing his Royal Power into a more narrow Compass, by the Authority of the Parliament. But it was the King's Custom, as soon as the Parliament was dissolved, to reverse all, that was concluded upon before; yet once the Parliament got him at an Advantage, when it forced him to permit most of his Favourites to be either kill'd, or banish'd; and obliged him by an Oath to promise, that he would administer the Government according to the Advice of his Lords. Not long after a Conspiracy among the Lords was discovered against him; a great many of them paid for it with their Heads. The King seemed, at last, to to have master'd his Enemies; but he was, nevertheless, ruin'd at last, which was occasioned thus: *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* accused the Duke of *Norfolk*, as if he had spoken ill of the King; and the latter giving the Lye

to

to the former, they challenged one an other; but the Duel was prevented by the King's Authority, who baniſh'd them both out of the Kingdom. *Henry* of *Lancaſter* retired into *France*, raiſing there a Faction againſt the King, by inviting all diſſatisfy'd Perſons to him, who promiſed to ſet him on the Throne of *England*. He landed but with a few in *England*, but at a time, as King *Richard's* ill Fortune would have it, when he was in *Ireland*; and the Wind proving contrary, he could not have Notice of his Enemies Arrival in *England*, till ſix Weeks after, which gave them Opportunity and Leiſure to ſtrengthen their Party. The King alſo committed a great Errour, for that he afterwards, againſt his Promiſe, tarry'd ſo long in *Ireland*, which was the Cauſe, that ſuch Forces, as were brought together by his Friends, whom he had ſent before, were again diſperſed, before his Arrival in *England*. Coming afterwards in Perſon into *England*, and being informed, how powerfull his Enemies were, he deſpair'd of his Affairs, and having diſmiſs'd his Forces, that were ready to fight for him till the laſt Gaſp, he was made a Priſoner. *Henry* of *Lancaſter* calling, immediately hereupon, a Parliament, a great many Things were objected to *Richard*, and he was declared to have forfeited the Crown. But before this Reſolution was publiſhed, he reſign'd himſelf, and was not long after miſerably murthered in Priſon.

§. 14. Thus *Henry* IV, of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, came to the Crown, he being, after the Depoſition of King *Richard*, declared King by the Parliament, tho', if the Pretenſions of *Henry*, together with the Power of the Parliament, be duely examined, the Title of *Henry* IV,

IV, to the Crown of *England*, will be found to have a very ill Foundation. For what some pretend, that *Edmund*, from whom the House of *Lancaster* descended, was the eldest Son of *Henry* III. and that he, being very deformed, was obliged to give way to his Brother *Edward* I. is rejected as a frivolous Fable by the *English* Historians. This King did labour under great Difficulties, at the Beginning of his Reign, all which he at last overcame: For the Design of the *French*, to restore *Richard*, ended with his Death. And a Conspiracy of some Lords against him was discover'd, even before *Richard* died. The *Scots*, who made War on him, got nothing but Blows. The *Welshmen* also, in Hopes of having met with an Opportunity, to shake off the *English* Yoke, joined with a discontented Party out of *England*, and rebell'd against him; but before they could join all their Forces, the King came suddenly upon them, and overthrew them in a great Battel, wherein, 'tis said, the King kill'd six and thirty with his own Hands. Yet the discontented Party did not rest, but enter'd into a third Conspiracy against him, which was soon discover'd. A great many of them retir'd afterwards into *Scotland*, where they stirr'd up the *Scots* against *England* (for these never used to miss an Opportunity of being troublesome to *England*) but they got nothing but Blows again for their Pains. This King died in the Year 1413.

§. 15. After him reigned his Son *Henry* V. who in his younger Years did not promise much, but after he came to the Crown, shew'd himself one of the most valiant Kings, the *English* ever had. And as he was very aspiring and ambitious, so he thought, he could not meet with

with a better Opportunity of gaining Glory, than by entring into a War with *France*, and renewing the ancient Pretenſions upon that Crown. He ſent, therefore, his Embaſſadors to *Charles* VI. to lay claim to that Crown, and to make this Propoſition to him: that, if he would reſign to him the Crown of *France*, he would marry his Daughter *Catharine*. But it being not uſual, that Princes are perſuaded to part with a Crown thus, the next Way was to try their Fortune by Arms. *Henry* therefore enter'd *France* with an Army, took *Harfleur*, and obtained afterwards a moſt ſignal Victory near *Agincourt* in *Picardy* againſt the *French*, who (according to the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians) were ſix times ſtronger than the *Engliſh*. Ten thouſand of the *French* were kill'd upon the Spot, and as many taken Priſoners, not above ſome Hundreds being ſlain of the *Engliſh*: Yet, at that Time, *Henry* did not purſue his Victory. But not long after, the *French* Fleet having firſt been beaten by the *Engliſh* near *Harfleur*, *Henry* made a ſecond Deſcent upon *France*, taking one Place after an other in *Normandy*, and at laſt the City of *Roan* it ſelf. He met with very little Oppoſition in *France* at that Time, becauſe all was in Confuſion at the *French* Court, the King, *Charles* VI. being not in his right Wits, and the Queen being fallen out with her Son, the Dauphin, who had taken from her all her Jewels and Money, alledging, that they might be better employ'd upon the Souldiery: Which was the Reaſon, that the Queen, ſiding with *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, did promote him to the Place of chief Miniſter of *France*; who was more intent to maintain his private Intereſt and Greatneſs

ness against the Dauphin, than to make Head against the *English*. A Congress was proposed to be held betwixt the two Kings; but this Design was frustrated by the Cunning of the Dauphin, who gave the Duke Hopes of an entire Reconciliation, to be made betwixt them both. And *Monteran* being named for the Place, where they should meet, the Duke of *Burgundy* was there, (questionless, by Instigation of the Dauphin) miserably murther'd. For this Reason his Son, Duke *Philip*, being resolved to revenge his Father's Death, declared openly for the *English*, and by his Mediation obtain'd, that King *Henry* should marry the Princess *Catharine*, and, during the Life of his Wife's Father, administer the Government in his Name, but, after his Death, should succeed him in the Throne. The Nuptials were afterwards celebrated at *Troyes* in *Champaigne*, after the Treaty had been confirmed by solemn Oaths on both Sides, which was also ratify'd by the three Estates assembled in *Paris*, where the Dauphin was summon'd to appear, to answer concerning the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*: But he not appearing, Sentence was given against him, that he should for ever be banish'd out of *France*. There were also some, who design'd to make away with him, and he was forced to go from Place to Place: but his common Place of Residence was *Bourges*, wherefore they used to call him, by way of ridiculing, *the King of* Bourges. In the mean Time the *English* took one Place after an other from him. At last, King *Henry* being upon his March, to raise the Siege of the City of *Cosne* on the *Loire*, which was besieged by the Dauphin, he fell sick in his Journey thither, and being carried

to

to *Bois de Vicennes*, there died in the Flower of his Age and Felicity, leaving the Administration of *France* to his Brother, the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Administration of *England*, to his second Brother, the Duke of *Glocester*.

§. 15. Him succeeded his Son *Henry* VI. a Child of eight Months old; who, after he was grown up, degenerated from his Father's Martial Valour, and, by his ill Management, lost what his Father had got, eclipsing thereby the *English* Glory. He was, after the Death of *Charles* VI, who died not long after *Henry* V, proclaimed King of *France* in *Paris*. In Opposition to him, the Dauphin, *Charles* VII, also declared himself King of *France*, with whom sided the Bravest among the *French*, and a great many *Scots* were sent to his Assistance. But *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, and *John* Duke of *Britainy*, held to the Confederacy with the *English*, which was renewed at that Time. And then they began to fall upon one another with great Fury: For the *French* received a great Defeat near *Crevant* in *Burgundy*, and were soundly beaten near *Verneuil*. In the Year 1425 the *French* had besieged St. *Jaques de Beuveron* with Forty thousand Men; the Garrison, being reduc'd to great Extremity, prayed with a loud Voice to St. *George* of *Salisbury*: The Besiegers, hearing the Name of *Salisbury* very frequently among the Besieged, supposed, that the Earl of *Salisbury* was coming to raise the Siege; whereat the *French* were so terrify'd, that they run away for Fear of his Name. This is certain, that the *English*, for a while, were Masters where ever they came; but before *Orleans* the Carreer of their Fortune was first stopt. For tho', during that Siege,

they beat the *French*, who came to cut off their Provisions (which Battel is commonly called *the Battel of the* Flemmings) and the City would have surrender'd it self to the Duke of *Burgundy*, which the *English* would not accept of; yet did they not only lose in that Siege the brave Earl of *Solisbury*; but also the *French*, being encouraged by a Maid, called *Joan*, that was born in *Lorraine*, beat the *English* from before *Orleans*. This Maid did several great Exploits against the *English*, and led her self in Person King *Charles* to his Coronation in *Rheims*. At last she was taken Prisoner by the *English* in an Encounter, who carried her to *Roan*, where they burnt her for a Witch. But because the *English* perceived, that, after the Coronation of *Charles*, a great many Cities sided with him, they also called over their King *Henry* out of *England*, and crowned him King of *France* in *Paris*. About the same Time, a Truce was concluded, by Mediation of the Pope, for six Years; but it lasted not long; for the *French*, during the time of the Truce, possess'd themselves of several Places, which they had brought over to their Side by cunning Insinuations, pretending, that any thing, gained without open Violence, did not violate the Truce. And King *Charles's* Maxim was, *not to fight with the* English, *but to strive to get Advantages over them rather by Policy, than open force.* But that, which gave a great Blow to the *English*, was, that the Duke of *Burgundy*, having taken a Distaste at the *English*, upon some slight Occasion, was reconciled to King *Charles*. There were some small Differences arisen betwixt the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*; to com-

pose

pose which, a Meeting was appointed at St. *Omer*: But the Time being near at Hand, a Dispute arose, which of them should appear there first; it being supposed, that he, who should come first, did thereby yield the Precedency to the other; wherefore the Duke of *Bedford* refused to come first, alledging, that he, being Regent of *France*, ought not, in that Quality, to give Preference to a Vassal of *France*. But the Duke of *Burgundy* stood upon his Right of being Sovereign of the Place, where they were to meet; so that, the Meeting set aside, the Duke of *Burgundy* broke quite off with the *English*, and afterwards assisted King *Charles* against them. The Death of the Duke of *Bedford* proved an other Misfortune to the *English*. For the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Duke of *York* both pretended to his Place; and tho' the latter did obtain it, yet did the first always oppose his Designs, so that, before the new Regent arrived, *Paris*, which had been seventeen Years in the Possession of the *English* and a great many other Cities, did surrender themselves to King *Charles*. Yet did the Duke of *Gloucester* beat the Duke of *Burgundy* before *Calais*, making great Havock in *Flanders*, *Artois* and *Hainault*; and the brave *Talbot* did considerable Mischief to the *French*. But when afterwards, by a Truce made with *France*, the Fury of the War ceased for a little Time, there was a Foundation laid in *England* for intestine Commotions. The King had promised Marriage to the Daughter of the Earl of *Armagnac*, to prevent which, the *French* King had made both the Earl and his Daughter Prisoners. The Earl of *Suffolk*, who was then Embassador in *France*, did propose thereupon

(without having received any Instructions to that Purpose from the King) a Match betwxt the King and *Margaret* Daughter of *Rene*, Duke of *Anjou*, and King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and afterwards persuaded the King to ratify the same. This Match was mightily opposed by the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the King's Uncle, who alledged, that her Father had only the bare Titles of King and Duke; and that, besides this, great Injury was done thereby to the first Bride, *viz.* to the Daughter of the Count of *Armagnac*. Notwithstanding this, the Match went forward, and to obtain the Bride of the *French*, *Anjou* and *Maine* were given them as a Recompence. The King being thus led away by the Queen and his Favourites, her first Design was to revenge her self upon the Duke of *Glouceſter*, whom she accused of Male Administration, and after she had got him committed to Prison, caused him privately to be murther'd. The Death of so innocent a Man did afterwards fall heavy upon the King: For the *French*, not long after, took from them all *Normandy*, the *English*, by Reason of a Rebellion in *Ireland*, not being in a Capacity to send thither speedy and sufficient Relief. They were also beaten out of *Aquitain*, so that they had nothing left them in *France*, but *Calais* and some neighbouring Places; neither could they, afterwards, ever get footing again in *France*. This sudden Loss was occasioned by the Carelessness of the *English* Garrisons, that were not provided with able Governors, as also by the Pride of the *English*, whereby they were become hatefull to the *French* Subjects: But the chief Cause was *Richard* Duke of *York*, who had underhand raised intestine Commotions in *England*:

England: For he, being sensible of the King's Weakness, and how ill satisfy'd the People were with the Queen's Management of Affairs, hoped, by fomenting and raising Troubles in the Kingdom, to make way for himself to obtain the Crown; and this he did, principally, because he pretended to have the best Right to the Crown, being descended, by his Mother's Side, from *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of King *Edward* III. whereas *Henry* was descended from *John* of *Gaunt*, fourth Son of the said *Edward* III. but publickly he profess'd, that his Intention was only to remove from the King's Person his pernicious Favourites, and especially the Duke of *Somerset*. Having therefore got an Army on Foot, he fought with the King's Forces, in which Battel the Duke of *Somerset* was slain, and the Duke of *York* there upon declared Protector of the King's Person, and the Kingdom. But this Agreement did not last long, and Things came quickly again to an open War, wherein the Duke of *York*, being worsted, was forced to fly into *Ireland*. But not long after the Earl of *Warwick* did beat the King's Army, and taking him Prisoner, the Duke of *York* was again declared Protector of the King and Kingdom, and lawfull Heir of the Crown, under Condition, that *Henry* should retain the Title of King during his Life. But Matters did not remain long in this Condition, for the Queen, who was fled into *Scotland*, marched with a great Army against the Duke of *York*, who was kill'd in the Battel, and all the Prisoners were executed. But his Son, in Conjunction with the Earl of *Warwick*, raised an other Army, and marching up to *London*, the young Duke of *York* was

there proclaimed King by the Name of *Edward* IV.

§. 16. Thus *Edward* IV. came to the Crown, but could not maintain it without great Difficulty: For Henry had got together a very powerfull Army in the *North*, againſt whom *Edward* fought the moſt bloody Battel, that was ever fought in *England*, there being 36796 Men killed upon the Spot, becauſe *Edward*, knowing his Enemies to be ſuperiour in Number, had ordered, not to give Quarter to any of them: After which Battel *Henry* retired into *Scotland*, from whence he returned with an other Army, and, being again defeated, with much ado got ſafely into *Scotland*. But returning again *incognito* into *England*, he was taken Priſoner and committed to the *Tower*. This Prince, would have made a better Prieſt, than a King of ſuch a Nation, that was diſtracted by the Animoſities of ſeveral Factions. But the Tragedy did not end here: The King had ſent the Earl of *Warwick* into *France*, to conclude a Match betwixt him and *Bona*, the Daughter of *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*. But the King having, in the mean time, ſuddenly married *Elizabeth*, the Widow of *John Gray*, the Earl was ſo diſſatisfy'd at it, that he declared for King *Henry*; and having brought over to his Party the Duke of *Clarence*, the Brother of King *Edward*, he fell on a ſudden upon *Edward*, and took him Priſoner; but, by the Careleſſneſs of his Keeper, he eſcaped not long after. And tho' an Agreement was then made betwixt them, yet was it of no long Continuance; for the Earl of *Warwick's* Forces were routed, and he forced to fly into *France*. As ſoon as he had recover'd himſelf a little, he return-

returned into *England*, where he was so well received, that he forced King *Edward* to fly into the *Netherlands* to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*: And King *Henry*, after he had been nine Years a Prisoner in the *Tower*, was again set upon the Throne. But *Edward*, having received some Assistance from the Duke of *Burgundy*, returned again into *England*; but perceiving, that but few came in to him, he made an Agreement with King *Henry*, which he confirm'd with a solemn Oath, that he would not undertake any thing against him, but be contented with his own Estate: Yet notwithstanding his Oath, he underhand gathered what Forces he could. The Earl of *Warwick* therefore marched towards him, when the Duke of *Clarence*, being reconconcil'd to his Brother, King *Edward*, went over with all his Forces to him. This gave a signal Blow to the Earl of *Warwick*, who, being now not strong enough to oppose him, was forced to let him march up to *London*, where he was joyfully received by the *Londoners*, to whom, as 'tis said, he owed much Money, and was very acceptable to their Wives; but King *Henry* was committed again to the *Tower*. Then King *Edward* attack'd the Earl of *Warwick*, where a bloody Battel was fought, the Victory seeming, at first, to incline on the Earl's Side: But some of his Troops, by Reason of a thick Fog, charged one upon another, which lost him the Battel, he remaining, with a great many other Persons of Quality, slain in the Field. There happened also this Misfortune, that King *Henry's* Lady and his Son *Edward*, having got together very considerable Forces in *France*, could not come Time enough to his

Assistance, having been detained by contrary Winds; and coming afterwards into *England*, she was taken Prisoner, and her Son kill'd, and King *Henry* also was murthered by the Hand of the bloody Duke of *Glouceſter*. *England* being thus restor'd to it's Tranquilty at home, *Charles*, Duke of *Burgunay*, who was in Hopes of getting an Advantage by a War betwixt *England* and *France*, stirr'd up King *Edward* against *Lewis* XI. King of *France*. But King *Lewis*, who was not ignorant, how mischievous the Confederacy of *England* and *Burgundy* might prove to him, did endeavour to detain the *English* King with fair Words, and to render the Duke of *Burgundy* suspected to him; which had the design'd Effect with *Edward*, who considered with himself, that *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, having besieged *Nuys*, did not send him the promised Succours; so that the Peace was easily concluded, the *French* having been very liberal to the *English*. To confirm this Peace, King *Lewis* proposed a Congress to be held betwixt him and *Edward* at a certain Place, where he, without making any further Difficulty, appeared first in Person, and bestowed a good Quantity of Wine upon the *English* Souldiers, who soon after returned with their King, who had got but little Honour in this Expedition into *England*. But he behaved himself better against the *Scots*, to whom he did considerable Mischief. In the mean Time the Duke of *Glouceſter* had rid himself of his elder Brother, the Duke of *Clarence*, thereby to advance himself one step nearer to the Crown. At last King *Edward* being now resolved, to enter again into a War with *France* (since King *Lewis* made a very slight Account of what he had promised

promised in the last Peace, after he was once rid of his Enemy) he fell sick, and died in the Year 1483.

§. 17. After the Death of *Edward* IV. his Son *Edward* V, a Child of eleven Years of Age was proclaimed King, but scarce enjoyed this Title ten Weeks. For his Uncle *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, the most bloody and wicked Man, that ever the World beheld, immediatly made it his Business, to set the Crown upon his own Head. Wherefore he first of all secured to himself the Tuition of the King's and his Brother's Persons, by making away with their most trusty Friends. Afterwards, by the Help of some impudent Priest, he got it spread abroad, that *Edward* IV. was born in Adultery, and that consequently the Crown did of Right belong to himself, as being the most like his Father. At last, the Duke of *Buckingham* did insinuate to the Lord Mayor of *London*, that the Crown ought to be offered to *Richard*; and his Proposal being approved by the Acclamations of a few Villains, set on for that Purpose, it was divulged, that the People had confer'd the Crown upon *Richard*. Having by these Intrigues obtain'd the Crown, *Richard* III. got himself proclaimed King; and having been crowned, he caused the innocent King *Edward* V. and his Brother, miserably to be murthered. But soon after his Coronation a Difference arose betwixt him and the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had been chiefly instrumental in helping him to the Crown. He therefore, leaving the Court, began to make a Party against the King, with an Intention, to set the Crown upon the Head of *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, who was then in Exile in *Britainy*. And tho' the Duke

of *Bukingham's* Plot was discovered, and he beheaded, yet was not the Design stopt. For the Earl of *Richmond* set sail with a great Fleet out of *Britainy*; but being driven by contrary Winds on the Coast of *Normandy*, he sought Aid of *Charles* VIII, King of *France*, which he readily granted him. A great many of *English* also went over to him, who swore Allegiance to him, he promising them upon Oath, that he would marry the Princess *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Edward* IV. But *Henry* was within an Ace of having been delivered up to *Richard* by the Treachery of one *Peter Tandois*, Treasurer of the Duke of *Britainy*, who had received a great Summ of Money from *Richard*, for undertaking it, for which Reason he was afterwards hang'd by his Master's Order. *Richard* also had an Intention of marrying the Princess *Elizabeth*, and therefore had privately made away his former Lady, but was obliged to delay the Consummation of the Match, by Reason of the approaching Danger from *Henry*, who, to prevent this intended Match, did, in all Haste, sail out of *France*, and landing in *Wales*, was kindly received by most. Not long after he gave Battel to *Richard*, where *William Stanley*, with some thousands of Men, went over to *Henry*; and besides this a great many of *Richard's* Souldiers refusing to fight, *Richard* himself was slain in the Field, and the Crown being immediately there put upon *Henry's* Head, he was proclamed King.

§. 18. Hitherto *England* had been miserably torn to Pieces by the bloody Wars, betwixt the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, the first whereof bore a White, the latter a Red Rose in their Shields. For *Henry* IV, of the House of *Lancaster*,

ster, had driven *Richard* II. from the Throne; *Edward* IV, of the House of *York*, dethroned again his Grandson *Henry* VI, and *Henry* VII, of the House of *Lancaster*, took from *Edward* the IVth's Brother, *Richard* III, both his Crown and Life. This King *Henry*, marrying the Daughter of *Edward* IV, united the Red and White Roses, and, by his singular Wisdom, did again settle the State of the Kingdom. Yet was he not altogether free from Disturbances at home. For, first of all, one *Lambert Symnel*, Son to a Baker, taking upon him the Name and Person of *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, caused himself to be proclaimed King in *Ireland*. This Comedy was first invented by a Priest, and encouraged by *Margaret*, the Widow of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, Sister to *Edward* IV, who, to spite *Henry*, gave them all the Assistance, she could. This *Symnel* transported an Army out of *Ireland* into *England*, but was routed by *Henry*; and, being taken Prisoner, was made Turnspit in the King's Kitchin. In the Year 1491. *Henry* undertook an Expedition against *France*, and besieged *Bologne*. But the Emperour *Maximilian* failing in his Promises of giving him Assistance, he, in Consideration of a good summ of Money, made a Peace with *France*. In the mean Time *Margaret*, Dutchess Dowager of *Burgundy*, had set up another Impostor, whose Name was *Perkin Warbeck*. He pretended to be *Richard*, a younger Son of King *Edward* IV, and knew so well how to act his Part, that he got a considerable Party in *Ireland*. From thence he went to *Paris*, where he was very well received, *France* being then engaged in a War with *England*: But a Peace being concluded betwixt them,

them, he retir'd to the Dutchess *Margaret's* Court. From thence he returned into *Ireland*, and afterwards came into *Scotland*, where, being splendidly received by that King, he was married to one of his Kinswomen, and enter'd *England* with a considerable Army. This Business might have proved very dangerous to *England*, since there were, at the same Time, great Tumults in *England*, arisen about some new Taxes. But the Rebels were beaten, and the *Scots* obliged to retire with great Loss into *Scotland*. The *Scots* made thereupon a Peace with *England*, promising, among other Things, not to uphold, by any Ways, the Impostor *Perkin*, who fled from thence into *Ireland*, and so came into *Cornwall*, where he caused himself to be proclaimed King: But perceiving, that few came over to his Side, and the King's Forces coming upon him, he took Sanctuary in a Church, and surrender'd himself to the King, who committed him a Prisoner to the *Tower*; but he having twice made an Attempt to escape, was at last hang'd according to his Demerits. In the Year 1501, a Marriage was concluded betwixt *James* IV. King of *Scotland*, and *Margaret* the Daughter of *Henry*, which afterwards united *England* and *Scotland* under one King. *Arthur* also, eldest Son of *Henry*, married *Catharine* Daughter of *Ferdinand the Catholick*. But the Prince dying a few Weeks after the Wedding, in the sixteenth Year of his Age, and *Henry*, being unwilling to give back the Dowry, and desirous to maintain the new Alliance with *Ferdinand*, married the said *Catharine* to his second Son *Henry*, who was then but twelve Years of Age, having obtained a Dispensation from Pope *Julius* II. under Preten-

Pretence, that there had been no carnal Knowledge betwixt them; which afterwards proved the Cause of great Alterations. This King is reckoned among the wiſeſt of his Age, and the only Thing, which is reprehended in him, is, that he had a Way, by falſe Accuſations againſt the Rich, to ſqueeze out of them great Summs of Money. He died in the Year 1509.

§. 19. *Henry* VIII. immediately upon his firſt Acceſſion to the Throne, celebrated the Nuptials with his Brother's Widow, more to fulfill his Father's Will, than out of his own Inclination; yet, as long as he lived with her in Wedlock, he govern'd the Realm very laudably, and in the Court nothing was ſeen but Plays and Diverſions. As to his Tranſactions abroad, upon the Perſuaſions of Pope *Julius* II. and *Ferdinand the Catholick*, he enter'd into a Confederacy with them againſt *France*, which Confederacy was pretended to be made for the Defence of the Holy See. *Ferdinand* alſo put him in Hopes of recovering *Guienne*; wherefore *Henry* ſent an Army into *Biſcay*, to fall, in Conjunction with the *Spaniards*, into *Guienne*. But *Ferdinand* having rather his Eye upon *Novarre*, and being negligent in ſending timely Succours to the *Engliſh*, they returned home, without doing any thing. In the Year 1513 *Henry* enter'd *France* with a great Army, where he loſt his Time in the taking of *Terovane* and *Tournay*, which was wholly deſtroyed, in Spight of all the Attempts of the *French*, to relieve it; tho' *Tournay* was redeemed by *Francis* I. with a good Summ of Money. But at that Time *Henry* did not purſue his Advantage, partly out of Careleſſneſs, incident to young Men, partly, becauſe he had carried on this War,

War, not so much for his own Interest, as in Favour of the Pope, and so returned into *England*. During the Absence of *Henry*, *James* IV. King of *Scotland*, upon Instigation of the *French*, invaded *England*, but received a great Overthrow, himself being killed in the Battel. In the Year next following, *Henry*, perceiving that his Father-in-law *Ferdinand* did only impose upon him, concluded a Peace with *France*, giving his Sister *Mary* in Marriage to King *Lewis* XII. In the Year 1522, *Henry* again denounced War against *Francis* I. and sent considerable Forces into *France*, which nevertheless, both in the same and next following Year, did nothing of Moment, and the *Scots*, on the other Side, obtained not any Advantages against the *English*. But after *Francis* was taken Prisoner near *Pavia*, it seem'd, that *Henry* had met with a fair Opportunity, to give a great Blow to *France*, more especially, since he had before prepared a Fleet, which lay ready to make a Descent in *Normandy*; yet he left *Charles*, and made Peace with *France*. And *Charles*, after he thought, he had obtained his Aim, did not make any great Account of *England*, leaving the Princess *Mary*, Daughter of *Henry*, to whom he had promised Marriage, for the Princess of *Portugal*, whom he married. And whereas he used formerly to write to the King with his own Hand, and subscribe himself, *Your Son and trusty Friend*; he now caused his Letters to be writ by his Secretary, subscribing only his Name, *Charles*. And truly it seemed very necessary for *Henry* to keep a little the Ballance. Tho' a great many are of Opinion, that Cardinal *Woolsey* had a great Hand in this Business, who was no great Friend

of

of *Charles* V. because he had not promoted him to the Papal Dignity, and had denied him the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, of which he had put him in Hopes at first; neither did he subscribe himself any more *Your Son and Cousin*, as he used to do. But however it be, *Henry* at that time saved *France* from an imminent Danger. After he had lived very peaceably and well with his Queen for the Space of twenty Years, he began to have a Scruple of Conscience, whether he could lawfully live in Wedlock with his Brother's Widow; which Scruple, he pretended, was raised in him first by the President of *Paris*, who was sent to treat concerning a Marriage betwixt *Mary* Daughter of *Henry*, and the second Son of *Francis*. Some say, that he, being weary of her, was fallen in love with *Anna Bullen*, and found out this Way to be rid of her. Yet this seems not so probable to some, since he did not marry the said *Anna Bullen*, till three Years after he pretended to the Scruple of Conscience; whereas the Heat of Love does not usually admit of such Delays. Some will have it, that Cardinal *Woolsey* raised this Scruple first in him, on Purpose to nettle *Charles* V. and to please *Francis* I. in Hopes, after this Divorce, to make up a Match betwixt *Henry* and the Dutchess of *Alenson*, Sister of *Francis*. But however it be, the Business was brought before the Pope, who gave a Commission to the Cardinal *Campegius*, to enquire, in Conjunction with *Woolsey*, into the Matter: 'Tis said, that the Pope was willing to gratify *Henry*, and for that Purpose had sent a Bull to *Campegius*, yet with this Caution, to keep it by him, till further Order. But when he afterwards saw *Charles* V. to

prove

prove ſo ſucceſſful, he durſt not venture to do any thing, that might diſpleaſe him; wherefore he ordered *Campegius* to burn the Bull, and to delay the Buſineſs to the utmoſt. The Queen alſo refuſed to anſwer to their Commiſſion, but appealed to the Pope in Perſon; beſides, *Charles* V. and his Brother *Ferdinand* had proteſted againſt this Commiſſion. *Woolſey* did alſo perceive, that the King was fallen in Love with *Anna Bullen*, which being likely to prove prejudicial to his Authority, he perſuaded the Pope underhand, not to give his Conſent unto this Divorce. *Henry*, being informed what Intrigues the Cardinal was carrying on againſt him, humbled the Greatneſs of this haughty Prelate, who died in the Year next following in great Miſery. And *Henry* being made ſenſible, that the Pope regarded more his own Intereſt, than the Merits of the Cauſe, he forbid, that any body ſhould hence forward appeal to *Rome*, or ſend thither any Money for Church Benefices. He therefore ſent to ſeveral Univerſities in *France* and *Italy*, to deſire their Opinions in this Matter: who all unanimouſly agreed in this, that ſuch a Marriage was againſt the Laws of God; and having once more, by his Embaſſadors, ſollicited the Pope, but in vain, to decide the Matter, the King had the ſame adjudged in Parliament, and divorced himſelf from her; yet converſed with her in a very friendly Manner ever after till her Death, except that he did not bed with her, ſince the Time, when this Scruple firſt aroſe. Some Months after he was married to *Anna Bullen*, by whom he had *Elizabeth*, who was afterwards Queen. *Anno* 1535 the King cauſed himſelf to be declared *Supream Head of the Church of* England, abrogating

ing thereby all the Pope's Authority in that Kingdom, and *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Thomas Moor*, the Lord Chancellour, refusing to acknowledge him as such, it cost them their Heads. Yet would *Henry* never receive the Doctrine of *Luther*, or *Zwinglius*, but continued in the *Roman* Communion, because he was mightily exasperated against *Luther*. For *Henry* had formerly got a Book to be published under his Name against *Luther* in Favour of the Pope, for which he acquired the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, which Title the Kings of *England* retain to this Day. But *Luther*, setting aside all the Respect, due to a King, writ an Answer to the same, full of Heat and bitter Reflections. Yet, because he esteemed the Monks as a Sort of People, that were not only useless, but also such, as, depending on the Pope, might prove very pernicious to him at home, he gave free Leave to all Monks and Nuns, to go out of the Convents and Nunneries; and by Degrees converted unto his own Use the Revenues of all Nunneries and Convents, Colleges and Chappels, as also those of the Order of the Knights of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*: nevertheless he employed some Part of them in erecting six new Episcopal Sees, and Cathedral Churches, and to the advancing of Learning in the Universities: A great part also he gave away, or sold for a little Money to great Families, intending thereby to oblige them, for the future, to maintain the Alterations, he had made. It is reported, that these Church Revenues, which were so reduced, did amount yearly to 136512 *l.* or as some others will have it, to 500752 *l.* He also abolished the superstitious Worship of Images, and made some other

Alterations in Religious Worship, so that, in Effect, he laid the Foundation of the Reformation. Nevertheless *England* was at that Time in a miserable Condition; for a great many *Roman* Catholicks, that would not acknowledge the King for the Supream Head of the *English* Church, were executed: And a great many more Protestants received the same Punishment, because they would not own the Corporal Presence of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament; tho' this Effusion of Blood was not so much caused by the King, as by the Bishops, who had first brought in Use such rigorous Laws, and now executed them with as much Severity. In the Year 1543, an other War happened with the *Scots*, who, making an Inrode into *England*, were beaten by a few *English*; which did grieve King *James* V. to that Degree, that he died for Trouble, leaving behind him one only Daughter *Mary*, whom *Henry* would have engaged to his Son *Edward*, thereby to unite these two Kingdoms; and the Business was like to have succeeded very well, if the Archbishop of St. *Andrews* had not opposed it. *Henry* also enter'd into a League with the Emperour against *France*, wherein it was agreed, to join their Armies of 80000 Foot and 22000 Horse near *Paris*, to plunder that City, and to ravage the whole Country as far as the *Loire*. But neither of them acted according to the Agreement, for *Henry* wasted his time in the Siege and taking of *Boulogne*, which he afterwards, by the Peace, concluded in the Year 1546, promised to restore to *France* within the Space of eight Years, in Consideration of the Summ of 80000 Crowns to be paid him for the same; which was performed accordingly

under

under *Edward* VI. Neither do I believe, that *Henry* was in good Earneſt, by ruining the *French*, to give ſuch great Advantages to *Charles* V. After his Divorce with *Catharine* of *Arragon*, he was very unfortunate in his Marriages; for *Anna Bullen* was beheaded for Adultery and Inceſt, tho' ſome are of Opinion, that it was more the Proteſtant Religion, than the Crime, which proved fatal to her. It is certain, that the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* did ſo reſent this Matter, that, whereas they intended to have made *Henry* the Head of their League, they afterwards would hold no Correſpondency with him. After *Anna Bullen* he married *Jane Seymour*, Mother to *Edward* VI. who died in Child-bed. Then he married *Anna* of *Cleves*, whom he alſo, pretending I know not what bodily Infirmity in her, quickly diſmiſs'd. The fifth was *Catharine Howard*, who was beheaded for Adultery. The ſixth *Catherine Parre*, Widow of the Lord *Latimer*, who outlived him. *Henry* died in the Year 1547.

§. 20. *Edward* VI. was nine Years of age when he came to the Crown, during whoſe Minority his Uncle, the Duke of *Somerſet*, had the Adminiſtration of Affairs. His firſt Deſign was to force the *Scots*, to agree to a Match betwixt *Edward* and their young Queen *Mary*; wherefore he fell into *Scotland*, and overthrew them near *Muskelborough* in a great Battel. Nevertheleſs he miſs'd his Aim; for the *Scots* ſent their Queen into *France*; who was there married to the Dauphin, afterwards King of *France*, by the Name of *Francis* II. Under this King *Edward* the Reformed Religion was publickly eſtabliſhed in *England*, and the Maſs quite aboliſhed; which occaſioned great

Disturbances in the Kingdom, which were nevertheless happily suppress'd. In the Year 1550 there was a Peace concluded betwixt *England*, *France* and *Scotland*, when also *Boulogne* was restor'd to the *French*. But King *Edward* falling sick, the Duke of *Northumberland*, who had before destroyed the Duke of *Sommerset*, persuaded King *Edward*, under Pretence of settling the Protestant Religion, to exclude, by his last Will and Testament, his two Sisters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth* (for of the Queen of the *Scots* they made but little Account at that Time) from the Crown, and to settle it upon *Jane Grey*, Daughter of the Duke of *Suffolk*, whom he had by *Mary* Daughter of *Henry* VII. which afterwards proved fatal both to *Jane* and the Author. For after the Death of *Edward*, the Duke of *Northumberland* caused *Jane* to be proclaimed Queen in the City of *London*; but *Mary*, eldest Sister of *Eaward*, did immediately lay Claim to the Crown in her Letters to the Privy Council: And Letters proving ineffectual, they began to come to Blows; but most of the Nobility, unto whom *Mary* promis'd not to make any Alteration in Religion, did side with her; and a part of the Army and Fleet, most of the Privy Counsellors, and the City of *London* taking her Part, proclaimed her Queen. *Northumberland* himself, being now willing to go with the Tide, did proclaim *Mary* Queen in *Cambridge*, notwithstanding which he afterwards lost his Head.

§. 21. Queen *Mary* caused the *Roman* Catholick Religion and Mass, which were abolished in her Brother's Time, as also the Pope's Authority, to be restor'd in *England*; she used the Protestants very hardly, of whom a great many

many were punished with Death. Yet was she not able to restore the Church Revenues, for fear of exasperating the greatest Families, who had them in their Possession. The Pope did also send Cardinal *Poole*, to re-unite the Kingdom to the holy See of *Rome*. This Queen *Mary* was married to *Philip*, Son of *Charles* V. who was afterwards King of *Spain*, yet under these Conditions, that she should have the sole Disposal of all Offices and Revenues of the Kingdom, and if a Son was born, he should, besides the Crown of *England*, inherit *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands*: *Don Carlos*, who was born of a former Wife, should be Heir of *Spain*, and all the *Italian* Provinces; and in Case he died without Issue, this should also inherit his Part. But no Children came of this Marriage, *Mary* being pretty well in Years, for she was thirty Years before proposed in Marriage. And there were some, who, being dissatisfy'd at this Match, raised Tumults; among whom was the Duke of *Suffolk*, Father of *Jane*, who had hitherto been a Prisoner in the *Tower*; but she and her Husband *Guilford*, and her Father, paid with their Heads for it. It was within an Ace, but that *Elizabeth*, who was afterwards Queen, had also undergone the same Fate, if *Philip* and the *Spaniards* had not interceeded for her; not out of any Affection for her Person, but because they knew, that after her, the next Heir to the Crown of *England* was *Mary*, Queen of *Scotland*, who being married to the Dauphin of *France*, they feared, lest, by this Means, *England* and *Scotland* might be united with *France*. Among other Articles in the Mariage Contract of Queen *Mary*, it was Agreed, that she should not be obliged to engage her self in the Wars,

which her Husband, *Philip*, should carry on against *France:* Notwithstanding which, when *Philip* afterwards was engaged in a War with *France*, she sent to his Assistance some of her best Forces, who, by their Bravery, chiefly obtain'd the Victory near St. *Quintin*; for which Reason *Philip* gave the City to be plundered by the *English*. *Henry* II. King of *France*, taking Hold of this Opportunity, assaulted the City of *Calais*, under the Command of the Duke *de Guise*, which, being not well garrison'd, he took in a few Days, and obliged all the Inhabitans to quit the City, and to leave behind them all their Gold, Silver and Jewels. He also took afterwards the two Castles of *Guisnes* and *Hammes*, and thereby drove the *English* quite out of *France*. Not long after this Loss Queen *Mary* died.

§. 22. *Elizabeth*, who, after the Death of her Sister, was unanimously proclaimed Queen, maintain'd her Authority, and govern'd with great Prudence and Glory in the Midst of a great many threatning Dangers to the very End. In the Beginning *Philip* endeavoured, by all Means, to keep *England* on his Side, for which Reason he proposed a Marriage betwixt *Elizabeth* and himself, promising to obtain a Dispensation from the Pope, which was nevertheless opposed by the *French* in the Court of *Rome*. *Elizabeth* was very unwilling to disoblige so great a Prince, who had well deserved of her; yet, on the other Side, the same Scruple, which had caused her Father to be divorced from *Catharine* of *Arragon*, by a Parity of Reason, did remain with her: she considered, especially, that the said Divorce must needs be esteemed unjust, if the Pope's Dispensati-

Dispensation was allowed of; since it had been alledged as a fundamental Reason of the said Divorce, that the Pope had no Power to dispense in any Cases, which were contrary to God's Law: She resolved therefore not to have any further Concerns with the Pope, and to give a friendly Refusal to *Philip*. Then she, by an Act of Parliament, constituted the Protestant Episcopacy, yet not at once, but by Degrees, taking away from the Papists the free Exercise of their Religion, and under several Penalties and Fines obliged every one to frequent the Protestant Churches on *Sunday*. Every body also was obliged, by a solemn Oath, to acknowledge her the Supream Governour in *England*, even in Spiritual Matters; which Oath was among 9400, who were possess'd of Church Benefices, taken by all, except 189 who refused the same, among whom were fourteen Bishops. She kept stedfast to the established Episcopal Church Government; tho' she met with great Opposition from two Sorts of People, *viz.* the Papists and Puritans. These, having conceived a great Hatred against Episcopacy, and all other Ceremonies, which had the least Resemblance of Popery, were for having every thing regulated according to the Way of *Geneva*. Tho' their Number increased daily, yet the Queen kept them pretty well under. But the Papists made several Attempts against her Life and Crown; for her envious Enemies did erect several Seminaries, or Schools for the *English* Nation in foreign Countries, *viz.* at *Douay*, at *Rheims*, at *Rome* and *Valedolid*; all which were erected for the Instructing of the *English* Youth in these Principles, *viz.* That the Pope had the Supream Power over Kings, and as soon as a King was

declared a Heretick by him, the Subjects were thereby absolved from their Allegiance, due to him; and that it was a meritorious Work to murther such a King. Out of these Schools Emissaries and Priests were sent into *England*, whose Business was there to propagate the *Roman* Catholick Religion; but more especially to instruct the People in the above mentioned Doctrines. To these associated themselves some Desperados, who, after *Pius* V. had excommunicated the Queen, were frequently conspiring against her Life. But most of them got no other Advantage by it, than to make Work for the Hang-man, and occasioned, that the Papists were stricter kept than before. *Mary* also, Queen of *Scotland*, raised Abundance of Troubles against Queen *Elizabeth*: she, being the next Heiress to the Crown of *England*, did, with the Assistance of the Duke of *Guise*, endeavour to have Queen *Elizabeth* declared by the Pope Illegitimate, [which the *Spaniards* under hand opposed) and both she and the Dauphin assumed the Arms of *England*, which Undertaking proved afterwards fatal to Queen *Mary*. For *Elizabeth* sided with the Earl of *Murray*, natural Brother of Queen *Mary*, whose main Endeavour was to chase the *French* out of *Scotland*, and to establish there the Protestant Religion, both which he effected with the Assistance of Queen *Elizabeth*. This Queen *Mary*, being, after the Death of *Francis* II., returned into *Scotland*, was married to her Kinsman *Henry Darley*, one of the handsomest Men in *England*, by whom she had *James* VI. But her Love to him grew quickly cold: for a certain *Italian* Musician, whose Name was *David Ritz*, was so much in Favour with the Queen,

Queen, that a great many perſuaded *Henry*, that ſhe kept unlawfull Company with him; being thus animated, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome Gentlemen he pull'd *David Ritz* out of the Room, where he was then waiting upon the Queen at Table, and kill'd him immediatly. From whence King *James*, with whom Queen *Mary* was then big with Child, had this natural Infirmity, that he could not ſee a naked Sword, his Mother having, at that Time, been frighted with naked Swords. This ſo exaſperated the Queen againſt her Huſband, that he, ſoon after, as was ſuppos'd, was, in the Night Time, murthered by *George Bothwell*, who was afterwards married to the Queen. The Earl of *Murray*, with ſome others, did publiſh, that this Murther was committed by the Inſtigation of the Queen, and *Georg Buchanan*, a Creature of the Earl's, does boldly affirm the ſame in his Writings. Yet there are ſome, who ſay, that the Calumnies, as well concerning *David Ritz*, as alſo concerning the Death of *Henry Darley*, were raiſed againſt the Queen, by the Artifices of the Earl of *Murray*, thereby to defame and dethrone her. But however it be, there was an Inſurrection made againſt the Queen, and *Bothwell*, whom ſhe had married, was forced to fly the Land, (who died in *Denmark* ſome Years after in a miſerable Condition) and ſhe, being made a Priſoner, made her Eſcape in the Year 1568. But the Forces, which ſhe had gathered, being routed, ſhe retir'd into *England*, where ſhe alſo was made a Priſoner. There ſhe enter'd into a Conſpiracy againſt the Queen *Elizabeth*, with the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom ſhe promiſed to marry, hoping thereby to obtain the Crown of *England*. But the Plot being

discover'd, the Duke was made a Prisoner, but was afterwards released. And being again discover'd to have afresh pursued his former Design, paid for it with his Head. Queen *Mary* was confined to a more close Imprisonment. Several Treaties were set on Foot, to procure her Liberty; but no sufficient Security could be given to Queen *Elizabeth*. Wherefore Queen *Mary*, growing at last impatient, and being overcome by ill Counsellours, enter'd into a Conspiracy with *Spain*, the Pope, and the Duke of *Guise* against *Elizabeth*; which Plot, having been long carried on privately, did break out at last, and some Letters, of her own Hand-writing, having been produced among other Matters, a Commission was granted to try the Queen; by Vertue of which she received Sentence of Death; which being confirm'd by the Parliament, great Application was made to the Queen for Execution, which Queen *Elizabeth* would not grant, for a great while, especially, because her Son *James* and *France* did make great Intercessions in her behalf. At last the *French* Embassador *d' Aubespine* having suborned a Ruffian, to murther Queen *Elizabeth*, her Friends urged vehemently to hasten the Execution, which she granted, and signed the Warrant, commanding, nevertheless, Secretary *Davidson*, to keep it by him till farther Order: But he advising thereupon with the Privy Council, it was order'd, that Execution should be done upon her immediately. Queen *Elizabeth* seemed much concerned there-at, and removed *Davidson* from his Place. King *James* also was grievously exasperated, and some of his Friends advised him to join with *Spain* and to revenge his

his Mother's Death. But Queen *Elizabeth* found a way to appeaſe his Anger, and there was ever after a very good Underſtanding betwixt them to the very laſt. The Duke of *Guiſe* and his Party were great Enemies to Queen *Elizabeth* in *France*, and ſhe, on the other Hand, aſſiſted the *Hugnenots* with Men and Money, who ſurrender'd into her Hands, as a Pledge, *Haure de Grace*, but her Forces were obliged to quit the ſame in the Year next following. Neither could ſhe ever get *Calais* reſtored to her; tho' in the Peace, concluded at *Chaſteau en Cambreſis*, the ſame was promiſed to her. With *Henry* the IVth. ſhe lived in a good Underſtanding, ſending frequently to his Aſſiſtance both Men and Money. But with *Spain* ſhe was at Variance about the Rebellious *Netherlanders*, to whom ſhe not only granted a ſafe Retreat in her Country and Harbours, but alſo aſſiſted them, firſt underhand, and afterwards openly, both with Men and Money, they having ſurrender'd unto her, as a Pledge, *Fluſhing*, *Brill* and *Rammeken*: But ſhe would never accept of the Sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, which, being twice offered her, ſhe refuſed as often, out of weighty and wiſe Conſiderations. She ſent, however, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, her Favourite, thither as Governour, who did not acquire much Reputation; but having put things rather in Confuſion, he was recalled in the ſecond Year. She did alſo great Damage to the *Spaniards* on their Coaſts, and in the *Weſt Indies*, by Sir *Francis Drake* and others, and the Earl of *Eſſex* took from them *Cadiz*, but quitted immediately after. On the other Side, *Spain* was continually buſy in raiſing Commotions and Conſpiracies againſt her.

her. And because the *Spaniards* were of Opinion, that *England* might be sooner conquer'd, than the *Netherlands*, and that the latter could not be subdued without the other, they equipp'd a Fleet, which they called *the Invincible Armada*, wherewith they intended to invade *England*. Which Fleet, to the immortal Glory of the *English* Nation, being partly destroy'd by them, and many miserably torn to Pieces by Tempests, did return home in a very miserable Condition. *Spain* also supported constantly the Rebels in *Ireland*, who were very troublesome to Queen *Elizabeth*, tho' they were generally beaten by her Forces, except in the Year 1596, when they soundly beat the *English*. Wherefore the Queen sent thither the Earl of *Essex*, who did nothing worth mentioning. And after his Return, the Queen giving him a severe Reprimand, and ordering him to be kept a Prisoner, he was so exsperated at it, that, tho' he was reconcil'd to the Queen, he endeavoured to raise an Insurrection in *London*, which cost him his Head. Tho' the *Spaniards* were twice repulsed and chased out of *Ireland* with considerable Loss, yet the Rebellion lasted till the very End of her Life. Neither could a Peace be concluded betwixt her and the *Spaniards*, as long as she lived: For tho' a Treaty was appointed to be held at *Boulogne*, by the Mediation of *Henry* IV. yet the same was immediately broke off, because the *English* did dispute Precedency with the *Spaniards*. This Queen could never be brought to take a Resolution to marry, tho' her Subjects did greatly desire it, and she had great Offers made her; amongst whom were, besides *Philip*, *Charles* Archduke of *Austria*, *Eric* King of Swe-

Sweden, the Duke *de Anjou*, and his Brother the Duke *de Alenſon*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, &c. It was her Cuſtom not to give a flat Denial to ſuch, as ſued for her in Mariage, but ſhe uſed to amuſe them with Hopes, whereby ſhe made them her Friends: For ſhe treated with *Charles*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, for ſeven Years together, and with the Duke of *Allenſon* ſhe was gone ſo far, as that the Marriage Contract was made, yet was it ſo drawn, as that a Way was found to annul the ſame afterwards. Under her Reign the *Engliſh* Trade was firſt eſtabliſhed in *Turkey* and the *Eaſt Indies*; the fineſt Coin, as alſo the Manufactury of Serges and Bays was ſettled in *England* about the ſame Time. This Queen alſo brought firſt into Reputation the *Engliſh* Naval Strength, which ſhe was ſo jealous of, that, tho' ſhe ſupported the *Netherlands* againſt the *Spaniards*, yet would ſhe never conſent, that the *Netherlanders* ſhould ſo augment their Sea Forces, as that thereby they might be able to conteſt with *England* at Sea. This Maxim, which ſeem'd ſo neceſſary for *England*, was not regarded by King *James*, he being a Lover of Peace: And King *Charles* I. having always his Hands full with his rebellious Subjects, was not in a Capacity to obſerve it; wherefore the *Dutch* Power at Sea, could neither by *Cromwel*, nor by *Charles* II. be brought down again. This moſt glorious, and by her Subjects, extreamly beloved Queen died in the Year 1602. having before appointed *James* VI. King of *Scotland*, for her Succeſſour.

§. 23. After the Death of *Elizabeth*, *James* VI. King of *Scotland* was, with an unanimous Applauſe, proclaimed King of *England*. His Title

Title to this Crown was derived from *Margaret* Daughter of *Henry* VII. who was married to *James* IV. King of *Scotland*; whose Son *James* V. left one only Daughter, who was Mother of *James* VI. He at first shewed himself pretty favourable to the Papists, fearing, lest they might in the Begining of his Reign, raise some Commotions against him. Notwithstanding which, immediately after his Coronation, the Lord *Cobham*, *Gray*, and others enter'd into a Conspiracy against him: Their main Design was to root out the Line of *James*, and to put in his Place the Marchioness *d' Arbelle*, she being also descended from the abovesaid *Margaret*, Daughter of *Henry* VII. This Lady was, after the Death of her Father, married to *Archibald Douglass*, by whom she had *Margaret*, who was married to *Matthias* Earl of *Lenox*; and this *Arbella*, being the Daughter of *Charles Lenox*, the third Son of this Earl, was, by the interception of *Spain*, to have been married to the Duke of *Savoy*, and by this Means the Popish Religion was again to be introduced into *England*: But the whole Plot being discover'd, the Ring-leaders were punish'd, yet not with that Severity, as the Hainousness of their Crime did deserve; tho', in the Year next following, all the Jesuit and Popish Priests were, by a severe Proclamation, banish'd out of *England*. In the Year 1605, some Popish Villains had hir'd a Vault under the Parliament House, which being fill'd up with a great many Barrels of Gunpowder, they intended to have blown the King, the Prince, and the whole Parliament into the Air. But this deviliſh Design was discover'd; for one of the Accomplices, by a Letter, that was obscure-

obscurely written, and deliver'd by an unknown Person to a Footman of the Lord *Mounteagle*, did intreat him not to come the next Day into the Parliament House; which causing a Suspicion in the King, all the Vaults were search'd, and the Powder found. Hereupon the Parliament made an Act; *That all Subjects, by a solemn Oath, should acknowledge* James *for their lawfull Sovereign; neither, that the Pope had any Authority to dethrone Sovereigns, or to absolve Subjects from their Allegiance.* He concluded a Peace with *Spain*, and was afterwards one of the Mediators of the Truce, made betwixt *Spain* and *Holland*. His Son-in-law, the Elector *Palatine*, being banish'd out of his Territories, he assisted only with sending of Embassadours, and proposing of an Agreement, all which the *Spaniards* render'd ineffectual. His Son Prince *Charles* was sent into *Spain* to marry the Infanta, where the Marriage Contract was concluded and confirmed by Oath; but the Nuptials were deferred till the next Year, the *Spaniards* being willing to gain Time, and to see, how Things would be carried on in *Germany*, for the House of *Austria*. But when, after the Prince's Return into *England*, the *English* would needs have the Restitution of the Elector *Palatine* inserted in the Articles, the Match was broke off, and, tho' the Parliament voted a Subsidy, to be employed towards the restoring of the Elector *Palatine*, yet the Design came to nothing. Under this King there was a Period put to the Differences and Wars betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, which hitherto had created Abundance of Troubles to this Island. And that nothing of Jealousie might remain betwixt these two Nations about

Preferen-

Preference in the Royal Title, he introduced the Name of *Great Britain*, which comprehends both the Kingdoms. There was also set on Foot a Treaty, to unite both Kingdoms into one Body, but it did not succeed, because the *Scots* would not be Inferiour to the *English*. Under this King's Reign Colonies were established in *Virginia*, *Bermudos* and *Ireland*; by which Means the *English* have extended their Dominions: but there are some, who believe, that this has weakened the *English* at home, and that, in all Probability, it would have been more profitable for *England*, to have employed those People in Manufactury and Fishing of Herrings, which produce such vast Riches to the *Dutch*, in the very Sight of the *English*. Yet some are also of Opinion, that it is good for the publick Repose, that the unruly Multitude do not grow too numerous in *England*. The *East India* Trade was also greatly promoted at that Time; but the *English* could not come there in Competition with the *Dutch*, these having been before hand with them. This King died in the Year 1625.

§. 24. His Son *Charles* I. succeeded him, who, after the *Spanish* Match was broke off, married *Henrietta* Daughter of *Henry* IV. He equip'd out a great Fleet against the *Spaniards*, the *English* landed near *Cadiz*, but, being repulsed with Loss, returned without doing any thing, and all Commerce was prohibited betwixt *Spain* and *England*. He also broke with *France*, and because the *French* Merchants had been ill treated by the *English*, all Commerce was also prohibited betwixt these two Nations. The

English

Engliſh thereupon endeavoured to ſend Aid unto the City of *Rochelle*, and landing in the Iſle of *Rhee*, beſieged the Fort of St. *Martin*, which being valiantly defended by one *Toyras*, the *Engliſh* were repulſed with great Loſs. In the Year next following they undertook to relieve *Rochelle*, but in vain. Whereupon *Charles* concluded a Peace with *France* in the Year 1629, and, in the Year next following, with *Spain*, having, by this War, waged againſt theſe two Nations, which were not ſo eaſy to be attak'd by one at the ſame Time, gained no Reputation to the diſſatisfy'd Subjects, and made vaſt Debts. Under this King aroſe very violent Diviſions betwixt him and the Parliament, which produced a moſt ſtrange Revolution in that Kingdom. It will be very well worth our While, to enquire a little more narrowly into the true Cauſes thereof. That wiſe Queen, *Elizabeth*, held it for a conſtant Maxim, to oppoſe the growing Power of *Spain* with all her Might, whereby ſhe weaken'd *Spain*, and not only enrich'd her Subjects, but alſo exerciſed them in Sea Affairs, wherein conſiſts the chief Strength and Security of this Kingdom: Wherefore ſhe always kept a good Correſpondency with all ſuch, as were Enemies of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; ſhe aſſiſted *France* againſt the Deſigns of the *Spaniards*, favoured the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, upheld the *Dutch* againſt the *Spaniards*, thereby the better to weaken ſo formidable a Neighbour, looking upon the *Netherlands* as the Out-work of her Kingdom. Beſides this, ſhe finding continual Employment for her Subjects abroad, did not a little contribute towards the preſerving the Health of the State; for, by this Means, a great deal of corrupt

and inflamed Blood being taken away, it prevented inteſtine Diſeaſes in the State. But King *James* took quite another Courſe, and perceiving, that the *United Provinces* were grown ſtrong enough, not only to ſupport themſelves againſt *Spain*, but alſo to diſpute the Dominion of the *Norrow Seas* with *England*, he left them to themſelves, and concluding a Peace with *Spain*, eſtabliſh'd a laſting Tranquility at home; for his Inclinations were more for Books, than Arms. And becauſe Subjects in general are apt to follow the Inclinations of their Sovereigns, the People laid aſide all Warlike Exerciſes, and fell into ſuch Weakneſſes and Vices, as are commonly the Product of Plenty and Peace: And the King hoped, when theſe Nations applyed themſelves only to Trade and Commerce they would be diverted from having any Thoughts of oppoſing his Authority. He made it alſo his main Endeavour, to unite the Minds of the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, by naturalizing the *Engliſh* in *Scotland*, and the *Scots* in *England*, and by joining the great Families by Marriages: But he was more eſpecially carefull of eſtabliſhing one Form of Religious Worſhip in both Kingdoms. For tho' there was no great Difference in the Articles of Faith, yet the Ceremonies and Church Government were very different. For Queen *Elizabeth*, when ſhe eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant Religion, retained many Ceremonies, which were anciently uſed in the Primitive Church, as alſo uſed by the Papiſts afterwards; ſhe maintained alſo the Authority of the Biſhops, yet under the Royal Power; ſuppoſing, that this Conſtitution was moſt ſuitable to a Monarchy, conſidering, that the Biſhops had ſome Dependence on the King, and had their Votes

Votes in Parliament. And it used to be the Saying of King *James*, *no Bishop, no King*. But this Constitution did not agree with those of the Reform'd Religion in *Holland*, *Switzerland* and *France*; partly because these Nations were used to a Democratical Liberty, and therefore loved an Equality in the Church-Government, as well as the State; partly because they had suffered from some Kings and Bishops, and therefore both were equally hated by them. These would not allow of any Superiority among the Clergy, but constituted the outward Church-Government by Presbyteries, Classes and Synods; neither would they admit any Ceremonies, believing, that the Perfection of the Reformed Religion did consist in not having so much as any thing, tho' never so indifferent, common with the Papists. And according to this Form the Church of *Scotland* being establish'd, the Number of such, as were of the same Opinion, increased daily in *England*, who were commonly called Presbyterians, or Puritans. And the Capriciousness of those, who were of several Sentiments, proved the more dangerous, because these Nations, being of a melancholy Temper, used to adhere stedfastly to their Opinions, not to be removed from them. King *James*, being besides a great Enemy of the Puritans, thought to have found out a Way to suppress them in *Scotland*, by inserting it among the Royal Prerogatives, which were to be confirmed by the Parliament of *Scotland*, *that he had the Supream Power both in Spiritual and Temporal Affairs in the same Manner in* Scotland, *as in* England. By this Means he hoped to model, without any great Difficulty, the Church of *Scotland* according to that of *England*. And

tho' this Propoſition was oppoſed by a great many in the Parliament of *Scotland*, yet the King's Party prevailed, and a new Form of Church-Government was eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*. But the King had no ſooner turned his Back, and was return'd into *England*, but the common People made an Inſurrection againſt the Biſhops in *Scotland*, who began to introduce there the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*.

§. 25. Tho' King *Charles* I. was of a more warlike Temper, than his Father, yet was he obliged, tho' againſt his Will, according to the Maxims of his Father, to preſerve Peace abroad, to avoid the Danger of being oblig'd to depend on the capricious Humours of his Subjects. And becauſe he, as well as his Father, had a great Diſlike of the Power of the common People, and of the Temper and Principles of the Puritans; all his Thoughts were bent to find out Ways, how to ſecure himſelf from the Dangers of both: And becauſe the King could not impoſe any extraordinary Taxes without the Conſent of the Parliament, *Charles* choſe rather to controul his own Inclinations, which were bent for War, than to fawn upon the Parliament; in Hopes, that it's Heats, which was for limiting the King's Power, would, by Degrees, diminiſh, if it was not called together for a conſiderable Time. It is ſuppoſed, that the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton* did confirm him in this Opinion, who did expect to be call'd to an Account by the Parliament. The Parliament uſed anciently to provide a certain yearly Revenue for the King, towards maintaining his Court and Fleet, to ſecure the Commerce of the Kingdom, which Revenue was not hereditary to the next Succeſſour. The firſt Parlia-

Parliament, which was called by *Charles* I., had settled the Customs, as Part of his Revenue; but when he afterwards had dissolved the same against the Opinion of the Malcontents, his Revenues also began to be call'd in Question, it being their Opinion, that nothing could so soon oblige the King, to call a new Parliament, as if what was necessary for his, and the Court's Subsistence, were withheld from him. But the King, however, did not only receive the same Customs, as his Predecessours had done, but also augmented them with new Impositions to the yearly Value of 800000*l.* by which Means the King, who was firm in his Opinion, was thought, to have a Design, to alter the ancient Constitution of the Governement, and to maintain himself without a Parliament; which however was look'd upon as an Impossibility by the Generality of them: For King *James* had left above 1200000*l.* Debts, which were since increased by *Charles* 400000*l.* more, which Money was expended in the Wars against *France* and *Spain*; it was therefore not visible, how he could extricate himself out of these Debts, without the Assistance of a Parliament, since, according to the fundamental Constitutions of the Realm, he could not levy any Taxes upon the Subjects, and to force them to pay any, was beyond his Power, having no Forces on foot, but the Militia of the Kingdom. And it was impossible to bring in such a foreign Force, as could be supposed to be able to make Head against the dissatisfy'd People. Notwithstanding all which the King persued his Resolution, and having ask'd the Opinion of Men, skill'd in the Law, who told him, *that it was allowable, for the publick Benefit, to levy Money by his own Authority,*

he imposed several new Taxes, whereby he augmented his yearly Revenue from 500000 *l.* to 800000 *l.* Besides this, he laid a Tax for maintaining of a Fleet, which amounted to 200000 *l.* All which caused great Dissatisfaction among the Subjects against the King: Besides, the King was thought by the Puritans to deal hardly with them, and too mildly with the Papists (by the Counsel of Archbishop *Laud*, a Man of great Resolution, who at that time apprehended that Faction very dangerous both to Church and State) which was by the Puritans interpreted, as if the King was resolved, by suppressing of them, to introduce Popery. To insinuate this into the Multitude, Abundance of Libels and scurrilous Papers were scatter'd abroad against the King and the Bishops; and Commissioners being appointed to inquire into them, they were rather exasperated, than appeas'd by it's Severity.

§. 26. Both Nations being therefore full of Discontents, the Flame first broke out in *Scotland:* For the King endeavouring to root out Puritanism there, to establish the Authority of the Bishops, and an Uniformity in Religion, he order'd a Church Liturgy to be composed, abrogating all Presbyteries, Classes and Provincial Synods, and enjoining every one, under severe Penalties, to conform to the same; there was a general Insurrection raised by that Party in *Scotland.* There was also another Reason; for, at the Time of the first Reformation, the Revenues of a great many Church-Benefices were appropriated to the Use of the Crown, but without any remarkable Advantage; for they were let out, for the most Part, to younger Brothers of Noble Families. These, having found

found the Benefit of them, had, by getting, from Time to Time, the Survivorship, continued the same in their Families, and kept them as their own Propriety. Nay, they did more than this; for, during the Minority of King *James* VI., they had obtained the Titles of Lordships for some of the most considerable of these, or some lesser Benefices, joined together. King *James*, afterwards perceiving, that thereby they had bound him up from rewarding such with these Benefices, as deserved well of him, would have recall'd the before said Grants, but met with such Opposition in the Nobility, that he desisted from it. But the King undertook the Business effectually, employing the said Revenues towards the augmenting of the Salaries of the Clergy. These therefore, who had been Losers by this Revocation, joined with such Ministers, as were mortal Enemies of the *Liturgy*, and did, with all their Might, help to stir up the Rebellion. *Alexander Lesley* also, who had been a Commander in the *German* Wars, and having refused to serve under *John Banniers* there, was returned into his native Country, in Hopes to make his Advantage of these Troubles. He put himself at the Head of the Rebellious Party, and by persuading the Nobility, that the King intended to take away their ancient Privileges, stirr'd up a great many against the King. And to make a fair Shew to the common People, they made Use of the Religious Cloak of Conscience, ordering a Directory to be compos'd by the Ministers, quite opposite to the former *Liturgy*. They thereupon enter'd into an Association, confirm'd by solemn Oaths, that they would maintain the same against all, even the King himself: This Association was called the *Covenant*.

which being subscrib'd by the greatest Part of the Nobility and Clergy, a Council was constituted, unto whom was committed the supream Direction of their Affairs. To suppress these Commotions, the King sent the Marquiss of *Hamilton* into *Scotland*, who, dealing mildly with them, only encouraged the adverse Party: For the King calling a Parliament, in Hopes to remedy these Disorders, the Covenant was, by it's Authority, confirm'd, the Episcopal Authority quite abolish'd, and Puritanism establish'd in Defiance of the Royal Authority. There being then no other Way left, to reduce the rebellious Party to Obedience, but Force, and the King being in Want both of Money, and a sufficient Number of faithfull Subjects, he was forc'd to make some Use of the Papists, to obtain both; wherefore he did not only raise an Army, wherein were some Papists, but also was assisted by them with some Summs of Money, all which, however, was in no ways sufficient, to supply the Want of the King; and a Supply being demanded from the Subjects, very few, except the King's Servants and Officers, were for contributing any thing. And it being divulged, that a great many thousand of *Irish* Papists and *Germans* were ready for the King's Service, to try, whether, by this Way, the Subjects could be frightened out of some Money, it served only to exasperate the Minds of the People. Yet the King's Forces might, in all Probability, have been successfull against the *Scots*, if they had fallen upon them immediately. But because they had Leisure given them, they did not only settle a Correspondency with *France* and *Holland*, from whence they were supply'd with Money and Ammunition; but

also

also sent their Deputies into *England*, who so well knew there to represent the State of their Affairs, that the King, being persuaded by the *English*, made a dishonourable Agreement with them: which nevertheless did not last long, the Court being asham'd of the Agreement, and the *Scots* not trusting the King. The King had, in the mean While, intercepted a Letter, wherein the *Scots* had sollicited for some Officers and Money, to be sent them from *France*: this he hoped might prove an Inducement to the *English*, to oppose the Treachery of the *Scots*, and to furnish him with some Supplies, of which he stood in great Need at that Time. He calling therefore a Parliament, the Letter was read, but to no great Purpose, the Members of the House of Commons being most of them Puritans, who were great Friends of the *Scots*, so that the Parliament was a While after dissolv'd by the King's Authority. The King had caused to be made Prisoner in *London* the *Scotch* Commissioner, who had subscribed the above mentioned Letter, whereupon the *Scots* took up Arms, and took the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The King, having with great Difficulty, for Want of Money, got together an Army, went in Person against the *Scots*; but as a Party of his Army, endeavouring to force their Passage, was beaten back with Loss, it augmented the Discontents of his Subjects, the Souldiers, for Want of Pay, being to be maintained by those Counties, where they were quartered. Besides this, ten thousand Men, which were raised by the Parliament in *Ireland*, for the King's service, were forc'd to be disbanded, for Want of Pay. There was then no other Remedy left, but to make a Truce with the

Scots, and to call a new Parliament in *England*, which began to sit in *November* in the Year 1640.

§. 27. But, in the Session of this Parliament, the Ulcer, which had been long gathering in the Minds of the People, broke out: For the Parliament, in lieu of assisting the King against the *Scots*, enter'd into a Confederacy with them, promising a monthly Subsidy towards the maintaining of the *Scottish* Army, which was to be ready, at the *English* Parliament's Command. Then they began to reform the States, to clip the King's Authority, to punish his Ministers and Servants, and to take away the Bishops, Liturgy, and fall upon Papists. The better to obtain their Aim, they forced the King to consent, that he would not dissolve the Parliament, till all such, as were criminal, were punished, and the State were entirely reformed: In a Word, that they should have the Liberty to sit as long, as they pleased. Which in Effect put an End to the Royal Authority. To try the King's Patience, and their own Strength, they brought the Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, to his Tryal, and notwithstanding he made a good Defence, and the King did his utmost, to preserve his beloved and faithful Minister; yet the Rabble of the City of *London*, then encouraged by the House of Commons, making an Insurrection, he received Sentence of Death in the House of Lords. And the King, refusing to sign the Warrant for his Execution, was obliged thereunto, partly by the Importunity of the Parliament, partly by the Insurrection of the Rabble of the City of *London*, and partly by a Letter from the Earl, desiring him to do it. Then the rest of the King's Mini-

Ministers went to rack, some of them saving themselves by Flight, some being imprisoned. The Bishops were excluded from the House of Lords. The Star-Chamber, the Authority of the Privy Council, and the High-Commission were suppressed: The Customs and Power over the Fleet were taken away from the King. Some of these, and some other Things, which proved very prejudicial to him, the King was forced to grant them, in Hopes thereby to heal the ulcerated Minds of the People. He went also in Person into *Scotland*, where he granted them all, what they could desire. About the same Time a horrid Conspiracy broke out among the *Irish* Papists, who pretended to maintain the Popish Religion, and to redress some Grievances by force of Arms, which occasioned afterwards a most cruel Slaughter. At last it came to an open Rebellion: For the Parliament not ceasing to encroach daily more and more upon the Royal Authority, the King resolved to assert his Authority; wherefore he summoned five Members of Parliament, whom he accused as Traitors, and Authors of all the Differences: And the House of Commons taking their Part, the King went into the House, accompanied with some Officers, and spoke to them with a due Resentment of their Behaviour, which however they made but little Account of, being not ignorant of his Want of Power, of which he seem'd to betray himself, when he immediately afterwards condescended, and came nearer their Expectations. The House of Commons thereupon stirr'd up the neighbouring Counties, and especially the *London* Apprentices, who made such an Insurrection, that the King, not thinking himself safe in *London*, retir'd into the

the Country. And the Parliament order'd all the Governors of the Sea - ports, not to obey the King's Commands. It was certainly a great Errour in the King, that, in such troublesome Times, he had not taken Care, to secure to himself the Seaports, by which Means he might have hoped for some Assistance from abroad: For, when the King intended to possess himself of the Fort and Harbour of *Hull*, he was not admitted; so that there was nothing left, but that the Parliament had not as yet taken from the King the Disposal of Offices. But for the rest it was evident, that their Intention was to abolish totally the Royal Power, and to introduce a Democracy. And after the King had once given his Assent to the Exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords, where they had six and twenty Votes, and the rest of the King's Friends had once absented themselves from both Houses, it was easie for the Remainder, quite to abolish the Authority of the House of Lords. Thus, after there had been long Contests by Words and Writings betwixt both Parties, the King now, as well as the Parliament, began to arm themselves: and the King having, at several times, at first, beat the Parliament Forces, the Parliament stirr'd up the *Scots*, entering with them into a Confederacy. Whereupon the *Scots* came with a considerable Force to the Assistance of the Parliamant, which turned the Scale, the King's Forces being routed near *York*, and he obliged, for Want of Men and Money, to give himself up to the Protection of the *Scots*, who nevertheless did surrender him to the *English*, for the Summ of 400000 *l.* under Condition, that he should not be abused by them,

them. The King was afterwards carried a Prisoner from Place to Place for a considerable Time.

§. 28. By these Means the Puritans, or Presbyterians, had, under the Pretext of Religion, overthrown the Royal Power: But that they could not long enjoy their usurped Power, was occasioned by a certain Sect, that called themselves *Independent*, because they would not depend on any certain Form of Faith, or Spiritual, or Temporal Constitutions, nor acknowledge any of the same, whereby they opened a Door for all Sorts of Fanaticks, to come under their Protection. These, under Pretence of a particular holy Zeal, had not only got a great Sway in the Parliament, and had been against any peaceable Accommodation, propos'd by others; but also, by their cunning insinuating Way, crept into the chief Civil and Military Employments: For, in the Place of the Earl of *Essex*, *Thomas Fairfax* was made General, and *Oliver Cromwell* Lieutenant General over the Army, the last of which was the Head of the Independents, a sly and cunning Fox. And out of this Party all vacant Places were supply'd in Parliament. The Presbyterians therefore perceiving, that the Independents began to be very strong in the House, and that most military Employments were in their Hands, proposed in the House, that one Part of the Army should be sent into *Ireland*, that some Forces only should be kept in *England*, and the rest be disbanded. *Cromwell* made Use of this to stir up the Souldiers, telling them, that they were likely to be disbanded without Pay, or else to be starv'd in *Ireland*. Thereupon the Souldiers enter'd into an Association among themsel-

themselves, taking upon them not only the military, but also all the civil Power: they took the King from the Parliament into their own Custody, pretending, they would give him his Liberty, but made themselves Masters of the City of *London*, and acted in every Thing at Discretion. For they quickly after broke off the Treaty with the King, and a great many of the Subjects, who were not able to bear their Tyranny, taking up Arms, were dispers'd by *Cromwell*, who also beat the *Scots*, that were come into *England*, to the Assistance of the King, making their General *Hamilton* a Prisoner. But, during the Absence of *Cromwell*, the Parliament had re-assumed the Treaty with the King, and the Business was carried on so far, that there was no small Hopes of an Accommodation, when the Souldiers, headed by *Ireton*, Son-in-law to *Cromwell*, broke off the Treaty, taking Prisoners such Members of the House, as did oppose them: So that there were not above forty Members left in the Parliament, and those were either Officers, or, at least, Favourers of the Army. These decreed, *that no Treaty should be set on foot for the future with the King*; *That the Supream Power was to be lodged in the People, which was represented by the House of Commons*; *But the Regal Power, and the Authority of the House of Lords should be quite abolished.* Then they order'd a Court of 250 persons to be erected, by whose Autority the King was to be summoned, sentenced and punished, notwithstanding that the Generality of the People look'd upon this Court as an abominable Thing; some Presbyterian Ministers cry'd out aloud against it in the Pulpits; the *Scots* protested against it, and the *Dutch* Embassa-

Embassadors, and other Princes did their utmost, to oppose it. Before this Court, where sat, among the rest, a great many of very mean Extraction, the King was accused of High Treason, Tyranny, and of all the Murthers and Robberies, committed since the Beginning of these Troubles. And the King, as in Justice he ought to do, refusing to ackowledge it's Authority, was sentenced to be beheaded, tho' there were but 67 of these pretended Judges present, the rest, abominating the Fact, had absented themselves, among whom was *Fairfax*. But the King, having been miserably abus'd by the Souldiers, was beheaded with an Ax upon a Scaffold, erected for that Purpose before *Whitehall*.

§. 29. After the Death of the King, the outward Shew of the Supream Power was in the Parliament, but in Effect it was lodged in the Generals of the Armies. Their first Design was to banish the King's Son, and the whole Royal Family, and to suppress all such, as adhered to him. *Cromwell* was sent into *Ireland*, where the Royal Party was as yet pretty strong, which Island was reduced in the Space of one Year by *Cromwell's* good Fortune and Valour. In the mean While the *Scots* had proclaimed *Charles* II. tho' under very hard Conditions, their King, who also, arriving there safely out of *France*, whither he was gone for Shelter, was crowned King of *Scotland*. The Parliament thereupon recall'd *Cromwell* out of *Ireland*, and having made him General (for they had deposed *Fairfax*, whom they mistrusted) sent him into *Scotland*, where he beat the *Scots* several Times, but especially gave them an entire Defeat near *Leith*, taking, among other Places, the Castle of *Edinborough*, which

which was hitherto esteemed impregnable. The King, in the mean While, having gathered a flying Army, enter'd *England*, in Hopes that a great many *English* would join with him: But he was deceiv'd in his Hopes, very few coming to him, and *Cromwell* overtaking him with his Army near *Worcester*, his Forces were routed and dispersed; so that he was forc'd to change his Cloaths in his Flight, and, after a great many Dangers, was miraculously saved, and escaped, by the Help of a Merchant-ship, into *France*. The King being thus driven out of the Island, the *Scots* were entirely subdu'd under the Conduct of General *Monk*, who was sent thither by *Cromwell*; who, having imposed upon them very hard Conditions, according to their Deserts, entirely subjected them to the *English*. This done, the Parliament began to take into Consideration, how to disband Part of the Army, and to quarter the rest in the several Counties. But *Cromwell* sent away that Parliament, which had been the Cause of so much Trouble, and constituted a new Parliament, consisting of 144 Members, most of them being Fanaticks and Enthusiasts; among whom *Cromwell* had put a few cunning Fellows, who, being entirely devoted to his Service, did make the rest dance after his Pipe. These, having first let these silly Wretches go on in their own Way, till, by their phantastical Behaviour, they had made themselves ridiculous and hated by every body, then offer'd the Supream Administration of Affairs to *Cromwell*; who, having accepted of the same under the Title of a *Protector*, selected a Privy Council, wherein were received the Heads of the several Sects. Thus they, who had shown so much Aversion to the Royal Power, had hatch'd

hatch'd out a Monarch of their own, who, without Controul, ruled the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* at Pleasure. *Cromwell*, to have a fair Pretence to keep on Foot his Sea and Land Forces, which were the Foundation of his Power, began a War with the *Dutch*, who seem'd to despise this new Monarch: But Fortune was so favorable to *Cromwell* in this War, that he took above 1700 Merchent-men from the *Dutch*, and beat them in five Sea-Engagements, in the last of which the *Dutch* lost *Martin Tromp*, and twenty seven Men of War. The *Hollanders* then were oblig'd to beg for Peace, and to accept of such Conditions, as were propos'd to them; among which one was, *that the Province of* Holland *should exclude the Prince of* Orange *for ever, from succeeding in his Father's Place.* An other was, *that they should not receive the banish'd King* Charles II. *into their Territories.* Which some alledge as a Reason, that he was always ready afterwards to revenge himself upon them, tho', at his Return into the Kingdom, they endeavoured, with Abundance of Flattery, to make Amends for the former Affront. It is very likely also, that the King was suspicious, that the *Dutch* had fomented the Differences betwixt his Father and the Parliament. *Cromwell* acquired so much Glory by this War, that most Princes sent their Embassadors to him, as if he had been a lawfull Sovereign, and desir'd his Friendship. He was no less fortunate in discovering several Plots, which were made against him: For which Purpose he entertained his Spies every where, even near the King's person; having, besides this, a cunning Way, to draw the People over to his Party, and to suppress

such, as envy'd his Fortune. He sent also a Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, wherewith he curb'd the Pirates on the Coast of *Barbary*. Another was sent into the *West-Indies*, where his Designs against St. *Domingo* and *Hispaniola* miscarried; but *Jamaica* he took from the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding that a great many of his Men were taken off by Sickness; and he did considerable Mischief to the *Spaniards* by ruining their Silver-Fleet. He sent some Auxiliary Troops to the *French* in *Flandres*, who, in Recompence, surrender'd to him *Dunkirk*. He died in the Year 1658, having been as great and formidable as ever any King of *England*. He was a great Master in the Art of Dissimulation, knowing how to make his Advantantage of religious Pretences; wherefore he gave Liberty of Conscience to all Sectaries, whereby he not only got their Favours, but also, by dividing the People into several Opinions, he prevented their easily joining against him.

§. 30. After the Death of *Cromwell* this unlawfull and violent Form of Government could not be of a long Continuance: For tho' his Son *Richard* succeeded him in the Protectorship, (this was the Title used by *Cromwell*, having refused the Name of King) yet was he in no ways capable to bear such a Weight. Wherefore he was soon deposed by the Parliament, which being divided within it self, *Monk*, who was then Governour of *Scotland*, took this Opportunity, and marching with an Army out of *Scotland* into *England*, possess'd himself of the City of *London*, dissolv'd the Military Parliament, and recall'd King *Charles* II. into his Kingdom. This King did restore the ancient Form of Govern-

Government in the Kingdom both in spiritual and temporal Matters; for his Subjects were ready to gratify him in most Respects, as having been taught by Experience, *That the Frogs, who despised to have a Block for their King, got afterwards a Stork for their Master.* This King, who judg'd, that the Greatness of *England* did chiefly depend on the Dominion of the Seas and Commerce, which was disputed by no body, but the *Dutch*, did, in all Probability, bend all his Thoughts that Way, *viz.* how to make these proud Merchants more pliable, his Hopes being grounded upon what he had seen *Cromwell* do against them. Wherefore he began a War with *Holland*, which was carried on at first with equal Losses on both Sides: But the *English* at last taking a Resolution, to tire out the *Dutch*, without coming to an Engagement, they ventur'd at a bold Stroke, and to the great Dishonour of the *English*, enter'd the River of *Thames*, firing some Ships at *Chattam*. This obliged the King to make a Peace with them, by the Mediation of *Sweedland*, tho' the great Success of the *French* Arms in *Flanders* may probably have contributed a great deal towards it. Yet it seems, as if ever since he had kept up a Resolution of revenging himself upon them, he being also again exasperated by the Rabbe in *Holland*, who affronted him afterwards. He therefore in the Year 1672. attack'd the *Dutch* at Sea, whilst the King of *France* made War against them by Land. But this War did not succeed according to his Expectation; for the *Dutch* did not only take from the *English* a great Number of Merchant-ships, but also the *English* could not master the *Dutch* in any of these Sea-fights; partly, because the *French*

would not fall on in good earneſt, partly becauſe the *Dutch* acted very circumſpectly, not giving any Opportunity to the *Engliſh*, to make a Deſcent either on *Holland*, or *Zealand*. It is poſſible, that the King's Intentions may perhaps have been fruſtrated by ſome Intrigues at home. And becauſe the *Engliſh* Nation began to grow very jealous of the great Succeſs of *France*, the King was obliged to make a ſeparate Peace with *Holland*, and afterwards was receiv'd as a Mediator betwixt the Parties then engag'd in War againſt one another

§. 31. The *Engliſh* Nation is very populous and fruitfull: There are ſome, who have rekoned, that in *England* are 9913 Pariſhes, in each Pariſh 80 Families, which make 793040 Families, and ſeven Perſons reckoned to each Family amounts to 5551280 Souls; among which Number there may be ſuppos'd to be above a Million of Men capable of bearing Arms. This Nation is alſo very fit to ſettle Colonies in foreign Countries, becauſe the *Engliſh*, as ſoon they are, in the leaſt, ſettled in a Place, they quickly marry, and remain there for their Life time. Whereas other Nations, if they go into far diſtant Countries, go only with an Intent to get a little Money, which they afterwards love to ſpend in their native Country. The *Engliſh* are alſo courageous, brave, not fearing Death. In former Times their Land-forces were much ſuperiour to the *French*, and ever ſince the Times of Queen *Elizabeth*, when they firſt began to apply themſelves in earneſt to the Sea, they have not been inferiour, in Skill and Courage, to any Nation in the World, except that the *Dutch* may be compared with them in Sea-Affairs.

But

But this is to be obſerv'd of the *Engliſh* Valour, that they commonly are very furious and brave at the Beginning, yet great Hardſhip, Famine, and other Inconveniencies they are not ſo well able to endure with Patience, as being us'd to live in great Eaſe and Plenty in their own Country. Wherefore *Maurice*, Prince of *Orange*, us'd to put the *Engliſh*, that were ſent to his Aſſiſtance, upon deſperate Entreprizes, before (as he us'd to ſay) they had digeſted the *Engliſh* Beef. They are alſo very dexterous in woollen and ſilk Manufacturies, and are generally great Improvers of other Arts and Myſteries: Yet they are alſo ſomewhat high minded, inclining themſelves to Diverſion, which is the Reaſon, that they do not ſo much Work, as otherwiſe they might; and yet they expect to be paid for their idle Hours, as well as the reſt, which is the Reaſon, why they ſell their Wares at a higher Rate, than others, and that they envy *French* Handycrafts-men, who live among them, and are ſeldom diverted from their daily Labour by any Pleaſures. Their being generally of a melancholy Temper, makes them very ingenious, and when they apply themſelves to any Science, they make great Progreſs in the ſame, if they hit the right Way. But, by the ſame Rule, becauſe there happens often to be an ill Mixture of this melancholy Temper, Abundance of Fanaticks and Enthuſiaſts are to be found among them, who, having form'd to themſelves Opinions out of ill grounded Principles, adhere ſo ſtedfaſt to them, that they are not, by any Ways, to be removed from them. Wherefore there is not any Nation under the Sun, where more different and more abſurd Opinions are to be met withall in Religion, than

in *England*. The Loose Sort of People are addicted to thieving and robbing upon the Highway, wherefore the Hangmen are always busie in *England*. This Nation also loves to eat and drink extreamly well; tho' there are some, who will have it, that the *English* have got their Way of drinking so plentifully from the *Netherlanders*, in the Wars of the *Low-Countries*, and from thence have brought that ill Custom over into *England*, which before, they say, was not in Use there. Their own Histories are sufficient Evidences, that they have been always inclined to Rebellion, and intestine Commotions. Wherefore their Kings can never be secure, except they keep a watchfull Eye over the restless Spirit of the People.

§. 32. The *Scots* are reported to have a Share of Pride and Envy in them. They are very apt to propose to themselves great Matters, and to delight in their own Inventions. They are good Land Souldiers, and can endure more Hardship than the *English*, neither are they so much addicted to their Belly, both which they have from the Barrenness of their native Country. They are very revengefull, and intestine Broils among the noble Families were formerly very common among them: For it was a Custom, that each Family used to select one for Head of the Family, unto whom they almost paid more Respect, than to the King himself; and if any one of the Family had received an Injury, he made Complaint thereof to the Head of the Family: And if the Head of the same Family did resolve to revenge the Injury, the whole Family, under the Conduct of their Head, fell upon the Family of the Aggressor with Fire and Sword. Which abominable Custom

Custom King *James* VI. did endeavour to abolish. Besides this, they are easily stirr'd up to Rebellion, very obstinate in defending their Opinions to the utmost. Their Fruitfulness in Children makes them seek other Countries, since their Country can scarce maintain them all at home. There is another Reason also to be given for this, which is the Right of the First-born, whereby the eldest Son is Heir of all the real Estate of his Father, the rest of the Brothers being obliged to be satisfy'd with their Share in the personal Estate. These then, being obliged to advance themselves as well, as they can, apply themselves either to the Wars, or Study: Wherefore most Ministers in *Scotland* are said to be younger Brothers of good Families. But in *England* it is no Shame for the younger Brothers of good Families to be Merchants. In former Times, before *Scotland* and *England* were united under one King, the *Scottish* Souldiers were in great Esteem, because the *French* made constantly Use of them in their Wars, and at home they were always picquering with the *English*: But afterwards they grew careless of warlike Exercises, and especially when *Cromwell* subdu'd them, their ancient Glory was quite obscur'd. The *Scots* are also often very ingenious, and well vers'd in the Latin Tongue. And at that Time, when all Liberal Sciences were suppres'd in *Europe*, by a long Barbarism, the same were kept in *Scotland*, which did furnish several other Nations with learned Men, who instructed them in these Sciences. But as the *Scots*, which live in the Low Countries on the South-side are well civiliz'd, so those, who inhabit the Mountains, and who are called *Highlanders*, as also the

Inhabitants of the *Orkney* and Western Islands, are very raw and unciviliz'd.

§. 33. The *Irish* are commonly esteem'd to be a fool hardy, and ill Sort of People; very lazy, yet pretty hard in undergoing the Fatigues of War. They are very obstinate, and never to be bent from their Opinion. After *Ireland* was conquer'd by King *Henry* II. Abundance of *English* settled themselves in that Kingdom, whose Numbers increased from Time to Time to that Degree, that scarce the fourth Part of the Island remains in the Possession of the ancient Inhabitants. And because most of the *Irish* adhere to the popish Religion, they did not only rebel under Queen *Elizabeth*, but also under the Reign of King *Charles* I. enter'd into a most horrid Conspiracy against the *English*, living among them, of whom, 'tis said, they murther'd 200000. within the Space of six Months: But when the *English* had recollected themselves, they again kill'd about 100000. of them. *Cromwell* had once a Mind to have rooted out the whole Nation, as being quite incorrigible, and past Hopes of any Amendment. Wherefore he sent some thousands to the King of *Spain*, under Condition, that none of them should return into the *English* Dominions. He used also to plague them every Way, so that they are become a miserable Nation.

§. 34. Concerning those Countries, which belong to the King of *England*, the Kingdom of *England* is a rich and fertile Country, abounding in every thing, either for the Necessity, or Pleasures of Mankind, except that Oyl and Wine, and such other Commodities, as do not grow in the other Parts of *Europe*, are not of the Growth of that Country. But else they have great

great Numbers of very fine Horses; and good Cattle, especially the best Sheep of all *Europe*, which make the best Part of the native Riches of *England*, bearing so good a Sort of Wool, that an incredible Quantity of the best Cloth is made in *England*, and from thence every Year transported into foreign Parts. These Sheep feed in great Flocks in the Country without as much as a Shepherd, there being no Wolves to be met withal in *England*; the Reason of which, as 'tis reported, is, that King *Edgar*, about the Year 940, did order a certain Number of Wolves to be paid by the Prince of *Wales* to him, as a yearly Tribute, by which Means the Wolves were quite destroy'd in *England*: Tho' it is also very probable, that the great *English* Mastiffs have been very instrumental in this Point, it being certain, that, for Fierceness and Strength, they surpass all the rest in the World. A great Quantity also of Lead, but especially of the finest Tin is to be found in *England*, which surpasses in Goodness all others in that Kind. The *Sea* also is very profitable to the *English*, since it produces a great Quantity of Fish, which are daily catch'd by the Inhabitants. Tho' by the Negligence and Laziness of the ancient *English*, who did not apply themselves industriously to Fishing, they have lost a great Part of that Advantage: But the *Netherlanders*, from ancient Times, have made Use of this Advantage, and got vast Riches by the Fishery of Herrings and Cods, giving only a small Gratuity to the *English*, in Case they have Occasion to dry their Nets on their Shores; tho' oftentimes the *English*, envying the *Netherlanders*, will force them to pay more than ordinary, which has several Times served as a Pretext for a War

betwixt both Nations. Besides this, the Sea is extreamly advantageous to *England*, for thereby the *English*, being separated from their neighbouring Nations, cannot easily be attack'd; whereas they may easily invade others: And because this Island is situated almost in the very Middle of *Europe*, in a narrow Sea, where all Ships, which either go East, or Westward, must pass by; and having, besides this, a very deep Coast, and commodious Harbours, it lies most convenient for Commerce and Trade, which the *English* carry on in most Parts of the World; and the *Dutch* hitherto have been the only Obstacle, that they are not become Masters of the whole Trade of the World. For it proves very disadvantageous to the *English*, that they love to eat and drink well, and that in great Quantity, and by Reason of their Love of Ease, they are fain to employ double the Number of Seamen in their Ships, of what the *Dutch* do: and besides this, they will not be contented with a small Gain: Whereas the *Dutch* live very sparingly, do not refuse the Penny, and therefore are easier to be dealt withall, than the *English*. They import a great deal of raw Silk into *England*, which, being wrought in the Country, mightily encreases their Riches. In the same Manner they do with their woollen Manufactury now; whereas, before the Times of *Henry* VIII. they used to transport most of their Wool into the *Netherlands*, where it was wrought, and turn'd to the great Advantage of those Cities. But this King perceiving, that his own Subjects might as well make the same Benefit of it, he set up the woollen Manufactury in his Kingdom, which increased prodigiously afterwards, when, at the Time of the Troubles in the *Netherlands*, a great

a great many of these Weavers did settle themselves in *England*. The Riches of *England* also are, as it seems, not a little increased, because it is not permitted there to any Body to carry any Gold or Silver of their own Coin out of the Land, except it be perhaps to the Value of ten Pound Sterling for a Traveller. But *Scotland* does not come near *England*, neither in Fertility nor Riches, having not any Commodities, fit for Exportation, except Salt-fish, Salt, Lead and Coals. The Western and *Orkney* Islands also produce nothing but Fish. *Ireland* abounds in Cattel, and especially in Sheep, tho' the *Irish* Wooll is not so fine as the *English*, but for the rest it is a fertile and plentifull Country. In *America* belong to the *English* Crown, the Islands of *Bermudos*, *Virginia* and *New England*, and some of the *Caribby Islands*, whither the *English* have sent their Colonies, and have also begun to settle themselves on the Continent of *Guiana*. The Product of these Countries is chiefly Tobacco, Sugar, Ginger, Indigo and Cotton. They have also a Colony in the Island of *Jamaica*, from whence the *English* Buckaneers and Privateers do great Mischief to the *Spanish West Indies*. For it is a Custom with the *English*, that, tho' they are at Peace with the *Spaniards* in *Europe*, they do them, nevertheless, all the Mischief, they can, in the *West Indies*. *Tangier* King *Charles* II. got as a Dowry with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*. Lastly, the *English* also are possess'd of some Places in the *Banda Islands*, and thereabouts in the *East Indies*, which are of no small Consequence to them.

§. 35. The Constitution of the Government in *England* is chiefly remarkable for this, that the King cannot act at Pleasure, but, in some Matters,

Matters, is to take the Advice of the Parliament. By this Name is to be understood the Assembly of the States of *England*, which is divided into the Higher and the Lower House. In the first sit the Bishops and the Lords, in the latter the Deputies of the Cities, and of the 52 Counties, or Shires, into which the whole Kingdom of *England* is divided. The first Origin of the Parliament, as 'tis related, was this, that the former Kings of *England* did grant great Privileges to the Lords, by whose Assistance they had conquer'd the Country, and kept the common People in Obedience. But these, in Conjunction with the Bishops growing too head-strong, proved very troublesome, especially to King *John* and *Henry* III. wherefore, to suppress their Insolence, *Edward* I. took Part with the Commons. And whereas formerly, out of each County or Shire, two Knights and two Citizens only were call'd, to represent their Grievances, which having been debated by the King and the House of Lords, they used to receive an Answer, and to be sent home again; this King *Edward* call'd together the Commons, and consulted with them concerning the publick Affairs; tho' there are some, who will have their Origin to be much more ancient. This House, after it was once establish'd, did extreamly weaken the Authority of the Lords, and in Process of Time did not a little diminish the Regal Power; for ever since that Time the Rights of the People were maintained with a high Hand, the House of Commons imagining, that the Sovereignty was lodg'd among them, and if the Kings refused to gratify them in their Requests, they used to grumble at their Proceedings. And because the Power of the Parliament is not so much establish'd

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by any ancient Laws, as Precedents and Customs, this in the Reason, why it is always very jealous of it's Privileges, and always ready to make, out of one single Precedent, a Right, belonging to it ever after. This Parliament the King is obliged to call together, as often, as any extraordinary Taxes are to be levy'd (for the Parliament did assign this King, at first, for his ordinary Revenue, 1200000. *l. per annum*, which has been considerably augmented since) or any old Laws are to be abrogated, or new ones to be made, or any Alteration to be made in Religion. For concerning these Matters the King can not decree any thing without Consent of the Parliament. The Parliament also used to take into Consideration the State of the Kingdom, and to present their Opinion to the King; yet is the same of no Force, till approved of by the King. It often also calls into Question the Ministers of State, concerning the Administration of publick Affairs; and inflicts Punishment upon them, with the King's Approbation. And it is a common Rule in *England*, that whatever is committed against the Constitutions of the Realm, is done by the Ministers and Officers; for the King, they say, does never amiss, but his ill Counsellors; which is not altogether contrary to Truth. But if the Parliament should pretend to transgress it's Bounds, the King has Power to dissolve it; yet ought the King also to be cautious in this, lest he should, by an unseasonable Dissolution of the Parliament, exasperate the People.

§. 36. If we duely consider the Condition and Power of *England*, we shall find it to be a powerfull and considerable Kingdom, which is able to keep up the Balance betwixt the Christian Princes in *Europe*; and which, depending on it's own Strength,

Strength, is powerfull enough, to defend it self. For, because it is surrounded every where by the Sea, none can make any Attempt upon it, unless he be so powerfull at Sea, as to be able entirely to ruin the naval Forces of *England*. And if it should happen, that the *English* Fleet were quite defeated, yet would it prove a very hard Task, to transport thither such an Army, as could be suppos'd to be superiour to so powerfull a Force, as the *English* Nation is able to raise at home. But *England* ought to take special Care, that it fall not into civil Dissentions, since it has often felt the Effects of the same, and the Seeds of them are remaining yet in that Nation; which chiefly arises from the Difference in Religion, and the fierce Inclinations of this Nation, which makes it very fond of Alterations. Nevertheless a wise and courageous King may easily prevent this Evil, if he does not act against the general Inclination of the People, maintains a good Correspondency with the Parliament, and, for the rest, is very watchfull, and, as soon as any Commotions happen, takes off immediately the Ringleaders. Lastly, *England* and *Scotland* being comprehended in one Island, whose chiefest Strength lies in a good Fleet, it is evident, that this King need not make any great Account of such States, as either are remote from the Sea, or else are not very powerfull in Shipping. Wherefore, as the King of *England* takes no great Notice of *Germany* (except as it relates to *France*, or *Spain*) of *Poland* and other such like States; so it is easie for him to curb the Pirates on the *Barbary* Coast; which Nests of Pirates might have been easily destroyed long ago, if they had not been let alone, on Purpose to render the Trade in the Mediterranean difficult to the

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Hamburgers, and some others. *England* has nothing to fear from *Portugal*; and this must rather hope for Assistance from *England* and *Holland* against *Spain*. The naval Strength of the Northern Crowns *England* need not be jealous of, as the same is divided. Yet it cannot be for the Interest of *England*, if one of those Kings should become absolute Master of the *East Sea*, or that they should be fain to depend on the Discretion of the *Dutch*. Since the naval Strength of *Spain* is mightily decay'd, *England* need not fear any thing from thence: Yet does it not seem to be the Interest of *England* to fall out with that Kingdom, considering what a vast Trade the *English* have into *Spain*; for *Spain* does either consume the *English* Commodities at home, or else exchanges them for Silver, by sending of them into *America*. There are some, who have computed, that, in Case of a War with *Spain*, the *English* would lose in Effects above thirty Millions; and besides their Trade, into the *Levant* and other Places, would be greatly endangered by the Privateers of *Ostend*, *Biscay*, *Majorca* and *Minorca*, who, at the Time of the Wars under *Cromwell*, took 1500 Merchant-ships from the *English*. Tho' the Land Forces of *France* are now a days much superiour to the *English*, this Island both for it's Bigness and Strength making up not above a third Part of *France*; yet the naval Strength of *France* has hitherto not been able to come in Competition with the *English*. It is the chiefest Interest of *England*, to keep up the Balance betwixt *France* and *Spain*, and to take a special Care, that the King of *France* do not become Master of all the *Netherlands*; for it is visible, that thereby his Power at Sea would be increas'd to that Degree, that

that he might enter on a Design of being even with *England*, for what they have formerly done to *France*. *Holland* seems to be the only Obstacle, that the *English* cannot be sole Master of the Sea and Trade, tho', for the rest, they have no Reason to fear the *Dutch* by Land, but only at Sea; because the *Dutch* Land Forces are not so considerable, as to be able to undertake any thing of great Moment. Nevertheless, how desirous soever the *English* are, to be sole Masters at Sea, yet does it not seem to be the Interest of *England*, frequently to engage it self in Wars with *Holland*, it having been observ'd, that the *Dutch*, since the Wars with *England*, are rather increased in Valour, Experience, and Power at Sea. And because other Nations are not likely to suffer, that *Holland* should be swallow'd up by the *English*, or that one Nation should have the Monopoly of *Europe*; it seems therefore the best Method for the *English*, to let the *Dutch* trade as well as themselves, and to set some others upon their Backs, which may give them so much Work, as thereby to give a Check to their growing Greatness, and, in the mean while, take Care, to establish their own Power at Sea, and Commerce abroad. But least of all it would be for the Interest of *England*, if *Holland* should be brought under the Yoak of the *French* King, who, without Question, by the additional Sea-Forces of *Holland*, and the Advantage of the *East India* Trade, would be superiour in Power to any in *Europe*.

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TWO

SERMONS

By *Arch-Bishop* TILLOTSON.

I. SERMON.

THE WISDOM OF BEING RELIGIOUS.

JOB. XXVIII. 28.

And unto Man he said, Behold, the Fear of the Lord, that is Wisdom, and to depart from Evil, is Understanding.

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SERMON

The Wisdom of being Religious.

JOB. XXVIII. 28.

And unto Man he said, Behold, the Fear of the Lord, that is Wisdom, and to depart from Evil, is Understanding.

In this Chapter *Job* discourseth of the Secrets of Nature, and the unsearchable Perfections of the Works of *God*. And the Result of his Discourse is this: That a perfect Knowledge of Nature is no where to be found, but in the Author of it; no less Wisdom and Understanding, than that, which made the World, and contrived this vast and regular Frame of Nature, can thoroughly understand the Philosophy of it, and comprehend so vast a Design: But yet there is a *Knowledge*, which is very proper to Man, and is level to human Understanding; and that is the *Knowledge* of

our Creator, and of the Duty, we owe to him; the *Wisdom* of pleasing God, by doing what he commands, and avoiding what he forbids: This *Knowledge* and *Wisdom* may be attained by Man, and is sufficient to make him happy. *And unto Man he said, Behold, the Fear of the Lord, that is Wisdom, and to depart from evil, is Understanding.*

These Words consist of two Propositions, which are not distinct in Sense, but one and the same Thing variously express'd: For *Wisdom* and *Understanding* are synonymous Words here; and though sometimes they have different Notions, yet in *the Poetical Books* of *Scripture* they are most frequently used as Words equivalent, and so both of them indifferently signify either a *speculative Knowledge* of Things, or a *practical Skill* about them, according to the Exigency of the Matter, or Things, spoken of. And so likewise the *Fear of the Lord*, and *Departure from Evil*, are Phrases of a very near Sense, and like Importance; and therefore we find them several Times put together in *Scripture*: *Fear the Lord, and depart from Evil: By the Fear of the Lord Men depart from Evil.* So that they differ only, as Cause and Effect, which, by a Metonymy, used in all Sort of Authors, are frequently put one for another.

Now, *to fear the Lord*, and *to depart from evil*, are Phrases, which the Scripture useth in a very great Latitude, to express to us *the Sum of Religion*, and *the whole of our Duty*. And because the large Usage of these Phrases is to be the Foundation of my following Discourse; I shall, for the farther clearing of this Matter, endeavour to shew these two Things.

1. That

1. That 'tis very usual in the Language of Scripture to express the *whole of Religion* by these, and such like Phrases.

2. The particular Fitness of these two Phrases to describe Religion.

1. It is very usual in the Language of *Scripture* to express the *whole of Religion* by some eminent Principle, or Part of Religion.

The great Principles of *Religion* are *Knowledge*, *Faith*, *Remembrance*, *Love*, and *Fear*; by all which the *Scripture* useth to express the *whole Duty* of Man. In the *Old Testament* by the *Knowledge*, *Remembrance* and *Fear* of God, Religion is called the *Knowledge of the Holy*. And wicked Men are described to be such, as *know not God*. So likewise, by the *Fear of the Lord*, frequently in this Book of *Job*, and in the *Psalms* and *Proverbs*. And *then they, that feared the Lord, spoke often one to another*. And the *Fear of God* is expressely said to be the Sum of Religion: *Fear God and keep his Commandments, for this is the whole of Man:* And on the contrary, the Wicked are described to be such, as *have not the Fear of God before their Eyes*: And so likewise by the Remembrance of *God: Remember thy Creator in the Days of thy Youth*; that is: Enter upon a religious Course betimes. And on the contrary, the Character of the Wicked is, that *they forget God. The Wicked shall be turned into Hell, and all the Nations, that forget God.* In the *New Testament Religion* is usually expressed by *Faith* in *God* and *Christ*, and the *Love* of them. Hence it is, that true Christians are so frequently called *Believers*, and wicked and ungodly Men *Unbelievers*; and that good Men are described to be such, as *love God. All Things shall work*

together for the Good of them, that love God; and *such, as love the Lord Jesus Christ*. Now the Reason, why these are put for the *whole of Religion*, is, because the *Belief*, and *Remembrance*, and *Love*, and *Fear* of God, are such powerfull Principles, and have so great an Influence upon Men, to make them Religious; that, where any of these really is, all the rest, together with the true and genuine Effects of them, are supposed to be.

And so likewise the Sum of all Religion is often expressed by some *eminent Part* of it; which will explain the second Phrase here in the Text; *departing from Evil*. The *Worship of God* is an *eminent Part of Religion*: and *Prayer*, which is often in Scripture expressed by *seeking God*, and *calling upon his Name*, is a chief Part of Religious Worship. Hence Religion is described by *seeking God*. *He is a Rewarder of them, that diligently seek him*: and by *calling upon his Name*: *Whosoever calleth upon the Name of the Lord shall be saved*: And so, by *coming to God*, and by *departing from Evil*. In this fallen State of Man, Religion begins with *Repentance* and *Conversion*, the two opposite Terms of which are *God* and *Sin*: Hence it is, that Religion is described sometimes by *coming to God*. *He, that cometh to God, must believe, that he is*; that is, no Man can be religious, unless he believe, there is a God: sometimes by *departing from Sin*: *And he, that departeth from Evil, maketh him self a Prey*; that is, such was the bad State of those Times, of which the Prophet there complains, that no Man could be religious, but he was in Danger of being persecuted.

II. For the Fitness of those two Phrases to describe Religion.

1. For

1. For the first (*the Fear of the Lord.*) The Fitness of this Phrase will appear, if we consider, how great an Influence the Fear of God hath upon Men, to make them religious. Fear is a Passion, that is most deeply rooted in our Natures, and flows immediately from that Principle of self Preservation, which God has planted in every Man. Every one desires his own Preservation and Happiness, and therefore hath a naturel Dread and Horror of every Thing, that can destroy his Being, or endanger his Happiness. And the greatest *Danger* is from the greatest *Power*, and that is *Omnipotency*. So that *the Fear of God* is an inward Acknowledgement of a holy and just Being, which is armed with an almighty and irresistible Power, God having hid in every Man's Conscience a secret Awe and Dread of his infinite Power and eternal Justice. Now *Fear* being so intimate to our Natures, it is the strongest Bond of Laws, and the great Security of our Duty.

There are two Bridles, or Restraints, which God hath put upon human Nature, *Shame* and *Fear*. Shame is the weaker, and hath Place only in those, in whom there are some Remainders of Virtue. *Fear* is the stronger, and works upon all, who love themselves, and desire their own Preservation. Therefore, in this degenerate State of Mankind, *Fear* is that Passion, which hath the greatest Power over us, and by which God and his Laws take the surest Hold of us. Our *Desire*, and *Love*, and *Hope*, are not so apt to be wrought upon, by the Representation of Virtue, and the Promises of Reward and Happiness, as our *Fear* is, from the Apprehension of divine Displeasure. For though we have lost, in a great Measure, the Gust and Relish of true

Happineſs; yet we ſtill retain a quick Senſe of pain and Miſery; ſo that *Fear* relies upon a natural Love of our ſelves, and is complicated with a neceſſary Deſire of our own Preſervation. And therefore Religion uſually makes it's firſt Entrance into us by this Paſſion: hence perhaps it is, that *Salomon*, more than once, calls *the Fear of the Lord the Beginning of Wisdom.*

2. As for the ſecond Phraſe, (*departing from Evil*) the Fitneſs of it, to expreſs the *whole Duty of Man*, will appear, if we conſider the neceſſary Connexion, that is between the negative and the poſitive Part of our Duty. He that is careful to avoid all Sin, will ſincerely endeavour to perform his Duty. For the Soul of Man is an active Principle, and will be employed one Way, or other; it will be doing ſomething; if a Man abſtain from Evil, he will do Good. Now there being ſuch a ſtrict Connexion between theſe, *the whole of our Duty* may be expreſſed by either of them; but moſt fitly, by *departing from evil*, becauſe that is the firſt Part of our Duty. Religion begins in the forſaking of Sin:

Virtus eſt vitium fugere, & ſapientia prima
Stultitia caruiſſe.

Virtue begins in the forſaking of Vice; and the firſt Part of Wisdom is not to be a Fool. And therefore the *Scripture*, which mentions theſe Parts of our Duty, doth conſtantly put *departing from Evil* firſt: *Depart from Evil, and do Good. Ceaſe to do Evil, learn to do well. Let the Wicked forſake his Way, and the unrighteous Man his Thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord.* We are firſt to *put off the old Man, which*

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is corrupt according to deceitfull Lusts, and then *to be renewed in the Spirit of our Minds, and to put on the new Man* &c. *Let him eschew Evil, and do Good.* To all which I may add this farther Consideration, that, the Law of God, contained in the ten Commandments, consisting mostly of Prohibitions, (*Thou shalt not do such, or such a Thing*) our Observance of it is most fitly expressed, by *departing from Evil*, which yet includes Obedience likewise to the positive Precepts, implied in those Prohibitions.

Having thus explain'd the *Words*, I come now to consider the *Proposition*, contain'd in them, which is this: That *Religion is the best Knowledge and Wisdom.*

This I shall endeavour to make good these three Ways.

1. *By a direct Proof of it.*

2. *By shewing, on the contrary, the Folly and Ignorance of Irreligion and Wickedness.*

3. *By vindicating Religion from those common Imputations, which seem to charge it with Ignorance, or Imprudence.*

1. I begin with the direct Proof of this: And because Religion comprehends two Things, the *Knowledge* of the *Principles* of it, and a *suitable Life and Practice*; (the first of which, being *speculative*, may more properly be called *Knowledge*; and the latter, because 'tis *practical*, may be called *Wisdom, or Prudence*) therefore I shall endeavour distinctly to prove these two Things:

1. *That Religion is the best Knowledge.*

2 *That 'tis the truest Wisdom,*

1. First, *That it is the best Knowledge.* The Knowledge of Religion commends it self to us, upon these two Accounts.

1. 'Tis the Knowledge of those Things, which are in themselves most excellent.

2. Of those Things, which are most useful, and necessary for us to know. First it is the best Knowledge, because it is the Knowledge of those Things, which are in them selves most *excellent*, and *desirable to be known*; and those are *God*, and our *Duty*. *God* is the Sum and Comprehension of all Perfection. It is delightful, to know the *Creatures*, because there are particular Excellencies scatter'd, and dispers'd among them, which are some Shadows of the Divine Perfections: But in *God* all Perfections, in their highest Degree, and Exaltation, meet together, and are united. How much more delightfull then must it needs be, to fix our Minds upon such an Object, in which there is nothing but *Beauty*, and *Brightness*; what is *amiable*, and what is *excellent*; what will *ravish our Affection, and raise our Wonder*; *please us*, and *astonish* us at once? And that the finite Measure and Capacity of our Understandings is not able, to take in, and comprehend the infinite Perfection of God; this indeed shews the Excellency of the Object, but doth not altogether take away the Delightfulness of the Knowledge. For as it is pleasant to the Eye, to have an endless Prospect; so is it some Pleasure to a finite Understanding, to view unlimited Excellencies, which have no Shore, or Bounds, tho' it cannot comprehend them. There is a Pleasure in Admiration; and this is that, which properly causeth Admiration, when we discover a great deal in an Object, which we understand to be excellent, and yet we see, we know not how much, more beyond that, which our Understanding cannot fully reach and comprehend. And as the

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Knowledge of God in his *Nature* and *Perfections* is excellent and desirable; so likewise to know him in those glorious Manifestations of himself, *in the Works of Creation* and *Providence*, and above all, in that stupendious Work of the *Redemption* of the World, by *Jesus Christ*, which was such a Mystery, and so excellent a Piece of Knowledge, that *the Angels* are said to *desire to pry into it.* And as the *Knowledge of God* is excellent, so likewise of our *Duty*, which is nothing else, but *Virtue*, and *Goodness*, and *Holiness*, which are the Image of God; a Conformity to the Nature, and Will of God; and an Imitation of the divine Excellencies and Perfections, so far, as we are capable: For to know our Duty, is to know, what it is to be like God, in *Goodness*, and *Piety*, and *Patience*, and *Clemency*, in *pardoning Injuries*, and *passing by Provocations*, in *Justice and Righteousness*, in *Truth and Faithfulness*; and in a Hatred and Detestation of the contrary of these: In a Word, it is to know, what is the good and acceptable Will of God; what it is, that he loves, and delights in, and is pleased withal, and would have us to do, in order to our Perfection, and our Happiness. It is deservedly accounted, a Piece of excellent Knowledge, to know the *Laws of the Land*, and the *Customs of the Country*, we live in, and the *Will of the Prince*, we live under: How much more, to know the *Statutes of Heaven*, and the *Laws of Eternity*, those immutable and eternal Rules of Justice and Righteousness; to know the Will and Pleasure of the great Monarch, and universal King of the World; and the *Customs* of that *Country*, where we must live for ever? This made *David* to admire the Law of God at that strange

ſtrange Rate, and to advance the knowledge of it above all other Knowledge. *I have ſeen an End of all Perfection, but thy Commandment is exceedng broad.*

Secondly 'tis the *Knowledge* of thoſe Things, which are moſt *uſefull* and *neceſſary* for us to know. The *Goodneſs* of every Thing is meaſured by it's *End* and *Uſe*, and that's the beſt Thing, which ſerves the beſt End and Purpoſe; and the more neceſſary any Thing is to ſuch an End, the better it is: So that the beſt Knowledge is that, which is of greateſt Uſe and Neceſſity to us, in order to our *great End*, which is *eternal Happineſs*, and the *Salvation of our Souls.*

Curious Speculations, and the Contemplation of Things, that are impertinent to us, and do not concern us, nor ſerve to promote our Happineſs, are but a more ſpecious and ingenious Sort of Idleneſs, a more pardonable and creditable Kind of Ignorance. That Man, that doth not know thoſe Things, which are of Uſe and Neceſſity for him to know, is but an ignorant Man, whatever he may know beſide. Now the Knowledge of *God* and of *Chriſt*, and of our *duty* is of the greateſt Uſefulneſs and Neceſſity to us, in Order to our happineſs; It's of abſolute Neceſſity, that we ſhould know *God* and *Chriſt*, in order to our being happy; *This is Life eternal* (that is, the only Way to it) *to know thee, the only true God, and him, whom thou haſt ſent, Jeſus Chriſt.* It is neceſſary alſo in order to our Happineſs, to know our *Duty*, becauſe 'tis neceſſary for us to do it, and it is impoſſible to do it, except we know it.

So that, whatſoever other Knowledge a Man may be endued withal, he is but an ignorant Per-

Person, who doth not know God, the Author of his Being, the Preserver and Protector of his Life, his Sovereign, and his Judge, the Giver of every good and perfect Gift, his surest Refuge in Trouble, his best Friend, or worst Enemy, the present Support of his Life, his Hopes in Death, his future Happiness, and his Portion for ever; who does not know his Relation to God, the Duty, that he owes him, and the Way to please *him*, who can make him happy, or miserable for ever; who doth not know the Lord Jesus Christ, who is *the Way, the Truth, and the Life.*

If a Man, by a vast and imperious Mind, *and a Heart large, as the Sand upon the Sea-shore,* (as it is said of *Salomon*) could command all the Knowledge of *Nature* and *Art*, of *Words* and *Things*; could attain to a Mastery in all Languages, and sound the Depths of all Arts and Sciences, measure the Earth and the Heaven, and tell the Stars, and declare their Orders and Motions; could discourse of the Interests of all States, the Intrigues of all Courts, the Reason of all civil Laws and Constitutions, and give an Account of the History of all Ages; could speak of Trees, *from the Cedar Tree, that is in Libanon, even unto the Hyssop, that springs out of the Wall; and of Beasts also, and of Fowls, and of creeping* Things, *and of Fishes*: and yet should, in the mean Time, be destitute of the Knowledge of *God*, and of *Christ*, and his *Duty*; all this would be but an impertinent Vanity, and a more glittering Kind of Ignorance; and such a Man (like the Philosopher, who, whilst he was gazing upon the Stars, fell into the Ditch) would but *sapienter descendere in infernum*, be undone with all this Knowledge; and with a great deal of Wisdom go down to Hell.

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2. Secondly, *That to be Religious is the truest Wisdom*, and that likewise upon two Accounts.

1. Because it is to be wise for our selves.

2. It is to be wise, as to our main Interest and Concernment.

1. *'Tis to be wise for our selves.* There's an Expression *Job.* 22. 21. *He, that is wise, is profitable to himself*; and *Prov.* 9, 12. *If thou be wise, thou shalt be wise for thy self*; intimating, that Wisdom regards a Man's own Interest and Advantage, and that he is not a wise Man, that doth not take Care of himself and his own Concernments, according to that of old *Ennius*, *nequidquam sapere sapientem, qui sibi ipsi prodesse non quiret*, that Man has but an empty Title of Wisdom, and is not really wise, who is not wise for himself. As *Self-preservation* is the first Principle of *Nature*; so Care of our selves, and our own Interest is the first Part of *Wisdom*. He that is wise in the Affairs and Concernments of other Men, but careless and negligent of his own, that Man may be said to be busy, but he is not wise; he is employed indeed, but not so, as a wise Man should be: Now this is the *Wisdom of Religion*, that it directs a Man to a Care of his own proper Interest and Concernment.

2. *It is to be wise, as to our main Interest.* Our chief End and highest Interest is Happiness. And this is *Happiness*, to be freed from all, (if it may be) however from the greatest Evils; and to enjoy (if it may be) all Good, however the chiefest. To be happy, is not only to be freed from the Pains and Diseases of the Body, but from *Anxiety* and *Vexation* of *Spirit*: not only to enjoy the Pleasures of *Sense*, but *Peace* of *Conscience*, and Tran-

Tranquillity of *Mind*. *To be happy*, is not only to be so, for a little While, but as long, as may be; and, if it be possible, for ever. Now *Religion* designs our *greatest and longest Happiness*; it aims at a Freedom from the greatest Evils, and to bring us to the Possession, and Enjoyment of the greatest Good. For Religion wisely considers, that Men have *immortal Spirits*, which, as they are *Spirits*, are capable of a Pleasure, and Happiness, distinct from that of our *Bodies*, and our *Senses*; and because they are *immortal*, are capable of an everlasting Happiness. Now our *Souls* being the best Part of our selves, and *Eternity* being infinitely the most considerable Duration; the greatest *Wisdom* is to secure the Interest of our *Souls* and of *Eternity*, though it be with Loss, and to the Prejudice of our *temporal* and *inferior* Interests.

Therefore Religion directs us rather to secure *inward Peace*, than *outward Ease*; to be more careful, to avoid *everlasting* and *intolerable Torment*, than *short* and *light Afflictions*, *which are but for a Moment*; to court *the Favour of God* more than the *Friendship* of the *World*, and not so much *to fear them, that can kill the Body, and after that have no more, that they can do, as him, who, after he hath kill'd, can destroy both Body and Soul in Hell*. In a Word, our *main Interest* is to be *as happy, as we can*, and *as long, as is possible*; and if we be cast into such Circumstances, that we must be either in Part, and for a Time; or else wholly and always miserable; the *best Wisdom* is to choose the *greatest* and *most lasting Happiness*, but the *least*, and *shortest Misery*. Upon this Account *Religion* prefers those *Pleasures*, *which flow from the Presence of God for ever more*, infinitely before the *transitory Pleasures* of this World,

World, and is much more careful to avoid *eternal Misery*, than *present Sufferings*. This is the *Wisdom of Religion*, that, upon Consideration of the whole, and casting up all Things together, *it does advise and lead us to our best Interest*. II. The *second* Way of *Confirmation* shall be, by endeavouring to shew the Ignorance and Folly of Irreligion. Now all that are irreligious, are so upon one of these two Accounts: Either, *First*, because they do not believe the Foundation, and Principles of Religion, as, *the Existence of God*, *the Immortality of the Soul*, and *future Rewards*: or else *secondly*, because, though they do, in some Sort, believe these Things, yet they live contrary to this their Belief; and of this Kind are the far greatest Part of wicked Men. The *first* Sort are guilty of that, which we call *speculative*, the *other* of *practical Atheism*. I shall endeavour to shew the Ignorance and Folly of both these.

First, *speculative Atheism* is *unreasonable*, and that upon these *five* Accounts,

1. *Because it gives no tolerable Account of the Existence of the World*; 2. Nor *does it give any reasonable Account, of the universal Consent of Mankind in this Apprehension*, that there is a God. 3. *It requires more Evidence for Things, than they are capable of.* 4. *The Atheist pretends to know that, which no Man can know.* 5. *Atheism contradicts it self.*

1. Because *it gives no tolerable Account of the Existence of the World.* One of the greatest Difficulties, that lies in the Atheists Way, is, upon his own Supposition, *that there is no God*, to give a likely Account of the Existence of the World. We see this vast Frame of the World, and an innumerable Multitude of Creatures in it,

it, all which we, who believe a God, attribute to *Him*, as the Author of them. For a *Being*, ſuppos'd of infinite *Goodneſs* and *Wisdom*, and *Power*, is a very likely Cauſe of theſe Things. What more likely, to make this vaſt World, to ſtretch forth the Heavens, and lay the Foundation of the Earth, and to form theſe and all Things in them of nothing, than infinite *Power?* what more likely, to communicate Being, and ſo many Degrees of Happineſs, to ſo many ſeveral Sorts of Creatures, than infinite *Goodneſs?* what more likely, to contrive this admirable Frame of the Univerſe, and all the Creatures in it, each of them ſo perfect in their Kind, and all of them ſo fitted to each other, and to the whole, than infinite *Counſel* and *Wisdom?* This ſeems to be no unreaſonable Account.

But let us ſee now, what Account the *Atheiſt* gives of theſe Things. If there be no God, there are but theſe *two* Ways imaginable, for the World to be. Either it muſt be ſaid: That not only the *Matter*, but alſo the *Frame* of this World is eternal; and that, as to the main, Things always were, as they are, without any firſt Cauſe of their being, which is the Way of the *Ariſtotelian* Atheiſt; (thoſe I mean, who proceed upon *Ariſtotle's* Suppoſition, of the Eternity of the World, but yet deny it to be from God, which he expreſly aſſerts) or elſe, the *Matter* of the World being ſuppoſed to be eternal, and of it ſelf; the Original of this vaſt and beautiful *Frame* muſt be aſcribed merely to *Chance*, and the caſual Concourſe of the Parts of Matter; which is the Way of the *Epicurean* Atheiſt. But neither of theſe Ways gives a tolerable Account of the Exiſtence of the World. 1. I ſhall firſt conſider the *Hypotheſis* of thoſe, whom, for Diſtinction's

ſake, I call the *Ariſtotelian* Atheiſts, which is this: that not only the *Matter*, but alſo the *Frame* of the World is eternal; and that, as to the main, it was always, as it is, of it ſelf; and that there hath been from all Eternity a Succeſſion of Men and other Creatures, without any firſt Cauſe of their being.

It ſeems to be very hard, and, if that would do any good, might be juſt Matter of Complaint, that we are fallen into ſo profane and ſceptical an Age, which takes a Pleaſure and a Pride in unravelling almoſt all the received Principles both of Religion and Reaſon: ſo that we are put, many Times, to prove theſe Things, which can hardly be made plainer, than they are of themſelves. And ſuch almoſt are theſe Principles, that *God* is, *and that all Things are made by him*; which, by Reaſon of the bold Cavils of perverſe and unreaſonable Men, we are now-a-days put to defend.

That ſomething is of it ſelf, is evident, becauſe we ſee, Things are. And the Things, that we ſee, muſt either have had ſome firſt Cauſe of their being, or have been always, and of themſelves. One of theſe two is unavoidable.

So that the Controverſy, between us, and this Sort of Atheiſt, comes to this; which is the more credible Opinion: That the World was never made, nor had a Beginning, but always was, as it is; and that there hath been from all Eternity a Succeſſion of Men and other Creatures, without any firſt Cauſe of their being; or, that there was from all Eternity ſuch a *Being*, as we conceive *God* to be; infinite in Power, Goodneſs and Wiſdom, which made us and all other Things. The *firſt* of theſe Opinions I ſhall ſhew to be altogether incredible, and the *latter* to

to have all the Credibility, and Evidence, of which a Thing of that Nature is capable, and such Evidence, as is sufficient to convince any impartial and considerate Man.

Now in comparing the Probabilities of Things, that we may know, on which Side the Advantage lies, these two Considerations are of great Moment: What the Arguments are on each Side, and what the Difficulties. For if there be fair Proofs on the one Side, and none at all on the other; and if the most pressing Difficulties be on that Side, on which there are no Proofs: this is sufficient to render *one* Opinion very credible, and the *other* altogether incredible.

These *two Things* therefore I shall endeavour to make good, in the Matter, that is now under our Consideration. *First*, that there are fair Proofs on our Side, and as convincing, as the Nature of the Thing is capable of; but that there is no Pretence of Proof on the other. And *Secondly*, that the Side, on which there is no Proof, is incumbred with the greatest Difficulties. *First*, that there are fair Proofs on our Side, and as convincing, as the Nature of the Thing is capable of; but that there is no Pretence of Proof on the other. This Question, *whether the World was created and had a Beginning, or not?* is a Question concerning *an ancient Matter of Fact*, which can only be decided these two Ways; by *Testimony*, and by *Probabilities of Reason*. *Testimony* is the principal Argument in a Matter of this Nature; and if fair *Probabilities of Reason* concur with it, this Argument hath all the Strength, it can have. Now both these are clearly on the affirmative Side of the Question, *viz.* That the World was created, and had a Begining. 1. *Testimony*; of which there be

two Kinds, *Divine* and *Humane*. *Divine Testimony*, as such, is not proper to be us'd in this Cause, considering the Occasion of the present Debate; for that would be to beg the first and main Question, now in Controversy, which is, whether there be a God or not? which a Testimony from God does suppose, and therefore ought not to be brought for the Proof of it. 'Tis true indeed, that those Effects of divine Power, I mean Miracles, which will prove a divine Testimony to an Infidel, will as well prove the Being of a God to an Atheist; But when we dispute against those, who deny a God, no Testimony ought to be presum'd to be from God, but must be prov'd to be so. And whatever Argument prove that, will also prove, there is a God. *Humane Testimonies* are of two Sorts; *universal Tradition*, and *written History*. Both these are plainly and beyond Dispute on our Side.

First, there is an *universal Tradition* concerning the Begining of the World, it was made by God. And for the Evidence of this we have the concurring Tradition of the most *ancient* Nations, the *Egyptians*, and *Phenicians*; and of the most *Barbarous*, the *Indians*; who, as *Strabo* tells us, *did in many Things agree with the Grecians*, particularly in this, *that the World did begin, and should have an End, and that God, the Maker and Governor of it, is present in all Parts of it. And Acosta* tells us, that, at the first discovering of *America*, the Inhabitants of *Peru* did worship one Chief God under the Name, or Title of *The Maker of the Universe*: And yet these People had not had any Commerce with the other known Parts of the World, for God knows how many Ages. To which may be added,

added, that the most ancient of the Philosophers, and those, that were the Heads of the chief Sects of Philosophy, as *Thales*, *Anaxagoras* and *Pythagoras*, did likewise consent to this Tradition. Particularly concerning *Thales*, *Tully* tells us, that he was the *first* of all the Philosophers, *that inquired into these Things, and he said, that Water was the Beginning of all Things, and that God was that Mind* (or Intelligent Principle) *which fashion'd all Things out of Water.* So likewise *Strabo* informs us, that the *Brachmans*, the chief Sect of Philosophers among the *Indians*, agreed with the *Grecians* in this, *that the World was made of Water.* Which agrees exactly with *Moses's* Account of the Creation, *viz. that the Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters*, which St. *Peter* expresses thus: *That by the Word of God the Heavens and the Earth* (for so the *Hebrews* call *the World*) were of old ἐξ ὕδατος συνεστῶσα *constituted or made of Water*; not *standing out of the Water*, as our Translation renders it.

Nay *Aristotle* himself, who was the great Assertor of the Eternity of the World, gives this Account, why the Gods were anciently represented by the Heathens as swearing by the Lake *Styx*, because Water was supposed to be the *Principle of all Things.* And this, he tells us, was the *most ancient Opinion* concerning the Original of the World; and that the *very oldest Writers of Theology*, and those, who liv'd *at the greatest Distance from his Time*, were of this Mind. And in the Book *de Mundo* it is freely acknowledg'd to have been an ancient Saying, and a general Tradition among all Men, *that all Things are of God, and were made by him.* I will conclude this with that full Testimony of

Maximus Tyrius to this Purpose: *However* (says he) *Men may differ in other Things, yet they all agree in this* Law, *or* Principle, *that there is one God*, King an Father of all Things &c. *this the* Greeks *say, this the* Barbarians; *this those that live upon the Continent, and those, that dwell by the Sea, the wise and the unwise.*

Secondly, we have likewise a most *ancient* and credible *History* of the Beginning of the World; I mean the History of *Moses*, with which no Book in the World, in Point of Antiquity, can contend. I shall not now go about to strengthen my Argument, by pleading the divine Authority of this Book; for which yet I could offer good Evidence, if that were proper to the Matter in Hand: It is sufficient to my present Purpose, that *Moses* have the ordinary Credit of an Historian given him, which none, in Reason, can deny him, he being cited by the most ancient of the heathen Historians, and the Antiquity of his Writings never questioned by any of them, as *Josephus* assures us.

Now this History of *Moses* gives us a particular Account of the Creation of it by God. Which Assertion of his is agreeable to the most ancient *Writers* among the *Heathens*, whether *Poets*, or *Historians*. And several of the main Parts of *Moses's* History, as concerning the *Flood*, and the *first Fathers* of the *several Nations* of the World, (of which he gives a particular Account, Gen. 10.) do very well accord with the most ancient Accounts of *Profane* History. And I do not know, whether any thing ought more to recommend the Writings of *Moses* to a humane Belief, than the easy and credible Account, which he gives of the Original of the World, and of the first peopling of it.

As

As to the Account of ancient Times, both the *Egyptian* and *Chaldæan* Accounts, which are pretended by some, to be so vastly different from that of the *Scriptures*, may, for all that, be, near the matter, easily reconcil'd with it; if we do but admit what *Diodorus Siculus* and *Plutarch*, very credible Persons and diligent Searchers into ancient Books, do most expressly assure us, *viz*: that both those *Nations* did anciently reckon Months for Years. And the account of the *Chineses* is not hard to be reconcil'd with that of the Septuagint. Now in so nice and obscure a Matter, as the Account of ancient Times is, it ought to satisfy any fair and reasonable Inquirer, if they can be brought, any whit, near one another.

So that *universal Tradition* and the most *ancient History* in the World are clearly on our side. And if they be, one can hardly wish a more convincing Argument. For if the World, and consequently Mankind, had a Beginning, there is all the Reason in the World, to expect these two Things: *First*, that there should be an *universal Tradition* concerning this Matter, because it was the most memorable Thing, that could be transmitted to Posterity. And this was easy to be done, if Mankind sprang from one common *Root and Original*, from whence this *Tradition* would naturally be universally diffus'd. *Secondly*, it may, with the same Reason, be expected, that so remarkable *a Thing* should be recorded in the most ancient *History*. Now both these have accordingly happen'd. But then on the other Hand; If the World was eternal, and had no Beginning, there could be no real Ground for such a *Tradition* or *History*. And if such a Tradition were, at any Time,

endeavour'd to be set on Foot, it is not easy to imagine, how it should, at first, gain Entertainment; but much more difficult to conceive, how ever it should come to be *universally* propagated. For, upon the *Supposition* of those, wo hold the Eternity of the World, the World was always peopled; and if so, there could be no common Head, or Spring, from whence such a *Tradition* would naturally derive it self into all Parts of the World. So that, unless all the World was sometime of one *Language*, and under one *Government*, (which it never was, that we know of, since it was peopled) no Endeavour, and Industry could make such a Tradition common.

If it be said, that this Tradition began after some universal Deluge, out of which possibly but one Family might escape, and that, possibly too, of barbarous People; from whom any fond and groundless Conceit might spring, and afterwards spread it self, as Mankind increased: This I shall have Occasion to consider in a more proper Place. In the mean Time I have shewn, even from the Acknowledgment of *Aristotle* himself, that there was anciently such a Tradition, concerning the Beginning of the World. Nay, if we may believe him, he himself was the very first Asserter of the Eternity of the World. For he says expressly: *that all the Philosophers, that were before him, did hold, that the World was made.* Thus much for the *first* Kind of *Proof*, this Matter is capable of, namely, *Testimony.*

Secondly. The *Probabilities of Reason* do all likewise favour the Beginning of the World: As

1. The Want of any *History*, or *Tradition*, ancienter, than what is consistent with the receiv-

received Opinion of the Time of the World's Beginning: nay, the most ancient Histories were written long after that Time. This *Lucretius* the famous *Epicurean* argueth as a strong Presumption, that the World had a Beginning.

---- si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Terrarum & cœli, semperque æterna fuere.
Cur supra bellum Thebanum & funera Trojæ
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere Poetæ?

i. e. *If the World had no Beginning, how is it, that the Greek Poets* (the most ancient of their *Writers*) *mention nothing higher, than the* Theban *War, and the Destruction of* Troy? Were there from all Eternity no memorable Actions done, till about that Time? Or had Mankind no Way, till of late, to record them, and propagate the Memory of them to Posterity? It is much, if Men were from Eternity, that they should not find out the Way of writing, all that *long* Duration, which had past before that Time. Sure he was a fortunate Man indeed, who, after Men had been eternally so dull, as not to find it out, had the Luck, at last, to hit upon it. But it may be, the famous actions of former Times were always recorded, but that the Memorials of them have been several Times lost by universal Deluges, which have now and then happen'd, and swept all a way, except (it may be) two or three Persons, that have escap'd, and begun the World again upon a new Score. This is the only Refuge, that the *Atheist* hath to fly to, when he is prest with this, and the like Arguments. But he cannot possibly escape this Way. For these universal

Inundations must either be *natural*, or *supernatural*. If they be *supernatural*, (as any Man that considers well the Frame of the World, and how hard it is, to give a natural Reason of them, would be inclin'd to think) then indeed it is easy to conceive, how a few of Mankind, and no more, should escape: Because this will depend upon the Pleasure of that superior Being, which is supposed supernaturally to order these Things. But this is to yield what we have all this while contended for; *viz.* that there is a God. But if they be *natural*, which the *Atheist* must say, then there is nothing, to restrain them from a total Destruction, not only of Man-kind, but of all the Beast of the Earth. This the *Atheist* cannot deny, not only to be very possible, but exceeding probable; because he grants it to have come so near the Matter, that but very few escap'd, and, no Doubt, with great Difficulty. Now it is the greatest Wonder of the World, that a Thing, (according to their own Supposition) so likely to happen, should never have fallen out in an infinite Duration. Will any Man have the Face to say, that a Thing is likely, which did never yet happen from all Eternity? One would think, that not only whatever is probable, but whatever can possibly happen, should be brought about in that Space: so that, if Mankind had been from Eternity, it had, in all Probability, I had almost said, been destroyed from all Eternity, but I may confidently say, long since ruin'd.

2. Another *Probability* of the World's Beginning, is the Account, which we have of the *Original of Learning, and the most useful Arts* in several Parts of the World. Now if the World had been eternal, these, in all Likelihood, would

would have been found out, and generally spread long ago, and beyond the Memory of all Ages. There are some *Arts* indeed, that are only serviceable to the Humour, and Fashion of one, or more Ages. These are not likely to spread, and they may come in, and go out, and return again, as often, as there is Occasion. But those, which are generally useful to Man-kind in all Times and Places, if they were once found out, (and who would not think, they should, in all eternal Duration?) it is not imaginable, but that they should have been spread innumerable Ages since: Nor can any Man give a good Reason, how they should ever be lost, but by some such Accident, which has been spoken to already. But now, on the contrary, the Beginnings of *Learning* and of the most useful *Arts* in several Nations, is very well known. And I add farther, that, whereever Learning and Civil Arts have come, this *Tradition*, concerning the *Beginning of the World*, hath been most vigorous, and asserted with the greatest Clearness and Confidence. 3. The several Parts, of which the World consists, being, (so far, as by those Parts of it, which we know, we can possibly judge of the rest) in their Nature, corruptible; it is more than probable, that, in an infinite Duration, this Frame of Things would long since have been dissolv'd; especially if (as the *Atheist* affirms) there be no superior Being, no wise and intelligent Principle, to repair and regulate it, and to prevent those innumerable Disorders and calamitous Accidents, which must, in so long a Space, in all Probability, have happen'd to it. This *Lucretius* also urges as a convincing Proof, that the World was not eternal.

Quare

Quare etiam nativa neceſſe eſt confiteare
Hæc eadem; neque enim, mortali corpore quæ ſunt,
Ex infinito jam tempore adhuc potuiſſent
Immenſi validas ævi contemnere vires.

It muſt neceſſarily (ſays he) *be acknowledg'd, that the World had a Beginning, otherwiſe thoſe Things, which are, in their own Nature, corruptible, had never been able, from all Eternity, to have held out againſt thoſe forcible and violent aſſaults, which, in an infinite Duration, muſt have happen'd.* Nay, thus much *Ariſtotle* himſelf every where grants, that, if the Frame of the World be liable to Diſſolution, it muſt, of Neceſſity, be acknowledg'd, to have had a Beginning.

Theſe are ſome of the chief Probabilities on our Side; which, being taken together, and in their united Force, have a great deal of Conviction in them: eſpecially if this be added, that there is no Kind of *poſitive Proof* ſo much as pretended on the other Side. The utmoſt, that *Ariſtotle* pretends to prove, is, that the World proceeded from God, by the Way of a natural and neceſſary Effect, as Light does from the Sun. Which if it be true (as there is no tolerable Ground for it) the World indeed would be without Beginning, but not of it ſelf. And thus I have done with the *firſt* Conſideration, I propounded to ſpeak to, *viz. that there are fair Proofs on our Side, and as convincing, as the Nature of the Thing is capable of; but that there is no Pretence of Proof on the other.* I proceed therefore to the

Second Conſideration, that the moſt preſſing Difficulties are on that Side, on which there is no Proof.

Thoſe,

Those, who deny a God, and hold the World to have been eternal and of it self, have only two Things, to object against us: The Difficulties, that there are in the *Notion of God*, *and in making the World of nothing*. To the *first* I answer, that we attribute nothing to God, that hath any Repugnancy, or Contraction in it. *Power*, *Wisdom*, *Goodness*, *Justice and Truth*, have no Repugnancy in them to our Reason, because we own these Perfections to be, in some Degree, in our selves; and therefore they may be, in the highest Degree, that is possible, in another. The *Eternity* of God, and his *Immensity*, and his *being of him self*, how difficult soever they may be, to be conceived; yet these Perfections must be granted to be some where, and therefore they may as well, nay much better, be ascrib'd to God, in whom we suppose all other Perfections to meet, than to any thing else. And as for God's being a *Spirit*, whatever Difficulty there may be in conceiving the Notion of a *Spirit*; yet the *Atheist* must grant the thing, that there is a Being, or Principle, really distinct from Matter, or else shew, how mere Matter, which is confessed by them selves, to be void of Sense and Understanding, and to move necessarily, can produce any thing, that has Sense, Understanding and Liberty. As to the *other* Difficulty, of *making the World of Nothing*, I shall only say this: that, though it signify an inconceivable Excess of Power, yet there can no Contradiction be shewn in it. And it is every whit as easy, to conceive, that something should be caus'd to be, that was not before, as that any thing should be of it self; which yet must be granted on both Sides; and therefore this Difficulty ought not to be objected by either.

But

But then, on the other Side, there are these *two* great and real Difficulties: *First*, that Men generally have always believed the Contrary, *viz.* that the World had a Beginning, and was made by God. Which is a strong Evidence, that this Account of the Existence of the World is more natural, and of a more easy Conception to humane Understanding. And indeed it is very natural to conceive, that every Thing, which is imperfect (as the World, and all Creatures in it, must be acknowledg'd, in many Respects, to be) had some Cause, which produced it, such as it is, and determin'd the Bounds and Limits of it's Perfection. But that, which is of it self, and without a Cause, may be any thing, and have any Perfection, which does not imply a Contradiction. *Secondly*, to assert Mankind to have been of it self, and without a Cause, hath this invincible Objection against it; that we plainly see every Man to be from another. So that Mankind is asserted to have no Cause of it's being, and yet every particular Man must be acknowledged to have a Father; which is every whit as absurd in an infinite Succession of Men, as in any finite Number of Generations. It is more easy indeed to conceive, how a constant and permanent Being, suppose *Matter*, should always have been of it self; and then that *that* should be the Foundation of infinite successive Changes, and Alterations. But an infinite Succession of the Generations of Men, without any permanent Foundation, is utterly unimmaginable. If it be said, that the *Earth* was always, and in Time did produce *Men*, and that they ever since have produc'd one another; this is to run into one great Absurdity of the *Epicurean* Way, which shall be consider'd in it's proper Place. And

And thus I have endeavour'd, as plainly and briefly, as the Nature of the Argument would admit, to prove, that the Account, which the *Scripture* gives of the Existence of the World, is most credible, and agreeable to the Reason of Mankind; and that this *first* Account, which the *Atheist* gives of it, is altogether incredible. And now I expect, after all this, the *Atheist* will complain, that all, that hath been said, does not amount to a *strict Demonstration* of the Thing. It may be so. And if the *Atheist* would undertake to *demonstrate* the Contrary, there might be some Reason for this Complaint. In the mean Time I desire to know, whether, when both Sides are agreed, that the World is, and that it must either have it's Original from God, or have been always of it self; and if it have been made evident, that, on *one Side*, there are fair *Proofs* both from *Testimony* and *Reason*, and as convincing, as the Nature of the Thing is capable of, and no Pretence of Proof on the *other*; and that the *Difficulties* are most pressing on that *Side*, which is destitute of Proof; I say, if this have been made evident, I desire to know, whether this be not, upon the Matter, as satisfactory to a wise Man, as a *Demonstration*? For in this Case there can be no Doubt, on which Side the clear Advantage of Evidence lies, and consequently which Way a prudent Man ought to determine Assent.

I come now, in the *second* Place, to consider the *other Account*, which an other Sort of *Atheists*, those whom I call the *Epicureans*, do give of the Existence of the World. And 'tis this: They suppose the Matter, of which the World is constituted, to be eternal and of it self, and then an infinite empty Space, for the infinite

infinite little Parts of this Matter (which they call *Atoms*) to move and play in; and that these, being always in Motion, did, after infinite Trials and Encounters, without any Counsel, or Design, and without the Disposal and Contrivance of any wise and intelligent Being, at last, by a lucky Casualty, entangle and settle themselves in this beautiful and regular Frame of the World, which we now see. And that the Earth, being at first in it's full Vigour and Fruitfulness, did then bring forth Men, and all other Sorts of living Creatures, as it does Plants now.

This is in short the *Epicurean* Account of the Original of the World, which, as absurd as it is, *Lucretius* hath very elegantly expressed in these Verses:

Sed quibus ille modis conjectus materiai,
Fundarit cœlum ac terram, pontique profunda,
Solisque & lunæ cursus, ex ordine ponam.
Nam certe neque consilio primordia rerum
Ordine se quæque, atque sagaci mente locarunt;
Nec quos quæque darent motus pepigere profecto:
Sed quia multa modis multis primordia rerum
Ex infinito jam tempore percita plagis,
Ponderibusque suis consuerunt concita ferri,
Omnimodisque coire, atque omnia pertentare,
Quæcunque inter se possent congressa creare:
Propterea fit, uti magnum vulgata per ævum,
Omnigenos cœtus & motus experiundo,
Tandem ea conveniant, quæ ut convenere, repente

Magna-

Magnarum rerum fiunt exordia sæpe
Terraï, maris & cœli, generisque animantium.

Thus *he*, like a good *Poet*, but a very bad Maker and Contriver of the World. For I appeal to any Man of Reason, whether any thing can be more unreasonable, than obstinately to impute an Effect to Chance, which carries, in the very Face of it, all the Arguments and Characters of a wise Design and Contrivance? Was ever any considerable Work, in which there was required a great Variety of Parts, and a regular and orderly Disposition of those Parts, done by Chance? Will Chance fit Means to Ends, and that in ten thousand Instances, and not fail in any one? How often might a Man, after he had jumbled a Set of Letters in a Bag, fling them out upon the Ground, before they would fall into an exact Poem, yea or so much as make a good Discourse in Prose? And may not a little *Book* be as easily made by Chance, as this great *Volume* of the World? How long might a Man be in sprinkling Colours upon Canvas with a careless Hand, before they would happen to make the exact Picture of a Man? And is a Man easier made by Chance, than his Picture? How long might twenty thousand *blind Men*, which should be sent out from the several remote Parts of *England*, wander up and down, before they would all meet upon *Salisbury Plain*, and fall into Rank and File in the exact Order of an Army? And yet this is much more easy to be imagined, than how the innumerable blind Parts of Matter should rendezvous themselves into a World. A Man, that sees *Henry* the *seventh's* Chappel at *Westminster*, might, with as good Reason, maintain, (yea with much better, considering the Difference betwixt that little

Structure, and the huge Fabrick of the World) that it was never contrived, or built by any Man; but that the Stones did by Chance grow into those curious Figures, into which they seem to have been cut and graven; and that, *upon a Time*, (as Tales usually begin) the Materials of that Building, the Stone, Mortar, Timber, Iron, Lead and Glass, happily met together, and very fortunately rang'd themselves into that delicate Order, in which we see them now so close compacted, that it must be a very great Chance, that parts them again. What would the World think of a Man, that should advance such an Opinion as this, and write a Book for it? If they would do him Right, they ought to look upon him as mad: but yet with a little more Reason, than any Man can have to say, that the World was made by Chance; or that the first Men grew up out of the Earth, as Plants do now. For can any thing be more ridiculous, and against all Reason, than to ascribe the Production of Men to the first Fruitfulness of the Earth, without so much as one Instance and Experiment in any Age or History, to countenance so monstrous a Supposition? The Thing is, at first Sight, so gross and palpable, that no Discourse about it can make it more apparent; and yet these shameful *Beggars of Principles*, who give this precarious Account of the Original of Things, assume to themselves to be the Men of Reason, the *great Wits* of the World, the only *cautious* and wary Persons, that hate to be imposed upon; that must have convincing Evidence for every Thing, and can admit of nothing, without a clear Demonstration for it.

II.

II. *Speculative Atheism* is unreasonable, because it gives no reasonable Account of the *universal Consent* of Mankind in this Apprehension, *that there is a God.* That Men do generally believe a God, and have done in all Ages, the present Experience of the World, and the Records of former Times, do abundantly testify. Now how comes this Persuasion to have gained so universal a possession of the Mind of Man, and to have found such general Entertainement in all Nations, even those, that are most barbarous? If there be no such Thing, as God, in the World; how comes it to pass, that this Object doth continually encounter our Understanding? Whence is it, that we are so perpetually haunted with the Apparition of a Deity, and followed with it, wherever we go? If it be not natural to the Mind of Man, but proceeds from some accidental Distemper of our Understandings; how comes it to be universal, that no Differences of Age, or Temper, or Education can wear it out, and set any considerable Number of Men free from it? Into what can we resolve this strong Inclination of Mankind to this Error and Mistake? How come all Nations to be thus seduced? It is altogether unimaginable, but that the Reason of so universal a Consent in all Places and Ages of the World, and among all Differences of Persons, should be one and constant. But no one and constant Reason of this can be given, but from the Nature of Man's Mind and Understanding, which hath this Notion of a Deity born with it, and stamped upon it; or, which is all one, is of such a Frame, that, in the free Use and Exercise of it self, it will find out God: And what more reasonable, than to think, that, if we be God's Workmanship,

he ſhould ſet this Mark of himſelf upon all reaſonable Creatures, that they may know, to whom they belong, and may acknowledge the *Author* of their Beings? This ſeems to be a credible and ſatisfactory Account of ſo *univerſal* a *Conſent* in this Matter. But now what doth the *Atheiſt* reſolve this into? He is not at one with himſelf what Account to give of it, nor can it be expected, he ſhould. For he, that will overlook the true Reaſon of a Thing, which uſually is but one, may eaſily find many falſe ones, Error being infinite. But there are *three*, which he principally relies upon, *Fear*, *Tradition*, and *Policy of the State*. I ſhall briefly conſider theſe.

Firſt. He would make us believe, that this Apprehenſion of a God does ſpring from an infinite *Jealouſy* in the Mind of Man, and an endleſs Fear of the worſt, that may happen, according to that *Divine Saying* of the Poet, which he can never ſufficiently admire:

Primum in orbe Deos fecit timor.

Fear firſt made Gods; ſo that it is granted on both Sides, that the *Fear of a Deity* doth univerſally poſſeſs the Minds of Men. Now the Queſtion is, whether it be more likely, that the Exiſtence of a God ſhould be the Cauſe of this Fear; or that this Fear ſhould be the Cauſe, why Men imagine, there is a God? If there be a God, who hath impreſſed this Image of himſelf upon the Mind of Man; there's great Reaſon, why all Men ſhould ſtand in Awe of him. But, if there be no God, it is not eaſy to conceive, how Fear ſhould create an univerſal Confidence, and Aſſurance in Men, that there is one: For whence

ſhould

ſhould this Fear come? It muſt be either from without, from the Suggeſtion of others, who firſt tell us, there is ſuch a *Being*, and then our Fear believes it; or elſe it muſt ariſe from within, from the Nature of Man, which is apt to fancy dreadful and terrible Things. If from the Suggeſtion of others, who tell us ſo, the Queſtion returns, who told *them* ſo? and will never be ſatisfied, 'till the firſt Author of this Report be found out. So that this Account of *Fear* reſolves it ſelf into *Tradition*, which ſhall be ſpoken to in it's proper Place. But if it be ſaid, that this Fear ariſeth from within, from the Nature of Man, which is apt to imagine dreadful Things; this likewiſe is liable to inexplicable Difficulties. For *Firſt*, the proper Object of Fear is ſomething, that is dreadful, that is ſomething, that threatens Men with Harm or Danger; and that, in God, muſt either be Power, or Juſtice; and ſuch an Object, as this, Fear indeed may create. But Goodneſs and Mercy are eſſential to the Notion of a God, as well as Power and Juſtice: now how ſhould Fear put Men upon fancying a Being, that is infinitely good and merciful? No Man hath Reaſon to be afraid of ſuch a Being, as ſuch. So that the *Atheiſt* muſt join another Cauſe to Fear, *viz.* Hope, to enable Men to create this Imagination of a God. And what would the Product of theſe two contrary Paſſions be? the Imagination of a Being, which we ſhould fear, would do us as much Harm, as we could hope, it would do us good; which would be *quid pro quo*, and which our Reaſon would oblige us, to lay aſide, ſo ſoon as we have fancied it, becauſe it would ſignify juſt nothing. But, *ſecondly*, ſuppoſe, Fear alone could do it; how comes the Mind of Man to be ſubject to ſuch groundleſs and

unreasonable Fears? the *Aristotelian* Atheist will say, it always was so: But this is to affirm, and not give any Account of a Thing. The *Epicurean* Atheist, if he will speak consonantly to himself, must say, that there happened in the original Constitution of the first Men such a Contexture of *Atoms*, as do naturally dispose Men to these panick Fears; unless he will say, that the first Men, when they grew out of the Earth, and afterwards broke loose from their Root, finding themselves weak and naked and unarmed, and meeting with several fierce Creatures, stronger than themselves, they were put in such a Fright, as did a little distemper their Understandings, and let loose their Imaginations to endless Suspicions and unbounded Jealousies, which did, at last, settle in the Conceit of an invisible *Being*, infinitely powerful, and able to do them Harm; and being fully possest with this Apprehension, (nothing being more ordinary, than for crazed Persons to believe their own Fancies) they became religious: and afterwards, when Mankind began to be propagated in the Way of Generation, then Religion obliged them to instil these *Principles* into their Children, in their tender Years, that so they might make the greater Impression upon them; and this Course having been continued ever since; the Notion of a God hath been kept up in the World. This is very suitable to *Epicurus* his *Hypothesis* of the Original of Men; but if any Man think fit to say thus, I cannot think it fit to confute him. *Thirdly* whether Men were from all Eternity such timorous and fanciful Creatures, or happened to be made so, in the first Constitution of Things, it seems however, that this *Fear* of a Deity hath a Foundation in Nature. And if it be natural,

natural, ought we not rather to conclude, that there is some Ground, and Reason for these *Fears*, and that Nature hath not planted them in us to no Purpose; than that they are vain and groundless? There is no Principle, that *Aristotle* (the great Asserter of the Eternity of the World) doth more frequently inculcate, than this: *That Nature doth nothing in vain*; and the *Atheist* himself is forced to acknowledge, (and so every Man must, who attentively considers the Frame of the World) that, altho' Things were made by Chance, yet they have happen'd as well, as if the greatest Wisdom had had the ordering and contriving of them. And surely Wisdom would never have planted such a vain Principle, as the Fear of a Deity, in the Nature of Man, if there had not been a God in the World.

Secondly. If *Fear* be not a sufficient Account of this universal Consent, the *Atheist* thinks, it may very probably be resolved into *universal Tradition.* But this likewise is liable to great Exception. For whence came this Tradition? It must begin some Time, it must have it's Original from some body? and it were very well worth our knowing, who that Man was, that first raised this Spirit, which all the Reason of Mankind could never conjure down since. *Where* did he live, and *when?* In what *Country*, in what *Age* of the World? *What was his Name, or his Son's Name, that we may know him?* This the *Atheist* can give no punctual Account of; only he imagines it not improbable, that some body, long ago (no body knows when) beyond the Memory of all Ages, did start such a Notion in the World, and that it hath past for current ever since. But if this *Tradition* be granted so very ancient, as to

have been before all Books, and to be elder than any History, it may, for any thing, any body can tell, have been from the Beginning; and then it is much more likely to be a Notion, which was bred in the Mind of Man and born with him, than a *Tradition*, transmitted from Hand to Hand through all Generations; especially if we consider, how many rude and barbarous Nations there are in the World, which consent in the Opinion of a God, and yet have scarce any certain *Tradition* of any thing, that was done among them, but two or three Ages before.

Thirdly, But if neither of these be satisfactory, he hath one way more; which altho' it signify little to Men of sober and severe Reason, yet it very unhappily hits the jealous and suspicious Humour of the Generality of Men, who, from the Experience they have had of themselves and others, are very apt to suspect, that every body, but especially their *Superiors* and *Governors*, have a Design to impose upon them for their own Ends. In short, it is this: that this Noise about a God is a mere State-Engine, and a politick Device, invented at first by some great Prince, or Minister of State, to keep People in Awe and Order. And if so, from hence (saith the *Atheist*) we may easily apprehend, how from such an Original it might be generally propagated, and become universally current, having the Stamp of publick Authority upon it. Besides that People have always been found easy to comply with the Inclinations of their *Prince*. And from hence likewise we may see the Reason, why this Notion hath continued so long. For being found by Experience to be so excellent an Instrument of Govern-

Government, we may be sure it would always be cherished and kept up.

And now he *triumphs*, and thinks, the Business is very clear. Thus it was, some Time or other, (most probably towards the Beginning of the World, if it had a Beginning, when all Mankind was under one universal Monarch) some great *Nebuchadnezzar* set up this *Image* of a *Deity* and commanded *all People and Nations to fall down and worship it:* And this being found a successful Device, to awe People into Obedience to Government, it hath been continued to this Day, and is like to last to the End of the World. To this fine Conjecture I have these four Things to say:

1. That all this is mere Conjecture and Supposition; *he* cannot bring the least Shadow of Proof, or Evidence for any one Tittle of it.

2. This Supposition grants, the Opinion of a God to conduce very much to the Support of Goverment, and Order in the World; and consequently to be very beneficial to Mankind. So that the *Atheist* cannot but acknowledge, that it is great Pity, that it should not be true, and that it is the common Interest of Mankind, if there were but probable Arguments for it, not to admit of any slight Reasons against it; and to punish all those, who would seduce Men to *Atheism*, as the great Disturbers of the World, and Pests of human Society,

3. This Supposition can have nothing of Certainty in it, unless this be true, *that whoever makes a politick Advantage of other Mens Principles ought to be presumed, to contrive those Principles into them.* Whereas it is much more common (because more easy) for Men, to serve their own Ends of those Principles, or Opinions

which they do not put into Men, but find there. So that, if the Question of a God were to be decided by the Probability of this Conjecture; (which the Atheist applauds himself most in) it would be concluded in the Affirmative; It being much more likely, since Politicians reap the Advantages of Obedience, and a more ready Submission to Government, from Mens believing, that there is a God, that they found the Minds of Men prepossessed, to their Hands, with the Notion of a God, than that they planted it there.

4. We have as much Evidence of the contrary to this Supposition, as such a Thing is capable of, *viz.* that it was not an *arcanum, imperii, a Secret of Government*, to propagate the Belief of a God among the People, when the Governors themselves knew it to be a Cheat. For we find in the Histories of all Ages, of which we have any Records, (and of other Ages we cannot possibly judge) that Princes have not been more secure from Troubles of Conscience, and the Fears of Religion, and the Terrors of another World, (nay many of them more subject to these) than other Men, as I could give many Instances, and those no mean ones: What made *Caligula* creep under the Bed, when it thunder'd? What made *Tiberius*, that great Master of the *Crafts of Government* complain so much of the grievous *Stings* and *Lashes*, he felt in his Conscience? What made *Cardinal Woolsey* (that great *Minister of State* in our own Nation) to pour forth his Soul in those sad Words: *Had I been as diligent, to please my God, as I have been to please my King, he would not have forsaken me now in my gray Hairs?* What Reason for such Actions and Speeches, if these great

great Men had known, that Religion was but a Cheat? But if they knew nothing of this Secret, I think we way safely conclude, that the Notion of a God did not come from the Court, that it was not the Invention of Politicians, and a Juggle of State, to cozen the People into Obedience.

And now from all this, that hath been said, it seems to be very evident, that the general Consent of Mankind in this Apprehension, *that there is a God*, must in all Reason be ascribed to some more certain and universal Cause, than *Fear*, or *State-policy*, *viz.*, *to this*: that God himself hath wrought this Image of himself upon the Mind of Man, and so woven it into the very Frame of his Being, that (like *Phidias's* Picture in *Minerva's* Shield) it can never totally be defaced, without the Ruin of humane Nature.

I know but one *Objection*, that this Discourse is liable to, which is this: That the universal Consent of Mankind, in the Apprehension of a God, is no more an Argument, that *He* really is, than the general Agreement of so many Nations, for so many Ages, in the Worship of many Gods, is an Argument, that there are many.

To this I answer, 1. That the Generality of the *Philosophers*, and wise Men of all Nations and Ages did dissent from the Multitude in these Things. They believed but one supreme Deity, which, with Respect to the various Benefits, Men received from him, had several Titles bestowed upon him. And altho' they did servilely comply with the People in worshiping God by sensible Images and Representations, yet it appears by their Writings, that they despised this Way of Worship, as superstitious, and unsui-

unsuitable to the Nature of God. So that *Polytheism* and *Idolatry* are far from being able to pretend to universal Consent, from their having had the Vote of the Multitude in most Nations for several Ages together: Because the Opinion of the Vulgar, separated from the Consent and Approbation of the Wise, signifies no more, than a great many Cyphers would do, without Figures.

2. The gross Ignorance and Mistakes of the *Heathen* about God, and his Worship, are a good Argument, that there is a God; because they shew, that Men, sunk into the most degenerate Condition, into the greatest Blindness and Darkness imaginable, do yet retain some Sense and Awe of a Deity; that Religion is a Property of our Natures, and that the Notion of a Deity is intimate to our Understandings, and stiks close to them, seeing Men will rather have any God, than none; and rather than want a Deity, they will worship any thing.

3. That there have been so many false Gods devis'd, is rather an Argument, that there is a true one, than that there is none. There would be no Counterfaits, but for the sake of something, that is real. For tho' all Pretenders seem to be what they really are not, yet they pretend to be some thing, that really is. For to counterfeit, is, to put on the likeness and Appearance of some real Excellence. There would be no brass Money, if there were not good and lawful Money. *Bristol Stones* would not pretend to be Diamonds, if there never had been any Diamonds. Those *Idols* in *Henry* the seventh's Time (as Sir *Francis Bacon* calls them) *Lambert Symnel* and *Perkin Warbeck*, had never been set up, if there had not once been a real *Plantagenet*,

tagenet, and *Duke* of *York*. So the *Idols* of the Heathen, though they be set up in Affront to the true God, yet they rather prove, that there is *one*, than the contrary.

III. *Speculative Atheism* is absurd, because it requires more Evidence for Things, than they are capable of. *Aristotle* hath long since well observed, how unreasonable it is, to expect the same Kind of Proof and Evidence for every Thing, which we have for some Things. *Mathemathical* Things, being of an abstracted Nature, are capable of the clearest, and strictest *Demonstration:* But Conclusions in *Natural Philosophy* are capable of Proof by an *Induction* of Experiments; Things of a *moral* Nature by *moral* Arguments; and *Matters of Fact* by *credible Testimony*. And tho' none of these be capable of that strict Kind of *Demonstration*, which mathematical Matters are, yet have we an undoubted Assurance of them, when they are prov'd by the best Arguments, that Things of that Kind will bear. No Man can demonstrate to me, (unless we will call every Argument, that is fit to convince a wise Man, a Demonstration) that there is such an *Island* in *America*, as *Jamaica*; yet upon the Testimony of credible Persons, who have seen it, and Authors, who have written of it, I am as free from all Doubt concerning it, as I am from doubting of the clearest mathematical Demonstration. So that this is to be entertained as a firm *Principle* by all those, who pretend to be certain of any Thing at all: *That when any thing, in any of these Kinds, is proved by as good Arguments, as a Thing of that Kind is capable of, and we have as great Assurance, that it is, as we could possibly have, supposing it were, we ought not in*

Reason

Reason to make any Doubt of the Existence of that Thing.

Now to apply this to the present Case. The being of a God is not *mathematically* demonstrable, nor can it be expected, it should, because only mathematical Matters admit of this Kind of Evidence. Nor can it be proved *immediately* by *Sense*, because *God*, being supposed to be a pure Spirit, cannot be the Object of any corporeal Sense: But yet we have as great Assurance, that there is a God, as the Nature of the Thing, to be proved, is capable of, and as we would in Reason expect to have, supposing, that he were. For let us suppose, there were such a *Being*, as an *infinite Spirit*, clothed with all possible Perfection, *that is*, as *good*, and *wise*, and *powerful*, &c. as can be imagined; what conceivable Ways are there, whereby we should come to be assured, that there is such a *Being*? but either by an internal Impression of the Notion of a God upon our Minds; or else by such external and visible Effects, as our Reason tells us must be attributed to some Cause, and which we cannot, without great Violence to our Understandings, attribute to any other Cause, but such a *Being*, as we conceive *God* to be, *that is*, one, that is infinitely *good*, and *wise*, and *powerful*? Now we have this double Assurance, that there is a God, and greater, or other, than this, the Thing is not capable of. If God should assume a Body and present himself before our Eyes; this might amaze us, but could not give us any rational Assurance, that there is an *infinite Spirit*. If he would work a Miracle; this could not, in Reason, convince an *Atheist* more, than the Arguments, he already hath for it. If the *Atheist* then were to *ask a Sign in the Heaven above, or in the Earth* bene-

beneath; what could he desire God to do for his Conviction more, than he hath already done? could he desire him, to work a greater Miracle, than to make a World? why, if God should carry this *perverse Man* out of the Limits of this World, and shew him a *new Heaven*, and a *new Earth*, springing out of nothing; he might say, that innumerable Parts of Matter chanc'd just then to rally together, and to form themselves into this new World, and that God did not make it. Thus you see, that we have all the rational Assurance of a God, that the Thing is capable of, and that *Atheism* is absurd and unreasonable in requiring more.

IV. The *Atheist* is unreasonable, because he pretends to know that, which no Man can know, and to be certain of that, which no body can be certain of; that is, *that there is no God*, and, which is consequent upon this, (as I shall shew afterwards) *that it is not possible, there should be one*. And the *Atheist* must pretend to know this certainly. For it were the greatest Folly in the World for a Man to deny and despise a God, if he be not certain, that he is not. Now whoever pretends to be certain, that there is no God, hath this great Disadvantage, he pretenns to be certain of a pure *Negative*. But of *Negatives* we have far the least Certainty, and they are usually hardest, and many times impossible to be proved. Indeed such *Negatives*, as only deny some particular Mode, or Manner of a Thing's *Existence*, a Man may have a Certainty of *them*; because when we see Things to be, we may see, what they are, and in what Manner they do, or do not exist. For *Instance*, we may be certain, that Man is not a Creature, that hath Wings, because this only concerns the Manner of his Existen-

Existence, and we, seeing what he is, may certainly know, that he is not so, or so. But *pure Negatives*, that is, such, as absolutely deny the Existence of Things, or the Possibility of their Existence, can never be proved: For after all, that can be said against a Thing, this will still be true, that many things possibly are, which we know not of, and that many more Things may be, than are; and if so, after all our Arguments against a Thing, it will be uncertain, whether it be, or not. And this is universally true, unless the Thing, denied to be, do plainly imply a Contradiction, from which I have already shewn the Notion of a God to be free. Now the *Atheist* pretends to be certain of a *pure Negative*, that there is no such Being, as God, and that it is not possible, there should be: But no Man can reasonably pretend, to know thus much, but he must pretend to know all Things, that are, or can be; which if any Man should be so vain as to pretend to, yet it is to be hoped, that no body would be so weak, as to believe him.

V. *Speculative Atheism* is unreasonable, because it contradicts it self. There is this great Contradiction in the Denial of a God: He, that denies a God, says; that *that* is *impossible*, which yet must *be* granted to be *possible*. He says, it is *impossible*, that there should be such a *Being*, as God, in saying, that *de facto* there is no such *Being*. For *Eternity* being essential to the Notion of a God, if there be not a God already, it is impossible now, that there should be one; because such a Being, as is supposed to be essentially eternal, and without Beginning, cannot now *begin to be*. And yet he must grant it possible, that there should be such a *Being*, because it is possible there

there ſhould be ſuch a *Being*, as hath all poſſible Perfection: and ſuch a *Being*, as this, is that, which we call *God*, and is that very Thing, which the *Atheiſt* denies, and others affirm to be. For he, that denies a God, muſt deny ſuch a Being, as all the World deſcribe God to be; and this is the general Notion, which all Men have of God, *that he is a Being, as perfect, as is poſſible*; that is, endued with all ſuch Perfections, as do not imply a Contradiction, which none of thoſe Perfections, which we attribute to God, do, as I have already prov'd.

II. *Speculative Atheiſm* as it is *unreaſonable*, ſo is it a moſt *imprudent* and uncomfortable Opinion. And that upon theſe *two* Accounts: *Firſt* becauſe it is againſt the preſent Intereſt and Happineſs of Mankind. *Secondly*, becauſe it is infinitely hazardous, and unſafe in the Iſſue.

1. It is againſt the preſent Intereſt and Happineſs of Mankind. If *Atheiſm* were the general Opinion of the World, it would be infinitely prejudicial to the Peace, and Happineſs of *human Society*, and would open a wide Door to all Manner of Confuſion and Diſorder. But this I ſhall not now inſiſt upon, becauſe I deſign a particular Diſcourſe of *that* by it ſelf.

I ſhall at preſent content my ſelf to ſhew, how uncomfortable an Opinion this would be to particular Perſons. For nothing can be more evident, than that *Man* is not ſufficient of himſelf to his own Happineſs. He is liable to many Evils and Miſeries, which he can neither prevent, nor redreſs. He is full of Wants, which he cannot ſupply, and compaſs'd about with Infirmities, which he can not remove, and obnoxious to Dangers, which he can never ſufficiently

provide against. Consider *Man* without the Protection and Conduct of a *Superior Being*, and he is secure of nothing, that he enjoys in this World, and uncertain of every Thing, that he hopes for. He is apt to grieve for what he cannot help, and eagerly to desire what he is never likely to obtain. *Man walketh in a vain Shew, and disquieteth himself in vain.* He courts Happiness in a thousand Shapes, and the faster he pursues, the faster it flies from him. His Hopes and Expectations are bigger than his Enjoyments, and his Fears and Jealousies more troublesome, than the Evils themselves, which he is so much afraid of. He is liable to a great many Inconveniencies every Moment of his Life, and is continually insecure not only of the good Things of this Life, but even of Life it self. And besides all this, after all his Endeavours to the contrary, he finds himself naturally to dread a *Superior Being*, that can defeat all his Designs, and disappoint all his Hopes, and make him miserable beyond all his Fears. He has oftentimes secret Misgivings concerning another Life after this, and fearful Apprehensions of an invisible Judge; and thereupon he is full of Anxiety, concerning his Condition in an other World, and sometimes plung'd in to that Anguish and Despair. that he grows weary of himself, so that the *Atheist* deprives himself of all the Comfort, that the Apprehensions of a God can give a Man, and yet is liable to all the Troubles and Disquiet of those Apprehensions.

I do not say, that these Inconveniences do happen to all; but every one is in Danger of them. For Man's Nature is evidently so contriv'd, as does plainly discover, how unable he is to make himself happy. So that he must necessarily look

look abroad, and seek for Happiness some where else. And if there be no *Superior Being*, in whose Care of him he may repose his Confidence, and quiet his Mind; if he have no comfortable Expectations of an other Life, to sustain him under the Evils and Calamities, he is liable to in this World, he is certainly *of all Creatures the most miserable*. There are none of us, but may happen to fall into those Circumstances of Danger, or Want, or Pain, or some other Sort of Calamity, that we can have no Hopes of Relief, or Comfort, but from *God* alone: none in all the World to flee to, but *Him*. And what would Men do in such a Case, if it were not for *God*? Human Nature is most certainly liable to desperate Exigences. And he is not happy, that is not provided against the worst, that may happen. It is bad to be reduced to such a Condition, as to be distitute of all Comfort; and yet Men are many Times brought to that Extremity, that, if it were not for God, they would not know what to do with themselves for one Hour, or to entertain their Thoughts with any comfortable Considerations under their present Anguish and Sufferings. All Men naturally fly to God in Extremity, and the most atheistical Person in the World, when he is forsaken of all Hopes of any other Relief, is forced to aknowledge him, and would be glad to have such a Friend.

Can it then be a wise and reasonable Design, to endeavour to banish the Belief of a God out of the World? Not to say, how impious it is in Respect of God, nothing can be more malicious to Man, and more effectually undermine the only Foundation of our Happiness. For if there were no God in the World, Man would

be in a much more wretched and disconsolate Condition, than the Creatures below him. For they are only sensible of present Pain, and when it is upon them, they bear it as they can. But they are not at all apprehensive of Evils at a Distance, nor tormented with the fearfull Prospect of what may befal them hereafter, nor are they plung'd into Despair, upon the Consideration, that the Evils, they lie under, are like to continue and are incapable of a Remedy. And as they have no Apprehension of these Things, so they need no Comfort against them. But Mankind is liable to all the same Evils, and many others; which are so much the greater, because they are aggravated, and set on by the restless Workings of our Mind, and exasperated by the smart Reflexions, and Frettings of our own Thougths: And if there be no God, we are wholly without Comfort under all these, and without any other Remedy, than what Time will give. For if the Providence of God be taken away, what Security have we against those innumerable Dangers and Mischiefs, to which human Nature is continually expos'd? What Consolation under them, when we are reduced to that Condition, that no Creature can give us any Hopes of Relief? But if we believe, that there is a God, that takes Care of us, and we be carefull to please him, this can not but be a mighty Comfort to us, both under the present Sense of Affliction, and the Apprehension of evils at a Distance. For in this Case, we are secure of one of these three Things: Either that God, by his Providence, will prevent the Evils, we fear, if that be best for us: Or that he will support us under them, when they are present, and add to our Strength, as he increaseth our Burden:

Or

Or that he will make them the Occasion of a greater Good to us, by turning them either to our Advantage in this World, or the Increase of our Happiness in the next.

Now every one of these Considerations has a great deal of Comfort in it, for which, if there were no God, there could be no Ground. Nay, on the Contrary, the most real Foundation of our Unhappiness would be laid in our Reason; and we should be so much more miserable, than the Beasts, by how much we have a quicker Apprehension, and a deeper Consideration of Things.

So that if a Man had Arguments sufficient to persuade him, that there is no God; (as there is infinite Reason to the Contrary) yet the Belief of a God is so necessary to the Comfort and Happiness of our Lives, that a wise Man could not but be heartily troubled, to quit so pleasant an Error, and to part with a Delusion, which is apt to yield such unspeakable Satisfaction to the Mind of Man. Did but Man consider the true Notion of God, he would appear to be so lovely a Being, so full of Goodness and of all desirable Perfections, that even those very Persons, who are of such irregular Understandings, as not to believe, there is a God, yet could not (if they understood themselves) refrain from wishing, with all their Hearts, that there were one. For is it not really desirable to every Man, that there should be such a *Being* in the World, as takes Care of the Frame of it, that it do not run into Confusion, and, in that Disorder, ruin Mankind? That there should be such a Being, as takes particular Care of every one of us, and loves us, and delights to do us good; as understands

all our Wants, and is able, and willing to relieve us in our greateſt Straits, when nothing elſe can; to preſerve us in our greateſt Dangers; to aſſiſt us againſt our worſt Enemies, and to comfort us under our ſharpeſt Sufferings, when all other Things ſet themſelves againſt us? Is it not every Man's Intereſt, that there ſhould be ſuch a Governor of the World, as really deſigns our Happineſs, and hath omitted nothing, that is neceſſary to it; as would govern us for our Advantage, and will require nothing of us, but what is for our Good, and yet will infinitely reward us, for the doing of that, which is beſt for ourſelves? That will puniſh any Man, that ſhould go about to injure us? or to deal other Ways with us, than himſelf, in the like Caſe, would be dealt withal by us? In a word, ſuch a one, as is ready to be reconcil'd to us, when we have offended him, and is ſo far from taking little Advantages againſt us, from every Failing, that he is willing to pardon our moſt willful Miſcarriages, upon our Repentance and Amendment? And we have reaſon to believe God to be ſuch a Being, if he be at all.

Why then ſhould any Man be troubled, that there is ſuch a Being, as this, or think himſelf concern'd to ſhut him out of the World? How could ſuch a Governor, as this be wanting in the World, that is ſo great a Comfort and Security to Mankind, and *the Confidence of all the Ends of the Earth?* If God be ſuch a Being, as I deſcrib'd, wo to the World if it were without him! This would be a thouſand times greater Loſs to Mankind, and of more diſmal Conſequence, and, if it were true, ought to affect us with more Grief and Horror, than the extinguiſhing of the Sun.

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Let but all Things be well consider'd, and I am very confident, that if a wise and considerate Man were left to himself, and his own Choice, to wish the greatest good to himself, he could devise; after he had search'd Heaven and Earth, the *Sum* of all his Wishes would be this, *that there were just such a Being, as God is*; nor would he choose any other Benefactor, or Friend, or Protector for himself, or Governor for the whole World, than infinite Power, conducted and manag'd by infinite Wisdom and Goodness and Justice, which is the true *Notion* of a God.

Nay, so necessary is God to the Happiness of Mankind, that tho' there were no God, yet the *Atheist* himself, upon second Thoughts, would judge it convenient, that the Generality of Men should believe, that there is one. For when the *Atheist* had attain'd his End, and (if it were a Thing possible) had blotted the Notion of a God out of the Minds of Men, Mankind would in all Probability grow so melancholy, and so unruly a Thing, that *he himself* would think it fit, in Policy, to contribute his best Endeavours to the restoring of Men to their former Belief. Thus hath God secur'd the Belief of *himself* in the World, against all Attempts to the Contrary; not only by riveting the Notion of himself into our Natures, but likewise by making the Belief of this Being necessary to the Peace and Tranquillity of our Minds, and to the Quiet and Happiness of human Society.

So that, if we consult our Reason, we cannot but believe, that there is, if our Interest, we cannot but easily wish, that there were such a Being, as God, in the World. Every thing within us, and without us, gives Notice of Him.

His Name is written upon our Hearts, and in every Creature there are some Prints and Footsteps of him. Every Moment we feel our Dependance upon Him, and do, by daily Experience, find, that we can neither be happy without Him, nor think our selves so.

I confess, it is not a wicked Man's Interest, if he resolve to continue such, that there should be a God; but then it is not Man's Interest to be wicked. It is for the general Good of human Society, and consequently of particular Persons, to be *true* and *just*; it is for Man's Health to be *temperate*; and so I could instance in all other Virtues. But this is the Mystery of *Atheism*, Men are wedded to their Lusts, and resolv'd upon a wicked Course; and so it becomes their Interest to wish, there were no God, and to believe so, if they can. Whereas if Men were minded to live righteously, and soberly, and virtuously in the World, *to believe a God* would be no hindrance, or Prejudice to any such Design; but very much for the Advancement and Furtherance of it. Men, that are good and virtuous, do easily believe a God; so that it is vehemently to be suspected, that nothing, but the Strength of Men's Lusts, and the Power of vicious Inclinations, do sway their Minds and set a *Bias* upon their Understandings towards *Atheism*.

2. *Atheism is imprudent*, because *it is unsafe in the Issue*. The *Atheist* contends against the religious Man, that there is no God; but upon strange Inequality and Odds; for he ventures his eternal Interest; whereas the religious Man ventures only the Loss of his Lusts, (which it is much better for him to be without) or, at the utmost, of some temporal Conveniences; and

and all this while is inwardly more contented and happy, and usually more healthful, and perhaps meets with more Respect and faithfuller Friends, and lives in a more secure and flourishing Condition, and more free from the Evils and Punishments of this World, than the atheistical Person does. However, it is not much, that he ventures: And after this Life, if there be no God, is as well as he; but if there be a God, is infinitely better, even as much, as unspeakable and eternal Happiness is better, than extreme and endless Misery. So that if the Arguments for and against a God were equal, and it were an even Question, whether there were one, or not: yet the Hazard and Danger is so infinitely unequal, that in Point of Prudence and Interest every Man were obliged to incline to the affirmative; and, whatever Doubts he might have about it, to choose the safest Side of the Question, and to make that the Principle, to live by. For he, that acts wisely, and is a thoroughly prudent Man, will be provided against all Events, and will take Care to secure the main Chance, whatever happens; but the *Atheist*, in Case Things should fall out contrary to his Belief and Expectation, hath made no Provision for this Case. If contrary to his Conscience it should prove in the Issue, that there is a God, the Man is lost and undone for ever: If the *Atheist*, when he dies, should find, that his Soul remains after his Body, and has only quited it's Lodging; how will this Man be amaz'd and blank'd, when, contrary to his Expectation, he shall find himself in a new and strange Place, amidst a World of Spirits, entered upon an everlasting and unchangeable State? How sadly will the Man be disappointed, when

he finds all Things otherwise, than he had stated and determined them in this World? When he comes to appear before that God, whom he hath denied, and against whom he hath spoken as despiteful Things, as he could; who can imagine the pale and guilty Looks of this Man, and how he will shiver and tremble *for the Fear of the Lord, and for the Glory of his Majesty?* How will he be surprised with Terrors on every Side, to find himself thus unexpectedly and irrecoverably plung'd into a State of Ruin and Desperation? And thus Things may happen, for all this Man's Confidence now. For our Belief, or Disbelief of a Thing does not alter the Nature of the Thing.

We cannot fancy Things into being, or make them vanish into nothing, by the stubborn Confidence of our Imaginations. Things are as sullen, as we are, and will be what they are, whatever we think of them. And if there be a God, a Man cannot, by an obstinate Disbelief of him, make him cease to be, any more than a Man can put out the Sun by winking.

And thus I have, as briefly and clearly as I could, endeavour'd, to shew the *Ignorance* and *Folly* of *speculative Atheism*, in denying the *Existence of God.* And now it will be less needful to speak of the other *two Principles* of *Religion*, the *Immortality of the Soul*, and *future Rewards.* For no Man can have any reasonable Scruple about *these*, who believes, that there is a God. Because no Man, that owns the Existence of an *infinite Spirit*, can doubt of the Possibility of a *finite Spirit*, that is, such a Thing, as is immaterial, and does not contain any Principle of *Corruption* in it self. And there is no Man, that believes the Goodness of God,

but

but must be inclin'd to think, that he hath made some Things for as long a Duration, as they are capable of. Nor can any Man, that acknowledgeth the *holy* and *just* Providence of God, and that he loves Righteousness, and hates Iniquity, and that he is a *Magistrate* and *Governor* of the World, and consequently concerned, to countenance the Obedience, and to punish the Violation of his Laws; and that does withal consider the promiscuous Dispensations many times of God's Providence in this World; I say, no man, that acknowledges all this, can think it unreasonable, to conclude, that, after this Life, good Men shall be rewarded, and Sinners punished. I have done with the *first* Sort of ir-religious Persons, the *speculative Atheist*. I shall speak but briefly of the other.

Secondly, the *practical Atheist*, who is wicked and irreligious, notwithstanding he does, in some Sort, believe, that there is a God, and a future State, he is likewise guilty of prodigious Folly. The *Principle* of the *speculative Atheist* argues more *Ignorance*; but the *Practice* of the *other* argues greater *Folly*. Not to believe a God and an other Life, for which there is so much Evidence of Reason, is great Ignorance and Folly: but 'tis the highest Madness, when a Man does believe these Things, to live, as if he did not believe them: when a Man does not doubt, but that there is a God, and that, according as he demeans himself toward him, he will make him happy, or miserable, for ever; yet to live so, as if he were certain of the contrary, and as no Man in Reason can live, but he, that is well assured, that there is no God. It was a shrewd Saying of the old *Monk*, that two Kinds of Prisons would serve for all Offenders in the World,

World, an *Inquisition*, and a *Bedlam*: If any Man should deny the Being of a God, and the Immortality of the Soul, such a one should be put in to the first of these, the *Inquisition*, as being a desperate *Heretick*: but if any Man should profess to believe these Things, and yet allow himself in any known Wickedness, such a one should be put into Bedlam; because there cannot be a greater Folly and Madness, than for a Man, in Matters of the greatest Moment and Concernment, to act against his best Reason and Understanding, and by his Life to contradict his Belief. Such a Man does perish with his Eyes open, and knowingly undoes himself; he runs upon the greatest Dangers, which he clearly sees to be before him, and precipitates himself into those Evils, which he professed to believe to be real and intolerable; and wilfully neglects the obtaining of that unspeakable Good and Happiness, which he is perswaded is certain and attainable. Thus much for the *second* Way of Confirmation.

III. The *third* way of Confirmation shall be, by endeavouring to vindicate Religion from those common *Imputations*, which seem to charge it with *Ignorance* or *Imprudence*. And they are chiefly these three.

1. *Credulity.*
2. *Singularity:*
3. *Making a foolish Bargain.*

First, *Credulity*: Say they, the Foundation of Religion is the Belief of those Things, for which we have no sufficient Reason, and consequently of which we can have no good Assurance; as the Belief of a *God*, and of a *future State* after this

this Life; Things, which we never saw, nor did experience, nor ever spoke with any body, that did. Now it seems to argue too great a Forwardness and Easiness of Belief, to assent to any thing upon insufficient Grounds.

To this I answer,

1. That if there be such a Being as God, and such a thing, as a future State, after this Life, it cannot (as I said before) in Reason be expected, that we should have the Evidence of Sense for such Things: For he, that believes a God, believes such a Being, as hath all Perfections, among which this is one, that he is a Spirit; and consequently that he is invisible, and can not be seen. He likewise, that believes an other Life after this, professeth to believe a State, of which, in this Life, we have no Trial and Experience. Besides, if this were a good Objection, that no Man ever saw these Things, it strikes at the *Atheist*, as well as us. For no Man ever saw the World to be from Eternity; nor *Epicurus* his *Atoms*, of which notwithstanding he believes the World was made.

2. We have the best Evidence for these Things, which they are capable of, at present, supposing they were.

3. Those, who deny these *Principles*, must be much more credulous, that is, believe Things, upon incomparably less Evidence of Reason. The *Atheist* looks upon all, that are religious, as a Company of credulous Fools. But *he*, for his Part, pretends to be wiser, than to believe any thing for Company; he cannot entertain Things upon those slight Grounds, which move other Men; if you would win his Assent to any thing, you must give him a clear Demonstration for it. Now there's no Way to deal with this

Man

Man of Reason, this rigid Exacter of strict Demonstration for Things, which are not capable of it, but by shewing him, that he is an hundred Times more credulous, that he begs more Principles, takes more Things for granted, without offering to prove them, and assents to more strange Conclusions upon weaker Grounds than those, whom he so much accuseth of Credulity: And to evidence this, I shall briefly give you an Account of the *Atheist's Creed*, and present you with a Catalogue of the *fundamental Articles* of his Faith: *He believes*, that there is no God, nor possibly can be, and consequently that the Wise, as well as Unwise of all Ages have been mistaken, except himself and a few more.

He believes, that either all the World have been frighted with an Apparition of their own Fancy, or that they have most unnaturally conspired together, to cozen themselves; or that this Notion of a God is a Trick of Policy, tho' the greatest *Princes* and *Politicians* do not, at this Day, know so much, nor have done, Time out of Mind. *He believes*, either that the Heavens and the Earth, and all Things in them, had no original Cause of their being; or else, that they were made by Chance, and happened, he knows not how, to be, as they are; and that, in this last Shuffling of Matter, all things have, by great good Fortune, fallen out as happily, and as regularly, as if the greatest Wisdom had contriv'd them; but yet he is resolv'd to believe, that there was no Wisdom in the Contrivance of them. *He believes*, that *Matter*, of it self, is utterly void of all *Sense*, *Understanding* and *Liberty*; but, for all that, he is of Opinion, that the Parts of Matter may, now and then,

happen

happen to be so conveniently dispos'd, as to have all these Qualities, and most dextrously to perform all those *fine* and *free Operations*, which the ignorant attribute to Spirits.

This is the Sum of his Belief. And it is a Wonder, that there should be found any Person, pretending to Reason, or Wit, that can assent to such a Heap of Absurdities, which are so gross and palpable, that they may be felt. So that, if every Man had his Due, it will certainly fall to the *Atheist's* Share, to be the most credulous Person; that is, to believe Things upon the slightest Reasons. For he does not pretend to prove any thing of all this, only he finds himself, he knows not why, inclin'd to believe so, and to laugh at those, that do not.

II. The *second Imputation* is *Singularity*, the Affectation whereof is unbecoming a wise Man. To this Charge I answer

1. If by *Religion* be meant the *Belief* of the *Principles* of Religion, that there is a *God* and a *Providence*; that *our Souls are immortal*, and that there are *Rewards* to be expected after this Life; these are so far from being *singular* Opinions, that they are, and always have been, the *general* Opinion of Mankind, even of the most *barbarous* Nations. In so much, that the Histories of ancient Times do hardly furnish us with the Names of above five or six Persons, who denied a God. And *Lucretius* aknowledgeth, that *Epicurus* was the first, who did oppose those great *Foundations* of Religion, the *Providence* of God, and the *Immortality* of the Soul. *Primum Grajus homo*, &c, meaning *Epicurus*.

2. If by Religion be meant a living up to those Principles; that is, to act conformably to our best

best Reason and Understanding, and to live, as it does become those, who do believe a God, and a future State; this is acknowledged, even by those, who live otherwise, to be the Part of every wise Man; and the contrary to be the very *Madness of Folly*, and Height of Distraction: Nothing being more ordinary, than for Men, who live wickedly, to acknowledge, that they ought to do otherwise.

3. Though, according to the common Course and Practice of the World, it be somewhat *singular*, for Men truly and thoroughly to live up to the Principles of their *Religion*; yet *Singularity*, in this Matter, is so far from being a Reflection upon any Man's Prudence, that it is a *singular* Commendation of it. In two Cases *Singularity* is very commendable.

1. When there is a Necessity of it, in order to a Man's greatest Interest and Happiness. I think it to be a reasonable Account, for any Man to give, why he does not live, as the greatest Part of the World do, that he has no Mind to die, as they do, and do perish with them; he is not disposed to be a Fool, and to be miserable for Company; he has no Inclination to have his last End like theirs, *who know not God, and obey not the Gospel of his Son, and shall be punished with everlasting Destruction from the Presence of the Lord, and from the Glory of his Power.*

2. It is very commendable to be *singular* in any *Excellency*; and I have shewn, that *Religion* is the greatest *Excellency*: to be *singular* in any thing, that is wise, and worthy, and excellent, is not a Disparagement, but a Praise: every Man would choose to be thus *singular*.

3. The

3. The third Imputation is, that Religion is a fooliſh Bargain; becauſe they, who are religious, hazard the parting with a preſent and certain Happineſs, for that, which is future and uncertain. To this I anſwer: I let it be granted, that the Aſſurance, which we have of future Rewards, falls ſhort of the Evidence of Senſe. For I doubt not, but that Saying of our *Saviour*, *Bleſſed is he, who hath believed, and not ſeen*; and thoſe Expreſſions of the Apoſtle, *we walk by Faith and not by Sight*; and *Faith is the Evidence of Things not ſeen*, are intended by Way of Abatement and Diminution to the Evidence of Faith, and to ſignifie, that the Report and Teſtimony of others is not ſo great Evidence, as that of our own Senſes: And tho we have ſufficient Aſſurance of an other State, yet no Man can think, we have ſo great Evidence, as if we our ſelves had been in the other World, and ſeen, how all Things are there.

2. We have ſufficient Aſſurance of theſe Things, and ſuch, as may beget in us a well grounded Confidence, and free us from all Doubts of the contrary, and perſuade a reaſonable Man, to venture his greateſt Intereſts in this World upon the Security, that he hath of an other: For, 1. We have as much Aſſurance of theſe Things, as Things future, and at a Diſtance, are capable of, and he is a very unreaſonable Man, that would deſire more: Future and inviſible Things are not capable of the Evidence of Senſe; but we have the greateſt rational Evidence for them, and in this every reaſonable Man ought to reſt ſatisfied.

2. We have as much, as is abundantly ſufficient, to juſtify every Man's Diſcretion, who, for the great and eternal Things of an other

World, hazards, or parts with the poor and transitory Things of this Life. And for the clearing of this, it will be worth our considering, that the greatest Affairs of this World, and the most important Concernments of this Life, are all conducted only by moral Demonstrations. Men every Day venture their Lives and Estates only upon moral Assurance. For Instance: Men, who never were at the *East*, or *West-Indies*, or in *Turky*, or *Spain*, yet do venture their whole Estate in Traffick thither, tho' they have no *mathematical Demonstration*, but only *moral Assurance*, that there are such Places. Nay, which is more, Men every Day eat and drink, tho' I think, no Man can demonstrate out of *Euclid*, or *Apollonius*, that his *Baker*, or *Brewer*, or *Cook* have not conveyed Poison into his Meat, or Drink. And that Man, that would be so wise, and cautious, as not to eat, or drink, till he could demonstrate this to himself, I know no other Remedy for him, but that, in great Gravity and Wisdom, he must die for Fear of Death. And for any Man to urge, that, tho Men, in temporal Affairs, proceed upon moral Assurance, yet there is greater Assurance required, to make Men seek Heaven, and avoid Hell, seems to me to be highly unreasonable. For such an Assurance of Things, as will make Men circumspect and careful to avoid a lesser Danger, ought, in all Reason, to awaken Men much more, to the avoiding of a greater: such an Assurance, as will sharpen Mens Desires, and quicken their Endeavours for the obtaining of a lesser Good, ought, in all Reason, to animate Men more powerfully, and to inspire them with a greater Vigor and Industry in the Pursuit of that, which is infinitely greater. For why the

same

same Assurance should not operate as well in a great Danger, as in a less, in a great Good, as in a small and inconsiderable one, I can see no Reason; unless Men will say, that the Greatness of an Evil or Danger is an Encouragement to Man, to run upon it, and that the Greatness of any good and Happiness ought, in Reason, to dishearten Men from the Pursuit of it.

And now I think, I may, with Reason, intreat such, as are atheistically inclined, to consider these Things seriously and impartially; and if there be Weight in these Considerations, which I have offered to them, to sway with reasonable Men, I would beg of such, that they would not suffer themselves to be biassed by Prejudice, or Passion, or the Interest of any Lust, or wordly Advantage, to a contrary Persuasion.

First, I would intreat them seriously and diligently to consider these Things, because they are of so great Moment, and Concernment to every Man. If any thing in the World deserve our serious Study and Consideration, these Principles of Religion do. For what can import us more to be satisfied in, than whether there be a God, or not? whether our Souls shall perish with our Bodies, or be immortal, and shall continue for ever? And if so, whether, in that eternal State, which remains for Men after this Life, they shall be happy, or miserable for ever, according as they have demeaned themselves in this World? If these Things be so, they are of infinite Consequence to us; and therefore it highly concerns us, to inquire diligently about them, and to satisfy our Minds concerning them, one Way, or other. For these are not Matters to be slightly and superficially thought upon, much less (as the Way of

atheistical Men is) to be play'd and jested withal. There is no greater Argument of a light and inconsiderate Person, than profanely to scoff at Religion. It is a Sign, that Man hath no Regard to himself, and that he is not touch'd with a Sense of his own Interest, who loves to be jesting with edg'd Tools, and to play with Life and Death. This is the very Mad-man, that *Salomon* speaks of, *who casteth Firebrands, Arrows and Death, and saith, Am I not in Sport?* To examine severely, and debate seriously the Principles of Religion, is a Thing worthy of a wise Man; but if any Man shall turn Religion into Rallery, and think to confute it by two or three bold Jests, this Man doth not render Religion, but himself ridiculous, in the Opinion of all considerate Men; because he sports with his own Life. If the Principles of Religion were doubtful and uncertain; yet they concern us so nearly, that we ought to be serious in the Examination of them. And if they were never so clear and evident, yet they may be made ridiculous by vain and frothy Men; as the gravest and wisest Person in the World may be abused, by being put into a *Fool's Coat*, and the most noble and excellent Poem may be debased and made vile by being turn'd into *burlesque*. But of this I shall have Occasion to speak more largely in my next Discourse.

So that it concerns every Man, that would not trifle away his Soul, and fool himself in to irrecoverable Misery, with the greatest Seriousness to inquire into these Matters, whether they be so, or not, and patiently to consider the Arguments, which are brought for them. For many have miscarried about these Things,

not

not because there is not Reason and Evidence enough for them, but because they have not had Patience enough, to consider them.

Secondly, consider these Things impartially. All wicked Men are of a Party against Religion. Some Lust, or Interest engageth them against it. Hence it comes to pass, that they are apt to slight the strongest Arguments, that can be brought for it, and to cry up every weak one against it. Men do generally, and without Difficulty, assent to *Mathematical Truths*, because it is no body's Interest to deny them; but Men are slow to believe *moral* and *divine Truths*; because, by their Lusts and Interest, they are prejudic'd against them. And therefore you may observe, that the more virtuously any Man lives, and the less he is inslav'd to any Lust, the more ready he is to entertain the Principles of Religion. Therefore when you are examining these Matters, do not take into Consideration any sensual, or wordly Interest, but deal clearly and impartially with your selves: Let not temporal and little Advantages sway you against a greater and more durable Interest.

Think thus with your selves, that you have not the making of Things true or false; but that the Truth and Existence of Things is already fix'd and settled, and that the Principles of Religion are already either determinately true, or false, before you think of them; either there is a God, or there is not; either your Souls are immortal, or they are not; one of these is certain and necessary, and is not now to be altered: the Truth of Things will not comply with our Conceits, and bend it self to our Interests. Therefore do not think, what you would have to be; but consider impartially what is,

and (if it be) will be, whether you will or no. Do not reason thus: I would fain be wicked, and therefore it is my Interest, there should be no God, nor no Life after this; and therefore I will endeavour to prove, that there is no such Thing, and will shew all the Favour, I can, to that *Side* of the *Question*: I will bend my Understanding and Wit, to strengthen the Negative, and will stand to make it as true, as I can. This is fond, because it is the Way, to cheat thy self; and that we may do as often, as we please; but the Nature of Things will not be imposed upon. If then thou be as wise, as thou oughtest to be, thou wilt reason thus with thy self: My highest Interest is not to be deceived about these Matters, therefore, setting aside all other Considerations, I will endeavour to know the Truth, and yield to that.

And now it is Time to draw towards a Conclusion of this long Discourse. And that, which I have all this while been endeavouring to convince Men of, and to persuade them to, is no other, but what God himself doth particularly recommend to us, as proper for *human* Consideration; unto Man he said, *behold the Fear of the Lord that is Wisdom, and to depart from Evil, is Understanding*. Whoever pretends to Reason, and calls himself a *Man*, is obliged to acknowledge God, and to demean himself religiously towards him. For God is to the Understanding of Man, as the Light of the Sun is to our Eyes, the first, and the plainest, and the most glorious Object of it. He fills Heaven and Earth, and every Thing in them does represent him to us. Which Way soever we turn our selves, we are encountred with clear Evidences and sensible Demonstrations of a Deity: For (as

(as the *Apostle* reasons) *The invisible Things of him from the Creation of the World are clearly seen, being understood by the Things, that are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead;* εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους, *so that they are without Excuse*; that is, those Men, that know God, have no Apology to make for themselves. Or if Men do know and believe, that there is such a Being as God; not to consider the proper Consequences of such a Principle; not to demean our selves towards him, as becomes our Relation to him, and Dependance upon him, and the Duty, which we naturally owe him, this is great Stupidity and Inconsiderateness.

And yet he, that considers the Lives and Actions of the greatest Part of Men, would verily think, that they understood nothing of all this. Therefore the *Scripture* represents wicked Men as without Understanding. *It is a Nation void of Counsel, neither is there any Understanding in them:* And else where, *have all the Workers of Iniquity no Knowledge?* Not that they are distitute of the natural Faculty of understanding; but they do not use it, as they ought; they are not blind, but they wink, they detain the Truth of God in Unrighteousness, and tho' they know God, yet they do not glorify him as God, nor suffer the Apprehensions of him to have a due Influence upon their Hearts and Lives.

Men generally stand very much upon the Credit and Reputation of their Understandings, and of all Things in the World hate to be accounted Fools, because it is so great a Reproach. The best Way to avoid this Imputation, and to bring off the Credit of our Understandings, is to be truly religious, *to fear the Lord, and to depart from*

Evil. For certainly there is no such imprudent Person as he, that neglects God and his Soul, and is careless and slothful about his everlasting Concernments; because this Man acts contrary to his truest Reason and best Interest; he neglects his own Safety, and is active to procure his own Ruin; he flies from Happiness, and runs away from it, as fast as he can; but pursues Misery, and makes Haste to be undone. Hence it is, that *Salomon* does all along in the *Proverbs* give the Title of *Fool* to a wicked Man, as if it were his proper Name, and the fittest Character of him, because he is so eminently such. There is no Fool to the Sinner, who every Moment ventures his Soul, and lays his everlasting Interest at the Stake. Every Time a Man provokes God, he does the greatest Mischief to himself, that can be imagined. A Mad-man, that cuts himself, and tears his own Flesh, and dashes his Head against the Stones, does not act so unreasonably as he, because he is not so sensible of what he does. Wickedness is a Kind of voluntary Phrensy and a chosen Distraction, and every Sinner does wilder and more extravagant Things, than any Man can do, that is craz'd and out of his Wits, only with this sad Difference, that he knows better what he does. For to them, who believe an other Life after this, an eternal State of Happiness, or Misery in an other World, (which is but a reasonable *postulatum*, or Demand among *Christians*) there is nothing in *Mathematicks* more demonstrable, than the Folly of wicked Men; for it is not a clearer and more evident Principle, *that the Whole is greater than a Part*, than that Eternity, and the Concernments of it are to be preferred before Time.

I Will

I Will therefore put the Matter into a temporal Case, that wicked Men, who understand any thing of the Rules and Principles of worldly Wisdom, may see the Imprudence of an irreligious and sinful Course, and be convinced, *that this their Way is their Folly, even themselves being Judges.*

Is that Man wise, as to his Body and his Health, who only cloathes his Hands, but leaves his whole Body naked? who provides only against the Tooth-ach, and neglects whole Troops of mortal Diseases, that are ready to rush in upon him? Just thus does he, who takes Care only for this vile Body, but neglects his precious and immortal Soul; who is very solicitous to prevent small and temporal Inconveniences, but takes no Care *to escape the Damnation of Hell.*

Is he a prudent Man, as to his temporal Estate, that lays Designs only for a Day, without any Prospect to, or Provision for, the remaining Part of his Life? even so does he, that provides for the short Time of this Life, but takes no Care for all Eternity; which is to be wise for a Moment, but a Fool for ever, and to act as untowardly, and as crosly to the Reason of Things, as can be imagined, to regard Time, as if it were Eternity, and to neglect Eternity, as if it were but a short Time. Do we count him a wise Man, who is wise in any thing, but in his own proper Profession and Employment; wise for every body, but himself; who is ingenious to contrive his own Misery, and to do himself a Mischief; but is dull and stupid, as to the designing of any real Benefit and Advantage to himself? Such a one is he, who is ingenious in his Calling, but a bad Christian: for Christianity is more our

proper Calling and Profession, than the very Trades, we live upon: and such is every Sinner, who is *wise to do Evil, but to do good hath no Understanding.*

Is it Wisdom in any Man, to neglect and disoblige him, who is his best Friend, and can be his sorest Enemy? or with a weak Troop to go out to meet him, that comes against him with thousands of thousands? to fly a small Danger, and run upon a greater? Thus does every wicked Man, that neglects and Contemns God, *who can save, or destroy him; who strives with his Maker*, and *provoketh the Lord to Jealousy*, and with the small and inconsiderable Forces of a Man takes the Field against *the mighty God, the Lord of Hosts*; who *fears them, that can kill the Body, but after that, have no more that they can do; but fears not him, who, after he hath killed, can destroy both Body and Soul in Hell:* and thus does he, who, for Fear of any thing in this World, ventures to displease God: for in so doing he runs away from Men, and *falls into the Hands of the living God*; he flies from a temporal Danger, and leaps into Hell. Is not he an imprudent Man, who, in Matters of the greatest Moment and Cocernment, neglects Oportunities, never to be retriev'd; who, standing upon the Shore, and seeing the Tide making haste towards him a pace, and that he hath but a few Minutes, to save himself, yet will lay himself to sleep there, till the cruel Sea rush in upon him, and overwhelm him? And is he any better, who trifles away this Day of God's Grace and Patience, and foolishly adjourns the necessary Work of Repentance, and the weighty Business of Religion, to a dying Hour?

And, to put an End to these Questions: Is he wise, who hopes to attain the End without the

the Means, nay, by Means, that are quite contrary to it? Such is every wicked Man, who hopes to be blessed hereafter, without being holy here, and to be happy, that is, to find a Pleasure in the Enjoyment of God, and in the Company of holy Spirits, by rendering himself as unsuitable, and unlike to them, as he can.

Wouldst thou then be truly wise? Be wise for thy self, wise for thy Soul, wise for Eternity. Resolve upon a religious Course of Life. *Fear God and depart from Evil.* Look beyond Things present and sensible unto Things, which are not seen and are eternal; labour to secure the great Interests of another World, and refer all the Actions of this short and dying Life to that State, which will shortly begin, but never have an End: and this will approve it self, to be Wisdom at the last, whatever the World judge of it now. For not that, which is approved of Men now; but what shall finally be approved by God, is true Wisdom; that which is esteemed so by him, who is the Fountain and Original of all Wisdom, the first Rule and Measure, the best and most competent Judge of it.

I deny not, but those, that are wicked and neglect Religion, may think themselves wise, and may enjoy this their Delusion for a while: But there is a Time a coming, when the most profane and atheistical, who now account it a Piece of Gallantry, and an Argument of a great Spirit, and of a more than common Wit and Understanding, to slight God, and to baffle Religion, and to level all the Discourses of another World with the poetical Descriptions of the Fairy-Land; I say, there is a Day a coming, when all these witty Fools shall be unhappily undeceived, and, not being able to enjoy their Delu-

Deluſion any longer, ſhall call themſelves Fools for ever.

But why ſhould I uſe ſo much Importunity to perſuade Men to that, which is ſo excellent ſo uſeful, and ſo neceſſary? The Thing it ſelf hath Allurements in it beyond all Arguments, For if Religion be the beſt knowledge and Wiſdom, I can not add any thing beyond this to your Underſtandings, to raiſe your Eſteem of it: I can preſent nothing beyond this to your Affections, to excite your Love and Deſire. All that can be done, is to ſet the Thing before Men, and to offer it to their Choice; and if Men's natural Deſire of Wiſdom and Knowledge and Happineſs will not perſuade them to be religious, 'tis in vain to uſe Arguments; if the Sight of theſe Beauties will not charm Men's Affections, 'tis to no Purpoſe to go about to compel a Liking, and to urge and puſh forward a Match, to the making whereof Conſent is neceſſary. Religion is Matter of our freeſt Choice, and if Men will obſtinately and wilfully ſet themſelves againſt it, there is no Remedy. *Pertinaciae nullum remedium poſuit Deus, God has provided no Remedy for the Obſtinacy of Men*; but if they will chuſe to be Fools and to be miſerable, he will leave them to inherit their own Choice, and to enjoy the Portion of Sinners.

II. SERMON.

THE EXCELLENCY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

PHIL. III. 8.

Yea doubtless, and I count all Things but Loss for the Excellency of the Knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord.

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SERMON

The Excellency of the Christian Religion.

PHIL. III. 8.

Yea doubtless, and I count all Things but Loss for the Excellency of the Knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord.

In the Beginning of this Chapter the *Apostle* makes a Comparison between the *Jewish* and the Christian Religion, and shews the Christian to be, in Truth and Substance, what the *Jewish* was only in Type and Shadow, ver. 3. *We are the Circumcision, which worship God in the Spirit.* And then he enumerates the several Privileges, he was Partaker of, by Virtue of his being born in the *Jewish* Church, ver. 4, 5. 6. *Though I might also have Confidence in the Flesh, if any other Man thinketh, that he hath whereof he might*

might truſt in the Fleſh, I more; circumciſed the eighth Day, of the Stock of Iſrael, &c. And yet he tells us, he was contented to forego all theſe Advantages for Chriſt and the Chriſtian Religion, *But what Things gain to me, thoſe I accounted Loſs for Chriſt.* And not only theſe, but if there were any Thing elſe, that Men value in this World, he was willing to hazard that alſo upon the ſame Account, *Yea doubtleſs, and I count all Things but Loſs for the Excellency of the Knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus my Lord.*

In which Words the Apoſtle declares the high Eſteem, he had for the Chriſtian Religion: which he calls *the Knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus his Lord*; the Excellency whereof appear'd ſo great to him, that he valued nothing in Compariſon of the Advantages, he had by the Knowledge of it.

My Deſign at this Time from this Text is to repreſent the Excellency of this Knowledge of the Chriſtian Religion above that of any other Religion, or Inſtitution in the World. And here I ſhall not conſider the external Evidence, which we have of the Truth of Chriſtianity, and of the Divinity of it's Doctrine, in which Reſpect it hath incomparably the Advantage of any other Religion: but only the internal Excellency of the Doctrine it ſelf, abſtracting from the Divine Authority of it. And that in theſe four Reſpects.

Firſt. As it does more clearly reveal to us the Nature of God, which is the great Foundation of all Religion.

Secondly. As it gives us a more certain and perfect Law, for the Government of our Lives.

Thirdly.

Thirdly. As it propounds to us more powerful Arguments, to persuade Men to the Obedience of this Law.

Fourthly. As it furnishes us with better Motives and Considerations to Patience and Contentedness under the Evils and Afflictions of this Life. Now these are the greatest Advantages, that any Religion can have; to give Men right Apprehensions of God, a perfect Rule of good Life, and efficacious Arguments to persuade Men to be good, and patiently to bear the Evils and Sufferings of this Life. And these shall be the Heads of my following Discourse.

I. The Christian Religion doth more clearly reveal to us the Nature of God, than any Religion ever did. And to have right Apprehensions of God is the great Foundation of all Religion. For according as Mens Notions of God are, such will their Religion be. If Men have gross and false Conceptions of God, their Religion will be absurd and superstitious. If Men fancy God to be an ill natur'd Being, arm'd with infinite Power, one that delights in the Misery and Ruin of his Creatures, and is ready to take all Advantages against them; they may fear him, but they will hate him, and they will be apt to be such towards one another, as they fancy God to be towards them: for all Religion doth naturally incline Men to imitate him, whom they worship.

Now the Christian Religion gives us a more perfect and a more lovely Character of God, than any Religion ever did. It represents him to us as a pure Spirit (which the Heathens did not generally believe) and that he is to be worshipped in such a Manner, as is most suitable to his spiritual Nature, (which not only the Heathens, but

even the *Jews* themselves were extremely mistaken about) *God is a Spirit* (says our Saviour) *and they that worship him, must worship him in Spirit and in Truth.* It is true indeed, God himself did command Sacrifices to the *Jews*, and all those external and troublesome Observances, of which their Religion did consist: But then it is to be consider'd, that he did not institute this Way of Worship, because it was most suitable to his own Nature, but because of the Carnality of their Hearts, and the Proneness of that People to Idolatry. God did not prescribe these Things, because they were best, but because the Temper of that People would then admit of nothing better. And this the Scripture gives us several Intimations of: *Thou desirest not Sacrifice, thou delightest not in Burnt-offerings*, saith *David:* And else where more expressly to this Purpose; *I spake not unto your Fathers* (says God by the Prophet *Jeremiah*) *nor commanded them in the Day, that I brought them forth out of the Land of Egypt, concerning Burnt-offerings and Sacrifices; but this thing commanded I them, saying; obey my Voice.* A sufficient Intimation, that God did not primarily intend to appoint this Way of Worship, and to impose it upon them as that, which was most proper and agreeable to him; but that he condescended to it, as most accommodate to their present State and Inclination. And in this Sense also some understand what God says to the same People, by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, that he *gave them statutes, that were not good.*

And as the Christian Religion gives a more perfect; so a more amiable and lovely Character of the Divine Nature. No Religion, that ever was in the World, does so fully represent the Goodness of God and his tender Love to Man

Mankind, which is the best and most powerful Argument to the Love of God. The Heathens did generally dread God, and looked upon him as fierce and cruel and revengefull; and therefore they endeavoured to appease him by the horrid and barbarous Sacrifices of Men, and of their own Children. And all along in the *Old Testament* God is generally represented as very strict and severe. But there are no where so plain and full Declarations of his Mercy and Love to the Sons of Men, as are made in the *Gospel*. In the *Old Testament* God is usually stiled *the Lord of Hosts, the great and the terrible God:* But in the *New Testament* he is represented to us by milder Titles, *the God, and Father of our Lord Iesus Christ; the Father of Mercies, and the God of all Consolations; the God of all Patience; the God of Love and Peace*; nay he is said to be *Love* it self, and to *dwell in Love* And this Difference between the Stile of the *Old* and *New Testament* is so remarkable, that one of the greatest *Sects* in the Primitive Church (I mean that of the *Gnosticks*) did, upon this very Ground, found their *Heresy* of two Gods; the *one* evil and fierce and cruel, whom they call'd the God of the *Old Testament*; the *other* good and kind and merciful, whom they call'd the God of the *New*. So great a Difference is there between the Representations, which are made of God in the Books of the *Jewish* and the Christian Religion, as to give at least some Colour and Pretence for an Imagination of two Gods.

II. The Christian Religion hath given us a more certain and perfect Law for the Government of our Lives. It hath made our Duty more plain and certain in many Instances, than either the Philosophy of the *Heathens*, or the Precepts of

Moſes had done. It commands univerſal Love, and Kindneſs, and Good-will among Men; a Readineſs to forgive our greateſt Enemies, *to do good to them that hate us, to bleſs them, that curſe us, and to pray for them, that deſpitefully uſe us and perſecute us*; And does incultate theſe Precepts more vehemently, and forbid Malice and Hatred, and Revenge, and Contention more ſtrictly, and peremptorily, than any Religion ever did before, as will appear to any one, that does but attentively read our *Saviour's Sermon upon the Mount.*

And as Chriſtianity hath given us a more *certain*, ſo likewiſe a more *perfect* Law, for the Government of our Lives. All the Precepts of it are reaſonable and wiſe, requiring ſuch Duties of us, as are ſuitable to the Light of Nature, and do approve themſelves to the beſt Reaſon of Mankind; ſuch, as have their Foundation in the Nature of God, and are an Imitation of the divine Excellencies; ſuch, as tend to the Perfection of human Nature, and to raiſe the Minds of Men to the higheſt Pitch of Goodneſs and Virtue. The Laws of our Religion are ſuch, as are generally uſefull and beneficial to the World, as do tend to the outward Peace and the Health, to the inward Comforts and Contentment, and to the univerſal Happineſs of Mankind. They command nothing, that is unneceſſary and burthenſom, as were the numerous Rites and Ceremonies of the *Jewiſh* Religion; but what is reaſonable, and uſeful, and ſubſtantial; and they omit nothing, that may tend to the Glory of God, or the Welfare of Men, nor do they reſtrain us in any thing, but what is contrary either to the regular Inclinations of Nature, or to our Reaſon, and true Intereſt. They forbid us noth-

nothing, but what is base and unworthy, to serve our Humours and Passions, to reproach our Understandings, and to make our selves Fools and Beasts; in a Word, nothing, but what tends either to our private Harm and Prejudice, or to publick Disorder and Confusion.

And that this is the Tenor of the Laws of the Gospel will appear to any one from our *Saviour's* Sermons and Discourse, particularly that upon the Mount; wherein he charges his Disciples and Followers to be humble, and meek, and righteous, and merciful, and pure, and peaceable, and patient under Sufferings and Persecutions, and good and kind to all, even to those, that are evil and injurious to us, and to endeavour, to excell in all Goodness and Virtue. This will appear likewise from the Writings of the holy Apostles: I will instance but some few Passages in them. St. *Paul* represents to us the Design of the Christian Doctrine in a very few Words, but of admirable Sense and Weight. *The Grace of God, that bringeth Salvation, hath appeared to all Men, teaching us, that, denying Ungodliness and wordly Lusts, we should live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present World.* The same Apostle makes this the main and fundamental Condition of the Covenant of the Gospel on our Part, *Let every one, that names the Name of Christ, depart from Iniquity.* St. *James* describes the Christian Doctrine (which he calls *the Wisdom, that is from above*) by these Characters: *It is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be intreated, full of Mercy and good Fruits, without Hypocrisy.* St. *Peter* calls *the Gospel the Knowledge of him, that hath called us to Glory and Virtue; whereby (saith he) are given unto us exceeding great*

and precious Promises, that by these you might be partaker of a Divine Nature, having escaped the Corruption, that is in the World through Lust; and upon this Consideration he exhorts them, *to give all Diligence to add to their Faith* the several Virtues of a good Life, without which, he tells them, *they are barren and unfruitful in the Knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.* I will conclude with that full and comprehensive Passage of St. *Paul* to the *Philippians: whatsoever Things are true, whatsoever Things are honest,* (ὅσα σεμνὰ, whatsoever Things are of venerable esteem) *whatsoever Things are just, whatsoever Things are pure* (or chaste), *whatsoever Things are lovely, whatsoever Things are of good Report, if there be any Virtue, if there by any Praise, think on these Things.*

But the Perfection, the Reasonableness of the Laws of Christianity will most plainly appear by taking a brief Survey of them. And they may all be refer'd to these two general Heads: They are either such, as tend to the Perfection of human Nature, and to make Man singly and personally good; or such, as tend to the Peace and Happiness of human Society.

First, Such, as tend to the Perfection of humane Nature and to make Men good singly and personally considered. And the Precepts of this Kind may be distributed likewise into two Sorts, such, as injoin Piety towards God; or such, as require the good Order and Government of ourselves in Respect of the Enjoyments and Pleasures of this Life.

1. Such, as injoin Piety towards God. All the Duties of the christian Religion, with Respect to God, are no other, but what natural Light promts Men to, excepting the two Sacraments (which are

are of great Use and Significancy in the Christian Religion) and praying to God in the Name, and by the Mediation of Jesus-Christ. For the Sum of natural Religion, as is referd more immediately to God, is this. That we should inwardly reverence and love God, and that we should express our inward Reverence and Love to him, by external Worship and Adoration, and by our Readiness to receive and obey all the Revelations of his Will; and that we should testify our Dependance upon him, and our Confidence of his Goodness, by constant Prayers and Supplications to him, for Mercy and Help, for our selves and others; and that we should acknowledge our Obligations to him, for the many Favours and Benefits, which every Day and every Minute we receive from him, by continual Praises and Thanks-givings; and that, on the contrary, we should not entertain any unworthy Thoughts of God, nor give that Honour and Reverence, which is due to him, to any other; that we should not worship him in any Manner, that is either unsuitable to the Excellency and Perfection of his Nature, or contrary to his reveal'd Will; that we should carefully avoid the profane and irreverent Use of his Name, by Curfing or customary Swearing, and take heed of the Neglect, or Contempt of his Worship, or any thing, belonging to it. This is the Sum of the first Part of natural Religion, and these are the general Heads of those Duties, which every Man's Reason tells him, he owes to God: And these are the very Things, which the Christian Religion does expresly require of us, as might be evidenc'd from particular Texts in the *New Testament*. So that there is nothing in this Part

of Christianity, but what agrees well with the Reason of Mankind.

2. Such Precepts, as require the good Order and Government of our selves, in Respect of the Pleasures, and Enjoyments of this Life. Christian Religion commands whatsoever Things are pure and chaste, all Manner of Sobriety, and Temperance, and Moderation in Reference to our Appetites and Passions; and forbids whatever is unnatural, and unreasonable, and unhealthful in the Use of Pleasures, and of any of God's Creatures. Hither belong all those Texts, which require of us, that we should *not walk after the Flesh, but after the Spirit*; that we should *cleanse our selves from all Filthiness of Flesh and Spirit; that we should be holy in all Manner of Conversation.* St. *John* distributes the Lusts and irregular Appetites of Men in to three Kinds, Voluptuousness, Covetousness and Ambition, answerable to the three Sorts of tempting Objects, that are in the World, Pleasures, Riches, and Honour. *All that is in the World, the Lust of the Eyes, and the Pride of Life*, &c. And Christianity doth strictly forbid all these: *take heed and beware of Covetousness* (says our Saviour, and he adds this excellent Reason) *for a Man's Life consisteth not in the Abundance of Things, which he possesseth.* It forbids Pride and Ambition, and vain Glory, and commands Humility, and Modesty, and Condescension; *Learn of me* (says our Saviour) *for I am meek and lowly in Spirit: Mind not high Things, but condescend to them, that are of low Degree; Let nothing be done through vain-Glory, but in Lowliness of Mind, let each esteem others better, than themselves.* And, in Reference to sensual Pleasures, it forbids all

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Irregularity and Excess, and strictly injoins Purity and Temperance; cautioning us *to take heed, lest we be overcharged with Surfeiting and Drunkenness*; charging us *to walk decently, as in the Day, not in Rioting and Drunkenness, not in Chambering and Wantonness*; *to abstain from fleshly Lusts, which war against the Soul.* Now all these Precepts do not only tend to beget in us such Virtues, and Dispositions, as are reasonable and suitable to our Nature, and every Way for our temporal Convenience and Advantage; but such, as do likewise exceedingly dispose us to Piety and Religion, by purifying our Souls from the Dross and Filth of sensual Delights. For Covetousness debaseth a Man's Spirit, and sinks it into the Earth: Intemperance and Lust cloud a Man's Understanding, and indispose it for the Contemplation of Things spiritual and divine. Thus you see, how the Precepts of Christianity do tend to the Perfection of human Nature, considering Men singly and personnally.

Secondly, The other Sort of Precepts are such, as tend to the Peace and Happiness of human Society. And the Reason of Mankind can devise nothing more proper to this End, than the Laws of Christianity are. For they command all those Virtues, which are apt to sweeten the Spirits, and allay the Passions and Animosities of Men one towards an other. They require us *to love our Neighbour* (that is, every Man in the World, even our greatest Enemies) *as our selves.* And for this End among others was the *Sacrament* of the *Lord's Supper*, the Feast of Love, instituted; that, by commemorating the Love of our dying Saviour, who laid down his Life for his Enemies, we might be

put in Mind, how we ought to love one another.

And by this Law of loving all Men, even our Enemies, the Christian Religion discovers it self not only to be the most innocent and harmless, but the most generous and best natur'd Institution, that ever was in the World. For, in Pursuance of this general Precept, it commands us, *to do good to all Men, if it be possible, and, as much as in us lies, to live peaceably with all Men*; to *be kind one to another*, ready to gratify and oblige Men; to be *tender hearted*, and compassionate towards those, that are in Want or Misery, and ready to supply and relieve them; to sympathize with one another in our Joys and Sorrows, *to mourn with those, that mourn, and to rejoice with them, that rejoice; to bear one another's Burdens; and to forbear one another in Love*; to be easily reconcil'd to them, that have offended us, and to be ready *to forgive from our Hearts* the greatest Injuries, that can be done to us; and that without Bounds and Limits *even to seventy times seven*, as our Saviour expresseth it.

The Laws of Christianity do likewise secure both the private Interests of Men, and the publick Peace, by confirming and enforcing all the Dictates of Nature, concerning Justice and Equity, and our doing to others, as we would have them do to us; and by commanding Obedience to human Laws, which decide Mens Rights, and Submission to Government, under Pain of Damnation: and by forbidding whatever is contrary to these, Violence and Oppression, defrauding and over-reaching one another, Perfidiousness and Treachery, Breach of Trusts, Oaths, or Promises; Undutifulness to Superiors

periors, Sedition and Rebellion against Magistracy and Authority: And if there be any thing else, that is apt to disturb the Peace of the World, and to alienate the Affections of Men from one another, as Sourness of Disposition, and Rudeness of Behaviour, Censoriousness and sinister Interpretation of Things, all cross and distasteful Humours, and whatever else may render the Conversation of Men grievous and uneasy to one another: All these are either expressly, or by clear Consequence and Deduction, forbidden in the New Testament.

And now what could any Religion do more towards the reforming of the Dispositions and Manners of Men? What Laws can be devised more proper and effectual, to advance the Nature of Man to it's highest Perfection, to procure the Tranquillity of Men's Minds, and the Peace and Happiness of the World, than these Precepts of Christianity are? Several of which (as those of *loving our Enemies*, of *not revenging Injuries*, of *rendering good for evil*, &c.) tho' they have been esteem'd reasonable by some of the wisest among the Heathen, yet, by Reason of the Degeneracy, of the Obscurity and Uncertainty of human Reason, they never obtain'd to have the Estimation and Force of natural Laws. So that we owe to Christianity the Discovery of the most certain and perfect Rule of Life, that ever the World was acquainted withal.

III. Christian Religion propounds the most powerful Arguments, to persuade Men to the Obedience of the Laws. The Gospel offers such Considerations to us, as are fit to work very forcibly upon two of the most swaying and governing Passions in the Mind of Men, our Hopes and our Fears. To encourage our Hopes, it

it gives us the higheſt Aſſurance of the greateſt and moſt laſting Happineſs, in Caſe of Obedience; and to awaken our Fear, it threatens Sinners with the moſt dreadful and durable Torments, in Caſe of Diſobedience.

To them, who, by patient Continuance in well doing, ſeek for Glory and Honour and Immortality, it promiſeth *eternal Life: But unto them, that obey not the Truth, but obey Unrighteouſneſs*, it threatens *Indignation and Wrath, Tribulation and Anguiſh.* And this is that, which makes the doctrine of the Goſpel ſo powerful an Inſtrument for the reforming of the World, that it propoſes to Men ſuch glorious Rewards, and ſuch terrible Puniſhments, as no Religion ever did; and to make the Conſideration of them more effectual, it gives us far greater Aſſurance of the Reality, and Certainty of theſe Things, than ever the World had before. This account the Apoſtle gives us of the Succeſs and Efficacy of the Goſpel upon the Minds of Men, and for this Reaſon he calls it *the Power of God unto Salvation*, becauſe therein *the Wrath of God is revealed from Heaven againſt all Ungodlineſs and Unrighteouſneſs of Men.* Before the Revelation of the Goſpel the Wickedneſs and Impenitency of the heathen World was a much more excuſable Thing; becauſe they were in a great Meaſure ignorant of the Rewards of an other Life, and had generally but very uncertain and obſcure Apprehenſions of thoſe Things, which urge Men moſt powerfully to forſake their Sins, and are the moſt prevalent Arguments to a good Life. So St. *Paul* tells *the Athenians*, the moſt knowing among the *Heathens: The Times of this Ignorance God winked at, but now commandeth all Men every where*

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to repent; because he hath appointed a Day, in which he will judge the World in Righteousness by that Man, whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given Assurance unto all Men, in that he hath raised him from the dead. The Resurrection of *Jesus Christ* from the dead hath given the World that full Assurance of an other Life after this, and of a future Judgment, which it never had before; for *He*, whom God raised from the dead did declare and testify, that *it was he, who was ordained of God, to be the Judge of the quick and dead.* And the firm Belief of a future Judgment, which shall *render to every Man according to his Deeds*, if it be well consider'd, is to a reasonable Nature the most forcible Motive of all others to a good Life; because it is taken from the Consideration of the greatest and most lasting Happiness and Misery, that human Nature is capable of. So that the Laws of Christianity have the firmest Sanction of any Laws in the World, to secure the Obedience and Observance of them. For what can restrain Men from Sin, if the Terrors of the Lord and the evident Danger of eternal Destruction will not? What Encouragement can be given to Goodness beyond the Hopes of Heaven, and Assurance of an endless Felicity?

IV. The Christian Religion furnisheth us with the best Motives and Considerations to Patience and Contentedness under the Evils and Afflictions of this Life. This was one great Design of Philosophy, to support Men under the Evils and Calamities, which this Life is incident to, and to fortify their Spirits against Sufferings. And to this End the wisest among the Heathens rack'd their Wits, and cast about every way; they advanced all Sorts of Principles

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and managed every little Argument and Consideration to the utmost Advantage. And yet after all these Attempts they have not been able to give any considerable Comfort and Ease to the Mind of Man under any of the great Evils and Pressures of this Life. *The Bed is shorter, than that man can stretch himself upon it, and the Covering narrower, than that a Man can wrap himself in it.* All the wise Sayings and Advices, which Philosophers could muster up to this Purpose, have proved ineffectual to the common People, and the Generality of Mankind, and have help'd only to support some few stout and obstinate Minds, which, without the Assistance of Philosophy, would have held up pretty well of themselves.

Some of the Philosophers have run so far back for Arguments of Comfort against Pain, as to call every thing into Question, and to *doubt*, whether there were any such Things, as Sense, or Pain. And yet, for all that, when any great Evil has been upon them, they would *certainly* sigh and groan as pitifully, and cry out as loud, as other Men.

Others have sought to ease themselves of all the Evil of Affliction, by disputing subtilly against it, and pertinaciously maintaining, that Afflictions are no real Evils, but only in Opinion and Imagination, and therefore a wise Man ought not to be troubled at them. But he must be a very wise Man, that can forbear being troubled at Things, that are very troublesome. And yet thus *Possidonius* (as *Tully* tells us) distinguish'd: he could not deny Pain to be *very troublesome*, but, for all that, he was resolv'd *never to acknowledge it to be an Evil.* But sure it is a very slender Comfort, that relies upon this

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nice Distinction between Things being *troublesome*, and being *evils*, when all the Evil of Affliction lies in the Trouble, it creates to us. But when the best, that can be, is made of this Argument, it is good for nothing, but to be thrown away, as a stupid Paradox, and against the common Sense of Mankind.

Others have endeavoured to delude their Troubles, by a graver Way of reasoning, that these Things are fatal and necessary, and therefore no body ought to be troubled at them, it being in vain to be troubled at that, which we cannot help. And yet perhaps it might as reasonably be said on the other Side, that this very Consideration, *that a thing cannot be help'd*, is one of the justest Causes of Trouble to a wise Man. For it were some Kind of Comfort, if these Evils were to be avoided, because then we might be careful to prevent them an other Time: but if they be necessary, then my Trouble is as fatal, as the Calamity, that occasions it; and though I know it in vain to be troubled at that, which I cannot help; yet I cannot choose but be afflicted. It was a smart Reply, that *Augustus* made to one, that ministred this Comfort to him of the Fatality of Things, *Hoc ipsum est* (says he) *quod me male habet:* this was so far from giving any Ease to his Mind, that *this was the very Thing, that troubled him.*

Others have try'd to divert and entertain the Troubles of other Men by pretty and plausible *Sayings*, such as this, *that, if evils are strong, they are but seldom; if sharp, but short*, and a hundred such like. Now I am apt to imagine, that it is but a very small Comfort, that a plain and ordinary Man, lying under a sharp fit of the Stone for a Week together, receives from this fine

fine Sentence. For what Pleasure soever Men, that are at Ease and Leisure, may take in being the Authors of witty Sayings; I doubt it is but poor Consolation, that a Man, under great and stinging Afflictions, finds from them.

The best moral Argument to Patience in my Opinion, is the Advantage of Patience it self. To bear Evils as quietly, as we can, is the Way to make them lighter and easier. But to toss and fling, and to be restless, is good for nothing, but to fret and enrage our Pain, to gall our Sores, and to make the Burden, that is upon us, sit more uneasy. But this is properly no Consideration of Comfort, but an Art of managing our selves under Afflictions, so as not to make them more grievous, than indeed they are.

But now the Arguments, which Christianity propounds to us, are such, as are a just and reasonable Encouragement to Men, to bear Sufferings patiently. Our Religion sets before us not the Example of a stupid *Stoick*, who had, by obstinate Principles, harden'd himself against all Sense of Pain, beyond the common Measures of Humanity: but an Example, that lies level to all Mankind, of a Man, like our selves, that had a tender Sense of the least Suffering, and yet patiently endur'd the greatest; of *Jesus the Author and Finisher of our Faith, who, for the Joy, that was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the Shame, and is set down at the right Hand of the Throne of God.*

God thought it expedient, that the first Christians should, by great Hardships and Persecutions, be train'd up for Glory, and, to animate and encourage them hereto, the *Captain of our Salvation was crown'd by Sufferings.* Much more

more should the Consideration of this Pattern arm us with Patience against the common and ordinary Calamities of this Life, especially if we consider his Example with this Advantage, that, tho' his Sufferings were wholly undeserv'd, and not for himself, but for us, yet he bore them patiently.

But the main Consideration of all is the Glory, which shall follow our Sufferings, as the Reward of *them*, if they be for God and his Cause; and if upon any other innocent Account, as a Reward of our Patience. *Our light Affliction, which is but for a Moment, worketh for us far more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory.* Christian Religion hath secur'd us, that we shall be infinite Gainers by our Sufferings: And who would not be content to suffer upon Terms of such Advantage? *to pass through many Tribulations into the Kingdom of God* and to endure a short Affliction for an endless Happiness? The Assurance of a future Blessedness is a Cordial, that will revive our Spirits more in the Day of Adversity, than all the wise Sayings and Considerations of Philosophy.

These are the Arguments, which Christianity propounds to us, and they are firm and sound at the Bottom, they have Strength and Substance in them, and are apt to work upon human Nature, and the most ordinary Understanding is capable of the Force of them. In the Strength and Virtue of this great Example, and in Contemplation of this glorious Reward, with what Resolution and Chearfulness, with what Courage and Patience did vast Numbers of all Sorts of People, in the first Ages of Christianity, not only Men, but Women, not only those of greater Spirit and more generous Education; but those

of the poorest and lowest Condition; not only the learned and the wise, but the ignorant and illiterate, encounter all the Rage and Malice of the World, and embrace Torments and Death? Had the Precepts and Counsels of Philosophy ever any such Effect upon the Minds of Men? I will conclude this with a Passage in the Life of *Lipsius*, who was a great Studier and Admirer of the *Stoical* Philosophy, when he lay upon his Death-bed, and one of his Friends, who came to visit him, told him, that he needed not use Arguments to persuade him to Patience under his Pains, the Philosophy, which he had studied so much, would furnish him with Motives enough to that Purpose; he answers him with this Ejaculation: *Domine Jesu, da mihi patientiam christianam, Lord Jesus give me Christian Patience.* No Patience like to that, which the Considerations of Christianity are apt to work in us.

And now I have, as briefly and plainly as I could, endeavour'd to represent to you the Excellency of the Christian Religion, both in Respect of the clear Discoveries, which it makes to us of the Nature of God, which is the great Foundation of all Religion; and likewise in Respect of the Perfection of it's Laws, and the Power of it's Arguments, to persuade Men both to obey and suffer the Will of God. By which you may see, what the proper Tendency and Design of this Religion is, and what the Laws and Precepts of it would make Men, if they would truly observe them, and live according to them, substantially religious towards God, chaste and temperate, patient and contented in Reference to themselves, and the Dispensations of God's Providence towards them, just and honest,

neſt, kind and peaceable and good natur'd towards all Men. In a Word, the Goſpel deſcribes God to us in all Reſpects ſuch a one, as we would wiſh him to be; gives us ſuch Laws, as every Man, that underſtands himſelf, would chooſe to live by; propounds ſuch Arguments, to perſuade to the Obedience of theſe Laws, as no Man, that wiſely loves himſelf, and hath any Tenderneſs for his own Intereſt and Happineſs either in this world, or the other, can refuſe to be moved withal.

And now, methinks, I may, with ſome Confidence, challenge any Religion in the World, to ſhow ſuch a complete Body and Collection of holy and reaſonable Laws, eſtabliſh'd upon ſuch Promiſes and Threatnings, as the Goſpel contains. And if any Man can produce a Religion, that can reaſonably pretend to an equal, or a greater Confirmation, than the Goſpel hath; a Religion, the Precepts and Promiſes and Threatnings whereof are calculated, to make Men wiſer and better, more temperate and more chaſte, more meek and more patient, more kind and more juſt, than the Laws and Motives of Chriſtianity are apt to make Men; if any Man can produce ſuch a Religion, I am ready to be of it. Let but any Man ſhew me any Book in the World, the Doctrines whereof have the Seal of ſuch Miracles, as the Doctrine of the Scriptures hath; a Book, which contains the Heads of our Duty ſo perfectly, and without the Mixture of any thing, that is unreaſonable, or vicious, or any ways unworthy of God; that commands us every thing in Reaſon neceſſary to be done, and abridgeth us of no lawful Pleaſure, without offering us abundant Recompenſe for our preſent Self denial; a Book, the Rules

whereof, if they were practis'd, would make Men more pious and devout, more holy and sober, more just and fair in their Dealings, better Friends and better Neighbours, better Magistrates and better Subjects, and better in all Relations; and which does offer to the Understanding of Men more powerfull Arguments, to persuade them to be all this: let any Man, I say, shew me such a Book, and I will lay aside the Scripture, and preach out of that. And do we not all profess to be of this excellent Religion, and to study and believe this holy Book of the Scriptures? But alas! who will believe, that we do so, that shall look upon the Actions, and consider the Lives of the greatest Part of Christians? How grosly and openly do many of us contradict the plain Precepts of the Gospel, by our Ungodliness and worldly Lusts, by living intemperately, or injustly, or profanely in this present World? As if *the Grace of God, which brings Salvation*, had never *appear'd* to us, as if we never had heard of Heaven, or Hell, or believed not one Word, that the Scripture says concerning them; as if we were in no Expectation *of the blessed Hope, and the glorious Appearance the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ*, whom God *hath appointed to judge the World in Righteousness*, and who will bestow mighty Rewards upon those, who faithfully serve him; but will come *in flaming Fire, to take Vengeance on them, that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

Let us not then deceive our selves by pretending to this *excellent Knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord*, if we do not frame our Lives according to it. For tho' we *know those Things* never so well, yet we are not *happy*, unless *we do them:*

Nay,

Nay, we are but the more miserable for knowing them, if we do them not. Therefore it concerns every one of us to consider seriously what we believe; and whether our Belief of the Christian Religion have it's due Effect upon our Lives, If not, all the Precepts and Promises and Threatning of the Gospel will rise up in Judgment against us, and the Articles of our Faith will be so many Articles of Accusation; and the great Weight of our Charge will be this, that we did not obey that Gospel, which we profess'd to believe; that we made Confession of the Christian Faith, but liv'd like Heathens. Not to believe the Christian Religion, after so great Evidence and Confirmation, as God hath given to it, is very unreasonable; but to believe it to be true, and yet to live, as if it were false, is the greatest Repugnancy and Contradiction, that can be. He, that does not believe Christianity, either hath, or thinks, he hath some Reason, for withholding his Assent from it: But he, that believes it, and yet lives contrary to it, knows, that he hath no Reason for what he does, and is convinced, that he ought to do otherwise: And he is a miserable Man indeed, that does those Things, for the doing of which he continually stands condemn'd by his own Mind. And accordingly God will deal more severely with such Persons. He will pardon a thousand Defects in our Understandings, if they do not proceed from gross Carelessness and Neglect of our selves; but the Fruits of our Wills have no Excuse, because we knew to do better, and we are convinced in our Minds, that we ought not to have done so.

Dost thou believe, that *the Wrath of God is reveal'd from Heaven against all Ungodliness and*

Unrighteousness of Men, and dost thou still allow thy self *in Ungodliness and worldly Lusts?* Art thou convinced, that, *without Holiness, no Man shall see the Lord*; and dost thou still persist in a wicked Course? Art thou fully persuaded, that *no Whoremonger, nor Adulterer, nor covetous, nor unrighteous Person shall have any Inheritance in the Kingdom of God and Christ*; and dost thou, for all that, continue to practise these Vices? What canst thou say, (*Man*) why it should not be to thee according to thy Faith? If it so fall out, that thou art miserable and undone for ever, thou hast no Reason to be surpris'd, as if some unexpected Thing had happen'd to thee. It is but with thee, just as thou believd'st it would be, when thou didst these Things. For how couldst thou expect, that God should accept of thy good Belief, when thou didst so notoriously contradict it, by a bad Life? How couldst thou look for other, but that God should condemn thee, for the doing of those things, for which thine own Conscience did condemn thee all the while thou wast doing of them? When we come into the other World, there is no Consideration, that will sting our Consciences more cruelly, than this, that we did wickedly, when we knew to have done better, and chose to make our selves miserable, when we understood the Way to have been Happy. To conclude, we Christians have certainly the best and the holiest, the wisest and most reasonable Religion in the World; but then we are in the worst Condition of all Mankind, if the best Religion in the World do not make us good.

OF

OF THE *Christian Religion.*

SECTION I.

I. General Division of the following Discourse, with Regard to *Pagan*, and *Jewish* Authors, who mention Particulars, relating to our Saviour.

II. Not probable, that any such should be mentioned by *Pagan* Writers, who lived at the same Time, from the Nature of such Transactions.

III. Especially when related by the *Jews:*

IV. And heard at a Distance by those, who pretended to as great Miracles, as their own.

V. Besides that no *Pagan* Writers of that Age lived in Judæa, or it's Confines.

VI. And because many Books of that Age are lost.

VII. An Instance of one Record proved to be authentick.

VIII. A second Record of probable, though not undoubted, Authority.

I. THAT I may lay before you a full State of the Subject under our Consideration, and methodize the several Particulars, that I touched

upon in Discourse with you; I shall first take Notice of such *Pagan* Authors, as have given their Testimony to the History of our Saviour; reduce these Authors under their respective Classes, and shew what Authority their Testimonies carry with them. Secondly, I shall take Notice of *Jewish* Authors in the same Light.

II. There are many Reasons, why you should not expect, that Matters of such a wonderfull Nature should be taken Notice of by those eminent *Pagan* Writers, who were Contemporaries with *Jesus Christ*, or by those, who lived before his Disciples had personally appeared among them, and ascertained the Report, which had gone abroad concerning a Life so full of Miracles.

Supposing such Things had happened at this Day in *Switzerland*, or among the *Grisons*, who make a greater Figure in *Europe*, than *Judæa* did in the *Roman Empire*; would they be immediately believed by those, who live at a great Distance from them? Or would any certain Account of them be transmitted into foreign Countries, within so short a Space of Time, as that of our Saviour's publick Ministry? Such Kinds of News, though never so true, seldom gain Credit, till some Time after they are transacted and exposed to the Examination of the Curious, who, by laying together Circumstances, Attestations, and Characters, of those, who are concerned in them, either receive, or reject what at first none but Eye-witnesses could absolutely believe, or disbelieve. In a Case of this Sort, it was natural for Men of Sense and Learning to treat the whole Account as fabulous, or, at fartheſt, to suspend their Belief of it, until

until all Things stood together in their full Light.

III. Besides, the *Jews* were branded not only for Superstitions, different from all the Religions of the *Pagan* World, but in a particular Manner ridiculed for being a credulous People; so that whatever Reports of such a Nature came out of that Country, they were looked upon by the heathen World as false, frivolous, and improbable.

IV. We may further observe, that the ordinary Practice of Magic in those Times, with the many pretended Prodigies, Divinations, Apparitions, and local Miracles among the Heathens, made them less attentive to such News from *Judæa*, till they had Time to consider the Nature, the Occasion, and the End of our Saviour's Miracles, and were awakened by many surprizing Events, to allow them any Consideration at all.

V. We are indeed told by *St. Matthew*, that the Fame of our Saviour, during his Life, went throughout all *Syria*, and that there followed him great Multitudes of People from *Galilee*, *Judæa*, *Decapolis*, *Idumæa*, from beyond *Jordan*, and from *Tyre* and *Sydon*: Now had there been any Historians of those Times and Places, we might have expected to have seen in them some Account of those wonderfull Transactions in *Judæa*; but there is not any single Author extant, in any Kind, of that Age, in any of those Countries.

VI. How many Books have perished, in which possibly there might have been Mention of our Saviour? Look among the *Romans*, how few of their Writings are come down to our Times? In the Space of two hundred Years from our

Saviour's Birth, when there was such a Multitude of Writers in all Kinds, how small is the Number of Authors, that have made their Way to the present Age?

VII. One authentick Record, and that the most authentick heathen Record, we are pretty sure is lost. I mean the Account, sent by the Governor of *Judæa*, under whom our Saviour was judged, condemned, and crucified. It was the Custom in the Roman *Empire*, as it is to this Day in all the Governments of the World, for the Præfects and Vice-Roys of distant Provinces to transmit to their Sovereign a summary Relation of every Thing remarkable in their Administration: That *Pontius Pilate*, in his Account, would have touched on so extraordinary an Event in *Judæa*, is not to be doubted; and that he actually did, we learn from *Justin Martyr*, who lived about a hundred Years after our Saviour's Death, resided, made Converts, and suffered Martyrdom at *Rome*, where he was engaged with Philosophers, and in a particular Manner with *Crescens* the *Cynick*, who could easily have detected, and would not fail to have exposed him, had he quoted a Record, not in being, or made any false Citation out of it. Would the great Apologist have challenged *Crescens*, to dispute the Cause of Christianity with him before the *Roman* Senate, had he forged such an Evidence? or would *Crescens* have refused the Challenge, could he have triumphed over him in the Detection of such a Forgery? To which we must add, that the Apologie, which appeals to this Record, was presented to a learned Emperor, and to the whole Body of the *Roman* Senate. This Father in his Apology, speaking of the Death and Suffering of our Saviour, refers

refers the Emperor, for the Truth of what he says, to the *Acts of Pontius Pilate*, which I have here mentioned. *Tertullian*, who wrote his Apology about fifty Years after *Justin*, doubtless referred to the same Record, when he tells the Governor of *Rome*, that the Emperor *Tiberius*, having received an Account out of *Palestine* in *Syria* of the Divine Person, who had appeared in that Country, paid him a particular Regard, and threatned to punish any, who should accuse the Christians; nay, that the Emperor would have adopted him among the Deities, whom they worshipped, had not the Senate refused to come into his Proposal. *Tertullian*, who gives us this History, was not only one of the most learned Men of his Age, but, what adds a greater Weight to his Authority in this Case, was eminently skilful and well read in the Laws of the *Roman* Empire. Nor can it be said, that Tertullian grounded his Quotation upon the Authority of *Justin Martyr*, because we find, he mixes it with Matters of Fact, which are not related by that Author. *Eusebius* mentions the same ancient Record, but as it was not extant in his Time, I shall not insist upon his Authority in this Point. If it be objected, that this Particular is not mentioned in any *Roman* Historian, I shall use the same Argument in a parallel Case, and see, whether it will carry any Force with it. *Ulpian* the great *Roman* Lawyer gathered together all the imperial Edicts, that had been made against the Christians. But did any one ever say, that there had been no such Edicts, because they were not mentioned in the Histories of those Emperors? Besides, who knows, but this Circumstance of *Tiberius* was mentioned in other Historians, that have been

been lost, though not to be found in any still extant? Has not *Suetonius* many Particulars of this Emperor, omitted by *Tacitus*, and *Herodian* many, that are not so much as hinted at by either? As for the spurious *Acts of Pilate*, now extant, we know the Occasion and Time of their writing, and that had there not been a true and authentick Record of this Nature, they would never have been forged.

VIII. The Story of *Agbarus* King of *Edessa*, relating to the Letter, which he sent to our Saviour, and to that, which he received from him, is a Record of great authority; and though I will not insist upon it, may venture to say, that, had we such an Evidence for any Fact in *Pagan* History, an Author would be thought very unreasonable, who should reject it. I believe you will be of my Opinion, if you will peruse, with other Authors, who have appeared in Vindication of these Letters, as genuine, the additional Arguments, which have been made Use of by the late famous and learned Dr. *Grabe*, in the second Volumen of his *Spicilegium*.

SECTION II.

I. What Facts in the History of our Saviour might be taken Notice of by *Pagan* Authors.
II. What particular Facts are taken Notice of, and by what *Pagan* Authors.
III. How *Celsus* represented our Saviour's Miracles.
IV. The same Representation made of them by other Unbelievers, and proved unreasonable.
V. What Facts in our Saviour's History not to be expected from *Pagan* Writers. I.

I. We now come to consider what undoubted Authorities are extant among *Pagan* Writers, and here we must premise, that some Parts of our Saviour's History may be reasonably expected from *Pagans*; I mean such Parts, as might be known to those, who lived at a Distance from *Judæa*, as well as to those, who were the Followers and Eye-witnesses of Christ.

II. Such Particulars are most of these, which follow, and which are all attested by some one or other of those *heathen* Authors, who lived in, or near the Age of our Saviour and his Disciples. That *Augustus Cæsar* had ordered the whole Empire to be censed, or taxed, which brought our Saviour's reputed Parents to *Bethlehem*: This is mentioned by several *Roman* Historians, as *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, and *Dion*. That a great Light, or a new Star appeared in the East, which directed the wise Men to our Saviour; this is recorded by *Chalcidius*. That *Herod*, the King of *Palestine*, so often mentioned in the *Roman* History, made a great Slaugther of innocent Children, being so jealous of his Successor, that he put to Death his own Sons an that Account: This Character of him is given by several Historians, and this cruel Fact mentioned by *Macrobius*, a *heathen* Author, who tells it as a known Thing, without any Mark of Doubt upon it. That our Saviour had been in *Egypt*: This *Celsus*, though he raises a monstrous Story upon it, is so far from denying, that he tells us, our Saviour learned the Arts of Magic in that Country. That *Pontius Pilate* was Governor of *Judæa*, that our Saviour was brought in Judgment before him, and by him condemned and crucificed: This is recorded by *Tacitus*. That many miraculous Cures and

and Works out of the ordinary Course of Nature were wrought by him: This is confessed by *Julian* the *Apostate*, *Porphyry*, and *Hierocles*, all of them not only *Pagans*, but professed Enemies and Persecutors of Christianity. That our Saviour foretold several Things, which came to pass according to his Predictions: This was attested by *Phlegon* in his *Annals*, as we are assured by the learned *Origen* against *Celsus*. That at the Time, when our Saviour died, there was a miraculous Darkness and a great Earth-quake: This is recorded by the same *Phlegon* the *Trallian*, who was likewise a *Pagan*, and Freeman to *Adrian* the Emperor. We may here observe, that a Native of *Trallium*, which was not situate at so great a Distance from *Palestine*, might very probably be informed of such remarkable Events, as had passed among the *Jews* in the Age immediately preceding his own Times, since several of his Countrymen, with whom he had conversed, might have received a confused Report of our Saviour, before his Crucifixion, and probably lived within the Shake of the Earth-quake, and the Shadow of the Eclipse, which are recorded by this Author. That Christ was worshipped as a God among the Christians; that they would rather suffer Death, than blaspheme him; that they received a Sacrament, and by it entered into a Vow of abstaining from Sin and Wickedness, conformable to the Advice given by *St. Paul*; that they had private Assemblies of Worship, and used to join together in Hymns: This is the Account, which *Pliny* the *younger* gives of Christianity in his Days, about seventy Years after the Death of Christ, and which agrees in all it's Circumstances with the Accounts, we have in *holy Writ*, of the

first

first State of Christianity after the Crucifixion of our Blessed Saviour. That *St. Peter*, whose Miracles are many of them recorded in *holy Writ*, did many wonderfull Works, is owned by *Julian* the *Apostate*, who therefore represents him as a great Magician, and one, who had in his Possession a Book of magical Secrets, left him by our Saviour. That the Devils, or evil Spirits, were subject to them, we may learn from *Porphyry*, who objects to Christianity, that since *Jesus* had begun to be worshipped, *Æsculapius*, and the rest of the Gods did no more converse with Men. Nay, *Celsus* himself affirms the same thing in Effect, when he says, that the Power, which seemed to reside in Christians, proceeded from the Use of certain Names, and the Invocation of certain Dæmons. *Origen* remarks on this Passage, that the Author doubtless hints at those Christians, who put to Flight evil Spirits, and healed those, who were possessed with them; a Fact, which had been often seen, and which he himself had seen, as he declares in an other Part of his Discourse against *Celsus*. But at the same time he assures us, that this miraculous Power was exerted by the Use of no other Name, but that of *Jesus*, to which were added several Passages in his History, but nothing like any Invocation to Dæmons.

III. *Celsus* was so hard set with the Report of our Saviour's Miracles, and the confident Attestations concerning him, that though he often intimates, he did not believe them to be true, yet, knowing, he might be silenced in such an Answer, provides himself with an other Retreat, when beaten out of this; namely, that our Saviour was a Magician; Thus he compares the feeding of so many thousands at two different Times

Times with a few Loaves and Fishes, to the magical Feasts of those *Egyptian* Impostors, who would present their Spectators with Visionary Entertainments, that had in them neither Substance, nor Reality: which, by the Way, is to suppose, that a hungry and fainting Multitude were filled by an Apparition, or strengthned and refreshed with Shadows: He knew very well, that there were so many Witnesses and Actors, if I may call them such, in these two Miracles, that it was impossible to refute such Multitudes, who had doubtless sufficiently spread the Fame of them, and was therefore in this Place forced to resort to the other Solution, that it was done by Magic. It was not enough to say, that a Miracle, which appeared to so many thousand Eye-witnesses, was a Forgery of Christ's Disciples, and therefore, supposing them to be Eye-witnesses, he endeavours to shew, how they might be deceived.

IV. The unconverted *Heathens*, who were pressed by the many Authorities, that confirmed our Saviour's Miracles, as well as the unbelieving *Jews*, who had actually seen them, were driven to account for them after the same Manner: For, to work by Magic, in the *heathen* Way of speaking, was, in the Language of the Jews, to cast out Devils by *Beelzebub*, the Prince of the Devils. Our Saviour, who knew, that Unbelievers in all Ages would put this perverse Interpretation on his Miracles, has branded the Malignity of those Men, who, contrary to the Dictates of their own Hearts, started such an unreasonable Objection, as a Blasphemy against the *Holy Ghost*, and declared not only the Guilt, but the Punishment of so black a Crime. At the same Time he condescended to shew the Vanity and Em-

Emptiness of this Objection against his Miracles, by representing, that they evidently tended to the Destruction of those Powers, to whose Assistance the Enemies of his Doctrine then ascribed them. An Argument, which, if duly weighed, renders the Objection so very frivolous and groundless, that we may venture to call it even Blasphemy against common Sense. Would Magic endeavour to draw off the Minds of Men from the Worship, which was paid to Stocks and Stones, to give them an Abhorrence of those evil Spirits, who rejoiced in the most cruel Sacrifices, and in Offerings of the greatest Impurity; and, in short, to call upon Mankind, to exert their whole Strength in the Love and Adoration of that one Being, from whom they derived their Existence, and on whom only they were taught to depend every Moment for the Happiness and Continuance of it? Was it the Business of Magic to humanize our Natures with Compassion, Forgiveness, and all the Instances of the most extensive Charity? Would evil Spirits contribute to make Men sober, chaste, and temperate, and, in a Word, to produce that Reformation, which was wrought in the moral World, by those Doctrines of our Saviour, that received their Sanction from his Miracles? Nor is it possible, to imagine, that evil Spirits would enter into a Combination with our Saviour, to cut off all their Correspondence and Intercourse with Mankind, and to prevent any, for the future, from addicting themselves to those Rites and Ceremonies, which had done them so much Honour. We see the early Effect, which Christianity had on the Minds of Men in this particular, by that Number of Books, which were filled with the Secrets of Magic, and made

a Sacrifice to Christianity by the Converts, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. We have likewise an eminent Instance of the Inconsistency of our Religion with Magic, in the History of the famous *Aquila*. This Person, who was a Kinsmann of the Emperor *Trajan*, and likewise a Man of great Learning, notwithstanding he had embraced Christianity, could not be brought off from the Studies of Magic, by the repeated Admonitions of his Fellow-Christians: So that at length they expelled him their Society, as rather chusing to lose the Reputation of so considerable a Proselite, than communicate with one, who dealt in such dark and infernal Practices. Besides we may observe, that all the Favourers of Magic were the most professt and bitter Enemies to the Christian Religion. Not to mention *Simon Magus* and many others, I shall only take Notice of those two great Persecutors of Christianity, the Emperors *Adrian* and *Julian* the *Apostate*, both of them initiated in the Mysteries of Divination, and skilled in all the Depths of Magic; I shall only add, that evil Spirits cannot be supposed to have concurred in the Establishment of a Religion, which triumphed over them, drove them out of the Places, they possest, and divested them of their Influence on Mankind: nor would I mention this Particular, though it be unanimously reported by all the ancient Christian Authors; did it not appear from the Authorities above cited, that this was a Fact, confest by *Heathens* themselves.

V. We now see what a Multitude of *Pagan* Testimonies may be produced for all those remarkable Passages, which might have been expected from them: and indeed of several, that, I belie-

believe, do more than answer your Expectation, as they were not Subjects, in their own Nature, so exposed to publick Notoriety. It cannot be expected, they should mention particulars, which were transacted amongst the Disciples only, or among some few even of the Disciples themselves; such as the Transfiguration, the Agony in the Garden, the Appearance of Christ after his Resurrection, and others of the like Nature: It was impossible for a *heathen* Author to relate these Things; because if he had believed them, he would no longer have been a *Heathen*, and by that Means his Testimony would not have been thought of so much Validity. Besides, his very Report of Facts, so favourable to Christianity, would have prompted Men to say, that he was probably tainted with their Doctrine. We have a parellel Case in *Hecatæus*, a famous *Greek* Historian, who had several Passages in his Book, conformable to the History of the *Jewish* Writers, which, when quoted by *Josephus*, as a Confirmation of the *Jewish* history, when his *heathen* Adversaries could give no other Answer to it, they would needs suppose, that *Hecatæus* was a *Jew* in his *Heart*, though they had no other Reason for it, but because his History gave greater Authority to the *Jewish*, than the *Egyptian* Records.

SECTION III.

I. Introduction to a second List of *Pagan* Authors, who give Testimony of our Saviour.
II. A Passage concerning our Saviour, from a learned *Athenian*.

III. His Conversion from Paganism to Christianity makes his Evidence stronger, than if he had continued a *Pagan.*

IV. Of another *Athenian* Philosopher converted to Christianity.

V. Why their Conversion, instead of weakening, strengthens their Evidence in Defence of Christianity.

VI. Their Belief in our Saviour's History founded at first the Principles of historical Faith.

VII. Their Testimonies extended to all the Particulars of our Saviour's History.

VIII. As related by the four Evangelists.

I. To this List of *heathen* Writers, who make Mention of our Saviour, or touch upon any Particulars of his Life, I shall add those Authors, who were at first *Heathens*, and afterwards converted to Christianity; upon which Account, as I shall here shew, their Testimonies are to be looked upon as the more authentick. And in this List of Evidences, I shall confine my self to such learned *Pagans*, as came over to Christianity in the three first Centuries, because those were the Times, in which Men had the best Means of informing themselves of the Truth of our Saviour's History, and because among the great Number of Philosophers, who came in afterwards, under the Reigns of Christian Emperors, there might be several, who did it partly out of worldly Motives.

II. Let us now suppose, that a learned *heathen* Writer, who lived within 60. years of our Saviour's Crucifixion, after having shewn, that false Miracles were generally wrought in Obscurity, and before few, or no Witnesses, speak-

speaking of those, which were wrought by our Saviour, has the following Passage: "But his "Works were always seen, because they were "true; they were seen by those, who were "raised from the dead. Nay these Persons, "who were thus healed, and raised, were seen "not only at the Time of their being healed, "and raised, but long afterwards. Nay "they were seen not only all the while, our "Saviour was upon Earth, but survived after "his Departure out of this World; nay some "of them were living in our Days.

III. I dare say, you would look upon this as a glorious Attestation for the Cause of Christianity, had it come from the Hand of a famous *Athenian* Philosopher. These forementioned Words however are actually the Words of one, who lived about sixty Years after our Saviour's Crucifixion, and was a famous Philosopher in *Athens:* but it will be said, he was a Convert to Christianity. Now consider this Matter impartially, and see, if his Testimony is not much more valid for that Reason. Had he continued a *Pagan* Philosopher, would not the World have said, that he was not sincere in what he writ, or did not believe it; for, if so, would not they have told us, he would have embraced Christianity? This was indeed the Case of this excellent Man: he had so thoroughly examined the Truth of our Saviour's History, and the Excellency of that Religion, which he taught, and was so entirely convinced of both, that he became a Proselyte, and died a Martyr.

IV. *Aristides* was an *Athenian* Philosopher, at the same Time, famed for his Learning and Wisdom, but converted to Christianity. As it cannot be questioned, that he perused and ap-

proved the Apology of *Quadratus*, in which is the Passage just now cited, he joined with him in an Apology of his own, to the same Emperor, on the same Subject. This Apology, tho' now lost, was extant in the time of Ado Viennensis, A. D. 870. and highly esteemed by the most learned *Athenians*, as that Author witnesses. It must have contained great Arguments for the Truth of our Saviour's History, because in it he asserted the Divinity of our Saviour, which could not but engage him in the Proof of his Miracles.

V. I do allow that, generally speaking, a Man is not so acceptable and unquestioned an Evidence in Facts, which make for the Advancement of his own Party. But we must consider, that, in the Case before us, the Persons, to whom we appeal, were of an opposite Party, till they were persuaded of the Truth of those very Facts, which they report. They bear Evidence to a History in defence of Christianity, the Truth of which History was their Motive to embrace Christianity. They attest Facts, which they had heard, while they were yet *Heathens*, and had they not found Reason to believe them, they would still have continued *Heathens*, and have made no Mention of them in their Writings.

VI. When a Man is born under Christian Parents, and trained up in the Profession of that Religion from a Child, he generally guides himself by the Rules of *Christian Faith* in believing what is delivered by the Evangelists; but the Learned *Pagans* of Antiquity, before they became Christians, were only guided by the common Rules of *Historical Faith:* That is, they examined the Nature of the Evidence which

which was to be met with in common Fame, Tradition, and the Writings of those Persons, who related them, together with the Number, Concurrence, Veracity, and private Characters of those Persons; and being convinced upon all Accounts, that they had the same Reason to believe the History of our Saviour, as that of any other Person, to which they themselves were not actually Eye-witnesses, they were bound, by all the Rules of historical Faith, and of right Reason, to give Credit to this History. This they did accordingly, and in Consequence of it published the same Truths themselves, suffered many Afflictions, and very often Death itself, in the Assertion of them. When I say, that an historical Belief of the Acts of our Saviour induced these learned *Pagans* to embrace his Doctrine, I do not deny, that there were many other Motives, which conduced to it, as the Excellency of his Precepts, the Fulfilling of Prophecies, the Miracles of his Disciples, the irreproachable Lives and magnanimous Sufferings of their Followers, with other Considerations of the same Nature: but whatever other collateral Arguments wrought more, or less, with Philosophers of that Age; it is certain, that a Belief in the History of our Saviour was one Motive with every new Convert, and that, upon which all others turned, as being the very Basis and Foundation of Christianity.

VII. To this I must further add, that as we have already seen many particular Facts, which are recorded in *holy Writ*, attested by particular *Pagan* Authors; the Testimony of those, I am now going to produce, extends to the whole History of our Saviour, and to that continued Series of Actions, which are related of him

and his Disciples in the Books of the New Testament.

VIII. This evidently appears from their Quotations out of the Evangelists, for the Confirmation of any Doctrine, or Account of our blessed Saviour. Nay a learned Man of our Nation, who examined the Writings of the most ancient Fathers in an other View, refers to several Passages in *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Origen*, *and Cyprian*, by which he plainly shows, that each of these early Writers ascribe to the four Evangelists by Name their respective Histories; so that there is not the least Room for doubting of their Belief in the History of our Saviour, as recorded in the Gospels. I shall add, that three of the five Fathers, here mentioned, and probably four, were *Pagans*, converted to Christianity; as they were all of them very inquisitive and deep in the Knowledge of *heathen* Learning and Philosophy.

SECTION IV.

I. Character of the Times, in which the Christian Religion was propagated.

II. And of many, who embraced it.

III. Three eminent and early Instances.

IV. Multitudes of learned Men, who came over to it.

V. Belief in our Saviour's History, the first Motive to their Conversion.

VI. The Names of several *Pagan* Philosophers, who were Christian Converts.

I. It

I. It happened very providentially to the Honour of the Christian Religion, that it did not take it's Rise in the dark illiterate Ages of the World, but at a Time, when Arts and Sciences were at their Height, and when there were Men, who made it the Business of their Lives, to search after Truth, and sift the several Opinions of Philosophers and wise Men, concerning the Duty, the End, and chief Happiness of reasonable Creatures.

II. Several of these therefore, when they had informed themselves of our Saviour's History, and examined, with unprejudiced Minds, the Doctrines and Manners of his Disciples and Followers, were so struck and convinced, that they professed themselves of that Sect; notwithstanding, by this Profession, in that Juncture of Time, they bid farewel to all the Pleasures of this Life, renounced all the Views of Ambition, engaged in an uninterrupted Course of Severities, and exposed themselves to publick Hatred an Contempt, to Sufferings of all Kinds, and to Death itself.

III. Of this Sort we may reckon those three early Converts to Christianity, who each of them was a Member of a Senate, famous for it's Wisdom and Learning. *Joseph the Arimathean* was of the *Jewish Sanhedrim*, *Dionysius* of the *Athenian Areopagus*, and *Flavius Clemens* of the *Roman Senate*; nay at the Time of his Death Consul of *Rome*. These three were so throughly satisfied of the Truth of the Christian Religion, that the first of them, according to all the Reports of Antiquity, died a martyr for it; as did the second, unless we disbelieve *Aristides*; his Fellow-Citizen and Contemporary;

and the third, as we are informed both by Roman and Christian Authors.

IV. Among those innumerable Multitudes, who, in most of the known Nations of the World, came over to Christianity at it's first Appearance, we may be sure, there were great Numbers of wise and learned Men, beside those, whose Names are in the Christian Records, who, without doubt, took Care to examine the Truth of our Saviour's History, before they would leave the Religion of their Country and of their Forefathers, for the sake of one, that would not only cut them off from the Allurements of this World, but subject them to every thing terrible, or disagreeable in it. *Tertullian* tells the *Roman* Governors, that their Corporations, Councils, Armies, Tribes, Companies, the Palace, Senate, and Courts of Judicature were filled with Christians, as *Arnobius* asserts, that Men of the finest Parts and Learning, Orators, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Lawyers, Physicians, Philosophers, despising the Sentiments, they had been once fond of, took up their Rest in the Christian Religion.

V. Who can imagine, that Men of this Character did not thoroughly inform themselves of the History of that Person, whose Doctrines they embraced? For however consonant to Reason his Precepts appeared, how good soever were the Effects, which they produced in the World, nothing could have tempted Men, to acknowledge him as their God and Saviour, but their being firmly persuaded of the Miracles, he wrought, and the many Attestations of his divine Mission, which were to be met with in the History of his Life. This was the Groundwork of the Christian Religion, and, if this fail-

failed, the whole Superstructure sunk with it. This Point, therefore, of the Truth of our Saviour's History, as recorded by the Evangelists, is every where taken for granted in the Writings of those, who from *Pagan* Philosophers became Christian Authors, and who, by Reason of their Conversion, are to be looked upon as of the strongest collateral Testimony for the Truth of what is delivered concerning our Saviour.

VI. Besides innumerable Authors, that are lost, we have the undoubted Names, Works, or Fragments of several *Pagan* Philosophers, which shew them to have been as learned, as any unconverted heathen Authors of the Age, in which they lived. If we look into the greatest Nurseries of Learning in those Ages of the World, we find in *Athens*, *Dionysius*, *Quadratus*, *Aristides*, *Athenagoras*; and in *Alexandria*, *Dionysius*, *Clemens*, *Ammonius*, *Arnobius*, and *Anatolius*, to whom we may add *Origen*; for though his Father was a Christian Martyr, he became, without all Controversy, the most learned and able Philosopher of his Age, by his Education at *Alexandria*, in that famous Seminary of Arts and Sciences.

SECTION V.

I. The learned *Pagans* had Means and Opportunities of informing themselves of the Truth of our Saviour's History;
II. From the Proceedings,
III. The Characters, Sufferings,
IV. And Miracles of the Persons, who published it.

V.

V. How these first Apostles perpetuated their Tradition, by ordaining Persons to succeed them.

VI. How their Successors, in the three first Centuries, preserved their Tradition.

VII. That five Generations might derive this Tradition from *Christ*, to the End of the third Century.

VIII. Four eminent Christians, that delivered it down successively to the Year of our Lord 254.

IX. The Faith of the four above-mentioned Persons, the same with that of the Churches of the East, of the West, and of *Egypt*.

X. Another Person added to them, who brings us to the Year 343. and that many other Lists might be added in as direct and short a Succession.

XI. Why the Tradition of the three first Centuries, more authentick, than that of any other Age, proved from the Conversation of the primitive Christians.

XII. From the Manner of initiating Men into their Religion.

XIII. From the Correspondence between the Churches.

XIV. From the long Lives of several of *Christ's* Disciples, of which two Instances.

I. It now therefore only remains to consider, whether these learned Men had Means and Opportunities of informing themselves of the Truth of our Saviour's History; for unless this Point can be made out, their Testimonies will appear invalid, and their Enquiries ineffectual.

II. As to this Point, we must consider, that many thousands had seen the Transactions of our Saviour in *Judæa*, and that many hundred thousands had received an Account of them from the Mouths of those, who were actually Eye-witnesses. I shall only mention among these Eye witnesses the twelve Apostles; to whom we must add *St. Paul*, who had a particular Call to this high Office, though many other Disciples and Followers of *Christ* had also their Share in the publishing this wonderfull History. We learn from the ancient Records of Christianity, that many of the Apostles and Disciples made it the express Business of their Lives, travelled into the remotest Parts of the World, and in all Places gathered Multitudes about them, to acquaint them with the History and Doctrines of their crucified Master. And indeed, were all Christian Records of these Proceedings entirely lost, as many have been, the Effect plainly evinces the Truth of them; for how else, during the Apostles Lives, could Christianity have spread itself with such an amazing Progress through the several Nations of the *Roman* Empire? how could it fly like Lightning, and carry Conviction with it, from one End of the Earth to the other?

III. Heathens therefore of every Age, Sex, and Quality, born in the most different Climates, and bred up under the most different Institutions, when they saw Men of plain Sense, without the Help of Learning, armed with Patience and Courage, instead of Wealth, Pomp, or Power, expressing in their Lives those excellent Doctrines of Morality, which they taught as delivered to them from our Saviour, averring, that they had seen his Miracles during his Life, and

and conversed with him after his Death; when, I say, they saw no Suspicion of Falshood, Treachery, or worldly Interest, in their Behaviour and Conversation, and that they submitted to the most ignominious and cruel Deaths, rather than retract their Testimony, or even be silent in Matters, which they were to publish by their Saviour's special Command; there was no Reason to doubt of the Veracity of those Facts, which they related, or of the Divine Mission, in which they were employed.

IV. But even these Motives to Faith in our Saviour would not have been sufficient to have brought about, in so few Years, such an incredible Number of Conversions, had not the Apostles been able to exhibit still greater Proofs of the Truths, which they taught. A few Persons of an odious and despised Country could not have filled the World with Believers, had they not shown undoubted Credentials from the Divine Person, who sent them on such a Message. Accordingly we are assured, that they were invested with the Power of working Miracles, which was the most short, and the most convincing Argument, that could be produced, and the only one, that was adapted to the Reason of all Mankind, to the Capacities of the Wise and Ignorant, and could overcome every Cavil and every Prejudice. Who would not believe, that our Saviour healed the Sick, and raised the Dead, when it was published by those, who themselves often did the same Miracles in their Presence, and in his Name? Could any reasonable Person imagine, that God Almighty would arm Men with such Powers to authorize a Lye and establish a Religion in the World, which was displeasing to him; or that

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evil Spirits would lend them such an effectual Assistance, to beat down Vice and Idolatry?

V. When the Apostles had formed many Assemblies in several Parts of the *Pagan* World, who gave Credit to the glad Tidings of the Gospel, that, upon their Departure, the Memory of what they had related might not perish, they appointed out of these new Converts, Men of the best Sense, and of the most unblemished Lives, to preside over these several Assemblies, and to inculcate without ceasing what they had heard from the Mouths of these Eye-witnesses.

VI. Upon the Death of any of those Substitutes to the Apostles and Disciples of Christ, his Place was filled up with some other Person of Eminence for his Piety and Learning, and generally a Member of the same Church, who, after his Decease, was followed by an other in the same Manner, by which Means the Succession was continued in an uninterrupted Line. *Irenæus* informs us, that every Church preserved a Catalogue of it's Bishops in the Order, that they succeeded one an other, and (for an Example) produces a Catalogue of those, who governed the Church of *Rome* in that Character, which contains eight or nine Persons, though but at a very small Remove from the Times of the Apostles.

Indeed the Lists of Bishops, which are come down to us, in other Churches, are generally filled with greater Numbers, than one would expect. But the Succession was quick in the three first Centuries, because the Bishop very often ended in the Martyr: for when a Persecution arose in any Place, the first Fury of it fell upon this Order of holy Men, who abundantly testified, by their Deaths and Sufferings, that

that they did not undertake these Offices out of any temporal Views, that they were sincere and satisfied in the Belief of what they taught, and that they firmly adhered to what they had received from the Apostles, as laying down their Lives in the same Hope, and upon the same Principles. None can be supposed so utterly regardless of their own Happiness, as to expire in Torment, and hazard their Eternity, to support any Fables and Inventions of their own, or any Forgeries of their Predecessors, who had presided in the same Church, and which might have been easily detected by the Tradition of that particular Church, as well as by the concurring Testimony of others. To this Purpose, I think it is very remarkable, that there was not a single Martyr among those many Hereticks, who disagreed with the Apostolical Church, and introduced several wild and absurd Notions into the Doctrines of Christianity. They durst not stake their present and future Happiness on their own Chimerical Imaginations, and did not only shun Persecution, but affirmed, that it was unnecessary for their Followers to bear their Religion through such fiery Tryals.

VII. We may fairly reckon, that this first Age of Apostles and Disciples, with that second Generation of many, who were their immediate Converts, extended itself to the Middle of the second Century, and that several of the third Generation from these last mentioned, which was but the fifth from Christ, continued to the End of the third Century. Did we know the Ages and Numbers of the Members in every particular Church, which was planted by the Apostles, I doubt not, but, in most of them, there might be found five Persons, who in a con-

continued Series would reach through these three Centuries of Years, that is till the 265th. from the Death of our Saviour.

VIII. Among the Accounts of those very few out of innumerable Multitudes, who had embraced Christianity, I shall single out four Persons, eminent for their Lives, their Writings, and their Sufferings, that were successively Contemporaries, and bring us down as far, as to the Year of our Lord 254. *St. John*, who was the beloved Disciple, and conversed the most intimately with our Saviour, lived till Anno Dom. 100. *Polycarp*, who was the Disciple of *St. John*, and had conversed with others of the Apostles and Disciples of our Lord, lived till Anno Dom. 167., though his Life was shortened by Martyrdom. *Irenæus*, who was the Disciple of *Polycarp*, and had conversed with many of the immediate Disciples of the Apostles, lived, at he lowest Computation of his Age, till the Year 202, when he was likewise cut off by Martyrdom; in which Year the great *Origen* was appointed Regent of the Catechetick School in *Alexandria*, and as he was the Miracle of that Age, for Industry, Learning and Philosophy, he was looked upon as the Champion of Christianity, till the Year 254, when, if he did not suffer Martyrdom, as some think, he did, he was certainly actuated by the Spirit of it, as appears in the whole Course of his Life and Writings; nay, he had often been put to the Torture, and had undergone Tryals, worse than Death. As he conversed with the most eminent Christians of his Time in *Egypt*, and in the *East*, brought over Multitudes both from Heresy and Heathenism, and left behind him several Disciples of great Fame

and Learning; there is no Question, but there were considerable Numbers of those, who knew him, and had been his Hearers, Scholars, or Proselytes, that lived till the End of the third Century, and to the Reign of Constantine the Great.

IX. It is evident to those, who read the Lives and Writings of *Polycarp*, *Irenæus*, and *Origen*, that these three Fathers believed the Accounts, which are given of our Saviour in the four Evangelists, and had undoubted Arguments, that not only *St. John*, but many others of our Saviour's Disciples, published the same Accounts of him. To which we must subjoin this further Remark, that what was believed by these Fathers on this Subject, was likewise the Belief of the main Body of Christians in those successive Ages, when they flourished; since *Polycarp* cannot but be looked upon, if we consider the Respect, that was paid him, as the Representative of the *Eastern* Churches in this particular, *Irenæus* of the *Western* upon the same account, and Origen of those, established in *Egypt*.

X. To these I might add *Paul* the famous Hermite, who retired from the *Decian* Persecution five or six Years before *Origen's* Death and lived till the Year 343. I have only discovered one of those Channels, by which the History of our Saviour might be conveyed pure and unadulterated, through those several Ages, that produced those *Pagan* Philosophers, whose Testimonies I make Use of, for the Truth of our Saviour's History. Some or other of these Philosophers came into the Christian Faith during it's Infancy, in the several Periods of these three first Centuries, when they had such Means

Means of informing themselves in all the Particulars of our Saviour's History. I must further add, that though I have here only chosen this single Link of Martyrs, I might find out others among those Names, which are still extant, that delivered down this Account of our Saviour in a successive Tradition, till the whole *Roman* Empire became Christian; as there is no Question, but numberless Series of Witnesses might follow one another in the same Order, and in as short a Chain, and that perhaps in every single Church, had the Names and Ages of the most eminent primitive Christians been transmitted to us with the like Certainty.

XI. But to give this Consideration more Force, we must take Notice, that the Tradition of the first Ages of Christianity had several Circumstances peculiar to it, which made it more authentick, than any other Tradition in any other Age of the World. The Christians, who carried their Religion through so many general and particular Persecutions, were incessantly comforting and supporting one another, with the Example and History of our Saviour and his Apostles. It was the Subject not only of their solemn Assemblies, but of their private Visits and Conversations. Our Virgins, says *Tatian*, who lived in the second Century, discourse over their Distaffs on divine Subjects. Indeed, when Religion was woven into the Civil Government, and flourished under the Protection of the Emperors, Men's Thoughts and Discourses were, as they are now, full of secular Affairs; but in the three first Centuries of Christianity, Men, who embraced this Religion, had given up all their Interests in this World, and lived in a perpetual Preparation for the next, as not know-

ing, how soon they might be called to it; so that they had little else to talk of, but the Life and Doctrines of that divine Person, which was their Hope, their Encouragement, and their Glory. We cannot therefore imagine, that there was a single Person arrived at any Degree of Age, or Consideration, who had not heard and repeated above a thousand Times in his Life, all the Particulars of our Saviour's Birth, Life, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension.

XII. Especially if we consider, that they could not then be received as Christians, till they had undergone several Examinations. Persons of riper Years, who flocked daily into the Church, during the three first Centuries, were obliged to pass through many repeated Instructions, and give a strict Account of their Proficiency, before they were admitted to Baptism; And as for those, who were born of Christian Parents, and had been baptised in their Infancy, they were with the like Care prepared and disciplined for Confirmation, which they could not arrive at, till they were found, upon Examination, to have made a sufficient Progress in the Knowledge of Christianity.

XIII. We must further observe, that there was not only in those Times this religious Conversation among private Christians, but a constant correspondence between the Churches, that were established by the Apostles, or their Successors, in the several Parts of the World. If any new Doctrine was started, or any Fact reported of our Saviour, a strict Enquiry was made among the Churches, especially those planted by the Apostles themselves, whether they had received any such Doctrine, or Account of our Saviour, from the Mouths of the Apost-

Apostles, or the Tradition of those Christians, who had preceded the present Members of the Churches, which were thus consulted. By this Means, when any Novelty was published, it was immediately detected and censured.

XIV. *St. John*, who lived so many Years after our Saviour, was appealed to in these Emergencies, as the living Oracle of the Church; and as his oral Testimony lasted the first Century, many have observed, that, by a particular Providence of God, several of our Saviour's Disciples, and of the early Converts of his Religion, lived to a very great Age, that they might personally convey the Truth of the Gospel to those Times, which were very remote from the first Publication of it. Of these, besides *St. John*, we have a remarkable Instance in *Simeon*, who was one of the seventy sent forth by our Saviour, to publish the Gospel before his Crucifixion, and a near Kinsman of the Lord. This venerable Person, who had probably heard with his own Ears our Saviour's Prophecy of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, presided over the Church, established in that City, during the time of it's memorable Siege, and drew his Congregation out of those dreadfull and unparallel'd Calamities, which befel his Countrymen, by following the Advice, our Saviour had given, when they should see *Jerusalem* encompassed with Armies, and the *Roman* standards, or Abomination of Desolation, set up. He lived till the Year of our Lord 107. when he was martyred under the Emperor *Trajan*.

SECTION VI.

I. The Tradition of the Apostles secured by other excellent Institutions.
II. But chiefly by the Writings of the Evangelists.
III. The Diligence of the Disciples and first Christian Converts, to send abroad these Writings.
IV. That the written Account of our Saviour was the same with that, delivered by Tradition.
V. Proved from the Reception of the Gospel by those Churches, which were established before it was written.
VI. From the Uniformity of what was believed in the several Churches.
VII. From a remarkable Passage in *Irenæus*.
VIII. Records, which are now lost, of use to the three first Centuries, for confirming the the History of our Saviour.
IX. Instances of such Records.

I. Thus far we see, how the learned *Pagans* might apprize themselves, from oral Information, of the Particulars of our Saviour's History. They could hear, in every Church, planted in every distant Part of the Earth, the Account, which was there received and preserved among them, of the History of our Saviour: They could learn the Names and Characters of those first Missionaries, that brought to them these Accounts, and the Miracles, by which God Almighty attested their Reports. But the Apostles and Disciples of Christ, to preserve the History of his Life, and to secure their Accounts of him from Error and Oblivion, did not only set

set aside certain Persons for that Purpose, as has been already shewn, but appropriated certain Days to the Commemoration of those Facts, which they had related concerning him. The first Day of the Week was, in all it's Returns, a perpetual Memorial of his Resurrection, as the devotional exercises, adapted to Friday and Saturday, were to denote to all Ages, that he was crucified on the one of those Days, and that he rested in the Grave on the other. You may apply the same Remark to several of the annual Festivals, instituted by the Apostles themselves, or at furthest by their immediate Successors, in Memory of the most important Particulars in our Saviour's History; to which we must add the Sacraments, instituted by our Lord himself, and many of those Rites and Ceremonies, which obtained in the most early Times of the Church. These are to be regarded as standing Marks of such Facts, as were delivered by those, who were Eye-witnesses to them, and which were contrived with great Wisdom to last till Time should be no more. These, without any other Means, might have, in some Measure, conveyed to Posterity the Memory of several Transactions in the History of our Saviour, as they were related by his Disciples. At least, the Reason of these Institutions, though they might be forgotten, and obscured by a long Course of Years, could not but be very well known by those, who lived in the three first Centuries, and a Means of informing the inquisitive *Pagans* in the Truth of our Saviour's History, that being the View, in which I am to consider them.

II. But lest such a Tradition, though guarded by so many Expedients, should wear out by the Length of Time, the four Evangelists within

about fifty, or, as *Theodoret* affirms, thirty Years, after our Saviour's Death, while the Memory of his Actions was fresh among them, consigned to writing that History, which, for some Years, had been published only by the Mouth of the Apostles and Disciples. The further Consideration of these holy Penmen will fall under an other Part of this Discourse.

III. It will be sufficient to observe here, that in the Age, which succeeded the Apostles, many of their immediate Disciples sent, or carried in Person, the Books of the four Evangelists, which had been written by Apostles, or at least approved by them, to most of the Churches, which they had planted in the different Parts of the World. This was done with so much Diligence, that when *Pantænus*, a Man of great Learning and Piety, had travelled into *India* for the Propagation of Christianity, about the Year of our Lord 200, he found among that remote People the Gospel of St. Matthew, which upon his Return from that Country, he brought with him to Alexandria. This Gospel is generally supposed to have been left in those Parts by *St. Bartholomew*, the Apostle of the *Indies*, who probably carried it with him, before the Writings of the three other Evangelists were publish'd.

IV. That the History of our Saviour, as recorded by the Evangelists, was the same with that, which had been before delivered by the Apostles and Disciples, will further appear in the Prosecution of this Discourse, and may be gathered from the following Considerations.

V. Had these Writings differed from the Sermons of the first Planters of Christianity, either in History, or Doctrine, there is no Que-

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stion, but they would have been rejected by those Churches, which they had already formed. But so consistent and uniform was the Relation of the Apostles, that these Histories appeared to be nothing else, but their Tradition and oral Attestations, made fixt and permanent. Thus was the Fame of our Saviour, which, in so few Years, had gone through the whole Earth, confirmed and perpetuated by such Records, as would preserve the traditionary Account of him to After-ages; and rectify it, if at any Time, by passing through several Generations, it might drop any Part, that was material, or contract any thing, that was false or fictitious.

VI. Accordingly we find the same Jesus Christ, who was born of a Virgin, who had wrought many Miracles in *Palestine*, who was crucified, rose again, and ascended into Heaven; I say, the same Jesus Christ had been preached, and was worshipped, in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Great-Britain*, in *Parthia*, *Media*, *Mesopotamia*, *Armenia*, *Phrygia*, *Asia*, and *Pamphilia*, in *Italy*, *Egypt*, *Africk*, and beyond *Cyrene*, *India* and *Persia*, and, in short, in all the Islands and Provinces, that are visited by the rising, or setting Sun. The same Account of our Saviour's Life and Doctrine was delivered by thousands of Preachers, and believed in thousands of Places, who all, as fast as it could be conveyed to them, received the same Account in writing from the four Evangelists.

VII. *Irenæus* to this Purpose very aptly remarks, that those barbarous Nations, who in his time were not possest of the written Gospels, and had only learned the History of our Saviour from those, who had converted them to Christianity, before the Gospels were written, had

among them the same Accounts of our Saviour, which are to be met with in the four Evangelists; An uncontestible Proof of the Harmony and Concurrence between the holy Scripture and the Tradition of the Churches in those early Times of Christianity.

VIII. Thus we see, what Opportunities the learned and inquisitive *Heathens* had of informing themselves of the Truth of our Saviour's History, during the three first Centuries, especially as they lay nearer one than an other to the Fountain-head; beside which, there were many uncontroverted Traditions, Records of Christianity, and particular Histories, that then threw Light into these Matters, but are now entirely lost, by which, at that time, any Appearance of Contradiction, or seeming Difficulties, in the History of the Evangelists, were fully cleared up and explained; though we meet with fewer Appearances of this Nature in the History of our Saviour, as related by the four Evangelists, than in the Accounts of any other Person, published by such a Number of different Historians, who lived at so great a Distance from the present Age.

XI. Among those Records, which are lost, and were of great Use to the primitive Christians, is the Letter to *Tiberius*, which I have already mentioned; that of *Marcus Aurelius*, which I shall take Notice of hereafter; the Writings of *Hegesippus*, who had drawn down the History of Christianity to his own Time, which was not beyond the Middle of the second Century; the genuine *Sibylline* Oracles, which in the first Ages of the Church were easily distinguished from the spurious; the Records preserved in particular Churches, with many other of the same Nature. SE-

SECTION VII.

I. The Sight of Miracles in those Ages a further Confirmation of *Pagan* Philosophers in the Christian Faith.
II. The Credibility of such Miracles.
III. A particular Instance.
IV. Martyrdom, why considered as a standing Miracle:
V. Primitive Christians thought many of the Martyrs were supported by a miraculous Power:
VI. Proved from the Nature of their Sufferings.
VII. How Martyrs further induced the *Pagans* to embrace Christianity.

I. THERE were other Means, which I find had a great Influence on the Learned of the three first Centuries, to create and confirm in them the Belief of our blessed Saviour's History, which ought not to be passed over in Silence. The first was, the Opportunity, they enjoyed of examining those Miracles, which were on several Occasions performed by Christians, and appeared in the Church, more or less, during these first Ages of Christianity. These had great Weight with the Men, I am now speaking of, who, from learned *Pagans*, became Fathers of the Church; for they frequently boast of them in their Writings, as Attestations given by God himself to the Truth of their Religion.

II. At the same Time, that these learned Men declare, how disingenuous, base and wicked it would be, how much beneath the Dignity of Philosophy, and contrary to the Precepts of Chri-

Christianity, to utter Falshoods or Forgeries in the Support of a Cause, though never so just in itself, they confidently assert this miraculous Power, which then subsisted in the Church; nay, tell us, that they themselves had been Eye-witnesses of it at several Times, and in several Instances; nay, appeal to the *Heathens* themselves for the Truth of several Facts, they relate, nay challenge them to be present at their Assemblies, and satisfy themselves, if they doubt of it; nay we find, that *Pagan* Authors have in some Instances confessed this miraculous Power.

III. The Letter of *Marcus Aurelius*, whose Army was preserved by a refreshing Shower, at the same Time, that his Enemies were discomfited by a Storm of Lightning, and which the Heathen Historians themselves allow to have been supernatural and the Effect of Magic: I say, this Letter, which ascribed this unexpected Assistance to the Prayers of the Christians, who then served in the Army, would have been thought an unquestionable Testimony of the miraculous Power, I am speaking of, had it been still preserved. It is sufficient for me, in this Place, to take Notice, that this was one of those Miracles, which had it's Influence on the learned Converts, because it is related by *Tertullian*, and the very Letter, appealed to. When these learned Men saw Sickness and Frenzy cured, the Dead raised, the Oracles put to Silence, the Dæmons and evil Spirits forc'd to confess themselves no Gods, by Persons, who only made Use of Prayer and Adjurations in the Name of their crucified Saviour; how could they doubt of their Saviour's Power on the like Occasions, as represented to them by the

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Traditions of the Church, and the Writings of the Evangelists?

IV. Under this Head, I cannot omit that, which appears to me a standing Miracle in the three first Centuries, I mean that amazing and supernatural Courage, or Patience, which was shewn by innumerable Multitudes of Martyrs, in those slow and painful Torments, that were inflicted on them. I cannot conceive a Man placed in the burning Iron-Chair at *Lyons*, amid the Insults and Mockeries of a crouded Amphitheatre, and still keeping his Seat; or stretched upon a Grate of Iron, over Coals of Fire, and breathing out his Soul among the exquisite Sufferings of such a tedious Execution, rather than renounce his Religion, or blaspheme his Saviour. Such Tryals seem to me above the Strength of human Nature, and able to overbear Duty, Reason, Faith, Conviction, nay, and the most absolute Certainty of a future State. Humanity, unassisted in an extraordinary Manner, must have shaken off the present Pressure, and have deliver'd it self out of such a dreadful Distress, by any Means, that could have been suggested to it. We can easily imagine, that many Persons, in so good a Cause, might have laid down their Lives at the Gibbet, the Stake, or the Block: but to expire leisurely among the most exquisite Tortures, when they might come out of them, even by a mental Reservation, or an Hypocrisy, which was not without a Possibility of being followed by Repentance and Forgiveness, has something in it, so far beyond the Force and natural Strength of Mortals, that one cannot but think, there was some miraculous Power to support the Sufferer.

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V. We find the Church of *Smyrna*, in that admirable Letter, which gives an Account of the Death of *Policarp*, their beloved Bishop, mentioning the cruel Torments of other early Martyrs for Christianity, are of opinion, that our Saviour stood by them in a Vision, and personally conversed with them, to give them Strength and Comfort during the Bitterness of their long-continued Agonies; and we have the Story of a young Man, who, having suffered many Tortures, escaped with Life, and told his Fellow-Christians, that the Pain of them had been rendered tolerable, by the Presence of an Angel, who stood by him, and wiped off the Tears and Sweat, which ran down his Face, whilst he lay under his Sufferings. We are assured, at least, that the first Martyr for Christianity was encouraged, in his last Moments, by a Vision of that divine Person, for whom he suffered, and into whose Presence he was then hastening.

VI. Let any Man calmly lay his Hand upon his Heart, and after reading these terrible Conflicts, in which the ancient Martyrs and Confessors were engaged, when they passed through such new Inventions and Varieties of Pain, as tired their Tormentors; and ask himself, however zealous and sincere he is in his Religion, whether, under such acute and lingring Tortures, he could still have held fast his Integrity, and have professed his Faith to the last, without a supernatural Assistance of some Kind, or other. For my Part, when I consider, that it was not an unaccountable Obstinacy in a single Man, or in any particular Set of Men, in some extraordinary Juncture; but that there were Multitudes of each Sex, of every Age, of different

ferent Countries and Conditions, who, for near 300. Years together, made this glorious Confession of their Faith, in the Midst of Tortures, and in the Hour of Death: I must conclude, that they were either of an other Make, than Men are at present, or that they had such miraculous Supports, as were peculiar to those Times of Christianity, when, without them, perhaps the very Name of it might have been extinguished.

VII. It is certain, that the Deaths and Sufferings of primitive Christians had a great Share in the Conversion of those learned *Pagans*, who lived in the Ages of Persecution, which, with some Intervals and Abatements, lasted near 300. Years after our Saviour. *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, *Arnobius*, and others, tell us, that this first of all alarmed their Curiosity, roused their Attention, and made them seriously inquisitive into the Nature of that Religion, which could endue the Mind with so much Strength, and overcome the Fear of Death, nay raise an earnest Desire of it, though it appeared in all it's Terrors. This they found had not been effected by all the Doctrines of those Philosophers, whom they had thoroughly studied, and who had been labouring at this great Point. The Sight of these dying and tormented Martyrs engaged them to search into the History and Doctrines of him, for whom they suffered. The more they searched, the more they were convinced; till their Conviction grew so strong, that they themselves embraced the same Truths, and either actually laid down their Lives, or were always in a Readiness to do it, rather than depart from them.

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SECTION VIII.

I. The Completion of our Saviour's Prophecies confirmed *Pagans* in their Belief of the Gospel.
II. Origen's Observation on that of his Disciples being brought before Kings and Governours.
III. On their being persecuted for their Religion;
IV. On their preaching the Gospel to all Nations.
V. On the Destruction of *Jerusalem* and Ruin of the *Jewish* Oeconomy.
VI. These Arguments strengthened by what has happened since *Origen's* Time.

I. THE second of those extraordinary Means, of great Use to the learned and inquisitive *Pagans* of the three first Centuries, for evincing the Truth of the History of our Saviour, was the Completion of such Prophecies, as are recorded of him in the Evangelists. They could not indeed form any Arguments from what he foretold, and was fulfilled during his Life, because both the Prophecy and the Completion were over, before they were published by the Evangelists; though, as *Origen* observes, what End could there be in forging some of these Predictions, as that of *St. Peter's* denying his Master, and all his Disciples forsaking him in the greatest Extremity, which reflects so much Shame on the great Apostle, and on all his Companions? Nothing, but a strict Adherence to Truth, and to Matters of Fact, could have prompted the Evangelists to relate a Circumstance so disadvantageous to their own Reputation; as that Father has well observed. II.

II. But to pursue his Reflections on this Subject. There are Predictions of our Saviour, recorded by the Evangelists, which were not completed till after their Deaths, and had no Likelyhood of being so, when they were pronounced by our blessed Saviour. Such was that wonderful Notice, he gave them, that they should be brought before Governours and Kings, for his sake, for a Testimony against them and the *Gentiles*, *Mat.* 10. 28. with the other like Prophecies, by which he foretold, that his Disciples were to be persecuted. Is there any other Doctrine in the World, says this Father, whose followers are punished? Can the Enemies of Christ say, that he knew, his Opinions were false and impious, and that therefore he might well conjecture and foretell, what would be the Treatment of those Persons, who should embrace them? Suppoſing his Doctrines were really such, why should this be the Consequence? what Likelyhood, that Men should be brought before Kings and Governours for Opinions and Tenets of any Kind, when this never happened even to the Epicureans, who absolutely denied a Providence; nor to the Peripateticks themselves, who laughed at the Prayers and Sacrifices, which were made to the Divinity? Are there any, but the Christians, who, according to this Prediction of our Saviour, being brought before Kings and Governours for his sake, are pressed, to their latest Gasp of Breath, by their respective Judges, to renounce Christianity, and to procure their Liberty and Rest, by offering the same Sacrifices, and taking the same Oaths, that others did?

III. Consider the Time, when our Saviour pronounced those Words, *Mat* 10, 32. *Whosoever*

shall confess me before Men, him will I confess also before my Father, which is in Heaven: but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father, which is in Heaven. Had you heard him speak after this Manner, when as yet his Disciples were under no such Tryals, you would certainly have said within your self: if these Speeches of Jesus are true, and if, according to his Prediction, Governours and Kings undertake to ruin and destroy those, who shall profess themselves his Disciples, we will believe (not only that he is a Prophet) but that he has received Power from God, sufficient to preserve and propagate his Religion, and that he would never talk in such a peremptory and discouraging Manner, were he not assured, that he was able to subdue the most powerfull Opposition, that could be made against the Faith and Doctrine, which he taught.

IV. Who is not struck with Admiration, when he represents to himself our Saviour at that Time foretelling, that his Gospel should be preached in all the World, for a Witness unto all Nations, or as *St. Origen* (who rather quotes the Sense than the Words) to serve for a Conviction to Kings and People, when, at the same Time, he finds, that his Gospel has accordingly been preached to Greeks and Barbarians, to the Learned and to the Ignorant, and that there is no Quality, or Condition of Life able to exempt Men from submitting to the Doctrine of Christ? As for us, says this great Author, in an other Part of his Book against *Celsus*; „When we see every Day those „ Events exactly accomplished, which our „ Saviour foretold at so great a Distance: That „ his Gospel is preached in all the World.

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„ Matthew. 24. 14. That his Disciples go and
„ teach all Nations, Matthew 28. 19. And that
„ those, who have received his Doctrine, are
„ brought, for his sake, before Governours,
„ and before Kings, Matthew 10. 18. we are
„ filled with Admiration, and our Faith in him
„ is confirmed more and more. What clearer
„ and stronger Proofs can *Celsus* ask for the
„ Truth of what he spoke?

V. *Origen* insists likewise with great Strength on that wonderful Prediction of our Saviour, concerning the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, pronounced at a Time, as he observes, when there was no Likelyhood, nor Appearance of it. This has been taken Notice of, and inculcated by so many others, that I shall refer you to what this Father has said on the Subject in the first Book against *Celsus*. And, as to the Accomplishment of this remarkable Prophecy, shall only observe, that whoever reads the Account, given us by *Josephus*, without knowing his Character, and compares it with what our Saviour foretold, would think, the Historian had been a Christian, and that he had nothing else in View, but to adjust the Event to the Prediction.

VI. I cannot quit this Head without taking Notice, that *Origen* would still have triumphed more in the foregoing Arguments, had he lived an Age longer, to have seen the *Roman* Emperors, and all their Governours and Provinces, submitting themselves to the Christian Religion, and glorying in it's Profession, as so many Kings and Sovereigns still place their Relation to Christ at the Head of their Titles.

How much greater Confirmation of his Faith would he have received, had he seen our Saviour's Prophecy stand good in the Destruction

of the Temple, and the Dissolution of the Jewish Oeconomy, when *Jews* and *Pagans* united all their Endeavours under *Julian the Apostate*, to baffle and falsifie the Prediction? The great Preparations, that were made for rebuilding the Temple, with the Hurricane, Earthquake, and Eruptions of Fire, that destroyed the Work, and terrified those, employed in the Attempt, from proceeding in it, are related by many Historians of the same Age, and the Substance of the Story testified both by *Pagan* and *Jewish* Writers, as *Ammianus Marcellinus and Zemath-David.* The learned *Chrysostome*, in a Sermon against the *Jews*, tells them, this Fact was then fresh in the Memories even of their young Men, that it happened but twenty Years ago, and that it was attested by all the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, were they might still see the Marks of it in the Rubbish of that Work, from which the *Jews* desisted in so great a Fright, and which even *Julian* had not the Courage to carry on. This Fact, which is in itself so miraculous, and so indisputable, brought over many of the *Jews* to Christianity; and shows us, that after our Saviour's Prophecy against it, the Temple could not be preserved from the Plough passing over it, by all the Care of *Titus*, who would fain have prevented it's Destruction, and that instead of being re-edified by *Julian*, all his Endeavours towards it did but still more literally accomplish our Saviour's Prediction, that not one Stone should be left upon an other.

The antient Christians were so entirely persuaded of the Force of our Saviour's Prophecies, and of the Punishment, which the *Jews* had drawn upon themselves, and upon their Children,

dren, for the Treatment, which the *Messiah* had received at their Hands, that they did not doubt, but they would always remain an abandoned and dispersed People, an Hissing and an Astonishment among the Nations, as they are to this Day. In short, that they had lost their Peculiarity of being God's People, which was now transferred to the Body of Christians, and which preserved the Church of Christ among all the Conflicts, Difficulties and Persecutions, in which it was engaged, as it had preserved the *Jewish* Government and Oeconomy for so many Ages, whilst it had the same Truth and vital Principle in it, notwithstanding it was so frequently in Danger of being utterly abolished and destroyed. *Origen*, in his fourth Book against *Celsus*, mentioning their being cast out of *Jerusalem*, the Place, to which their Worship was annexed, deprived of their Temple and Sacrifice, their religious Rites and Solemnities, and scattered over the Face of the Earth, ventures to assure them with a Face of Confidence, that they would never be re-established, since they had committed that horrid Crime against the Saviour of the World. This was a bold Assertion in the good Man, who knew, how this People had been so wonderfully re-established in former Times, when they were almost swallowed up, and in the most desperate State of Desolation, as in their Deliverance out of the *Babylonish* Captivity, and the Oppressions of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Nay, he knew, that, within less than a hundred Years before his own Time, the *Jews* had made such a powerful Effort for their Re-establishment under *Barchocab*, in the Reign of Adrian, as shook the whole *Roman Empire*. But he founded his

Opinion on a sure Word of Prophecy, and on the Punishment, they had so justly inccurred; and we find, by a long Experience of 1500. Years, that he was not mistaken, nay that his opinion gathers Strength daily, since the Jews are now at a greater Distance from any Probability of such a Re-establishment, than they were, when *Origen* wrote.

SECTION IX.

I. The Lives of primitive Christians, an other Means of bringing learned *Pagans* into their Religion.
II. The Change and Reformation of their Manners.
III. This looked upon as supernatural by the learned *Pagans*.
IV. And strengthened the Account, given of our Saviour's Life and History.
V. The *Jewish* Prophecies of our Saviour, an Argument for the *Heathens* Belief:
VI. Pursued.
VII. Pursued.

I. There was one other Means enjoyed by the learned *Pagans* of the three first Centuries, for satisfying them in the Truth of our Saviour's History, which I might have flung under one of the foregoing Heads; but as it is so shining a Particular, and does so much Honour to our Religion, I shall make a distinct Article of it, and only consider it with Regard to the Subject, I am upon: I mean the Lives and Manners of those holy Men, who believed in Christ, during the

the first Ages of Christianity. I should be thought to advance a Paradox, should I affirm, that there were more Christians in the World, during those Times of Persecution, than there are at present in these, which we call the flourishing Times of Christianity. But this will be found an indisputable Truth, if we form our Calculation upon the Opinions, which prevailed in those Days, that every one, who lives in the habitual Practice of any voluntary Sin, actually cuts himself off from the Benefits and Profession of Christianity, and whatever he may call himself, is in Reality no Christian, nor ought to be esteemed as such.

II. In the Times, we are now surveying, the Christian Religion showed it's full Force and Efficacy on the Minds of Men, and, by many Examples, demonstrated, what great and generous Souls it was capable of producing. It exalted and refined it's Proselytes to a very high Degree of Perfection, and set them far above the Pleasures, and even the Pains, of this Life. It strengthened the Infirmity, and broke the Fierceness of human Nature. It lifted up the Minds of the Ignorant to the Knowledge and Worship of him, that made them, and inspired the Vicious with a rational Devotion, a strict Purity of Heart, and an unbounded Love to their Fellow-creatures. In Proportion as it spread through the World, it seemed to change Mankind into an other Species of Beings. No sooner was a Convert initiated into it, but, by an easy Figure, he became a New Man, and both acted and looked upon himself as one regenerated and born a second Time into an other State of Existence.

III. It is not my Business to be more particular in the Accounts of primitive Christianity, which have been exhibited so well by others, but rather to observe, that the *Pagan* Converts, of whom I am now speaking, mention this great Reformation of those, who had been the greatest Sinners, with that sudden and surprising Change, which it made in the Lives of the most profligate, as having something in it supernatural, miraculous, and more than human. *Origen* represents this Power in the Christian Religion, as no less wonderful, than that of curing the Lame and Blind, or cleansing the Leper. Many others represent it in the same Light, and looked upon it as an Argument, that there was a certain Divinity in that Religion, which showed it self in such strange and glorious Effects.

IV. This therefore was a great Means not only of recommending Christianity to honest and learned Heathens, but of confirming them in the Belief of our Saviour's History, when they saw Multitudes of virtuous Men daily forming themselves upon his Example, animated by his Precepts, and actuated by that Spirit, which he had promised to send among his Disciples.

V. But I find, no Argument made a stronger Impression on the Minds of these eminent *Pagan* Converts, for strengthening their Faith in the History of our Saviour, than the Predictions, relating to him in those old Prophetick Writings, which were deposited among the Hands of the greatest Enemies to Christianity, and owned by them to have been extant many Ages before his Appearance. The learned heathen Converts were astonished to see the whole History

story of their Saviour's Life published before he was born, and to find, that the Evangelists and Prophets, in their Accounts of the Messiah, differed only in Point of Time, the one foretelling what should happen to him, and the other describing those very Particulars, as what had actually happened. This our Saviour himself was pleased to make Use of, as the strongest Argument of his being the promised *Messiah*, and without it would hardly have reconcited his Disciples to the Ignominy of his Death, as in that remarkable Passage, which mentions his Conversation with the two Disciples, on the Day of his Resurrection. *St. Luke*, chap. 24. verse 13. to the end.

VI. The heathen Converts, after having travelled through all human Learning, and fortified their Minds with the Knowledge of Arts and Sciences, were particularly qualified to examine these Prophecies with great Care and Impartiality, and without Prejudice, or Prepossession. If the *Jews*, on the one Side, put an unnatural Interpretation on these Prophecies, to evade the Force of them in their Controversies with the Christians; or if the Christians, on the other Side, over strained several Passages in their Applications of them, as it often happens among Men of the best Understanding, when their Minds are heated with any Consideration, that bears a more than ordinary Weight with it: the learned Heathens may be looked upon as Neuters in the Matter, when all these Prophecies were new to them, and their Education had left the Interpretation of them free and indifferent. Besides, these learned Men among the primitive Christians knew, how the *Jews*, who had preceded our Saviour, interpreted these

Predictions, and the several Marks, by which they acknowledged the *Messiah* would be discovered, and how those of the *Jewish* Doctors, who succeeded him, had deviated from the Interpretations and Doctrines of their Forefathers, on Purpose to stifle their own Conviction.

VII. This Sett of Arguments had therefore an invincible Force with those *Pagan* Philosophers, who became Christians, as we find in most of their Writings. They could not disbelieve our Saviour's History, which so exactly agreed with every thing, that had been written of him many Ages before his Birth, nor doubt of those Circumstances being fulfilled in him, which could not be true of any Person, that lived in the World, besides him self. This wrought the greatest Confusion in the unbelieving *Jews*, and the greatest Conviction in the *Gentiles*, who every were speak with Astonishment of these Truths, they met with in this new Magazine of Learning, which was opened to them, and carry the Point so far, as to think whatever excellent Doctrine they had met with among *Pagan* Writers, had been stolen from their Conversation with the *Jews*, or from the Perusal of these Writings, which they had in their Custody.

FINIS.

THE

THE TATLER

—— Paulo majora canamus.

Num. 55.
Tuesday, August. 16. 1709.

White's Chocolate-house, August 15.

While others are busied in Relations, which concern the Interests of Princes, the Peace of Nations, and the Revolutions of Empire; I think (though these are very great Subjects) my Theme of Discourse is sometimes to be of Matters of a yet higher Consideration. The slow Steps of Providence and Nature, and strange Events, which are brought about in an Instant, are what, as they come within our View and Observation, shall be given to the Publick. Such Things are not accompanied with Show and Noise, and therefore seldom draw

draw the Eyes of the unattentive Part of Mankind; but are very proper at once to exercise our Humanity, please our Imaginations, and improve our Judgments. It may not therefore be unuseful to relate many Circumstances, which were observable upon a late Cure, done upon a young Gentleman, who was born blind, and on the 29th. of June last received his Sight at the Age of twenty Years, by the Operation of an Oculist. This happen'd no farther off than Newington, and the Work was prepared for in the following Manner.

The Operator, Mr. Grant, having observed the Eyes of his Patient, and convinced his Friends and Relations, among others the Reverend Mr. Caswell, Minister of the Place, that it was highly probable, he should remove the Obstacle, which prevented the Use of his Sight; all his Acquaintance, who had any Regard for the young Man, or Curiosity to be present, when one of full Age and Understanding received a new Sense, assembled themselves on this Occasion. Mr. Caswell, being a Gentleman particularly curious, desired the whole Company, in Case the Blindness should be cured, to keep Silence, and let the Patient make his own Observations, without the Direction of any Thing, he had received by his other Senses, or the advantage of discovering his Friends by their Voices. Among several others, the Mother, Brethren, Sisters, and a young Gentlewoman, for whom he had a Passion, were present. The Work was performed with great Skill and Dexterity. When the Patient first received the Dawn of Light, there appeared such an Ecstasy in his Action, that he seemed ready to swoon away in the Surprize

of

of Joy and Wonder. The Surgeon ſtood before him with his Inſtruments in his Hand. The young Man obſerved him from Head to Foot; after which he ſurvey'd himſelf as carefully, and ſeem'd to compare him to himſelf; and obſerving both their Hands, ſeem'd to think, they were exactly alike, except the Inſtruments, which he took for Parts of his Hands. When he had continued in this Amazement ſome Time, his Mother could not longer bear the Agitations of ſo many Paſſions, as throng'd upon her, but fell upon his Neck, crying out, My Son! My Son! The Youth knew her Voice, and could ſpeak no more than, Oh me! Are you my Mother? and fainted. The whole Room, you will eaſily conceive, were very affectionately employed in recovering him; but above all, the young Gentlewoman, who loved him, and whom he loved, ſhriek'd in the loudeſt Manner. That voice ſeem'd to have a ſudden Effect upon him, as he recovered, and he ſhewed a double Curioſity in obſerving her, as ſhe ſpoke and call'd to him; till at laſt he broke out; What has been done to me? Whither am I carried? Is all this about me the Thing, I have heard ſo often of? Is this the Light? Is this ſeeing? Were you allways thus happy, when you ſaid, you were glad to ſee each other? Where is Tom, who uſed to lead me? But I could now, methinks, go any where without him. He offered to move, but ſeemed afraid of every Thing around him. When they ſaw his Difficulty, they told him, till he became better acquainted with his new Being, he muſt let the Servant ſtill lead him. The Boy was call'd for, and preſented to him. Mr. Caſwel aſk'd him, what Sort of Thing he took Tom

to

to be, before he had seen him. He answer'd, He believed there was not so much of him as of himself; but he fancied him the same Sort of Creature. The Noise of this sudden Change made all the Neighbourhood throng to the Place, where he was. As he saw the Crowd thickening, he desired Mr. Caswell to tell him, how many there were in all to be seen. The Gentlemann, smiling, answer'd him, That it would be very proper for him to return to his late Condition, and suffer his Eyes to be covered, till they had received Strength; for he might remember well enough, that by Degrees, he had, from little and little, come to the Strength, he had at present, in his Ability of Walking and Moving; and that it was the same Thing with his Eyes, which, he said, would lose the Power of continuing to him that wonderful Transport, he was now in, except he would be contented to lay aside the Use of them, till they were strong enough to bear the Light without so much Feeling, as he knew, he underwent at present. With much Reluctance he was prevailed upon to have his Eyes bound, in which Condition they kept him in a dark Room, till it was proper to let the Organ receive it's Objects without farther Precaution. During the Time of this Darkness, he bewail'd himself in the most distressed Manner, and accused all his Friends, complaining that some Incantation had been wrought upon him, and some Magick used to deceive him into an Opinion, that he had enjoy'd what they called Sight. He added, that the Impressions, then let in upon his Soul, would certainly distract him, if he were not so at that present. At another Time he would strive to name the Persons, he had seen among the Crowd,

after

after he was couched, and would pretend to speak (in perplexed Terms of his own making) of what he in that short Time observed. But on the 6th. Instant it was thought fit to unbind his Head, and the young Woman, whom he loved, was instructed to open his Eyes accordingly, as well to indear her self to him by such a Circumstance, as to moderate his Ecstasies by the Perswasion of a Voice, which had so much Power over him, as hers ever had. When this belov'd young Woman began to take off the Binding of his Eyes, she talk'd to him as follows:

„ Mr. William, I am now taking the „ Binding off, though when I consider what I „ am doing, I tremble with the Apprehension, „ that (though I have from my very Childhood „ loved you, dark as you were, and though „ you had conceived so strong a Love for me, „ yet) you will find there is such a Thing as „ Beauty, which may ensnare you into a „ Thousand Passions, of which you are now „ innocent, and take you from me for ever. „ But before I put my self to that Hazard, tell „ me in what Manner that Love, you always „ professed to me, entered into your Heart; for „ it's usual Admission is at the Eyes.

The young Man answered, „ Dear Lidia, „ if I am to lose, by Sight, the soft Pantings, „ which I have always felt, when I heard your „ Voice; If I am no more to distinguish the „ Steps of her, I love, when she approaches „ me, but to change that sweet and frequent „ Pleasure for such an Amazement, as I knew „ the little Time I lately saw; Or if I am to „ have any Thing besides, which may take

„ from

„ from me the Sense, I have of what appeared
„ most pleasing to me at that Time, (which
„ Apparition it seems was you) pull out these
„ Eyes, before they lead me to be ungrateful
„ to you; or undo my self. I wish'd for them
„ but to see you; pull them out, if they are to
„ make me forget you.

Num. 81.

Hic Manes ob Patriam pugnando Vulnera passi,
Quique pii Vates & Phoebo digna locuti,
Inventas aut qui Vitam excoluere per Artes,
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.

Virg.

From Thursday October 13. to Saturday October 15. 1709.

There are two Kinds of Immortality; that, which the Soul really enjoys after this Life, and that Imaginary Existence, by which Men live in their Fame and Reputation. The best and greatest Actions have proceeded from the Prospect of the one, or the other of these; but my Design is to treat only of those, who have chiefly proposed to themselves the latter, as the principal Reward of their Labours. It was for this Reason, that I excluded from my Tables of Fame all the great Founders and Votaries of Religion; and it is for this Reason also, that I am more than ordinarily anxious, to do Justice to the Persons, of whom I am now going

going to speak; for, since Fame was the only End of all their Enterprizes and Studies, a Man cannot be too scrupulous in allotting them their due Proportion of it. It was this Consideration, which made me call the whole Body of the Learned to my Assistance; to many of whom I must own my Obligations for the Catalogues of illustrious Persons, which they have sent me in, upon this Occasion. I yesterday employed the whole Afternoon in comparing them with each other, which made so strong an Impression upon my Imagination, that they broke my Sleep, for the first Part of the following Night, and, at length, threw me into a very agreeable Vision, which I shall beg Leave to describe in all it's Particulars.

I dreamed, that I was conveyed into a wide and boundless Plain, that was covered with prodigious Multitudes of People, which no Man could number. In the Midst of it there stood a Mountain, with it's Head above the Clouds. The Sides were extreamly steep, and of such a particular Structure, that no Creature, which was not made in an Humane Figure, could possibly ascend it. On a sudden there was heard from the Top of it a Sound, like that of a Trumpet, but so exceeding sweet and harmonious, that it filled the Hearts of those, who heard it, with Raptures, and gave such high and delightful Sensations, as seemed to animate and raise Humane Nature above it self. This made me very much amazed, to find so very few in that innumerable Multitude, who had Ears fine enough, to hear, or relish this Musick with Pleasure: But my Wonder abated, when, upon looking round me, I saw most of them attentive to three Sirens, cloathed like Goddesses, and

distinguished by the Names of Sloth, Ignorance, and Pleasure. They were seated on three Rocks, amidst a beautiful Variety of Groves, Meadows, and Rivulets, that lay on the Borders of the Mountain. While the base and groveling Multitude, of different Nations, Ranks and Ages, were listening to these delusive Deities; those of a more erect Aspect, and exalted Spirit, separated themselves from the rest, and marched in great Bodies towards the Mountain, from whence they heard the Sound, which still grew sweeter, the more they listened to it.

On a sudden, me thought, this select Band sprang forward, with a Resolution to climb the Ascent, and follow the Call of that Heavenly Musick. Every one took something with him, that he thought might be of Assistance to him in his March. Several had their Swords drawn, some carried Rolls of Paper in their Hands, some had Compasses, others Quadrants, others Telescopes, and others Pencils: Some had Laurels on their Heads, and others Buskings on their Legs: In short, there was scarce any Instrument of a Mechanick Art, or Liberal Science, which was not made Use of, on this Occasion. My good Dæmon, who stood at my right Hand, during the Course of this whole Vision, observing in me a burning Desire, to join that glorious Company, told me, he highly approved that generous Ardour, with which I seemed transported; but at the same Time advised me, to cover my Face with a Mask all the while, I was to labour on the Ascent. I took his Counsel, without inquiring into his Reasons. The whole Body now broke into different Parties, and began to climb the Precipice by ten Thousand different Paths. Several got into

into little Allies, which did not reach far up the Hill, before they ended and led no farther; and I observed, that most of the Artizans, (which considerably diminish'd our Number) fell into these Paths.

We left another considerable Body of Adventurers behind us, who thought, they had discovered By-ways up the Hill, which proved so very intricate and perplex'd, that, after having advanced in them a little, they were quite lost among the several Turns and Windings; and tho' they were as active, as any, in their Motions, they made but little Progress in the Ascent. These, as my Guide informed me, were Men of subtle Tempers, and puzzled Politicks, who would supply the Place of real Wisdom with Cunning and Artifice. Among those, who were far advanced in their Way, there were some, that, by one false Step, fell backward, and lost more Ground in a Moment, than they had gain'd for many Hours, or could be ever able to recover. We were now advanced very high, and observed, that all the different Paths, which ran about the Sides of the Mountain, began to meet in two great Roads, which insensibly gather'd the whole Multitude of Travellers into two great Bodies. At a little Distance from the Entrance of each Road, there stood an hideous Phantom, that opposed our further Passage. One of these Apparitions had his right Hand filled with Darts, which he brandished in the Face of all, who came up that Way. Crowds ran back at the Appearance of it, and cried out, Death! The Spectre, that guarded the other Road, was Envy: She was not armed with Weapons of Destruction like the former; but by dreadful

Hissings, Noises of Reproach, and horrid distracted Laughter, she appeared more frightful, than Death it self; insomuch that Abundance of our Company were discouraged from passing any further, and some appeared ashamed of having come so far. As for my self, I must confess, my Heart shrunk within me at the Sight of these ghastly Appearances: But on a sudden, the Voice of the Trumpet came more full upon us, so that we fellt a new Resolution reviving in us; and in Proportion as this Resolution grew, the Terrors before us seem'd to vanish. Most of the Company, who had Swords in their Hands, marched on with great Spirit, and an Air of Defiance, up the Road, that was commanded by Death; while others, who had Thought and Contemplation in their Looks, went forward, in a more composed Manner, up the Road, possessed by Envy. The Way above these Apparitions grew smooth and uniform, and was so delightful, that the Travellers went on with Pleasure, and in a little Time arrived at the Top of the Mountain. They here began to breath a delicious kind of Æther, and saw all the Fields about them covered with a Kind of purple Light, that made them reflect with Satisfaction on their past Toils, and diffused a secret Joy through the whole Assembly, which shewed it self in every Look and Feature. In the Midst of these happy Fields there stood a Palace of a very glorious Structure: It had four great Folding Doors, that faced the four several Quarters of the World. On the Top of it was enthron'd the Goddess of the Mountain, who smiled upon her Votaries, and sounded the Silver Trumpet, which had called them up, and cheared them in their

Passa-

Passage to her Palace. They had now formed themselves into several Divisions, a Band of Historians taking their Stations at each Door, according to the Persons, whom they were to introduce.

On a sudden, the Trumpet, which had hitherto sounded only a March, or a Point of War, now swell'd all its Notes into Triumph and Exultation: The whole Fabrick shook, and the Doors flew open. The first, who stepped forward, was a beautiful and blooming Hero, and as I heard by the Murmurs round me, Alexander the Great. He was conducted by a Crowd of Historians. The Person, who immediately walked before him, was remarkable for an embroidered Garment, who, not being well acquainted with the Place, was conducting him to an Apartment, appointed for the Reception of fabulous Heroes. The Name of this false Guide was Quintus Curtius. But Arrian and Plutarch, who knew better the Avenues of this Palace, conducted him into the great Hall, and placed him at the upper End of the first Table. My good Dæmon, that I might see the whole Ceremony, conveyed me to a Corner of this Room, where I might perceive all that passed, without being seen my self. The next, who entered, was a charming Virgin, leading in a venerable old Man, that was blind. Under her left Arm she bore a Harp, and on her Head a Garland. Alexander, who was very well acquainted with Homer, stood up at his Entrance, and placed him on his right Hand. The Virgin, who, it seems, was one of the Nine Sisters, that attended on the Goddess of Fame, smiled with an ineffable Grace at their Meeting, and retired. Julius Caesar was

now coming forward, and tho' most of the Historians offered their Service to introduce him, he left them at the Door, and would have no Conductor but himself.

The next, who advanced, was a Man of a homely, but chearful Aspect, and attended by Persons of greater Figure, than any, that appeared on this Occasion. Plato was on his right Hand, and Xenophon on his left. He bowed to Homer, and sat down by him. It was expected, that Plato would himself have taken a Place next to his Master Socrates; but on a sudden there was heard a great Clamour of Disputants at the Door, who appeared with Aristotle at the Head of them. That Philosopher, with some Rudeness, but great Strength of Reason, convinced the whole Table, that a Title to the fifth Place was his Due, and took it accordingly.

He had scarce sat down, when the same beautiful Virgin, that had introduced Homer, brought in another, who hung back at the Entrance, and would have excused him self, had not his Modesty been overcome by the Invitation of all, who sat at the Table. His Guide and Behaviour made me easily conclude it was Virgil. Cicero next appeared, and took his Place. He had inquir'd at the Door for one Lucceius to introduce him; but not finding him there, he contented himself with the Attendance of many other Writers, who all (except Sallust) appeared highly pleased with the Office.

We waited some Time in Expectation of the next Worthy, who came in with a great Retinue of Historians, whose Names I could not learn, most of them being natives of Carthage.

The

The Person thus conducted, who was Hannibal, seemed much disturbed, and could not forbear complaining to the Board of the Affronts, he had met with, among the Roman Historians, who attempted, says he, to carry me into the subterraneous Apartement; and perhaps would have done it, had it not been for the Impartiality of this Gentleman, pointing to Polibius, who was the only Person, except my own Countrymen, that was willing to conduct me hither.

The Carthaginian took his Seat, and Pompey entered with great Dignity in his own Person, and preceeded by several Historians. Lucan the Poet was at the Head of them, who, observing Homer and Virgil at the Table, was going to sit down himself, had not the latter whispered him, that, what ever Pretence he might otherwise have had, he forfeited his Claim to it, by coming in as one of the Historians. Lucan was so exasperated with the Repulse, that he muttered something to himself, and was heard to say, that, since he could not have a Seat among them himself, he would bring in one, who alone had more Merit, than their whole Assembly: Upon which he went to the Door, and brought in Cato of Utica. That great Man approached the Company with such an Air, that showed, he contemned the Honour, he laid Claim to. Observing the Seat opposite to Cæsar was vacant, he took Possession of it, and spoke two or three smart Sentences upon the Nature of Precedency, which, according to him, consisted not in Place, but in intrinsick Merit; to which he added, that the most virtuous Man, where-ever he was seated, was always at the upper End of the Table. So-

crates, who had a great Spirit of Raillery with his Wisdom, could not forbear smiling at a Virtue, which took so little Pains to make it self agreeable. Cicero took the Occasion to make a long Discourse in Praise of Cato, which he uttered with much Vehemence. Cæsar answer'd him with a great deal of seeming Temper; but as I stood at a great Distance from them, I was not able to hear one Word of what they said. But I could not forbear taking Notice, that in all the Discourse, which passed at the Table, a Word, or Nod from Homer decided the Controverly.

After a short Pause, Augustus appeared, looking round him with a serene and affable Countenance upon all the Writers of his Age, who strove among themselves, which of them should show him the greatest Marks of Gratitude and Respect. Virgil rose from the Table to meet him; and though he was an accepted Guest to all, he appeared more such to the learned, than the Military Worthies. The next Man astonish'd the whole Table with his Appearance: He was slow, solemn, and silent in his Behaviour, and wore a Raiment curiously wrought with Hieroglyphicks. As he came into the middle of the Room, he threw back the Skirt of it, and discovered a Golden Thigh. Socrates, at the Sight of it, declared against keeping Company with any, who were not made of Flesh and Blood; and therefore desired Diogenes the Laertian to lead him to the Apartment, allotted for Fabulous Heroes, and Worthies of dubious Existence. At his going out, he told them, that they did not know whom they dismissed; that he was now Pythagoras, the first of Philosophers, and that formerly he had been

been a very brave Man at the Siege of Troy. That may be very true, said Socrates; but you forget, that you have likewise been a very great Harlot in your Time. This Exclusion made way for Archimedes, who came forward with a Scheme of Mathematical Figures in his Hand; among which I observ'd a Cone and a Cylinder.

Seeing this Table full, I desired my Guide, for Variety, to lead me to the Fabulous Apartment, the Roof of which was painted with Gorgons, Chimera's, and Centaurs, with many other Emblematical Figures, which I wanted both Time and Skill to unriddle. The first Table was almost full: At the upper End sat Hercules leaning an Arm upon his Club; on his right Hand were Achilles, and Ulysses, and between them Æneas; on his left were Hector, Theseus, and Jason: The lower End had Orpheus, Æsop, Phalaris, and Musæus. The Usher seem'd at a Loss for a twelfth Man, when, methoughts, to my great Joy and Surprize, I heard some at the lower End of the Table mention Isaac Bickerstaff: But those of the upper End receiv'd it with Disdain, and said, if they must have a British Worthy, they would have Robin Hood.

While I was transported with the Honour, that was done me, and burning with Envy against my Competitor, I was awaken'd by the Noise of the Cannon, which were then fired for the taking of Mons. I should have been very much troubled at being thrown out of so pleasing a Vision on any other Occasion; but thought it an agreable Change, to have my Thoughts diverted from the greatest among the Dead and Fabulous Heroes, to the most famous among the Real and the Living.

Ubi idem & maximus & honestissimus Amor est, aliquando præstat Morte jungi, quam vita distrahi.

Val. Max.

Num. 82. Tuesday, Octob. 18. 1709.

From my own Apartment, Octobr. 17.

After the Mind has been employed on Contemplations suitable to it's Greatness, it is unnatural to run into sudden Mirth or Levity; but we must let the Soul subside, as it rose, by proper Degrees. My late Consideration of the ancient Heroes impressed a certain Gravity upon my Mind, which is much above the little Gratification, received from Starts of Humour and Fancy, and threw me into a pleasing Sadness. In this State of Thought I have been looking at the Fire, and in a pensive Manner reflecting upon the great Misfortunes and Calamities incident to Humane Life; among which there are none, that touch so sensibly, as those, which befall Persons, who eminently love, and meet with fatal Interruptions of their Happiness, when they least expect it. The Piety of Children to Parents, and the Affection of Parents to their Children, are the Effects of Instinct; but the Affection between Lovers and Friends is founded on Reason and Choice, which has always made me think, the Sorrows of the latter much more to be pitied, than those of the former. The Contemplation of Distresses of this Sort softens the Mind of Man, and makes the Heart better;

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It extinguishes the Seeds of Envy and Ill-will towards Mankind; corrects the Pride of Prosperity, and beats down all that Fierceness and Insolence, which are apt to get into the Minds of the Daring and Fortunate.

For this Reason the wise Athenians, in their Theatrical Performances, laid before the Eyes of the People the greatest Afflictions, which could befall Humane Life, and insensibly polish'd their Tempers by such Representations. Among the Moderns indeed there has arose a Chimerical Method of disposing the Fortune of the Persons represented, according to what they call Poetical Justice; and letting none be unhappy, but those, who deserve it. In such Cases, an intelligent Spectator, if he is concern'd, knows he ought not to be so; and can learn nothing from such a Tenderness, but that he is a weak Creature, whose Passions cannot follow the Dictates of his Understanding. It is very natural, when one is got into such a Way of thinking, to recollect those Examples of Sorrow, which have made the strongest Impression upon our Imaginations. An Instance, or Two, of such you'll give me Leave to communicate.

A young Gentleman and Lady of ancient and honourable Houses in Cornwall, had from their Childhood entertained for each other a generous and noble Passion, which had been long opposed by their Friends, by Reason of the Inequality of their Fortunes; but their Constancy to each other, and Obedience to those, on whom they depended, wrought so much upon their Relations, that these celebrated Lovers were at length joined in Marriage. Soon after their Nuptials, the Bridegroom was obliged to go into a Foreign Country, to take Care of a Con-

a considerable Fortune, which was left him by a Relation, and came very opportunely to improve their moderate Circumstances. They received the Congratulations of all the Country on this Occasion; and I remember, it was a common Sentence in every one's Mouth; You see, how faithful Love is rewarded.

He took this agreeable Voyage, and sent Home every Post fresh Accounts of his Success in his Affairs abroad; but at last (though he designed to return with the next Ship) he lamented in his Letters, that Business would detain him some Time longer from Home; because he would give himself the Pleasure of an unexpected Arrival.

The young Lady, after the Heat of the Day walked every Evening on the Sea Shore, near which she lived, with a familiar Friend, her Husband's Kinswoman, and diverted her self with what Objects they met there, or upon Discourses of the future Methods of Life, in the happy Change of their Circumstances. They stood one Evening on the Shore together in a perfect Tranquility, observing the Setting of the Sun, the calm Face of the Deep, and the silent Heaving of the Waves, which gently roll'd towards 'em, and broke at their Feet; when at a Distance her Kinswoman saw something float on the Waters, which she fancied was a Chest; and with a Smile told her, she saw it first, and if it came on shore full of Jewels, she had a Right to it. They both fixed their Eyes upon it, and entertained themselves with the Subject of the Wreck, the Cousin still asserting her Right; but promising, if it was a Prize, to give her a very rich Coral for the Child, of which she was then big, provided she might be God-

God-mother. Their Mirth soon abated, when they observ'd upon the nearer Approach, that it was a humane Body. The young Lady, who had a Heart naturally fill'd with Pity and Compassion, made many melancholy Reflections on the Occasion. Who knows (said she) but this Man may be the only Hope and Heir of a wealthy House; the Darling of indulgent Parents, who are now in impertinent Mirth, and pleasing themselves with the Thoughts of offering him a Bride, they have got ready for him? Or, may he not be the Master of a Family, that wholly depended upon his Life? There may, for ought we know, be half a Dozen Fatherless Children, and a tender Wife, now exposed to Poverty by his Death. What Pleasure might he have promised himself in the different Welcome, he was to have from her and them? But let us go away, 'tis a dreadful Sight! The best Office we can do, is to take Care, the poor Man, whoever he is, may be decently buried. She turned away, when a Wave threw the Carcass on the Shore. The Kinswoman immediately shriek'd out, Oh, my Cousin! and fell upon the Ground. The unhappy Wife went to help her Friend, when she saw her own Husband at her Feet, and dropt in a Swoon upon the Body. An old Woman, who had been the Gentleman's Nurse, came out about this Time, to call the Ladies in to Supper, and found her Child (as she always called him) dead on the Shore, her Mistress and Kinswoman both lying dead by him. Her loud Lamentations, and calling her young Master to Life, soon awaked the Friend from her Trance; but the Wife was gone for ever.

When

When the Family and Neighbourhood got together round the Bodies, no one asked any Question, but the Object before 'em told the Story.

Incidents of this Nature are the more moving, when they are drawn by Persons, concerned in the Catastrophe, notwithstanding they are often oppressed beyond the Power of giving them in a distinct Light, except we gather their Sorrow from their Inability to speak it.

I have two Original Letters written both on the same Day, which are to me exquisite in their different Kinds. The Occasion was this: A Gentleman, who had courted a most agreeable young Woman, and won her Heart, obtained also the Consent of her Father, to whom she was an only Child. The old Man had a Fancy, that they should be married in the same Church, where he himself was, in a Village in Westmorland, and made 'em set out, while he was laid up with the Gout at London. The Bridegroom took only his Man, and the Bride her Maid; They had the most agreeable Journey imaginable to the Place of Marriage; from whence the Bridegroom writ the following Letter to his Wife's Father.

March, 18. 1672.

Sir

After a very pleasant Journey hither, we are preparing for the happy Hour, in which I am to be your Son. I assure you, the Bride carries it, in the Eye of the Vicar, who married you, much beyond her Mother; though he says, your open Sleeves, Pantaloons, and Shoulder Knot, made a much better Show, than the finical Dress, I am in. However, I am contented

to

to be the Second Fine Man, this Village ever saw, and shall make it very merry before Night, because I shall write my self from thence,

Your most dutiful Son T. D.

P.S. The Bride gives her Duty, and is as handsome as an Angel — I am the happiest Man breathing.

The Villagers were assembled about the Church, and the happy Couple took a Walk in a private Garden. The Bridegroom's Man knew, his Master would leave the Place on a sudden after the Wedding, and seeing him draw his Pistols the Night before, took this Opportunity to go into his Chamber and charge them. Upon their Return from the Garden, they went into that Room; and after a little fond Raillery on the Subject of their Courtship, the Lover took up a Pistol, which he knew he had unloaded the Night before, and presenting it to her, said with the most graceful Air, whilst she look'd pleas'd at his agreeable Flattery; Now, Madam, repent of all those Cruelties, you have been guilty of to me; consider before you die, how often you have made a poor Wretch freeze under your Casement; you shall die, you Tyrant, you shall die, with all those Instruments of Death and Destruction about you, with that inchanting Smile, those killing Ringlets of your Hair. Give Fire, said she, laughing. He did so, and shot her dead. Who can speak his Condition? But he bore it so patiently, as to call up his Man. The poor Wretch enter'd, and his Master lock'd the Door upon him. Will, said he, did you charge these Pistols? He answered, Yes. Upon which he shot him dead with that remaining. After this, amidst a

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Thousand broken Sobs, piercing Groans, and distracted Motions, he writ the following Letter to the Father of his dead Mistress.

Sir.

I, who Two Hours ago told you truly, I was the happiest Man alive, am now the most miserable. Your Daughter lies dead at my Feet, killed by my Hand, through a Mistake of my Man's charging my Pistols unknown to me: Him have I murdered for it. Such is my Wedding Day — I will immediately follow my Wife to her Grave: But before I throw my self upon my Sword, I command my Distraction so far, as to explain my Story to you. I fear my Heart will not keep together, till I have stabb'd it. Poor good old Man! — Remember, he that killed your Daughter, died for it. In the Article of Death I give you my Thanks, and pray for you, though I dare not for my self. If it be possible, do not curse me.

Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia Regna.
Virg.

Num. 100.

From Saturday November 26. to Tuesday Nov: 29. 1709.

I was last week taking a solitary Walk in the Garden of Lincoln's-Inn (a Favour, that is indulged me by several of the Benchers, who are my intimate Friends, and grown old with me in this

this Neighbourhood,) when, according to the Nature of Men in Years, who have made but little Progreſs in the Advancement of their Fortune, or their Fame, I was repining at the ſudden Riſe of many Perſons, who are my Juniors; and indeed at the unequal Diſtribution of Wealth, Honour, and all other Bleſſings of Life. I was loſt in this Thought, when the Night came upon me, and drew my Mind into a far more agreeable Contemplation. The Heaven above me appeared in all its Glories, and preſented me with ſuch an Hemiſphere of Stars, as made the moſt agreeable Proſpect imaginable to one, who delights in the Study of Nature. It happened to be a freezing Night, which had purified the whole Body of Air into ſuch a bright tranſparent Æther, as made every Conſtellation viſible; and at the ſame Time gave ſuch a particular Glowing to the Stars, that I thought it the richeſt Sky, I had ever ſeen. I could not behold a Scene ſo wonderfully adorned and lighted up (if I may be allowed that Expreſſion) without ſuitable Meditations on the Author of ſuch illuſtrious and amazing Objects. For, on theſe Occaſions, Philoſophy ſuggeſts Motives to Religion, and Religion adds Pleaſure to Philoſophy.

As ſoon as I had recovered my uſual Temper and Serenity of Soul, I retired to my Lodgings, with the Satisfaction of having paſſed away a few Hours in the proper Employments of a reaſonable Creature; and promiſing my ſelf, that my Slumbers would be ſweet, I no ſooner fell into them, but I dreamed a Dream, or ſaw a Viſion, (for I know not which to call it) that ſeemed to riſe out of my Evening-Meditation, and had ſomething in it ſo ſolemn and ſerious, that I cannot forbear communicating it; tho' I

must confess, the Wildness of Imagination (which in a Dream is always loose and irregular) discovers it self too much in several Parts of it.

Me thought, I saw the same azure Sky, diversified with the same glorious Luminaries, which had entertained me, a little before I fell asleep. I was looking very attentively on that Sign in the Heavens, which is called by the Name of the Balance, when, on a sudden, there appeared in it an extraordinary Light, as if the Sun should rise at Midnight. By its increasing in Breadth and Lustre, I soon found, that it approached towards the Earth; and at length could discern something, like a Shadow, hovering in the Midst of a great Glory, which, in a little Time after, I distinctly perceived, to be the Figure of a Woman. I fancied at first, it might have been the Angel, or Intelligence, that guided the Constellation, from which it descended; but upon a nearer View, I saw about her all the Emblems, with which the Goddess of Justice is usually describ'd. Her Countenance was unspeakably awful and Majestick, but exquisitely beautiful to those, whose Eyes were strong enough to behold it; her Smiles transported with Rapture, her Frowns terrified to Despair. She held in her Hand a Mirror, endowed with the same Qualities, as that, which the Painters put into the Hand of Truth.

There streemed from it a Light, which distinguished it self from all the Splendors, that surrounded her, more than a Flash of Lightning shines in the Midst of Day light. As she moved it in her Hand, it brightened the Heavens, the Air, and the Earth. When she had descended so low, as to be seen and heard by Mortals, to make the Pomp of her Appearance more supportable,

portable, she threw Darkness and Clouds about her, that tempered the Light into a thousand beautiful Shades and Colours, and multiplied that Lustre, which was before too strong and dazling, into a Variety of milder Glories.

In the mean Time the World was in an Alarm, and all the Inhabitants of it gathered together upon a spacious Plain; so that I seemed to have the whole Species before my Eyes. A Voice was heard from the Clouds, declaring the Intention of this Visit, which was, to restore and appropriate to every one living what was his Due. The Fear and Hope, Joy and Sorrow, which appeared in that great Assembly after this solemn Declaration, are not to be expressed. The first Edict was then pronounced, that all Titles and Claims to Riches and Estates, or to any Part of 'em, should be immediately vested in the rightfull Owner. Upon this, the Inhabitants of the Earth held up the Instruments of their Tenure, whether in Parchment, Paper, Wax, or any other Form of Conveyance; and as the Goddess moved the Mirror of Truth, which she held in her Hand, so that the Light, which flowed from it, fell upon the Multitude, they examined the several Instruments by the Beams of it. The Rays of this Mirror had a particular Quality of setting Fire to all Forgery and Falshood. The Blaze of Papers, the Melting of Seals, and Crackling of Parchments, made a very odd Scene. The Fire very often ran through two or three Lines only, and then stopped. Tho' I could not but observe, that the Flame chiefly broke out among the Interlineations and Codicils: the Light of the Mirror, as it was turned up and down, pierced into all the dark Corners and Recesses of the Universe, and by

that Means detected many Writings and Records, which had been hidden, or buried by Time, Chance, or Design. This occasioned a wonderful Revolution among the People. At the same Time, the Spoils of Extortion, Fraud and Robbery, with all the Fruits of Bribery and Corruption, were thrown together into a prodigious Pile, that almost reached to the Clouds, and was called the Mount of Restitution; to which all injured Persons were invited, to receive what belonged to them.

One might see Crowds of People in tattered Garments come up, and change Clothes with others, that were dressed with Lace and Embroidry. Several, who were Plumbs, or very near it, became Men of moderate Fortunes; and many others, who were overgrown in Wealth and Possessions, had no more left, than what they usually spent. What moved my Concern most, was, to see a certain Street of the greatest Credit in Europe from one End to the other become Bankrupt.

The next Command was, for the whole Body of Mankind to separate themselves into their proper Families; which was no sooner done, but an Edict was issued out, requiring all Children to repair to their true and natural Fathers. This put a great part of the Assembly in Motion; for as the Mirror was moved over them, it inspired every one with such a natural Instinct, as directed them to their real Parents. It was a very melancholy Spectacle to see the Fathers of very large Families become Childless, and Batchelors undone by a Charge of Sons and Daughters. You might see a presumptive Heir of a great Estate ask Blessing of his Coach-man, and a celebrated Toast paying her Duty to a Valet

Valet de Chambre. Many, under Vows of Celibacy, appeared surrounded with a numerous Issue. This Change of Parentage would have caused great Lamentation, but that the Calamity was pretty common; and that generally those, who lost their Children, had the Satisfaction, of seeing them put into the Hands of their dearest Friends. Men were no sooner settled in their Right to their Possession and their Progeny, but there was a third Order proclaimed: That all the Posts of Dignity and Honour in the Universe should be conferred on Persons of the greatest Merit, Abilities and Perfection. The Handsome, the Strong, and the Wealthy, immediately pressed forward; but not being able to bear the Splendor of the Mirror, which played upon their Faces, they immediately fell back among the Crowd: But as the Goddess tried the Multitude by her Glass, as the Eagle does its young ones by the Lustre of the Sun; it was remarkable, that every one turned away his Face from it, who had not distinguished himself either by Virtue, Knowledge, or Capacity in Business, either military, or civil. This select Assembly was drawn up in the Center of a prodigious Multitude, which was diffused on all Sides, and stood observing them, as idle People use to gather about a Regiment, that are exercising their Arms. They were drawn up in three Bodies: In the first were the Men of Virtue; in the second, Men of Knowledge; and in the third, the Men of Business. It was impossible to look at the first Column without a secret Veneration; their Aspects were so sweetened with Humanity, raised with Contemplation, emboldened with Resolution, and adorned with the most agreeable Airs, which

are those, that proceed from secret Habits of Virtue. I could not but take Notice, that there were many Faces among them, which were unknown, not only to the Multitude, but even to several of their own Body.

In the second Column, consisting of the Men of Knowledge, there had been great Disputes, before they fell into the Ranks; which they did not do at last, without the positive Command of the Goddess, who presided over the Assembly. She had so ordered it, that Men of the greatest Genius, and strongest Sense were placed at the Head of the Column: Behind these were such, as had formed their Minds very much on the Thoughts and Writings of others. In the Rear of the Column were Men, who had more Learning than Understanding. All living Authors of any Value were ranged in one of the Classes; but I must confess, I was very much surprised, to see a great Body of Editors, Criticks, Commentators and Grammarians, meet with so very ill a Reception. They had formed themselves into a Body, and with a great deal of Arrogance demanded the first Station in the Column of Knowledge; but the Goddess, instead of complying with their Request, clapped them all into Liveries, and bid them know themselves for no other, but Lacquies of the Learned.

The third Column were Men of Business, and consisting of Persons in military and civil Capacities. The former marched out from the rest, and placed themselves in the Front; at which the others shook their Heads at them, but did not think fit to dispute the Post with them. I could not but make several Observations upon this last Column of People, but I have certain pri-

private Reasons, why I do not think fit, to communicate them to the Publick. In order to fill up all the Posts of Honour, Dignity, and Profit, there was a Draught made out of each Column of Men, who were Masters of all three Qualifications in some Degree, and were preferred to Stations of the first Rank. The second Draught was made out of such, as were possessed of any two of the Qualifications, who were disposed of in Stations of a second Dignity. Those who were last, and were endowed only with one of them, had their suitable Posts. When this was over, there remained many Places of Trust and Profit unfilled, for which there were fresh Draughts made out of the surrounding Multitude, who had any Appearance of these Excellencies, or were recommended by those, who possessed them in Reality.

All were surprised to see so many new Faces in the most eminent Dignities, and for my own part, I was very well pleased to see, that all my Friends either kept their present Posts, or were advanced to higher.

Having filled my Paper with those Particulars of my Vision, which concern the male Part of Mankind, I must reserve for another Occasion the Sequel of it, which relates to the Fair Sex.

Num. 101.

From Thursday December 1. *to Saturday Dec.* 3. 1709.

A Continuation of the Vision.

The male World were dismissed by the Goddess of Justice, and disappeared, when on a

ſudden the whole Plain was covered with Women. So charming a Multitude filled my Heart with unſpeakable Pleaſure; and as the celeſtial Light of the Mirror ſhone upon their Faces, ſeveral of them ſeemed rather Perſons, that deſcended in the Train of the Goddeſs, than ſuch, who were brought before her to their Trial. The Clack of Tongues and Confuſion of Voices, in this new Aſſembly, was ſo very great, that the Goddeſs was forced to command Silence ſeveral Times, and with ſome Severity, before ſhe could make them attentive to her Edicts. They were all ſenſible, that the moſt important Affair among Woman-kind was then to be ſettled, which every one knows to be the Point of Place. This had raiſed innumerable Diſputes among them, and put the whole Sex into a Tumult. Every one produced her Claim, and pleaded her Pretenſions. Birth, Beauty, Wit, or Wealth, were Words, that rung in my Ears from all Parts of the Plain. Some boaſted of the Merit of their Huſbands; others of their own Power in governing them. Some pleaded their unſpotted Virginity; others their numerous Iſſue. Some valued themſelves, as they were the Mothers, and others, as they were the Daughters, of conſiderable Perſons. There was not a ſingle Accompliſhment unmentioned, or unpractiſed. The whole Congregation was full of Singing, Dancing, Toſſing, Ogling, Squeaking, Smiling, Sighing, Fanning, Frowning, and all thoſe irreſiſtible Arts, which Women put in Practice, to captivate the Hearts of reaſonable Creatures. The Goddeſs, to end this Diſpute, cauſed it to be proclaimed, that every one ſhould take Place, according as ſhe was more, or leſs, beautiful. This Declaration

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gave great Satisfaction to the whole Assembly, which immediately bridled up, and appeared in all its Beauties. Such, as believed themselves graceful in their Motion, found an Occasion, of falling back, advancing forward, or making a false Step, that they might show their Persons, in the most becoming Air. Such, as had fine Necks and Bosoms, were wonderfully curious, to look over the Heads of the Multitude, and observe the most distant Parts of the Assembly. Several clapped their Hands on their Foreheads, as helping their Sight, to look upon the Glories, that surrounded the Goddess, but in Reality to show fine Hands and Arms. The Ladies were yet better pleased, when they heard, that in the Decisions of this great Controversy, each of them should be her own Judge, and take her Place, according to her own Opinion of her self, when she consulted her Looking-glass.

The Goddess then let down the Mirror of Truth in a golden Chain, which appeared in Proportion, as it descended and approached nearer to the Eyes of the Beholders. It was the particular Property of this Looking-glass to banish all false Appearances, and show People what they are. The whole Woman was represented, without Regard to the usual external Features, which were made entirely conformable to their real Characters. In short, the most accomplished (taking in the whole Circle of Female Perfections) were the most beautiful; and the most defective, the most deformed. The Goddess so varied the Motion of the Glass, and placed it in so many different Lights, that each had Opportunity of seeing her self in it.

It is impossible to describe the Rage, the Pleasure, or Astonishment, that appeared in each Face upon its Representation in the Mirror: Multitudes started at their own Form, and would have broke the Glass, if they could have reached it: many saw their blooming Features wither, as they looked upon them; and their Self-Admiration turned into a Loathing and Abhorrence. The Lady, who was thought so agreeable in her Anger, and was so often celebrated for a Woman of Fire and Spirit, was frighted at her own Image, and fancied, she saw a Fury in the Glass. The interested Mistress beheld a Harpy, and the subtle Jilt a Sphinx. I was very much troubled in my own Heart, to see such a Destruction of fine Faces; but at the same Time had the Pleasure of seeing several improved, which I had before looked upon as the greatest Master-pieces of Nature. I observed, that some few were so humble, as to be surprised at their own Charms, and that many a one, who had lived in the Retirement and Severity of a Vestal, shined forth in all the Graces and Attractions of a Siren. I was ravished at the Sight of a particular Image in the Mirror, which I think the most beautiful Object, that my Eyes ever beheld. There was something more than humane in her Countenance: Her Eyes were so full of Light, that they seemed to beautify every thing, they looked upon. Her Face was enlivened with such a florid Bloom, as did not so properly seem the Mark of Health, as of Immortality. Her Shape, her Stature, and her Mean, were such, as distinguished her even there, where the whole Fair Sex was assembled.

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I was impatient to see the Lady, represented by so divine an Image, whom I found to be the Person, that stood at my right Hand, and in the same Point of View with my self. This was a little old Woman, who in her Prime had been about five Foot high, though at present shrunk to about three Quarters of that Measure: Her natural Aspect was puckered up with Wrinkles, and her Head covered with grey Hairs. I had observed all along an innocent Chearfulness in her Face, which was now heighten'd into Rapture, as she beheld her self in the Glass. It was an odd Circumstance in my Dream, (but I cannot forbear relating it;) I conceived so great an Inclination towards her, that I had Thoughts of discoursing her upon the Point of Marriage, when on a sudden she was carried from me; for the Word was now given, that all, who were pleased with their own Images, should separate, and place themselves at the Head of their Sex.

This Detachment was afterwards divided into three Bodies, consisting of Maids, Wives and Widows; the Wives being placed in the Middle, with the Maids on the Right, and Widows on the Left; though it was with Difficulty, that these two last Bodies were hinder'd from falling into the Center. This Separation of those, who liked their real selves, not having lessened the Number of the main Body so considerably, as it might have been wished; the Goddess, after having drawn up her Mirror, thought fit to make new Distinctions among those, who did not like the Figure, which they saw in it. She made several wholesome Edicts, which are slipt out of my Mind; but there

there were two, which dwelt upon me, as being very extraordinary in their Kind, and executed with great Severity. Their Design was, to make an Example of two Extremes in the Female World; of those, who are very severe on the Conduct of others, and of those, who are very regardless of their own. The first Sentence, therefore, the Goddess pronounced, was, that all Females, addicted to Censoriousness and Detraction, should lose the Use of Speech; a Punishment, which would be the most grievous to the Offender, and (what should be the End of all Punishments) effectual for rooting out the Crime. Upon this Edict, which was as soon executed, as published, the Noise of the Assembly very considerably abated. It was a melancholy Spectacle, to see so many, who had the Reputation of rigid Virtue, struck dumb. A Lady, who stood by me, and saw my Concern, told me, she wondered, how I could be concerned for such a Pack of - - I found, by the shaking of her Head, she was going to give me their Characters; but by her saying no more, I perceived she had lost the Command of her Tongue. This Calamity fell very heavy upon that Part of Women, who are distinguished by the Name of Prudes, a courtly Word for female Hypocrites, who have a short Way to being virtuous, by showing, that others are vitious. The second Sentence was then pronounced against the loose Part of the Sex: That all should immediately be pregnant, who, in any Part of their Lives, had ran the Hazard of it. This produced a very goodly Appearance, and revealed so many Misconducts, that made those, who were lately struck dumb, repine, more than ever, at their Want of Utterance; though

though at the same Time (as Afflictions seldom come single) many of the Mutes were also seized with this new Calamity. The Ladies were now in such a Condition, that they would have wanted Room, had not the Plain been large enough to let them divide their Ground, and extend their Lines on all Sides. It was a sensible Affliction to me, to see such a Multitude of Fair ones either dumb, or big bellied: But I was something more at Ease, when I found, that they agreed upon several Regulations, to cover such Misfortunes. Among others, that it should be an established Maxim in all Nations, that a Woman's first Child might come into the World within six Months after her Acquaintance with her Husband; and that Grief might retard the Birth of her last till fourteen Months after his Decease.

This Vision lasted till my usual Hour of Waking, which I did with some Surprise, to find my self alone, after having been engaged almost a whole Night in so prodigious a Multitude. I could not but reflect with Wonder at the Partiality and Extravagance of my Vision, which, according to my Thoughts, has not done Justice to the Sex. If Virtue in Men is more venerable, it is in Women more lovely; which *Milton* has very finely expressed in his *Paradise Lost*, where *Adam*, speaking of *Eve*, after having asserted his own Pre-eminence, as being First in Creation and internal Faculties, breaks out into the following Rapture:

--- Yet, when I approach
Her Loveliness, so absolute she seems,
And in her self compleat, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills, or do, or say,
Seems

Seems wiſeſt, virtuouſeſt, diſcreeteſt, beſt.
All higher Knowledge in her Preſence falls
Degraded. Wiſdom, in Diſcourſe with her,
Loſes, diſcountenanced, and like Folly ſhows.
Authority and Reaſon on her wait,
As one intended firſt, not after made
Occaſionally: And to conſummate all,
Greatneſs of Mind and Nobleneſs their Seat
Build in her loveſieſt, and create an Awe
About her, as a Guard Angelick placed.

Num. 209.

Thursday, Auguſt, 10. 1710.

From my own Apartment, Aug. 9.

A noble Painter, who has an Ambition to draw an Hiſtory-Piece, has deſired me to give him a Subject, on which he may ſhew the utmoſt Force of Art and Genius. For this Purpoſe I have pitched upon that remarkable Incident between *Alexander the Great* and his Phyſician. This Prince, in the Midſt of his Conqueſts in *Perſia*, was ſeized by a violent Fever; and according to the Account we have of his vaſt Mind, his Thoughts were more employed about his Recovery, as it regarded the War, than as it concerned his own Life. He profeſſed, a ſlow Method was worſe than Death to him, becauſe it was, what he more dreaded, an Interruption of his Glory. He deſired a dangerous, ſo it might be a ſpeedy Remedy. During this Impatience of the King, it is well known, that *Darius* had offered an immenſe Sum to any, who ſhould take away his

his Life. But *Philippus*, the most esteemed and most knowing of his Physicians, promised, that within three Days Time he would prepare a Medicine for him, which should restore him more expeditiously, than could be imagined. Immediately after this Ingagement, *Alexander* receives a Letter from the most considerable of his Captains, with Intelligence, that *Darius* had bribed *Philippus* to poison him. Every Circumstance imaginable favoured this Suspicion; but this Monarch, who did nothing but in an extraordinary Manner, concealed the Letter; and while the Medicine was preparing, spent all his Thoughts upon his Behaviour in this important Incident. From his long Soliloquy he came to this Resolution: *Alexander must not lie here alive to be oppressed by his Enemy. I will not believe my Physician guilty; or, I will perish rather by his Guilt, than by my own Diffidence.*

At the appointed Hour *Philippus* enters with the Potion. One cannot but form to one's self, on this Occasion, the Encounter of their Eyes, the Resolution in those of the Patient, and the Benevolence in the Countenance of the Physician. The Hero raised himself in his Bed, and holding the Letter in one Hand, and the Potion in the other, drank the Medicine. It will exercise my Friend's Pencil and Brain to place this Action in it's proper Beauty. A Prince observing the Features of a suspected Traytor, after having drank the Poison, he offered him, is a Circumstance, so full of Passion, that it will require the highest Strength of his Imagination to conceive it, much more to express it. But as Painting is Eloquence and Poetry in Mechanism, I shall raise his Idea's, by

by reading with him the fineſt Draughts of the Paſſions, concerned in this Circumſtance, from the moſt excellent Poets and Orators. The Confidence, which *Alexander* aſſumes from the Air of *Philippus's* Face, as he is reading his Accuſation, and the generous Diſdain, which is to riſe in the Features of a falſly accuſed Man, are principally to be regarded. In this Particular he muſt heighten his Thoughts, by reflecting, that he is not drawing only an innocent Man traduced, but a Man zealouſly affected to his Perſon and Safety, full of Reſentment for being thought falſe. How ſhall we contrive to expreſs the higheſt Admiration mingled with Diſdain? How ſhall we in Strokes of a Pencil ſay, what *Philippus* did to his Prince on this Occaſion? *Sir, my Life never depended on yours more, than it does now. Without knowing this Secret, I prepared the Potion, which you have taken, as what concerned Philippus no leſs, than Alexander; and there is nothing new in this Adventure, but that it makes me ſtill more admire the Generoſity and Confidence of my Maſter.* Alexander took him by the Hand, and ſaid: *Philippus, I am confident, you had rather, I had any other Way to have manifeſted the Faith, I have in you, than a Caſe, which ſo nearly concerns me: And in Gratitude I now aſſure you, I am anxious for the Effect of your Medicine, more for your Sake, than my own.*

My Painter is employed by a Man of Senſe and Wealth, to furniſh him a Gallery, and I ſhall join with my Friend in the deſigning Part. It is the great Uſe of Pictures, to raiſe in our Minds either agreeable Ideas of our abſent Friends; or high Images of eminent Perſonages.

But

But the latter Design is, methinks, carried on in a very improper Way: for to fill a Room full of Battle Pieces, pompous Histories of Sieges, and a tall Hero alone in a Crowd of insignificant Figures about him, is of no Consequence to private Men. But to place before our Eyes great and illustrious Men in those Parts and Circumstances of Life, wherein their behaviour may have an Effect upon our Minds, as being such, as we partake with them meerly, as they were Men: Such as these, I say, may be just and useful Ornaments of an elegant Apartment. In this Collection, therefore, that we are making, we will not have the Battles, but the Sentiments of *Alexander*. The Affair, we were just now speaking of, has Circumstances of the highest Nature, and yet their Grandeur has little to do with his Fortune. If, by observing such a Piece, as that of his taking a Bowl of Poison with so much Magnanimity, a Man, the next Time he has a Fit of the Spleen, is less froward to his Friend, or his Servants; thus far is some Improvement.

I have frequently thought, that, if we had many Draughts, which were historical, of certain Passions, and had the true Figure of the great Men, we see transported by them, it would be of the most solid Advantage imaginable. To consider this mighty Man on one Occasion administer to the Wants of a poor Soldier, benummed with Cold, with the greatest Humanity; at another, barbarously stabbing a faithful Officer: At one Time, so generously chaste and virtuous, as to give his Captive *Statira* her Liberty; at another, burning a Town, at the Instigation of *Thais*. This Sort of Changes in the same Person are what would

be more beneficial Lessons of Morality, than the several Revolutions in a great Man's Fortune. There are but one or two in an Age, to whom the pompous Incidents of his Life can be exemplary; but I, or any Man, may be as sick, as good-natured, as compassionate, and as angry, as *Alexander the Great*. My Purpose in all this Chat is, that so excellent a Furniture may not for the future have so romantick a Turn, but allude to Incidents, which come within the Fortunes of the ordinary Race of Men. I do not know, but 'tis by the Force of this senseless Custom, that People are drawn in Postures they would not, for half they are worth, be surprized in. The unparallell'd Fierceness of some Rural Squires drawn in Red, or in Armour, who never dreamed to destroy any Thing above a Fox, is a common and ordinary Offence of this Kind. But I shall give an Account of the whole Gallery on another Occasion.

Num. 271.

Tuesday, January, 2. 1711.

The Printer having informed me, That there are as many of these Papers printed, as will make four Volumes, I am now come to the End of my Ambition in this Matter, and have nothing further to say to the World, under the Character of *Isaac Bickerstaff*. This Work has indeed for some Time been disagreeable to me, and the Purpose of it wholly lost by my being so long understood as the Author. I never design'd in it to give any Man any secret

Wound

Wound by my Concealment, but spoke in the Character of an old Man, a Philosopher, an Humourist, an Astrologer, and a Censor, to allure my Reader with the Variety of my Subjects, and insinuate, if I could, the Weight of Reason with the Agreeableness of Wit. The general Purpose of the whole has been to recommend Truth, Innocence, Honour, and Virtue, as the chief Ornaments of Life; but I considered, that Severity of Manners was absolutely necessary to him, who would censure others, and for that Reason, and that only, chose to talk in a Mask. I shall not carry my Humility so far, as to call my self a vicious Man; but at the same Time must confess, my Life is at best but pardonable. And with no greater Character than this, a Man would make but an indifferent Progress in attacking prevailing and fashionable Vices, which *Mr. Bickerstaff* has done with a Freedom of Spirit, that would have lost both its Beauty and Efficacy, had it been pretended to by *Mr. Steele.*

As to the Work itself, the Acceptance, it has met with, is the best Proof of it's Value; but I should err against that Candour, which an honest Man should always carry about him, if I did not own, that the most approved Pieces in it were written by others, and those, which have been most excepted against, by my self. The Hand that has assisted me in those noble Discourses upon the Immortality of the Soul, the glorious Prospects of another Life, and the most Sublime Ideas of Religion and Virtue, is a Person, who is too fondly my Friend ever to own them; but I should little deserve to be his, if I usurped the Glory of them. I must acknowledge, at the same Time, that I think

the finest Strokes of Wit and Humour in all *Mr. Bickerstaff's* Lucubrations are those, for which he is beholden to him.

As for the Satirical Parts of these Writings, those against the Gentlemen, who profess Gaming, are the most licentious; but the Main of them I take to come from losing Gamesters, as Invectives against the Fortunate; For in very many of them I was very little else but the Transcriber. If any have been more particularly marked at, such Persons may impute it to their own Behaviour (before they were touched upon) in publickly speaking their Resentment against the Author, and professing they would support any Man, who should insult him. When I mention this Subject, I hope, Major General *Davenport*, Brigadier *Bisset*, and My Lord *Forbes*, will accept of my Thanks for their frequent good Offices, in professing their Readiness, to partake any Danger, that should befal me in so just an Undertaking, as the Endeavour to banish Fraud and Cozenage from the Presence and Conversation of Gentlemen.

But what I find is the least excusable Part of all this Work is, that I have in some Places in it, touched upon Matters, which concern both Church and State. All I shall say for this is, that the Points, I alluded to, are such, as concerned every Christian and Freeholder in England; and I could not be cold enough, to conceal my Opinion on Subjects, which related to either of those Characters. But Politicks apart. I must confess, it has been a most exquisite Pleasure to me to frame Characters of Domestick Life, and put those Parts of it, which are least observ'd, into an agreeable View; to enquire

enquire into the Seeds of Vanity and Affectation, to lay before my Readers the Emptineſs of Ambition: In a Word, to trace humane Life thro' all 'its Mazes and Receſſes, and ſhew much ſhorter Methods, than Men ordinarily practiſe, to be happy, agreeable, and great.

But to enquire into Men's Faults and Weakneſſes has ſomething in it ſo unwelcome, that I have often ſeen People in Pain, to act before me, whoſe Modeſty only makes them think themſelves liable to Cenſure. This, and a Thouſand other nameleſs Things, have made it an irkſome Taſk to me, to perſonate *Mr. Bickerſtaff* any longer; and I believe, it does not often happen, that the Reader is delighted, where the Author is diſpleaſed.

All I can now do for the further Gratification of the Town, is to give them a faithful Index and Explication of Paſſages and Alluſions, and ſometimes of Perſons, intended in the ſeveral ſcatter'd Parts of the Work. At the ſame Time the ſucceeding Volumes ſhall diſcover which of the whole have been written by me, and which by others and by whom, as far as I am able, or permitted.

Thus I have voluntarily done what I think all Authors ſhould do, when called upon. I have publiſhed my Name to my Writings, and given my ſelf up to the Mercy of the Town (as Shakeſpear expreſſes it) with all my Imperfections on my Head. The indulgent Readers

Moſt obliged,
Moſt obedient,
Humble Servant,
RICHARD STEELE.

THE SPECTATOR.

Num. 11. Tuesday, March. 13.

Dat veniam corvis, vexat Censura columbas. Juv.

Arietta is visited by all Persons of both Sexes, who have any Pretence to Wit and Galantry. She is in that Time of Life, which is neither affected with the Follies of Youth, or Infirmities of Age; and her Conversation is so mixed with Gaiety and Prudence, that she is agreeable both to the Young and the Old. Her Behaviour is very frank, without being in the least blameable; as she is out of the Tract of any amorous, or ambitious Pursuits of her own, her Visitants entertain her with Accounts of themselves very freely, whether they concern their Passions, or their Intereſt. I made her a Visit this Afternoon, having been formerly introduced to the Honour of her Acquaintance, by my Friend *Will. Honeycome*, who has prevail'd upon her, to admit me sometimes into her Assembly, as a civil inoffensive Man. I found her accompanied with one Person only, a Com-

mon-

mon-Place Talker, who, upon my Entrance, aroſe, and after a very ſlight Civility ſat down again; then turning to Arietta, purſued his Diſcourſe, which I found was upon the old Topick of Conſtancy in Love. He went on with great Facility in repeating what he talks every Day of his Life; and with the Ornaments of inſignificant Laughs and Geſtures, enforced his Arguments by Quotations out of Plays and Songs, which allude to the Perjuries of the Fair, and the general Levity of Women. Methought he ſtrove to ſhine more than ordinarily in his talkative Way, that he might inſult my Silence, and diſtinguiſh himſelf before a Woman of Arietta's Taſte and Underſtanding. She had often an Inclination to interrupt him, but could find no Opportunity, till the Larum ceaſed of it ſelf; which it did not, till he had repeated and murdered the celebrated Story of the *Epheſian Matron*.

Arietta ſeemed to regard this Piece of Raillery as an Outrage done to her Sex; as indeed I have always obſerved, that Women, whether out of a nicer Regard to their Honour, or what other Reaſon, I cannot tell, are more ſenſibly touched with thoſe general Aſperſions, which are caſt upon their Sex, than Men are by what is ſaid of theirs.

When ſhe had a little recovered her ſelf from the ſerious Anger, ſhe was in, ſhe replied in the following Manner.

Sir, when I conſider how perfectly new all you have ſaid on this Subject is, and that the Story, you have given us, is not quite two Thouſand Years old, I cannot but think it a Piece of Preſumption to diſpute with you: But your Quotations put me in Mind of the Fable

of the Lion and the Man. The Man walking with that noble Animal, ſhewed him, in the Oſtentation of Humane Superiority, a Sign of a Man killing a Lion. Upon which the Lion ſaid very juſtly: We Lions are none of us Painters, elſe we could ſhew a hundred Men killed by Lions, for one Lion killed by a Man. You Men are Writers, and can repreſentus Women as unbecoming, as you pleaſe, in your Works, while we are unable to return the Injury. You have twice or thrice obſerved in your Diſcourſe, that Hypocriſy is the very Foundation of our Education; and that an Ability to diſſemble our Affections is a profeſſed Part of our Breeding. Theſe, and ſuch other Reflexions, are ſprinkled up and down the Writings of all Ages, by Authors, who leave behind them Memorials of their Reſentment againſt the Scorn of particular Women, in Invectives againſt the whole Sex. Such a Writer, I doubt not, was the celebrated *Petronius*, who invented the pleaſant Aggravations of the Frailty of the *Epheſian* Lady; but when we conſider this Queſtion between the Sexes, which has been either a Point of Diſpute, or Raillery ever ſince there were Men and Women, let us take Facts from plain People, and from ſuch, as have not either Ambition, or Capacity to embelliſh their Narrations with any Beauties of Imagination. I was the other Day amuſing my ſelf with *Ligon's* Account of *Barbadoes*; and, in Anſwer to your well wrought Tale, I will give you (as it dwells upon my Memory) out of that honeſt Traveller, in his fifty fifth Page, the Hiſtory of *Inkle* and *Yarico*.

Mr. *Thomas Inkle*, of *London*, aged twenty Years, embarked in the *Downs* on the good Ship

Ship called the *Achilles*, bound for the *West-Indies*, on the 16th. of *June*, 1647. in order to improve his Fortune by Trade and Merchandise. Our Adventurer was the third Son of an eminent Citizen, who had taken particular Care to instil into his Mind an early Love of Gain, by making him a perfect Master of Numbers, and consequently giving him a quick View of Loss and Advantage; and preventing the natural Impulses of his Passions, by Prepossessions towards his Interests. With a Mind thus turned young *Inkle* had a Person every way agreeable, a ruddy Vigour in his Countenance, Strength in his Limbs, with Ringlets of fair Hair loosely flowing on his Shoulders. It happened, in the Course of the Voyage, that the *Achilles*, in some Distress, put into a Creek on the Main of *America*, in Search of Provisions: The Youth, who is the Hero of my Story, among others went ashore on this Occasion. From their first Landing they were observed by a Party of Indians, who hid themselves in the Woods for that Purpose. The English unadvisedly marched a great Distance from the Shore into the Country, and were intercepted by the Natives, who slew the greatest Number of them. Our Adventurer escaped among others, by flying into a Forest. Upon his coming into a remote and pathless Part of the Wood, he threw himself, tired, and breathless, on a little Hillock, when an Indian Maid rushed from a Thicket behind him: After the first Surprise, they appeared mutually agreeable to each other. If the *European* was highly charmed with the Limbs, Features, and wild Graces of the Naked *American*; the *American* was no less taken with the Dress, Com-

plexion, and Shape of an *European*, covered from Head to Foot. The *Indian* grew immediately enamoured of him, and consequently sollicitous for his Preservation: She therefore conveyed him to a Cave, where she gave him a delicious Repast of Fruits, and led him to a Stream to slake his Thirst. In the Midst of these good Offices, she would sometimes play with his Hair, and delight in the Opposition of it's Colour to that of her Fingers: Then open his Bosom, then laugh at him for covering it. She was, it seems, a Person of Distinction, for she every Day came to him in a different Dress, of the most beautiful Shells, Bugles, and Beads. She likewise brought him a great many Spoils, which her other Lovers had presented to her, so that his Cave was richly adorned with all the spotted Skins of Beasts, and most Party-coloured Feathers of Fowls, which that World afforded. To make his Confinement more tolerable, she would carry him in the Dusk of the Evening, or by the Favour of Moon-light, to unfrequented Groves and Solitudes, and shew him where to lie down in Safety, and sleep amidst the Falls of Waters, and Melody of Nightingales. Her Part was to watch and hold him awake in her Arms, for fear of her Countrymen, and awake him on Occasions, to consult his Safety. In this Manner did the Lovers pass away their Time, 'till they had learned a Language of their own, in which the Voyager communicated to his Mistress, how happy he should be, to have her in his Country, where she should be clothed in such Silks, as his Waitecoat was made of, and be carried in Houses drawn by Horses, without being exposed to Wind or Weather. All this he

he promised her the Enjoyment of, without such Fears and Alarms, as they were there tormented with. In this tender Correspondence these Lovers lived for several Months, when *Yarico*, instructed by her Lover, discovered a Vessel on the Coast, to which she made Signals; and in the Night, with the utmost Joy and Satisfaction, accompanied him to a Ship's-Crew of his Countrymen, bound for Barbadoes. When a Vessel from the Main arrives in that Island, it seems, the Planters come down to the Shore, where there is an immediate Market of the Indians and other Slaves, as with us of Horses and Oxen.

To be short, Mr. *Thomas Inkle*, now coming into English Territories, began seriously to reflect upon his Loss of Time, and to weigh with himself how many Days Interest of his Money he had lost during his Stay with Yarico. This Thought made the young Man very pensive, and careful what Account he should be able to give his Friends of his Voyage. Upon which Considerations, the prudent and frugal young Man sold Yarico to a *Barbadian* Merchant; notwithstanding that the poor Girl, to incline him to commiserate her Condition, told him, that she was with Child by him: But he only made Use of that Information, to rise in his Demands upon the Purchaser.

I was so touch'd with this Story (which I think should be always a Counterpart to the Ephesian Matron) that I left the Room with Tears in my Eyes; which a Woman of *Arietta's* good Sense, did, I am sure, take for greater Applause, than any Compliments, I could make her.

THE

THE SPECTATOR.

Num. 26. Friday, March 30.

Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
Regumque turres, o beate Sexti.
Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.
Jam te premet nox, fabulæque manes,
Et domus exilis Plutonia.

Hor.

When I am in a serious Humour, I very often walk by my self in Westminster Abby; where the Gloominess of the Place, and the Use, to which it is applied, with the Solemnity of the Building, and the Condition of the People, who lye in it, are apt to fill the Mind with a Kind of Melancholy, or rather Thoughtfulness, that is not disagreeable. I Yesterday passed a whole Afternoon in the Church-yard, the Cloysters, and the Church, amusing my self with the Tomb-stones and Inscriptions, that I met with in those several Regions of the Dead. Most of them recorded nothing else of the buried Person, but that he was born upon one Day, and died upon an other: The whole History of his Life being comprehended in those two Circumstances, that are common to all Mankind. I could not but look upon these Registers of Existence, whether of Brass, or Marble, as a Kind of Satyr, upon the departed Persons; who had left no other Memorial of them, but that they were born, and that they died. They put me in mind of several Persons, mentioned in the Battels of Heroic Poems, who have sounding

Na-

Names, given them, for no other Reason, but that they may be killed, and are celebrated for nothing, but being knocked on the Head.

Γλαῦκον τε Μεδόντα τε Θερσιλοχον τε.
Hom.

Glaucumque, Medontaque, Therſilochumque.
Vir.

The Life of these Men is finely described in Holy Writ by the Path of an Arrow, which is immediately closed up, and lost.

Upon my going into the Church, I entertained my self with the digging of a Grave; and saw in every Shovel full of it, that was thrown up, the Fragment of a Bone, or Skull, intermixt with a Kind of fresh mouldering Earth, that, some Time or other, had a Place in the Composition of an human Body. Upon this, I began to consider with my self, what innumerable Multitudes of People lay confused together under the Pavement of that ancient Cathedral; how Men and Women, Friends and Enemies, Priests and Soldiers, Monks and Prebendaries, were crumbled amongst one an other, and blended together in the same common Mass; how Beauty, Strength, and Youth, with old-Age, Weakness, and Deformity, lay undistinguished in the same promiscuous Heap of Matter.

After having thus surveyed this great Magazine of Mortality, as it were, in the Lump; I examined it more particularly by the Accounts, which I found on several of the Monuments, which are raised in every Quarter of that ancient Fabrick. Some of them were covered with such extravagant Epitaphs, that, if it were possible for the dead Person to be acquainted with

with them, he would bluſh at the Praiſes, which his Friends have beſtowed upon him. There are others ſo exceſſively modeſt, that they deliver the Character of the Perſon departed in Greek or Hebrew, and by that Means are not underſtood once in a Twelvemonth. In the Poetical Quarter, I found, there were Poets, who had no Monuments, and Monuments, which had no Poets. I obſerved indeed, that the preſent War had filled the Church with many of theſe uninhabited Monuments, which had been erected to the Memory of Perſons, whoſe Bodies were, perhaps, buried in the Plains of Blenheim, or in the Boſom of the Ocean.

I could not but be very much delighted with ſeveral modern Epitaphs, which are written with great Elegance of Expreſſion and Juſtneſs of Thought, and therefore do Honour to the Living, as well as to the Dead. As a Foreigner is very apt to conceive an Idea of the Ignorance or Politeneſs of a Nation from the Turn of their publick Monuments and Inſcriptions, they ſhould be ſubmitted to the Perſual of Men of Learning and Genius, before they are put in Execution. Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel's* Monument has very often given me great Offence: Inſtead of the brave rough Engliſh Admiral, which was the diſtinguiſhing Character of that plain gallant Man, he is repreſented on his Tomb by the Figure of a Beau, dreſſed in a long Perriwig, and repoſing himſelf upon Velvet Cuſhions under a Canopy of State. The Inſcription is anſwerable to the Monument; for inſtead of celebrating the many remarkable Actions, he had performed in the Service of his Country, it acquaints us only with the Manner of his Death, in which it was impoſſible for him to reap any Honour.

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The Dutch, whom we are apt to despise for Want of Genius, shew an infinitely greater Taste of Antiquity and Politeness in their Buildings and Works of this Nature, than what we meet with in those of our own Country. The Monuments of their Admirals, which have been erected at the publick Expence, represent 'em like themselves; and are adorned with rostral Crowns and naval Ornaments, with beautiful Festoons of Sea-weed, Shells, and Coral.

But to return to our Subject. I have left the Repository of our English Kings for the Contemplation of an other Day, when I shall find my Mind disposed for so serious an Amusement. I know that Entertainments of this Nature are apt to raise dark and dismal Thoughts in timorous Minds, and gloomy Imaginations; but for my own Part, though I am always serious, I do not know what it is to be melancholy; and can therefore take a View of Nature in her deep and solemn Scenes, with the same Pleasure, as in her most gay and delightful ones. By this Means I can improve my self with those Objects, which others consider with Terror. When I look upon the Tombs of the Great, every Emotion of envy dies in me; when I read the Epitaphs of the Beautiful, every inordinate Desire goes out; When I meet with the Grief of Parents upon a Tomb stone, my Heart melts with Compassion; when I see the Tomb of the Parents themselves, I consider the Vanity of grieving for those, whom we must quickly follow: When I see Kings lying by those, who deposed them; when I consider rival Wits placed Side by Side, or the holy Men, that divided the World with their Contests and Disputes; I reflect with Sorrow and Astonishment on the little Competitions,

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Factions, and Debates of Mankind: When I read the several Dates of the Tombs, of some, that died Yesterday, and some six hundred Years ago, I consider that great Day, when we shall all of us be Contemporaries, and make our Appearance together.

Num. 56. Friday, May 4.

Felices errore suo ------ Lucan.

The Americans believe, that all Creatures have Souls, not only Men and Women, but Brutes, Vegetables, nay even the most inanimate Things, as Stocks and Stones. They believe the same of all the Works of Art, as of Knives, Boats, Looking-glasses: And that, as any of these Things perish, their Souls go into another World, which is inhabited by the Ghosts of Men and Women. For this Reason they always place by the Corps of their dead Friend a Bow and Arrows, that he may make Use of the Souls of them in the other World, as he did of their wooden Bodies in this. How absurd soever such an Opinion as this may appear, our European Philosophers have maintained several Notions altogether as improbable. Some of Plato's Followers in particular, when they talk of the World of Ideas, entertain us with Substances and Beings, no less extravagant and chimerical. Many Aristotelians have likewise spoken as unintelligibly of their Substantial Forms. I shall only instance *Albertus Magnus*, who, in his Dissertation upon the Loadstone, observing, that Fire will destroy it's magnetick Vir-

Virtues, tells us, that he took particular Notice of one, as it lay glowing amidst an Heap of Burning Coals, and that he perceived a certain blue Vapour to arise from it, which he believed might be the substantial Form, that is, in our West-Indian Phrase, the Soul of the Loadstone.

There is a Tradition among the *Americans*, that one of their Country-men descended in a Vision to the great Repository of Souls, or, as we call it here, to the other World; and that, upon his Return, he gave his Friends a distinct Account of every Thing, he saw among those Regions of the Dead. A Friend of mine, whom I have formerly mentioned, prevailed upon one of the Interpreters of the *Indian* Kings, to inquire of them, if possible, what Tradition they have among them of this Matter: Which, as well as he could learn by those many Questions, which he asked them at several Times, was in Substance as follows.

The Visionary, whose Name was *Marraton*, after having travelled for a long Space under an hollow Mountain, arrived at length on the Confines of this World of Spirits, but could not enter it, by reason of a thick Forest, made up of Bushes, Brambles, and pointed Thorns, so perplexed and interwoven with one another, that it was impossible to find a Passage through it. Whilst he was looking about for some Track, or Path-way, that might be worn in any Part of it, he saw an huge Lion couched under the Side of it, who kept his Eye upon him in the same Posture, as when he watches for his Prey. The Indian immediately started back, whilst the Lion rose with a Spring, and leaped towards him. Being wholly destitute of all other Weapons, he stooped down to take up

an huge Stone in his Hand; but to his infinite Surprise grasped nothing, and found the supposed Stone to be only the Apparition of one. If he was disappointed on this Side, he was as much pleased on the other, when he found the Lion, which had seized on his left Shoulder, had no Power to hurt him, and was only the Ghost of that ravenous Creature, which it appeared to be. He no sooner got rid of his impotent Enemy, but he marched up to the Wood, and after having surveyed it for some Time, endeavoured to press into one Part of it, that was a little thinner, than the rest; when again, to his great Surprise, he found the Bushes made no Resistance, but that he walked through Briars and Brambles with the same Ease, as through the open Air; and, in short, that the whole Wood was nothing else but a Wood of Shades. He immediately concluded, that this huge Thicket of Thorns and Brakes was designed as a Kind of Fence, or quick-set Hedge to the Ghosts, it inclosed; and that probably their soft Substances might be torn by these subtle Points and Prickles, which were too weak to make any Impressions in Flesh and Blood. With this Thought he resolved to travel through this intricate Wood; when, by Degrees, he felt a Gale of Perfumes breathing upon him, that grew stronger and sweeter in Proportion as he advanced. He had not Proceeded much further, when he observed the Thorns and Briars to end, and give Place to a thousand beautiful green Trees, covered with Blossoms of the finest Scents and Colours, that formed a Wilderness of Sweets, and were a kind of Lining to those ragged Scenes, which he had before passed through. As he was coming out of this delightful Part of the

the Wood, and entering upon the Plains, it inclosed, he saw several Horsemen rushing by him, and a little while after heard the Cry of a Pack of Dogs. He had not listned long, before he saw the Apparition of a milk white Steed, with a young Man on the Back of it, advancing upon full Stretch after the Souls of about an hundred Beagles, that were hunting down the Ghost of an Hare, which ran away before them with an unspeakable Swiftness. As the Man on the Milkwhite Steed came by him, he looked upon him very attentively, and found him to be the young Prince *Nicharagua*, who died about half a Year before, and, by reason of his great Virtues, was at that Time lamented over all the Western Parts of *America*.

He had no sooner got out of the Wood, but he was entertained with such a Landskip of flowery Plains, green Meadows, running Streams, sunny Hills, and shady Vales, as were not to be represented by his own Expressions, nor, as he said, by the Conceptions of others. This happy Region was peopled with innumerable Swarms of Spirits, who applied themselves to Exercises and Diversions, according as their Fancies led them. Some of them were tossing the Figure of a Coit; others were pitching the Shadow of a Bar; others were breaking the Apparition of a Horse; and Multitudes employing themselves upon ingenious Handicrafts with the Souls of departed Utensils, for that is the Name, which in the Indian Language they give their Tools, when they are burnt, or broken. As he travelled through this delightful Scene, he was very often tempted to pluck the Flowers, that rose every where about him in the greatest Variety and Profusion, having never seen several

of them in his own Country: But he quickly found, that though they were Objects of his Sight, they were not liable to his Touch. He at length came to the Side of a great River, and being a good Fisherman himself, stood upon the Banks of it some time, to look upon an Angler, that had taken a great many Shapes of Fishes, which lay flouncing up and down by him.

I should have told my Reader, that this *Indian* had been formerly married to one of the greatest Beauties of his Country, by whom he had several Children. This Couple were so famous for their Love and Constancy to one another, that the Indians to this Day, when they give a married Man Joy of his Wife, wish, that they may live together like *Marraton* and *Yaratilda*. *Marraton* had not stood long by the Fisherman, when he saw the Shadow of his beloved *Yaratilda*, who had for some time fixed her Eye upon him, before he discovered her. Her Arms were stretched out towards him, Floods of Tears ran down her Eyes; her Looks, her Hands, her Voice called him over to her; and at the same time seemed to tell him, that the River was unpassable. Who can describe the Passion, made up of Joy, Sorrow, Love, Desire, Astonishment, that rose in the *Indian* upon the Sight of his dear *Yaratilda*? He could express it by nothing but his Tears, which ran like a River down his Cheeks, as he looked upon her. He had not stood in this Posture long, before he plunged into the Stream, that lay before him; and finding it to be nothing but the Phantom of a River, walked on the Bottom of it, till he arose on the other Side. At his Approach *Yaratilda* flew into his Arms, whilst Mar-

Marraton wished himself disencumbered of that Body, which kept her from his Embraces. After many Questions and Endearments on both Sides, she conducted him to a Bower, which she had dressed with her own Hands with all the Ornaments, that could be met with in those blooming Regions. She had made it gay beyond Imagination, and was every Day adding something new to it. As *Marraton* stood astonished at the unspeakable Beauty of her Habitation, and ravished with the Fragancy, that came from every Part of it, *Yaratilda* told him, that she was preparing this Bower for his Reception, as well knowing, that his Piety to his God, and his faithful Dealing towards Men, would certainly bring him to that happy Place, whenever his Life should be at an End. She then brought two of her Children to him, who died some Years before, and resided with her in the same delightful Bower, advising him to breed up those others, which were still with him, in such a manner, that they might hereafter all of them meet together in this happy Place.

The Tradition tells us further, that he had afterwards a Sight of those dismal Habitations, which are the Portion of ill Men after Death; and mentions several molten Seas of Gold, in which were plunged the Souls of barbarous *Europeans*, who put to the Sword so many Thousands of poor *Indians* for the sake of that precious Metal: But having already touched upon the chief Points of this Tradition, and exceeded the Measure of my Paper, I shall not give any further Account of it.

SPECTATOR.

Num. 69. Saturday, May 19.

Hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvæ:
Arborei fœtus alibi, atque injussa virescunt
Gramina. Nonne vides, croceos ut Tmolus odores,
India mittit ebur, molles sua thura Sabæi?
At Chalybes nudi ferrum, virosaque Pontus
Castorea, Eliadum palmas Epirus equarum?
Continuo has leges æternaque fœdera certis
Imposuit Natura locis ---- Virgil.

There is no Place in the Town, which I so much love to frequent, as the Royal Exchange. It gives me a secret Satisfaction, and, in some Measure, gratifies my Vanity, as I am an Englishman, to see so rich an Assembly of Countrymen and Foreigners, consulting together upon the private Business of Mankind, and making this Metropolis a Kind of Emporium for the whole Earth. I must confess, I look upon High Change to be a great Council, in which all considerable Nations have their Representatives. Factors in the Trading World are what Ambassadors are in the Politick World; they negotiate Affairs, conclude Treaties, and maintain a good Correspondence between those wealthy Societies of Men, that are divided from one another by Seas and Oceans, or live on the different Extremities of a Continent. I have often been pleased to hear Disputes adjusted between an Inhabitant of Japan and an Alderman of London; or to see a Subject of the Great Mogul entering into a League with one of the Czar

Czar of Muscovy. I am infinitely delighted in mixing with these several Ministers of Commerce, as they are distinguished by their different Walks and different Languages: Sometimes I am justled among a Body of Armenians: Sometimes I am lost in a Crowd of Jews, and sometimes make one in a Groupe of Dutchmen. I am a Dane, Swede, or Frenchman at different Times; or rather fancy my self like the old Philosopher, who, upon being asked what Countryman he was, replied, that he was a Citizen of the World.

Though I very frequently visit this busie Multitude of People, I am known to no Body there, but my Friend Sir Andrew, who often smiles upon me, as he sees me bustling in the Crowd, but at the same Time connives at my Presence, without taking any further Notice of me. There is indeed a Merchant of Egypt, who just knows me by Sight, having formerly remitted me some Money to Grand Cairo; but as I am not versed in the Modern Coptick, our Conference go's no further than a Bow and a Grimace.

This grand Scene of Business gives me an infinite Variety of solid and substantial Entertainments. As I am a great Lover of Mankind, my Heart naturally overflows with Pleasure at the Sight of a prosperous and happy Multitude, insomuch that, at many publick Solemnities, I cannot forbear expressing my Joy with Tears, that have stoln down my Cheeks. For this Reason I am wonderfully delighted to see such a Body of Men thriving in their own private Fortunes, and at the same time promoting the Publick Stock; or in other Words, raising Estates for their own Families, by bringing

into their Country whatever is wanting, and carrying out of it whatever is superfluous.

Nature seems to have taken a particular Care, to disseminate her Blessings among the different Regions of the World, with an Eye to this mutual Intercourse and Traffick among Mankind, that the Natives of the several Parts of the Globe might have a Kind of Dependance upon one another, and be united together by their common Interest. Almost every Degree produces something peculiar to it. The Food often grows in one Country, and the Sauce in another. The Fruits of Portugal are corrected by the Products of Barbadoes: The Infusion of a China Plant sweetned with the Pith of an Indian Cane: The Philippick Islands give a Flavour to our European Bowls. The single Dress of a Woman of Quality is often the Product of an Hundred Climates. The Muff and the Fan come together from the different Ends of the Earth. The Scarf is sent from the Torrid Zone, and the Tippet from beneath the Pole. The Brocade Petticoat rises out of the Mines of Peru, and the Diamond Necklace out of the Bowels of Indostan.

If we consider our own Country in it's natural Prospect, without any of the Benefits and Advantages of Commerce; what a barren uncomfortable Spot of Earth falls to our Share! Natural Historians tell us, that no Fruit grows originally among us, besides Hips and Haws, Acorns and Pig-Nutts, with other Delicacies of the like Nature: That our Climate of it self, and without the Assistances of Art, can make no further Advances towards a Plumb, than to a Sloe, and carries an Apple to no greater Perfection, than a Crab: That our Melons, our Peaches,

Peaches, our Figs, our Apricots, and Cherries, are Strangers among us, imported in different Ages, and naturalized in our Engliſh Gardens; and that they would all degenerate and fall away into the Traſh of our own Country, if they were wholly neglected by the Planter, and left to the Mercy of our Sun and Soil. Nor has Traffick more enriched our Vegetable World, than it has improved the whole Face of Nature among us. Our Ships are laden with the Harveſt of every Climate: Our Tables are ſtored with Spices, and Oils, and Wines: Our Rooms are filled with Pyramids of China, and adorned with the Workmanſhip of Japan: Our Morning's-Draught comes to us from the remoteſt Corners of the Earth: We repair our Bodies by the Drugs of America, and repoſe our ſelves under Indian Canopies. My Friend Sir Andrew calls the Vineyards of France our Gardens; the Spice-Iſlands our Hot-Beds; the Perſians our Silk-Weavers, and the Chineſe our Potters. Nature indeed furniſhes us with the bare Neceſſaries of Life, but Traffick gives us a great Variety of what is uſeful, and at the ſame Time ſupplies us with every thing, that is convenient and ornamental. Nor is it the leaſt Part of this our Happineſs, that, whilſt we enjoy the remoteſt Products of the North and South, we are free from thoſe Extremities of Weather, which give them Birth: That our Eyes are refreſhed with the green Fields of Britain, at the ſame Time, that our Palates are feaſted with Fruits, that riſe between the Tropicks.

For theſe Reaſons there are not more uſeful Members in a Common-wealth than Merchants. They knit Mankind together in a mutual In-

tercourse of good Offices, distribute the Gifts of Nature, find Work for the Poor, add Wealth to the Rich, and Magnificence to the Great. Our English Merchant converts the Tin of his own Country into Gold, and exchanges his Wool for Rubies. The Mahometans are cloathed in our British Manufacture, and the Inhabitants of the Frozen Zone warmed with the Fleeces of our Sheep.

When I have been upon the Change, I have often fancied one of our old Kings standing in Person, where he is represented in Effigy, and looking down upon the wealthy Concourse of People, with which that Place is every Day filled. In this Case, how would he be surprized, to hear all the Languages of Europe spoken in this little Spot of his former Dominions, and to see so many private Men, who, in his Time, would have been the Vassals of some powerful Baron, negotiating like Princes for greater Sums of Money, than were formerly to be met with in the Royal Treasury. Trade, without enlarging the British Territories, has given us a Kind of additional Empire: It has multiplied the Number of the Rich, made our Landed Estates infinitely more valuable, than they were formerly, and added to them an Accession of other Estates, as valuable, as the Lands themselves.

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SPECTATOR.

Num. 146. Friday, August 17.

Nemo Vir Magnus sine aliquo Afflatu divino unquam fuit. Tull.

We know the highest Pleasure, our Minds are capable of enjoying with Composure, when we read sublime Thoughts, communicated to us by Men of great Genius and Eloquence. Such is the Entertainment, we meet with in the Philosophick Parts of *Cicero's* Writings. Truth and good Sense have there so charming a Dress, that they could hardly be more agreeably represented with the Addition of Poetical Fiction, and the Power of Numbers. This ancient Author, and a modern one, have fallen into my Hands within these few Days, and the Impressions, they have left upon me, have, at the present, quite spoiled me for a merry Fellow. The Modern is that admirable Writer, the Author of *the Theory of the Earth.* The Subjects, with which I have lately been entertained in them both, bear a near Affinity; they are upon Enquiries into Hereafter, and the Thoughts of the latter seem to me to be raised above those of the former, in Proportion to his Advantages of Scripture and Revelation. If I had a Mind to it, I could not at present talk of any thing else; therefore I shall translate a Passage in the one, and transcribe a Paragraph out of the other for the Speculation of this Day. *Cicero* tells us, that *Plato* reports, *Socrates*, upon receiving his Sentence, to have spoken to his Judges in the following Manner:

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I have great Hopes, oh my Judges, that it is infinitely to my Advantage, that I am sent to Death: For it must of Necessity be, that one of these two Things must be the Consequence: Death must take away all these Senses, or convey me to another Life. If all Sense is to be taken away, and Death is no more, than that profound Sleep, without Dreams, in which we are sometimes buried; oh Heavens! how desirable is it to die? how many Days do we know in Life preferable to such a State? But if it be true, that Death is but a Passage to Places, which they, who lived before us, do now inhabit; how much still happier is it, to go from those, who call themselves Judges, to appear before those, that really are such? before *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, *Æacus* and *Triptolemus*, and to meet Men, who have lived with Justice and Truth. Is this, do you think, no happy Journey? Do you think it nothing, to speak with *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Homer* and *Hesiod*? I would, indeed, suffer many Deaths to enjoy these Things. With what particular Delight should I talk to *Palamedes*, *Ajax*, and others, who, like me, have suffered by the Iniquity of their Judges? I should examine the Wisdom of that great Prince, who carried such mighty Forces against Troy; and argue with *Ulysses* and *Sisyphus*, upon difficult Points, as I have in Conversation here, without being in Danger of being condemned. But let not those among you, who have pronounced me an innocent Man, be afraid of Death. No Harm can arrive at a good Man, whether dead or living; his Affairs are always under the Direction of the Gods; nor will I believe, the Fate, which is allotted to me my self, this Day, to have arrived by Chance;

nor

nor have I ought to say either against my Judges, or Accusers, but that they thought, they did mean Injury. -- But I detain you too long; it is Time, that I retire to Death, and you to your Affairs of Life; which of us has the Better, is known to the Gods, but to no mortal Man.

The divine Socates is here represented in a Figure, worthy his great Wisdom and Philosophy, the greatest mere Man, that ever breathed. But the modern Discourse is written upon a Subject, no less, than the Dissolution of Nature it self. Oh how glorious is the old Age of that great Man, who has spent his Time in such Contemplations, as have made this Being, what only it should be, an Education for Heaven! He has, according to the Lights of Reason and Revelation, which seemed to him clearest, traced the Steps of Omnipotence: He has, with a Celestial Ambition, as far as it is consistent with Humility and Devotion, examined the Ways of Providence, from the Creation to the Dissolution of the visible World. How pleasing must have been the Speculation, to observe Nature and Providence move together, the Physical and Moral World march the same Pace: To observe Paradice and eternal Spring, the Seat of Innocence; troubled Seasons and angry Skies, the Portion of Wickedness and Vice? When this admirable Author has reviewed all, that has passed, or is to come, which relates to the habitable World, and run through the whole Fate of it; how could a Guardian Angel, that had attended it through all it's Courses, or Changes, speak more emphatically, at the End of his Charge, than does our Author, when he makes, as it were, a Funeral Oration over

over this Globe, looking to the Point, where it once ſtood?

Let us only, ſays he, if you pleaſe, to take Leave of this Subject, reflect, upon this Occaſion, on the Vanity and tranſient Glory of this habitable World. How, by the Force of one Element, breaking looſe upon the reſt, all the Vanities of Nature, all the Works of Art, all the Labours of Men, are reduced to nothing. All, that we admired and adored before, as great and magnificent, is obliterated, or vaniſhed; and another Form and Face of Things, plain, ſimple, and every where the ſame, overſpreads the whole Earth. Where are now the great Empires of the World, and their great Imperial Cities? Their Pillars, Trophies, and Monuments of Glory? Shew me where they ſtood, read the Inſcription, tell me the Victor's Name. What Remains, what Impreſſions, what Difference, or Diſtinction do you ſee in this Maſs of Fire? Rome it ſelf, eternal Rome, the great City, the Empreſs of the World, whoſe Domination and Superſtition, ancient and modern, make a great Part of the Hiſtory of this Earth, what is become of her now? She laid her Foundation deep, and her Palaces were ſtrong and ſumptuous; She glorified her ſelf, and lived deliciouſly, and ſaid in her Heart: I ſit a Queen, and ſhall ſee no Sorrow. But her Hour is come, ſhe is wiped away from the Face of the Earth, and buried in everlaſting Oblivion. But it is not Cities only, and Works of Mens Hands, but the everlaſting Hills, the Mountains and Rocks of the Earth are melted as Wax before the Sun, and their Place is no where found. Here ſtood the Alpes, the Load of the Earth, that covered many Countries,

and

and reached their Arms from the Ocean to the Black Sea; This huge Mass of Stone is softned and dissolved, as a tender Cloud into Rain. Here stood the African Mountains, and Atlas with his Top above the Clouds; there was frozen Caucasus, and Taurus, and Imaus, and the Mountains of Asia; and yonder towards the North, stood the Riphæan Hills, cloath'd in Ice and Snow. All these are vanished, dropt away as the Snow upon their Heads. Great and marvellous are thy Works, just and true are thy Ways, thou King of Saints! Hallelujah!

Num. 159. Saturday, September, 1.

- - Omnem, quæ nunc obducta tuenti
Mortales hebetat visus tibi, & humida circum
Caligat, nubem eripiam - - - Virg.

When I was at *Grand Cairo* I picked up several Oriental Manuscripts, which I have still by me. Among others I met with one, entitled, *The Visions of Mirza*, which I have read over with great Pleasure. I intend to give it to the Publick, when I have no other Entertainment for them; and shall begin with the first Vision, which I have translated Word for Word, as follows.

On the fifth Day of the Moon, which, according to the Custom of my Fore-fathers, I always keep holy, after having washed my self, and offered up my Morning Devotions, I ascended the high Hills of *Bagdat*, in Order to pass the rest of the Day in Meditation and Prayer.

As

As I was here airing my ſelf on the Tops of the Mountains, I fell into a profound Contemplation on the Vanity of human Life; and paſſing from one Thought to another, ſurely, ſaid I, Man is but a Shadow, and Life a Dream. Whilſt I was thus muſing, I caſt my Eyes towards the Summit of a Rock, that was not far from me, where I diſcovered one in the Habit of a Shepherd, with a little muſical Inſtrument in his Hand. As I looked upon him, he applied it to his Lips, and began to play upon it. The Sound of it was exceeding ſweet, and wrought into a Variety of Tunes, that were inexpreſſibly melodious, and altogether different from any thing I had ever heard: They put me in Mind of thoſe heavenly Airs, that are played to the departed Souls of good Men upon their firſt Arrival in Paradiſe, to wear out the Impreſſions of their laſt Agonies, and qualify them for the Pleaſures of that happy Place. My Heart melted away in ſecret Raptures.

I had been often told, that the Rock before me was the Haunt of a *Genius*; and that ſeveral had been entertained with Muſick, who had paſſed by it, but never heard, that the Muſician had before made himſelf viſible. When he had raiſed my Thoughts, by thoſe tranſporting Airs, which he played, to taſte the Pleaſures of his Converſation, as I looked upon him like one aſtoniſhed, he beckoned to me, and by the waving of his Hand directed me to approach the Place, where he ſat. I drew near with that Reverence, which is due to a ſuperior Nature; and as my Heart was intirely ſubdued by the captivating Strains, I had heard, I fell down at his Feet and wept. The *Genius* ſmiled upon

upon me with a Look of Compaſſion and Affability, that familiarized him to my Imagination, and at once diſpelled all the Fears and Apprehenſions, with which I approached him. He lifted me from the Ground, and taking me by the Hand, *Mirzah*, ſaid he, I have heard thee in thy Soliloquies; follow me.

He then led me to the higheſt Pinacle of the Rock, and placing me on the Top of it, caſt thy Eyes Eaſtward, ſaid he, and tell me what thou ſeeſt. I ſee, ſaid I, a huge Valley and a prodigious Tide of Water rolling thro'it. The Valley, that thou ſeeſt, ſaid he, is the Vale of Miſery, and the Tide of Water, that thou ſeeſt, is Part of the great Tide of Eternity. What is the Reaſon, ſaid I, that the Tide, I ſee, riſes out of a thick Miſt at one End, and again loſes it ſelf in a thick Miſt at the other? What thou ſeeſt, ſaid he, is that Portion of Eternity, which is called Time, meaſured out by the Sun, and reaching from the Beginning of the World to its Conſummation. Examine now, ſaid he, this Sea, that is thus bounded with Darkneſs at both Ends, and tell me what thou diſcovereſt in it. I ſee a Bridge, ſaid I, ſtanding in the Midſt of the Tide. The Bridge thou ſeeſt, ſaid he, is human Life; conſider it attentively. Upon a more leiſurely Survey of it, I found, that it conſiſted of threeſcore and ten intire Arches, with ſeveral broken Arches, which, added to thoſe, that were intire, made up the Number about an hundred. As I was counting the Arches, the Genius told me, that this Bridge conſiſted at firſt of a Thouſand Arches; but that a great Flood ſwept away the reſt, and left the Bridge in the ruinous Condition, I now beheld it. But tell me further, ſaid he, what thou diſcovereſt

on it. I see Multitudes of People passing over it, said I, and a black Cloud hanging on each End of it. As I looked more attentively, I saw several of the Passengers dropping thro' the Bridge, into the great Tide, that flowed underneath it, and upon farther Examination, perceived there were innumerable Trap-doors, that lay concealed in the Bridge, which the Passengers no sooner trod upon, but they fell through them into the Tide, and immediately disappeared. These hidden Pit-falls were set very thick at the Entrance of the Bridge, so that Throngs of People no sooner broke through the Cloud, but many of them fell into them. They grew thinner towards the Middle, but multiplied and lay closer together towards the End of the Arches, that were intire.

There were indeed some Persons, but their Number was very small, that continued a Kind of hobbling March on the broken Arches, but fell through one after another, being quite tired and spent with so long a Walk.

I passed some Time in the Contemplation of this wonderful Structure, and the great Variety of Objects, which it presented. My Heart was filled with a deep Melancholy, to see several dropping unexpectedly in the midst of Mirth and Jollity, and catching at every thing, that stood by them, to save themselves. Some were looking up towards the Heavens in a thoughtful Posture, and in the midst of a Speculation stumbled and fell out of Sight. Multitudes were very busy in the Pursuit of Bubbles, that glitter'd in their Eyes and danced before them, but often, when they thought themselves within the reach of them, their Footing failed, and down they sunk. In this Confusion of Objects, I observed some with

with Scimetars in their Hands, and others with Urinals, who ran to and fro upon the Bridge, thrusting several Persons on Trap-doors, which did not seem to lie in their Way, and which they might have escaped, had they not been thus forced upon them.

The *Genius* seeing me indulge my self in this melancholy Prospect, told me, I had dwelt long enough upon it: Take thine Eyes off the Bridge, said he, and tell me, if thou yet seest any thing, thou dost not comprehend. Upon looking up, What mean, said I, those great Flights of Birds, that are perpetually hovering about the Bridge, and settling upon it from time to time? I see Vultures, Harpies, Ravens, Cormorants, and, among many other feathered Creatures, several little winged Boys, that perch in great Numbers upon the middle Arches. These, said the *Genius*, are *Envy*, *Avarice*, *Superstition*, *Despair*, *Love*, with the like Cares and Passions, that infest human Life.

I here fetched a deep Sigh, Alas, said I, Man was made in vain! How is he given away to Misery and Mortality! tortured in Life, and swallowed up in Death! The *Genius*, being moved with Compassion towards me, bid me quit so uncomfortable a Prospect. Look no more, said he, on Man in the first Stage of his Existence, in his setting out for Eternity; but cast thine Eye on that thick Mist, into which the Tide bears the several Generations of Mortals, that fall into it. I directed my Sight as I was ordered, and (whether or no the good *Genius* strengthened it with any supernatural Force, or dissipated Part of the Mist, that was before too thick for the Eye to penetrate) I saw the Valley opening at the farther End, and

spreading forth into an immense Ocean, that had a huge Rock of Adamant running through the midst of it, and dividing it into two equal Parts. The Clouds still rested on one Half of it, insomuch that I could discover nothing in it: But the other appeared to me a vast Ocean, planted with innumerable Islands, that were covered with Fruits and Flowers, and interwoven with a thousand little shining Seas, that ran among them. I could see Persons dressed in glorious Habits with Garlands upon their Heads, passing among the Trees, lying down by the Sides of Fountains, or resting on Beds of Flowers; and could hear a confused Harmony of singing Birds, falling Waters, human Voices, and Musical Instruments. Gladness grew in me upon the Discovery of so delightful a Scene: I wished for the Wings of an Eagle, that I might fly away to those happy Seats; but the *Genius* told me, there was no Passage to them, except through the Gates of Death, that I saw opening every Moment upon the Bridge. The Islands, said he, that lie so fresh and green before thee, and with which the whole Face of the Ocean appears spotted, as far as thou canst see, are more in Number, than the Sands on the Sea-shore; there are Myriads of Islands behind those, which thou here discoverest, reaching further than thine Eye, or even thine Imagination can extend it self. These are the Mansions of good Men after Death, who, according to the Degree and Kinds of Virtue, in which they excelled, are distributed among these several Islands, which abound with Pleasures of different Kinds and Degrees, suitable to the Relishes and Perfections of those, who are settled in them: every Island is a Paradise, accommodated to it's respective Inha-

Inhabitants. Are not these, O *Mirza*, Habitations, worth contending for? Does Life appear miserable, that gives thee Opportunities of earning such a Reward? Is Death to be feared, that will convey thee to so happy an Existence? Think not, Man was made in vain, who has such an Eternity reserved for him. I gazed with inexpressible Pleasure on these happy Islands. At length, said I, shew me now, I beseech thee, the Secrets, that lie hid under those dark Clouds, which cover the Ocean on the other Side of the Rock of Adamant. The *Genius* making me no Answer, I turned about to address my self to him a second time, but I found that he had left me. I then turned again to the Vision, which I had been so long contemplating, but instead of the rolling Tide, the arched Bridge, and the happy Islands, I saw nothing but the long hollow Valley of Bagdat, with Oxen, Sheep, and Camels grazing upon the Sides of it.

Num. 287. Tuesday, Januarii 29.

Ω φιλτάτη γῆ μῆτερ, ὡς σεμνὴν σοφὸς
Τοῖς νῦν ἔχεσι κτῆμα.

Menand.

I look upon it as a peculiar Happiness, that, were I to chuse of what Religion I would be, and under what Government I would live, I should most certainly give the Preference to that Form of Religion and Government, which is established in my own Country. In this Point, I think, I am determined by Reason and Conviction;

viction; but if I shall be told, that I am affected by Prejudice, I am sure, it is an honest Prejudice, it is a Prejudice, that arises from the Love of my Country, and therefore such a one, as I will always indulge. I have in several Papers endeavoured to express my Duty and Esteem for the Church of England, and design this as an Essay upon the Civil Part of our Constitution, having often entertained my self with Reflections on this Subject, which I have not met with in other Writers.

That Form of Government appears to me the most reasonable, which is most conformable to the Equality, that we find in Human Nature, provided it be consistent with Publick Peace and Tranquillity. This is what may properly be called Liberty, which exempts one Man from Subjection to an other, so far, as the Order and Oeconomy of Government will permit.

Liberty should reach every Individual of a People, as they all share one common Nature: if it only spreads among particular Branches, there had better be none at all; since such a Liberty only aggravates the Misfortune of those, who are deprived of it, by setting before them a disagreeable Subject of Comparison.

This Liberty is best preserved, where the Legislative Power is lodged in several Persons, especially if those Persons are of different Ranks and Interests; for where they are of the same Rank, and consequently have an Interest to manage peculiar to that Rank, it differs but little from a Despotical Government in a single Person. But the greatest Security, a People can have for their Liberty, is, when the Legislative Power is in the Hands of Persons, so happily di-

distinguished, that, by providing for the particular Interest of their several Ranks, they are providing for the whole Body of the People; or in other Words, when there is no Part of the People, that has not a common Interest with, at least, one Part of the Legislators.

If there be but one Body of Legislators, it is no better than a Tyranny; if there are only two, there will want a casting Voice, and one of them must at length be swallowed up by Disputes and Contentions, that will necessarily arise between them. Four would have the same Inconvenience as two, and a greater Number would cause too much Confusion. I could never read a Passage in Polybius, and an other in Cicero, to this Purpose, without a secret Pleasure, in applying it to the English Constitution, which it suits much better, than the Roman. Both these great Authors give the Pre-eminence to a mixt Government, consisting of three Branches, the Regal, the Noble, and the Popular. They had doubtless in their Thoughts the Constitution of the Roman Common-wealth, in which the Consul represented the King, the Senate the Nobles, and the Tribunes the People. This Division of the three Powers in the Roman Constitution was, by no Means, so distinct and natural, as it is in the English Form of Government. Among several Objections, that might be made to it, I think, the chief are those, that affect the Consular Power, which had only the Ornaments, without the Force of the Regal Authority. Their Number had not a casting Voice in it; for which Reason, if one did not chance to be employed abroad, while the other sat at Home, the Publick Business was sometimes at a Stand, while the Consuls pulled

two different Ways in it. Besides, I do not find, that the Consuls had ever a Negative Voice in the passing of a Law, or Decree of Senate; so that indeed they were rather the chief Body of the Nobility, or the first Ministers of State, than a distinct Branch of the Sovereignty, in which none can be looked upon as a Part, who are not a Part of the Legislature. Had the Consuls been invested with the Regal Authority to as great a Degree, as our Monarchs; there would never have been any Occasions for a Dictatorship, which had in it the Power of all the three Orders, and ended in the Subversion of the whole Constitution.

Such an History, as that of Suetonius, which gives us a Succession of absolute Princes, is to me an unanswerable Argument against Despotick Power. Where the Prince is a Man of Wisdom and Virtue, it is indeed happy for his People, that he is absolute; but since, in the common Run of Mankind, for one, that is wise and good, you find ten of a contrary Character; it is very dangerous for a Nation to stand to it's Chance, or to have it's publick Happiness, or Misery to depend on the Virtues, or Vices of a single Person. Look into the Historian, I have mentioned, or into any Series of absolute Princes; how many Tyrants must you read through, before you come at an Emperor, that is supportable? But this is not all: an Honest private Man often grows cruel and abandoned, when converted into an Absolute Prince. Give a Man Power of doing what he pleases with Impunity, you extinguish his Fear, and consequently overturn in him one of the great Pillars of Morality. This too we find confirmed by Matter of Fact. How many hopeful Heirs apparent to great Empires,

pires, when in the Poſſeſſion of them, have become ſuch Monſters of Luſt and Cruelty, as are a Reproach to Human Nature?

Some tell us, we ought to make our Governments on Earth like that in Heaven, which, ſay they, is altogether monarchical and unlimited. Was Man like his Creator in Goodneſs and Juſtice, I ſhould be for following that great Model: but where Goodneſs and Juſtice are not eſſential to the Ruler, I would, by no Means, put my ſelf into his Hands, to be diſpoſed of, according to his particular Will and Pleaſure.

It is odd, to conſider the Connexion between Deſpotic Government, and Barbarity, and how the making of one Perſon more than Man, makes the reſt leſs. Above nine Parts of the World in ten are in the loweſt State of Slavery, and conſequently ſunk into the moſt groſs and brutal Ignorance. European Slavery is indeed a State of Liberty, if compared with that, which prevails in the other three Diviſions of the World; and therefore it is no Wonder, that thoſe, who grovel under it, have many Tracks of Light among them, of which the others are wholly deſtitute.

Riches and Plenty are the natural Fruits of Liberty, and where theſe abound, Learning and all the Liberal Arts will immediately lift up their Heads, and flouriſh. As a Man muſt have no ſlaviſh Fears and Apprehenſions hanging upon his Mind, who will indulge the Flights of Fancy or Speculation, and puſh his Reſearches into all the abſtruſe Corners of Truth; ſo it is neceſſary for him, to have about him a Competency of all the Conveniencies of Life.

The first Thing, every one looks after, is to provide himself with Necessaries. This Point will engross our Thoughts, 'till it be satisfied. If this is taken Care of to our Hands, we look out for Pleasures and Amusements; and among a great Number of idle People, there will be many, whose Pleasures will lie in Reading and Contemplation. These are the two great Sources of Knowledge; and as Men grow wise, they naturally love to communicate their Discoveries; and others, seeing the Happiness of such a learned Life, and improving by their Conversation, emulate, imitate and surpass one an other, till a Nation is filled with Races of wise and understanding Persons. Ease and Plenty are therefore the great Cherishers of Knowledge; and as most of the Despotic Goverments of the World have neither of them, they are naturally overrun with Ignorance and Barbarity In Europe, indeed, notwithstanding several of it's Princes are absolute, there are Men famous for Knowledge and Learning; but the Reason is, because the Subjects are, many of them, rich and wealthy, the Prince not thinking fit to exert himself in his full Tyrany, like the Princes of the eastern Nations, least his Subjects should be invited to new-mould their Constitution, having so many Prospects of Liberty within their View. But in all Despotic Governments, tho' a particular Prince may favour Arts and Letters, there is a natural Degeneracy of Mankind, as you may observe from Augustus's Reign, how the Romans lost themselves by Degrees, till they fell to an Equality with the most barbarous Nations, that surrounded them. Look upon Greece under it's free States, and you would think, it's Inhabitants lived in different Heavens, from those at present;

ſent; ſo different are the Genius's, which are formed under Turkiſh Slavery, and Grecian Liberty.

Beſides Poverty and Want, there are other Reaſons, that debaſe the Minds of Men, who live under Slavery, though I look on this as the principal. This natural Tendency of Deſpotic Power to Ignorance and Barbarity, tho' not inſiſted upon by others, is, I think, an unanſwerable Argument againſt that Form of Government, as it ſhews, how repugnant it is to the Good of Mankind and the Perfection of human Nature, which ought to be the great Ends of all Civil Inſtitutions.

Num. 387. Saturday, May 24.

Quid pure tranquillet. Hor.

In my laſt Saturday's Paper I ſpoke of Chearfulneſs, as it is a Moral Habit of the Mind, and accordingly mentioned ſuch moral Motives, as are apt to cheriſh and keep alive this happy Temper in the Soul of Man: I ſhall now conſider Chearfulneſs in it's natural State, and reflect on thoſe Motives to it, which are indifferent either as to Virtue, or Vice.

Chearfulneſs is, in the firſt Place, the beſt Promoter of Health. Repinings, and ſecret Murmurs of Heart, give imperceptible Strokes to thoſe delicate Fibres, of which the vital Parts are compoſed, and wear out the Machine inſenſibly: not to mention thoſe violent Ferments, which they ſtir up in the Blood, and thoſe irregular di-

disturbed Motions, which they raise in the animal Spirits. I scarce remember, in my own Observation, to have met with many old Men, or with such, who (to use our English Phrase) wear well, that had not, at least, a certain Indolence in their Humour, if not a more than ordinary Gaiety and Chearfulness of Heart. The Truth of it is, Health and Chearfulness mutually beget each other, with this Difference, that we seldom meet with a great Degree of Health, which is not attended with a certain Chearfulness; but very often see Chearfulness, where there is no great Degree of Health.

Chearfulness bears the same friendly Regard to the Mind, as to the Body: It banishes all anxious Care and Discontent, sooths and composes the Passions, and keeps the Soul in a perpetual Calm. But having already touched on this last Consideration, I shall here take Notice, that the World, in which we are placed, is filled with innumerable Objects, that are proper to raise, and keep alive this happy Temper of Mind.

If we consider the World in it's Subserviency to Man, one would think, it was made for our Use; but if we consider it in it's natural Beauty and Harmony, one would be apt to conclude, it was made for our Pleasure. The Sun, which is as the great Soul of the Universe, and produces all the Necessaries of Life, has a particular Influence in chearing the Mind of Man, and making the Heart glad.

Those several living Creatures, which are made for our Service, or Sustenance, at the same Time either fill the Woods with their Musick, furnish us with Game, or raise pleasing Ideas in us, by the Delightfulness of their Appearance.

Foun-

Fountains, Lakes, and Rivers are as refreshing to the Imagination, as to the Soil, through which they pass.

There are Writers of great Distinction, who have made it an Argument for Providence, that the whole Earth is covered with Green, rather than with any other Colour, as being such a right Mixture of Light and Shade, that it comforts and strengthens the Eye, instead of weakning, or grieving it. For this Reason several Painters have a green Cloth hanging near them, to ease the Eye upon, after too great an Application to their Colouring. A famous modern Philosopher accounts for it in the following Manner: All Colours, that are more luminous, over-power and dissipate the animal Spirits, which are employ'd in Sight; on the contrary those, that are more obscure, do not give the animal Spirits a sufficient Exercise; whereas the Rays, that produce in us the Idea of Green, fall upon the Eye, in such a due Proportion, that they give the animal Spirits their proper Play, and by keeping up the Struggle in a just Balance, excite a very pleasing and agreeable Sensation. Let the Cause be what it will, the Effect is certain, for which Reason the Poets ascribe to this particular Colour the Epithet of Chearful.

To consider further this double End in the Works of Nature, and how they are, at the same Time, both useful and entertaining; we find, that the most important Parts in the vegetable World are those, which are the most beautiful. These are the Seeds, by which the several Races of Plants are propagated and continued, and which are always lodged in Flowers, or Blossoms. Nature seems to hide her principal Design, and to be industrious in making the Earth

Earth gay and delightfull, while she is carrying on her great Work, and intent upon her own Preservation. The Husband-man, after the same Manner, is employed in laying out the whole Country into a Kind of Garden, or Landskip, and making every thing smile about him, whilst in Reality he thinks of nothing, but of the Harvest, and Encrease, which is to arise from it.

We may further observe, how Providence has taken Care, to keep up this Chearfulness in the Mind of Man, by having formed it after such a Manner, as to make it capable of conceiving Delight from several Objects, which seem to have very little Use in them; as from the Wildness of Rocks and Desarts; and the like grotesque Parts of Nature. Those, who are versed in Philosophy, may still carry this Consideration higher, by observing, that, if Matter had appeared to us endow'd only with those real Qualities, which it actually possesses, it would have made but a very joyless and uncomfortable Figure: and why has Providence given it a Power of producing in us such imaginary Qualities, as Tastes and Colours, Sounds and Smells, Heat and Cold, but that Man, while he is conversant in the lower Stations of Nature, might have his Mind cheared and delighted with agreeable Sensations? In short, the whole Universe is a Kind of Theatre, filled with Objects, that either raise in us Pleasure, Amusement, or Admiration.

The Reader's own Thoughts will suggest to him the Vicissitude of Day and Night, the Change of Seasons, with all that Variety of Scenes, which diversify the Face of Nature, and fill the Mind with a perpetual Succession of beautiful and pleasing Images. I shall

I shall not here mention the several Entertainments of Art, with the Pleasures of Friendship, Books, Conversation, and other accidental Diversions of Life; because I would only take Notice of such Incitements to a chearful Temper, as offer themselves to Persons of all Ranks and Conditions, and which may sufficiently shew us, that Providence did not design, this World should be filled with Murmurs and Repinings, or that the Heart of Man should be involved in Gloom and Melancholy.

I the more inculcate this Chearfulness of Temper, as it is a Virtue, in which our Countrymen are observed to be more deficient, than any other Nation. Melancholy is a Kind of Demon, that haunts our Island, and often conveys her self to us in an easterly Wind. A celebrated French Novelist, in Opposition to those, who begin their Romances with the flowry Season of the Year, enters on his Story thus: In the gloomy Month of November, when the People of England hang and drown themselves, a disconsolate Lover walked out into the Fields. &c.

Every one ought to fence against the Temper of his Climate, or Constitution, and frequently to indulge in himself those Considerations, which may give him a Serenity of Mind, and enable him to bear up chearfully against those little Evils and Misfortunes, which are common to human Nature, and which, by a right Improvement of them, will produce a Satiety of Joy, and an uninterrupted Happiness.

At the same Time, that I would engage my Reader to consider the World in it's most agreeable Lights, I must own, there are many Evils, which naturally spring up amidst the Entertainments,

tainments, that are provided for us; but these, if rightly consider'd, should be far from overcasting the Mind with Sorrow, or destroying that Chearfulness of Temper, which I have been recommending. This Interspersion of Evil with Good, and Pain with Pleasure in the Works of Nature, is very truly ascrib'd by Mr. Lock, in his Essay on human Understanding, to a moral Reason, in the following Words:

Beyond all this, we may find an other Reason, why God hath scattered up and down several Degrees of Pleasure and Pain, in all the things, that environ and affect us, and blended them together, in allmost all, that our Thoughts and Senses have to do with; that we, finding Imperfection, Dissatisfaction, and Want of compleat Happiness, in all the Enyoyments, which the Creatures can afford us, might be led to seek it in the Enjoyment of him, with whom there is Fulness of Joy, and at whose right Hand are Pleasures for evermore.

THE

THE FREE-THINKER.

Num. 46. Friday, Aug. 29. 1718.

Felices animos, quibus hæc cognoscere primis,
Inque domos superas scandere cura fuit!
Ovid. Fast.

There is an Entertainment prepared, against Night, for the whole Town: And I send this Paper about to the Ladies, in particular, to invite them to it. I leave it to them to lay their Commands upon their several Admirers, to attend them by six in the Evening, to explain the Representation to them; and advise them to discard every Lover, who cannot answer their Questions.

I hope none of my fair Disciples will let slip the Opportunity of seeing a Spectacle, which will put them to neither Trouble, nor Expence, and (if the Air proves favourable) will be infinitely beyond any of the Amusements, they subscribe to so liberally. Alas, what is a Play, an Opera, a Masquerade, an Ambassadour's

Entry, when any of them ſtand in Competition with a Comet, an Eclipſe, or any other extraordinary Piece of Sky-Scenary, which from Time to Time ſhall be preſented to our Admiration!

In the mean while, it ſhall be my Buſineſs this Morning, to free the Sex from the idle Fears and Apprehenſions, they are liable to, upon uncommon Occurrences in the Worlds above us; that they may look with Satisfaction and Boldneſs, to night, upon a total Eclipſe of the Moon; as likewiſe upon every future Variation, that ſhall happen amongſt the Stars and Planets. A little Preparation of Philoſophy, drawn from common Senſe, will fortify their Spirits, more than any Cordial, they can have recourſe to, in their Cloſets.

Firſt, then, I think it proper, to inform the Ladies, that the Moon is a dark Body, much like the Earth; but not half ſo big: That the increaſing and decreaſing Light, ſhe gives us at ſtated Times, is only a Reflection of the Light of the Sun: And that ſometimes the Earth happens to intercept the Sun-ſhine from the Moon, for a ſhort Space, either wholly, or in part; during which Time we ſay, that the Moon is totally, or partly eclipſed; or in other Words, ſhadowed by the Earth. This Conjuncture, whenever it falls out, is no more contrary to the Courſe of Nature, than if a thick Cloud hid the Moon-ſhine from us, neither does it in any wiſe prognoſticate either Good or Evil to Nations, to Princes, or to private Perſons. The Darkneſs, proceeding from an Eclipſe, is leſs frequent, but not more ominous, than a Darkneſs, occaſioned by a Cloud.

In

In the next Place, I shall observe, that the Fears of Women, (as likewise of Men, wholly unacquainted with Astronomy,) upon these Occasions, proceed intirely from their Ignorance: And the Men of Skill look upon these Events with absolute Unconcernedness of Mind, not from their Courage, but from their Knowledge. Whereas, were there any Danger, their Studies would render them more conscious, and consequently more apprehensive, of the Mischief.

Lastly; we have seen, within these three Years, several remarkable Lights in the Air; one very extraordinary and total Eclipse of the Sun; and are, this Night, to see the silver Light of the Moon stained as it were with Blood, and wholly overshadowed by the Earth: And yet the Course of Nature and our political Concerns go on, as they went before; the Seasons of the Year continue their usual Vicissitude; The Protestant Succession remains in full Force; and Great Britain maintains her ancient Dominion over the Sea.

It is the Prerogative of great Philosophers to be exempted from the Fears and Surmises of the Vulgar. They can behold the uncommon Operations of Nature, unmoved by any other Passion, but Admiration. To the common Herd of Mankind, every Part of the Creation is full of Terrours. Whole Nations have been alarmed by the Overflowing of a River, the Flight of Birds, or the Appearance of a Whale. The Earth, the Sea, the Air, abound in Portents and Prodigies to the Superstitious: But above all, Eclipses and Comets do assail the Hearts of the Ignorant with such a panick Dread, as quite overcomes the Force of Reason; unless Care be taken by such knowing Persons,

as they have a Confidence in, to fore-arm them with Arguments, suited to their Comprehension.

The poor *Indians* are always in the greatest Consternation, when any thing extraordinary happens to the Sun, or the Moon. *Columbus*, therefore, owed his Preservation to the Ignorance of the People of *Jamaica:* When he saw, they began to desert him, he artfully denounced the Anger of God against them; adding, that within two Days they should see a manifest Token of the Divine Displeasure, by a Darkness over the Light of the Moon: This happening accordingly, they were reduced by their Fears to adhere firmly to him, as a peculiar Favourite of Heaven.

In the Year 1706. the *French* and *Spaniards* gave us a happy Instance of their Ignorance and Superstition. An Eclipse of the Sun falling upon the Day, that our Troops landed to relieve Barcelona, our Enemies retired in great Confusion; taking it for an ill Omen, to see the Sun darkened on a sudden; especially, considering, the French King's Device was *a Rising Sun.*

Six Years hence we are to have another total Eclipse of the Sun, as remarkable, and as innocent as the last, at which Period, I hope to meet my female Pupills at *Salisbury*; where it will be seen in Perfection. In the mean time to raise their Curiosity, I shall now give them as natural a Representation of it, as I can figure out in Words.

When the dark Body of the Moon shall have performed it's Progress so far, as to place itself directly between us and the Sun, and the Rays of Light shall be in a manner wholly intercepted; there will be such an universal and solemn

solemn Gloom spread over the Heavens and the Earth, as shall strike the Eye of the Beholder with a pleasing Dread. Thereupon, the Stars will begin to appear: The Winds will cease to blow: I see the Clouds becalmed; and perceive a dead Stillness in the Air: The Fields, the Floods, the Forests, and the Mountains, look like a Night-piece, imaged out by some Being of a superiour Skill in Painting: The Source of Heat, as well as Light, is shut up; and my Spirits are seized with Chilness. The Hare hastens to the Thicket; the Deer seeks the Covert; and the Courage of the War Horse fails, amidst the Pasture. I see the wild Beasts come out, to seek their Prey; the Ravens urge their Flight to their Nests; the Batts skim through the Dusk; and I hear the Cry of the Owl. The Flowers of the Field fold up their Leaves, and the pale Light of the Glow-worm appears. Such will the Effects be of that short Interval of Darkness, that momentary Night, in full Day; till the Light breaks forth again, and restores Gladness to the whole Creation.

Num. 51. Monday, Sept. 15. 1718.

At secura quies, & nescia fallere vita,
Dives Opum variarum; at latis otia fundis:
Speluncæ, vivique lacus; at frigida Tempe,
Mugitusque bovum, mollesque sub arbore somni,
Non absunt - - Virg.

After what has been advanced concerning Luxury, methinks it should not be difficult,

to perſuade ſuch of my Countrymen, as are born to competent Eſtates (according to their reſpective Conditions) not to give into the general Infatuation of becoming indigent through the Favour of Great Men. And even the younger Brothers of good families would find their Account more, by improving their Fortunes in ſome creditable Buſineſs, than by waſting their Time and Money in the uncertain Purſuit, and the precarious Tenure, of Court-Employments.

It is excuſable in a Gentleman, who has had the Misfortune to be bred at large, and is too far gone in Life, to apply himſelf to a Profeſſion, to endeavour to merit the Attention of ſome worthy Patron, who may recommend him to the Favour of his Prince. But it is amazing, to ſee ſuch Crouds of our Gentry, who, with their Lands, inherit Independency, be at no ſmall Pains and Expence to become Slaves. Is there, to a brave Man, any Happineſs in Life, equal to Freedom? or any Ambition beyond that, of having no Superiour? Eſpecially in a Nation, where the Laws only (and not the Will of the Magiſtrate) claim our Submiſſion.

It is no Wonder, that in Deſpotick Governments every Man ſtrives to be in ſome Degree of Power; or, at leaſt, to gain the Countenance of ſome *Court-Potentate:* Becauſe the Laws alone are not ſufficient to ſhelter the Subject from Oppreſſion. But, in *England*, the Lord, the Knight, the Squire, the Gentleman, the Trader, the Artizan, (each in his Way) may live ſecurely to himſelf and his Country; and appeal ſingly to the Laws for Protection. A *Briton* may fix his Happineſs upon a ſolid Baſis: Let him ſtand upon his own Bottom; let

let his Industry and his Frugality set him above Want; and neither the Prince, nor his Ministers, can give him any Molestation. Such a Man's Actions will be free; and what he does, at any time, to serve his Country, will be done with a double Grace, when it shall appear, that he is controlled by neither Hopes nor Fears.

I am in Doubt, whether any Ministers of State will thank me for this Doctrine; Though, upon Recollection, I cannot help thinking it a considerable Service done them, to inspire their Fellow-Subjects with this honest Pride of Heart. In Case it prevails, they will be freed from the Plague of Levees this Winter: And, when once Places come to go a begging, the Great Men (with the Assistance of a good Parliament) will have little else to do, in conducting the Affairs of the Nation, but to be plain and honest; than which, nothing is more easy.

Since, then, both the Ministers and the People may find their Advantage in an effectual Dissuasive from a Court-Life, I shall subjoin a Copy of Verses to that Purpose; and will only detain my Reader with a short Observation upon the continual Temperament of Court-Weather: It is warm, but not pleasant, in the Sun-shine; and it freezes bitterly in the Shade.

An Epistle from a Gentleman in Holland, to his Friend in England; in the Year 1703.

From Utrecht's silent Walks, by Winds I send
Health and Kind wishes to my absent Friend.
The Winter spent, I feel the Poet's Fire,
The Sun advances, and the Fogs retire;

The genial Spring unbinds the frozen Earth,
Dawns on the Trees, and gives the Primrose birth.
Loos'd from their friendly Harbours, once again
Confederate Fleets assemble on the Main:
The Voice of War the gallant Soldier wakes,
And weeping *Chloë* parting Kisses takes;
On new plum'd Wings the *Roman* Eagle soars;
The *Belgick* Lion in full Fury roars.
Dispatch the Leader from your happy Coast,
The Hope of *Europe*, and *Britannia's* Boast:
O Marlborough come! fresh Laurels for thee rise!
One Conquest more; and Gallia will grow wise.
Old *Lewis* makes his last Effort in Arms;
And shews how, even in Age, Ambition charms.
Mean while, my Friend, the thickening Shades I haunt,
And smooth Canals; and after Rivulets pant:
The smoth Canals, alas, too lifeless show.
Nor to the Eye, nor to the Ear, they flow.
Studious of Ease, and fond of humble Things,
Below the Smiles, below the Frowns of Kings;
Thanks to my Stars! I prize the Sweets of Life;
No sleepless Nights I count; no Days of Strife.
Content to live, content to die, unknown;
Lord of my self, accountable to none;
I sleep, I wake; I drink; I sometimes love;
I read, I write: I settle, and I rove,
When, and where e'er, I please: Thus every Hour
Gives some new Proof of my Despotick Power.
All, that I will, I can; but then, I will
As Reason bids: I meditate no ill;
And, pleas'd with Things, that in my Level lie,
Leave it to Madmen o'er the Clouds to fly.

But, this is all Romance, a Dream to you,
Who fence and dance, and keep the Court in view.
White Staffs and Truncheons, Seals and golden Keys,
And

And Silver Stars, your tow'ring Genius please.
Such manly Thoughts in every Infant rise,
Who daily for some tinsel Trinket cries.

Go on, and prosper, Sir: But first, from me
Learn your own Temper; for I know you free.
You can be honest; but you cannot bow,
And cringe beneath a supercilious Brow:
You cannot fawn; your stubborn Soul recoils
At Baseness; and your Blood too highly boils.
From Nature some submissive Tempers have;
Unkind to you she form'd you not a Slave.
A Courtier must be supple, full of Guile;
Must learn to praise, to flatter, to revile,
The Good, the Bad; an Enemy, a Friend;
To give false Hopes, and on false Hopes depend.
Go on, and prosper, Sir: But learn to hide
Your upright Spirit: 'Twill be construed Pride.
The Splendour of a Court is all a Cheat;
You must be servile, e'er you can be great.
Besides, your ancient Patrimony wasted,
Your Youth run out, your Schemes of Grandeur blasted;
You may perhaps retire in Discontent,
And curse your Patron, for no strange Event:
The Patron will his Innocence protest;
And frown in earnest, though he smil'd in jest.

Man only from himself can suffer wrong;
His Reason fails, as his Desires grow strong:
Hence, wanting Ballast, and too full of Sail,
He lies exposed to every rising Gale,
From youth to Age, for Happiness he's bound:
He splits on Rocks, or runs his Bark a-ground;
Or, wide of Land, a desart Ocean views;
And, to the last, the flying Port pursues:
Yet, to the last, the Port he does not gain;
And, dying, finds too late, he liv'd in vain.

THE GUARDIAN.

Num. 70. Monday, June, 1.

- - - *mentisque capacius altæ.* Ovid.

As I was, the other Day, taking a solitary Walk in *St. Paul's*, I indulged my Thoughts in the Pursuit of a certain Analogy between the Fabrick and the Christian Church in the largest Sense. The Divine Order and Oeconomy of the one seemed to be emblematically set forth by the just, plain, and majestick Architecture of the other. And as the one consists of a great Variety of Parts, united in the same regular Design, according to the truest Art, and most exact Proportion; so the other contains a decent Subordination of Members, various sacred Institutions, sublime Doctrines, and solid Precepts of Morality, digested into the same Design, and with an admirable Concurrence tending to one View, the Happiness and Exaltation of Human Nature.

In the midst of my Contemplation I beheld a Fly upon one of the Pillars; and it straightway came into my Head, that this same Fly was a

Free-

Free-Thinker. For it required some Comprehension in the Eye of the Spectator, to take in at one view the various Parts of the Building, in Order to observe their Symmetry and Design. But to the Fly, whose Prospect was confined to a little Part of one of the Stones of a single Pillar, the joint Beauty of the whole, or the Distinct Use of its Parts, were inconspicuous, and nothing could appear, but small Inequalities in the Surface of the hewn Stone, which in the View of that Insect seemed so many deformed Rocks and Precipices.

The Thoughts of a Free Thinker are employed on certain minute Particularities of Religion, the Difficulty of a single Text, or the Unaccountableness of some Step of Providence, or Point of Doctrine to his narrow Faculties, without comprehending the Scope and Design of Christianity, the Perfection, to which it raiseth human Nature, the Light, it hath shed abroad in the World, and the close Connexion, it hath as well with the Good of Publick Societies, as with that of particular Persons.

This raised in me some Reflections on that Frame, or Disposition, which is called *Largeness of Mind*, it's Necessity towards forming a true Judgment of Things, and where the Soul is not incurably stinted by Nature, what are the likeliest Methods to give it Enlargement.

It is evident, that Philosophy doth open and enlarge the Mind, by the general Views, to which Men are habituated in that Study, and by the Contemplation of more numerous and distant Objects, than fall within the Sphere of Mankind, in the ordinary Pursuits of Life. Hence it comes to pass, that Philosophers judge of most Things very differently from the Vulgar.

gar. Some Instances of this may be seen in the *Theætetus* of *Plato*, where *Socrates* makes the following Remarks, among others of the like Nature.

„ When a Philosopher hears ten thousand „ Acres mentioned as a great Estate, he looks „ upon it as an inconsiderable Spot, having „ been used to contemplate the whole Globe „ of Earth. Or when he beholds a Man elated „ with the Nobility of his Race, because he „ can reckon a Series of seven rich Ancestors, „ the Philosopher thinks him a stupid ignorant „ Fellow, whose Mind cannot reach to a general View of Human Nature, which would „ shew him, that we have all innumerable Ancestors, among whom are Crouds of Rich „ and Poor, Kings and Slaves, *Greeks* and „ *Barbarians*. Thus far *Socrates*, who was accounted wiser than the rest of the Heathens, for Notions, which approach the nearest to' Christianity.

As all Parts and Branches of Philosophy, or speculative Knowledge, are useful in that respect; Astronomy is peculiarly adapted to remedy a little and narrow Spirit. In that Science there are good Reasons assigned, to prove the Sun an hundred thousand times bigger than our Earth; and the Distance of the Stars so prodigious, that a Cannon Bullet, continuing in it's ordinary rapid Motion, would not arrive from hence at the nearest of them, in the Space of an hundred and fifty thousand Years. These Ideas wonderfully dilate and expand the Mind. There is something in the Immensity of this Distance, that shocks and overwhelms the Imagination; it is too big for the Grasp of a human Intellect: Estates, Provinces, and Kingdoms vanish

vaniſh at it's Preſence. It were to be wiſhed, a certain Prince, who hath encouraged the Study of it in his Subjects, had been himſelf a Proficient in Aſtronomy. This might have ſhewed him how mean an Ambition that was, which terminated in a ſmall Part of what is it ſelf but a Point, in reſpect of that Part of the Univerſe, which lies within our View.

But the *Chriſtian Religion* ennobleth and enlargeth the Mind beyond any other Profeſſion, or Science whatſoever. Upon that Scheme, while the Earth, and the tranſient Enjoyments of this Life, ſpring into the narroweſt Dimenſions, and are accounted as *the Duſt of a Balance*, *the drop of a Bucket*, *yea leſs than nothing*, the Intellectual World opens wider to our View: The Perfections of the Deity, the Nature and Excellence of Virtue, the Dignity of the human Soul, are diſplayed in the largeſt Characters. The Mind of Man ſeems to adapt it ſelf to the different Nature of it's Objects; it is contracted and debaſed by being converſant in little and low things, and feels a proportionable Enlargement, ariſing from the Contemplation of theſe great and ſublime Ideas.

The Greatneſs of Things is comparative; and this does not only hold, in Reſpect of Extenſion, but likewiſe in Reſpect of Dignity, Duration, and all Kinds of Perfection. Aſtronomy opens the Mind, and alters our Judgment, with Regard to the Magnitude of extended Beings; but Chriſtianity produceth an univerſal Greatneſs of Soul; Philoſophy encreaſeth our Views in every Reſpect; but Chriſtianity extends them to a Degree beyond the Light of Nature.

How

How mean must the most exalted Potentate upon Earth appear to that Eye, which takes in innumerable Orders of blessed Spirits, differing in Glory and Perfection? How little must the Amusements of Sense, and the Ordinary Occupations of mortal Men, seem to one, who is engaged in so noble a Pursuit, as the Assimilation of himself to the Deity, which is the proper Employment of every Christian!

And the Improvement, which grows from habituating the Mind to the comprehensive Views of Religion, must not be thought wholly to regard the Understanding. Nothing is of greater Force to subdue the inordinate Motions of the Heart, and to regulate the Will. Whether a Man be actuated by his Passions, or his Reason, these are first wrought upon by some Object, which stirs the Soul, in Proportion to it's apparent Dimensions. Hence irreligious Men, whose short Prospects are filled with Earth, and Sense, and mortal Life, are invited, by these mean Ideas, to Actions proportionably little and low. But a Mind, whose Views are enlightened and extended by Religion, is animated to nobler Pursuits, by more sublime and remote Objects.

There is not any Instance of Weakness in the *Free Thinkers*, that raises my Indignation more, than their pretending to ridicule Christians, as Men of narrow Understandings, and to pass themselves upon the World for Persons of superior Sense, and more enlarged Views. But I leave it to any impartial Man, to judge, which hath the nobler Sentiments, which the greater Views; he, whose Notions are stinted to a few miserable Inlets of Sense; or he, whose Sentiments are raised above the common Taste,

by

by the Anticipation of those Delights, which will satiate the Soul, when the whole Capacity of her Nature is branched out into new Faculties? He, who looks for nothing beyond this short Span of Duration; or he, whose Aims are co-extended with the endless Length of Eternity? He, who derives his Spirit from the Elements; or he, who thinks, it was inspired by the Almighty?

Num. 135. Saturday, August, 15.

- - - mea

Virtute me involvo - - - Hor.

A Good Conscience is to the Soul what Health is to the Body; it preserves a constant Ease and Serenity within us, and more than countervails all the Calamities and Afflictions, which can possibly befall us. I know nothing so hard, for a generous Mind to get over, as Calumny and Reproach, and cannot find any Method of quieting the Soul under them, besides this single one, of our being conscious to our selves, that we do not deserve them.

I have been always mightily pleased with that Passage in *Don Quixot*, where the fantastical Knight is represented, as loading a Gentleman of good Sense with Praises and Elogiums. Upon which the Gentleman makes this Reflexion to himself: How grateful is Praise to Human Nature! I cannot forbear being secretly pleased with the Commendations, I receive, tho' I am

am sensible, 'tis a Madman bestows them on me. In the same Manner, tho' we are often sure, that the Censures, which are passed upon us, are uttered by those, who know nothing of us, and have neither Means, nor Abilities, to form a right Judgment of us, we cannot forbear being grieved at what they say.

In order to heal this Infirmity, which is so natural to the best and wisest of Men, I have taken a particular Pleasure in observing the Conduct of the old Philosophers, how they bore themselves up against the Malice and Detraction of their Enemies.

The Way to silence Calumny, says *Bias*, is to be always exercised in such Things, as are Praiseworthy. *Socrates*, after having received Sentence, told his Friends, that he had always accustomed himself to regard Truth, and not Censure, and that he was not troubled at his Condemnation, because he knew himself free from Guilt. It was in the same Spirit, that he heard the Accusations of his two great Adversaries, who had uttered against him the most virulent Reproaches. *Anytus* and *Melitus*, says he, may procure Sentence against me, but they cannot hurt me. This Divine Philosopher was so well fortified in his own Innocence, that he neglected all the Impotence of evil Tongues, which were engaged in his Destruction. This was properly the Support of a good Conscience, that contradicted the Reports, which had been raised against him, and cleared him to himself.

Others of the Philosophers rather chose to retort the Injury, by a smart Reply, than thus to disarm it with Respect to themselves. They shew, that it stung them, tho' at the same Time

Time, they had the Addreſs, to make their Aggreſſors ſuffer with them. Of this Kind was *Ariſtotle's* Reply to one, who purſued him with long and bitter Invectives. You, ſays he, who are uſed to ſuffer Reproaches, utter them with Delight; I, who have not been uſed to utter them, take no Pleaſure in hearing them. *Diogenes* was ſtill more ſevere on one, who ſpoke ill of him: No Body will believe you, when you ſpeak ill of me, any more, than they would believe me, ſhould I ſpeak well of you.

In theſe, and many other Inſtances, I could produce, the Bitterneſs of the Anſwer ſufficiently teſtifies the Uneaſineſs of Mind, the Perſon was under, who made it. I wou'd rather adviſe my Reader, if he has not, in this Caſe, the ſecret Conſolation, that he deſerves no ſuch Reproaches, as are caſt upon him, to follow the Advice of *Epictetus*. If any one ſpeaks ill of thee, conſider whether he has Truth on his Side, and if ſo, reform thy ſelf, that his Cenſures may not affect thee. When *Anaximander* was told, that the very Boys laught at his Singing; Ay, ſays he; then I muſt learn to ſing better. But of all the Sayings of Philoſophers, which I have gathered together for my own Uſe on this Occaſion, there are none, which carry in them more Candour and good Senſe, than the two following ones of *Plato*. Being told, that he had many Enemies, who ſpoke ill of him: 'Tis no matter, ſaid he, I'll live ſo, that none ſhall believe 'em. Hearing at another Time, that an intimate Friend of his had ſpoken detractingly of him; I am ſure, he would not do it, ſays he, if he had not ſome Reaſon for it. This is the ſureſt, as well as the nobleſt Way,

of drawing the Sting out of a Reproach, and a true Method of preparing a Man for that great and only Relief againſt the Pains of Calumny, a good Conſcience.

I deſign'd in this Eſſay, to ſhow, that there is no Happineſs wanting to him, who is poſſeſt of this excellent Frame of Mind; and that no Perſon can be miſerable, who is in the Enjoyment of it; but I find this Subject ſo well treated in one of Dr. South's Sermons, that I ſhall fill this Saturday's Paper with a Paſſage of it, which cannot but make the Man's Heart burn within him, who reads it with due Attention.

That admirable Author, having ſhown the Virtue of a good Conſcience, in ſupporting a Man under the greateſt Tryals and Difficulties of Life, concludes with repreſenting it's Force and Efficacy in the Hour of Death.

„ The third and laſt Inſtance, in which „ above all others this Confidence towards God „ does moſt eminently ſhew and exert it ſelf, „ is at the Time of Death: Which ſurely „ gives the grand Opportunity of trying both „ the Strength and Worth of every Principle. „ When a Man ſhall be juſt about to quit the „ Stage of this World, to put off his Mor- „ tality, and to deliver up his laſt Account to „ God; at which ſad Time his Memory ſhall „ ſerve him for little elſe, but to terrifie him „ with a frightful Review of his paſt Life, and „ his former Extravagancies, ſtripp'd of all their „ Pleaſure, but retaining their Guilt. What is „ it then, that can promiſe him a fair Paſſage „ into the other Wold, or a comfortable Ap- „ pearance before his dreadful Judge, when he is „ there? Not all the Friends and Intereſts, all the Riches

„ Riches and Honours under Heaven can ſpeak
„ ſo much as a Word for him, or one Word of
„ Comfort to him, in that Condition; they may
„ poſſibly reproach, but they cannot relieve him.
„ No; at this diſconſolate Time, when the
„ buſie Tempter ſhall be more than uſually apt
„ to vex and trouble him; and the Pains of a
„ dying Body to hinder and diſcompoſe him, and
„ the Settlement of worldly Affairs to diſturb
„ and confound him; and in a Word, all Things
„ conſpire to make his Sick-Bed grievous and
„ uneaſie: Nothing can then ſtand up againſt all
„ theſe Ruins, and ſpeak Life in the midſt of
„ Death, but a clear Conſcience.
„ And the Teſtimony of that ſhall make the
„ Comforts of Heaven deſcend upon his weary
„ Head, like a refreſhing Dew, or Shower upon a
„ parched Ground. It ſhall give him ſome lively
„ Earneſts, and ſecret Anticipations of his ap-
„ proaching Joy. It ſhall bid his Soul go out of the
„ Body undauntedly, and lift up its Head with
„ Confidence before Saints and Angels. Surely the
„ Comfort, which it conveys at this Seaſon, is
„ ſomething bigger, than the Capacities of Mor-
„ tality, mighty and unſpeakable, and not to be
„ underſtood, till it comes to be felt.
„ And now, who would not quit all the Pleaſures,
„ and Traſh and Trifles, which are apt to captivate
„ the Heart of Man, and purſue the greateſt Rigors
„ of Piety, and Auſterities of a good Life, to pur-
„ chaſe to himſelf ſuch a Conſcience, as, at the
„ Hour of Death, when all the Friendſhip in the
„ World ſhall bid him adieu, and the whole Crea-
„ tion turn its Back upon him, ſhall diſmiſs the
„ Soul, and cloſe his Eyes with that bleſſed Sen-
„ tence *Well done thou good and faithful Servant,*
„ *enter thou into the Joy of thy Lord!*

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