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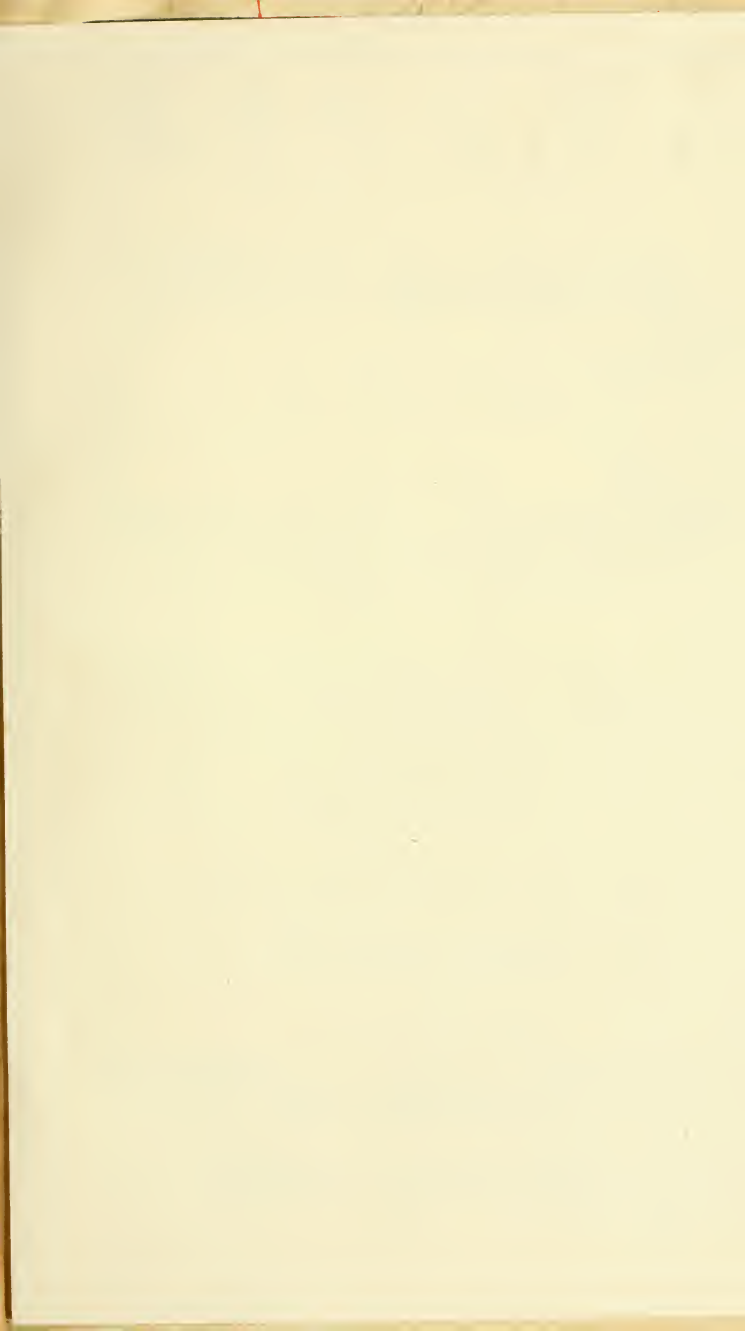
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ESSAYS

UPON SEVERAL

Moral Subjects.

In Two Parts.

PART I.

Upon Pride. Upon Cloaths. Upon Duelling. Upon
General Kindness. Upon the Office of a Chaplain.
Upon the Weakness of Human Reason.

PART II.

Of Fame. Of Musick. Of the Value of Life. Of the
Spleen. Of Eagerness of Desire. Of Friendship.
Of Popularity. A Thought. Of the Entertain-
ment of Books. Of Confidence. Of Envy. Of the
Aspect. Against Despair. Of Covetousness. Of
Liberty. Of Old Age. Of Pleasure.

By JEREMY COLLIER, M. A.

The Fifth Edition.

L O N D O N :

Printed for RICHARD SARE at Grays-Inn-
Gate in Holborn, M DCC III.

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T H E

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T O T H E

R E A D E R .

I Easily foresee some People will be disobliged with the Freedom of these Papers, and think themselves treated with too little Ceremony; But unless they can disarm their pretended Adversary, and confute his Arguments, I would desire them by all means to smother their Resentments: For as bad as the World is, to appear in defence of Pride, and turn Advocate for the Devil, looks like an untoward sort of an Employment. However to sweeten their Humour as much as may be, they may please to consider that there was no good to be done in this Case without plain dealing; This Malady of all others must be well examined, otherwise it's in vain to expect a Cure. 'Tis to no purpose to declaim in general against a Proud Man, and to give him a great many hard Names; for unless
you

To the Reader.

you point directly upon his *Vice*, distinguish its Nature, and discover the weakness of that which he builds upon, Every one will be sure to avoid the Charge, and parry against the Application. Farther, to abate their Censure, I think it not improper to acquaint them that here are no particular Characters attempted, nor is there the least intention to provoke or expose any Person Living. Besides when a Piece like this is drawn from so many different Faces; the mixing of Features and Complexions, will keep the Originals from being discover'd. In short, the Design of this small Discourse is only to make Men more useful and acceptable to Society, and more easy to themselves than they generally are: And that those who over-top their Neighbours upon any considerable account; may manage their Advantage with that Modesty and good Humour, that none may have any just occasion to wish them less.

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TO

A

Moral Essay

U P O N

P R I D E,

I N A

CONFERENCE

B E T W E E N

Philotimus and *Philaethes*.

Philot.

P

Hilaethes, I am glad to see you, though you are so wrapt up in Speculation that I scarce knew you at first sight; pray why so Thoughtful? you don't use to have so much Philosophy in your Face.

B

Philal.

Philal. I have a particular reason to look a little pretendingly at present ; therefore I hope you will excuse it.

Philot. With all my Heart ; for I suppose you will not make a Practice of it : But whatever Emergency you may be under, I would advise you to appear in your old Shape again ; for in my Judgment that contemplative Figure does not become you.

Philal. I am sorry to hear Thinking agrees so ill with my Constitution ; but I hope this Alteration does not arise from any natural Antipathy I have to Sense ; but from the unacceptableness of the Subject I am upon.

Philot. Pray if it be not too free a Question, What were you musing upon ?

Philal. Why last night I happen'd to light upon an overgrown Fop, who plagued the Company with such an impertinent History of his Quality and Performances, and was so vain and insolent in all his Behaviour, that as soon as I was delivered from him, I had a plentiful occasion to consider the unreasonableness of Pride ; which is the present Employment of my Thoughts : And upon a full View, I find so much Folly, and ill Humour, and Monster in the Composition of this Vice, that I am ashamed, and almost afraid, of the *Idea* I have rais'd.

Philot. 'Tis somewhat hard you can't stand the Charge of your own Imaginati-
on;

on ; But though I shall not dispute your Courage, yet I much question your Mortification.

Philal. The Reason of your Censure ?

Philot. Because I have observed, it's but a bad Sign of Humility, to declaim against Pride ; for he that is really Humble will be unconcerned about Respect and Applause ; such a Person values himself upon nothing but his Conscience and Integrity ; and therefore the haughtiness of another can't make him uneasy ; so that if he finds himself wince upon the Account of Neglect, he may be pretty well assured he has a Sore Place.

Philal. I think you are somewhat out in your Notion of Humility ; for that Virtue does not make us either servile or insensible ; it does not oblige us to be ridden at the Pleasure of every Coxcomb : We may shew our dislike of an imperious Humour, as well as of any other foolish Action ; both for the Benefit of Others, and in Vindication of our own Right.

Philot. I am glad to hear this Concession from you ; because from hence it follows, that a Man may have a just Esteem of himself without being Proud : Now if this Observation was remembred and rightly applied, Men would not be so Censorious in this Point, nor mistake their own Pride for

their Neighbours so often as they do. For instance, a Man whom the Law has made my Superiour, may take notice of his Quality if he pleases; but this can't well be done except he makes me an Abatement of the Regard he receives from me; therefore I ought not to interpret the *Reserve* or *Familiarity* of his Carriage, as a Neglect; for provided he keeps within his Proportion, he Challenges nothing but his own; so that if I am displeas'd, the Pride lies on my side, for affecting to have an equal Regard paid to Persons who are unequal.

Philal. I have nothing to Object against the main of your Discourse; and conceive that the best way to know whether we are Guilty or not, and to prevent charging this odious Imputation unjustly upon Others, is to State the nature of Pride, and to enquire into the Grounds of it.

Philot. I confess this is the way to Pinch the Question; therefore let what will come of it, I will stand the Test of your Method, though I am afraid you will say some unacceptable Things.

Philal. Suppose I do; if the Subject leads me to it, the fault is not mine: But to come to the Point: Pride has a very strong Foundation in the Mind; it's bottom'd upon Self-love.

Philot.

Philot. Then I find there is somewhat to Work upon.----

Philal. Pray give me leave, I say Pride is originally founded in Self-love; which is the most intimate and inseparable Passion of Humane Nature. The Kindness Men have for themselves, is apt to put them upon over-valuing their own Things: which Humour unless check'd in time, will make them take most delight in those Circumstances and Actions which distinguish them from their Neighbours; and place their supposed Advantages in the best Light. Now this Design is best pursued by being Master of uncommon Excellences; which though desired by all, are possessed but by a few; for the rareness of Things raises their Esteem, and draws a general Admiration. And their desire of being distinguished, is one reason why they love to keep the Odds in their own Hand, and to make the Distance between themselves and their Neighbours as Wide as may be; which often runs them upon a vain, and tyrannical Ostentation of their Power, Capacity, &c. For this magnificent Discovery makes the Difference between them and their Neighbours more Apparent; and consequently, occasions their own Greatness to be the more remarkable.

Philot. I think you have said something very remarkable; and I don't know but you may grow Considerable by it; if you can prove your Assertion.

Philal. Pray what rising Doctrine have I laid down?

Philot. You say that Pride is founded in Self-love, which is an unseparable Passion of Humane Nature; from whence I gather, that it's impossible for a Man not to be Proud, because it's impossible for a Man not to love himself. We are like to have an admirable Preservative from you at this Rate.

Philal. Not so fast: If you had attended to the Whole, you might have observed, That by Self-love I meant the Excesses of it.

Philot. I thought a Man could not have loved himself too well.

Philal. If by loving you mean wishing himself Happy, I agree with you; for we may, or rather we must desire to be as Happy as is possible; provided it be without Prejudice to another. But then, if Esteem is understood by Love, it's easy (without Care) to exceed in our own behalf; and in this Sense we certainly do love our selves too well, as often as we set an over-proportioned and unusual Value upon any Thing, because it's our own, as if our Fondness

ness and Partiality was the true Standard of Worth ; and we had the Faculty of turning every thing we touch into Gold.

Philot. I will not Contest this Point any farther with you ; but as I remember you started another Paradox, by intimating, that it was a sign of Ambition to esteem any Excellency the higher for being uncommon : Now since the Value of an Advantage is inanced by it's Scarceness, and made more Reputable to the Owner ; I think it somewhat hard not to give a Man leave to Love that most which is most Serviceable to him.

Philal. So it would if he had no Body to Love but himself ; but since he is both obliged and naturally inclinable to universal Benevolence, this alters the Case : For he who Values any thing the more for being uncommon, will desire it should continue so : Which is no kind Wish to his Neighbours ; and is an Argument that a Man does not delight in an Advantage so much for it self, as for the Comparison ; not so much for it's own irrespctive Goodness, as because others want it. Now it affords a more generous, and I believe, a more transporting Pleasure, to converse with universal Happiness, though we make no greater Figure in it, than the rest of our Neighbours ; than to be gazed at, and ad-

mired by a Crowd of indigent and inferiour People.

Philot. The World does not seem to be of your Opinion; however I will let your Argument pass, for the good Nature of it. But after all let me tell you, though I have no Mind to be counted Proud, yet I have a strong Fancy for my self: and therefore if you will not allow me to be Civil to my Person, we might e'en as good Dispute no farther; for---

Philal. Don't trouble your self, if your Terms are Moderate, we'll never break off upon that Score; therefore I will offer at a short Negative Description of Pride; in which if it's possible, I will give you Satisfaction.

Philot. Pray let us see how Liberal you will be.

Philal. First, It's no part of Pride to be Conscious of any Perfections we have, whether Intellectual or Moral; for this is in many Cases necessary, and impossible to be avoided. He that is Wise or Learned must know it, otherwise he can't understand when he judges True or False; nor distinguish difficult and noble Speculations, from trifling and vulgar Remarks: nor tell when he acts Rationally or not. Now a Man that is ignorant of these Things, can neither be Wise nor Knowing: Therefore as he that

has a just and vigorous Sense of the Magnitude, Distance and Colours of Objects, must conclude that he has Eyes whether he will or not; so these Perfections of the Mind discover themselves by their own Light: The Possessor can no more be Ignorant of them, than he can doubt of his Existence when he is Awake. To give one Instance more: How can any Person have true Fortitude, who does not know how far he ought to Hazard himself; and wherein the Baseness of Cowardise consists? So that to affirm a Man may be ignorant of his own Considerableness, is to make him Wise and Great, and Good by Chance; which is a Contradiction to the Excellences supposed in him.

Philos. Right. And since I like the Frankness, and Tendency of your Argument, I'll try if I can Reinforce it: I say then, supposing it was Possible for a Man to be ignorant of his good Qualities; it was by no Means convenient: For if he carried such a Treasure about him, without knowing how well furnished he was; it's somewhat hard to conceive how he could either Improve or Use it: If it lay thus close, it would be little better, than a Mine undiscovered; for which neither the Owner of the Ground, or any Body else, are ever the Richer.

Philal.

Philal. You say well, and therefore I shall venture in the second place to affirm, That as we may be acquainted with our own Accomplishments, without being guilty of Pride, so neither is it any Branch of this Sin to discover, that they are greater than some of our Neighbours enjoy. If we have a real Advantage over another, it's no Sin to be sensible of it ; to apprehend otherwise, is to judge contrary to the Reason of Things ; when the Case is plain, we may believe we have more Honesty, Sense, &c. than some others : This is as allowable as it is for us to think, that we have better Complexions than Moors, and are Taller than Pygmies.

Philot. Can you go on ?

Philal. Yes, I'm not afraid to add ; Thirdly, That we don't fall into the Sin of Pride, by being delighted with those Advantages of Mind, Body or Fortune, which Providence has given us ; these things in the very Notion of them are supposed to be Beneficial. Now it's natural and necessary for us to be pleased with the Enjoyment of that which is good ; of that which is agreeable to our Faculties, and an Advancement of our Nature : To speak strictly, When the Faculty and the Object are rightly proportioned, Satisfaction follows of Course ; and it's as impossible for us not to be pleased, as it

is

is for Fire not to ascend. Farther, if we are not allowed to take any Satisfaction in our Condition, we are not bound to give God Thanks for it; for we are not obliged to be Thankful for that which does us no good: But nothing can do us any good, except it be by giving us a Pleasure either in Hand or in Prospect. Fourthly, It is no part of Pride, to be more pleased with having an Advantage our selves, than by seeing one of the same Value possessed by another.

Philot. Make this out, and you will oblige me.

Philal. Very well: I prove my Proposition thus. First, Because that which is in our Possession, or incorporated into our Essence, is always in our Power; and ready to be made use of when we think fit. But that which belongs to another is often at a Distance, and out of our Reach; and can't be communicated to us, though the Owner was never so willing. Secondly, It must be more agreeable to be Master of any Perfection our selves, than to Contemplate one of the same Nature in another; because every one is more certain of the kind Inclination he has to himself, than he can be of the Affection of any other Person whatever: That I will be always kind to my self, I am as well assured of, as that I have a Being; but that another will be so,

is impossible for me to know : And therefore let a Man be never so Good-natured, it must be somewhat more Satisfactory to him, to see himself well furnished in any kind, than his Neighbour. Thirdly, That which is our Own, and in our Nature, we have the most intimate and vigorous Sense of ; for the Presence of any desirable Object, we know is more Acceptable and Entertaining, than either the Notion or Prospect of it : Possession gives us the Life of the Thing ; but Hopes and Fancy can furnish out no more at the best, than a Picture finely Drawn. So that, for Example, let a Man be of never so generous and disinterested a Spirit, yet it's Natural for him to be better pleased with being Rich himself, (if he has any Value for Riches) than in having the bare Idea of an Estate : Besides, as I observed, that which is our Own, is always at our Disposal, and does not depend upon the uncertain Inclination and Humour of Another.

Philot. Very comfortably argued : I find then by your Discourse, that a Man may without Vanity be pleased with his Circumstances ; and have good Thoughts of himself too if he deserves it. Now some People are so unreasonable, that they will neither give Men leave to Love, nor Understand themselves ; if they are Con-
scious

scious of any commendable Quality, they must be sure to lay it out of the Way, that they may not see it : Nay, if a Man has taken never so much Care to make himself Insignificant, in Order to the promoting of Humility, they will scarce let him know he is good for nothing ; for fear he should grow Conceited of his Virtue. But I perceive you are not so strait-laced, and pedantick in your Notions. Therefore if you can recover us no more Ground, let us know directly what Pride is ; and be as fair as you can.

Philal. Why Pride in the plainest Words which I can think of, is too high an Opinion of our own Excellency.

Philot. How shall we know when we over-rate our selves ?

Philal. That is a very seasonable Question, and absolutely necessary to the State of the Case : Therefore I shall lay down some indisputable Marks of this Vice ; that whenever we see the Tokens, we may conclude the Plague is in the House.

Philot. Let us hear your Diagnosticks.

Philal. First, Then we may be assured we have this Disease, when we value any Person chiefly because his Advantages are of the same Nature with those we Enjoy ; neglecting Others who have an equal Right to Regard, only because their Privileges are

are of a different Kind from our own. For instance, When Men who derive their Considerableness from the Sword, the Gown, or their Ancestours, think none worthy their Esteem but such as claim under their own Pretences ; in this Case it's evident, it can be nothing but Partiality and Conceitedness which makes them give the Preheminence.

Secondly, We may certainly conclude our selves infected with this Vice, when we Invade the Rights of our Neighbour ; not upon the account of Covetousness, but of Dominion ; only that we may have it in our Power to create Dependencies, and to give another that which is already his own.

Thirdly, When Men don't measure their civil Advantages by the Laws of their Country, but by their own Fancies, and the Submissions of Flatterers ; this is another infallible Sign they are Proud.

Fourthly, To mention no more, When Men love to make themselves the Subject of Discourse : To con over their Pedigrees, and obtrude the Blazon of their Exploits upon the Company ; this is an Argument they are overgrown with Conceit ; and very much smitten with themselves.

Philot. Though I think you have hit the Symptoms pretty well, yet except they are marked somewhat more distinctly, 'tis possible

sible for a Man to have most of them without being e'er the wiser. For unless we are able to draw up a just State of the Degrees of Merit, we can never take the true Height of our Pretensions ; and being in this Uncertainty, it's odds if Self-love does not make us determine to the Prejudice of our Neighbours. Now I would gladly know how we must go to work, to be sufficiently informed in this Point.

Philal. We must endeavour to get right Apprehensions of the several Excellences of Humane Nature ; and what Proportion they hold to each other : In order to the assisting our Judgment in this Case, I shall lay down these general Rules.

First, Those Advantages which spring from our selves ; which are the Effects of our Power and Courage ; of our Industry or Understanding, are more valuable than those which are derived, and borrowed ; because they are a Sign of a Richer and more Active Nature.

Secondly, Those Qualities which are most useful ought to have the Preference : For since Acknowledgments ought to be suitable to the Nature of Benefits received, those who have the largest Capacity of Obliging, may fairly Challenge the Preheminance in our Esteem ; and therefore in the third place, The Duration of an Advantage
ought

ought to be consider'd; and that which has the firmest Constitution, and is most likely to continue, ought to be preferr'd to Others which are brittle and short-lived. These Rules carefully apply'd, will shew us how far our Pretensions to Regard are short of, or exceed other Mens; and so prevent an over-weening Opinion of our selves. However, we are to observe, that outward Respect ought to be given according to the Distinctions of Law; and though a Man may happen to be very Defective in Point of Merit, yet we ought to take notice of the Value Authority has set upon him.

Philot. Give me leave to put in a Word, which is to tell you, that though I am not satisfied with your Instances, yet I am glad to find you will allow us different Degrees of Worth. I was almost afraid you would have set all Mankind upon a Level.

Philal. To deliver you from such Apprehensions, I freely grant you, that the Distinctions of Quality ought to be kept up for the Encouragement of Industry, and the support of Government. I hope, now you have the Reason of my Concession, you will not be so Suspicious for the future.

Philot. No, not till you give me a farther Occasion; Especially since the Inference of your Discourse is not unacceptable; from whence it followeth, That when a Man
sees

sees plainly that he has the Advantage of his Neighbour, he may let him understand so much without any Offence to Humility:

Philal. No doubt of it; especially when his Station is Publick: But then the Discovery of his Superiority ought to be managed with a great deal of Art and good Nature; to which we are oblig'd not only in point of Complaisance, but Justice: For though there is often a real difference between one Man and another, yet the Party who has the Advantage usually magnifies the Inequality beyond all Sense and Proportion. Men don't consider that the great Privileges of Humane Nature are common to the whole Kind; such as being equally related to God and *Adam*, Reason and Immortality, the same Number of Senses, and much of the same Perfection and Continuance. And as for those Things which are the peculiar Advantages of a few; they are either acquired and enjoyed by the strength of those general Ones I have mentioned, or else they are foreign, and in a great Measure Chimærical; and therefore can be no real Enrichments of our Nature: They are often no more than the Blessings of Chance, of Flattery, and Imagination; and though they may set us upon higher Ground, yet they can add nothing to the true Stature of our Being: But to Combate this Vice more successfully,

cessfully, we'll examine it's most plausible Pretences, and see if we can discover the Weakness of them.

Philot. What Pretences are those ?

Philal. I mean Learning, Nobility, and Power ; for these you know are accounted the brightest and most distinguishing Advantages. But though they ought all to be considered, yet I believe there is much more Weight laid upon them, than in strict Reason they will bear.

Philot. You talk as if you were retained by the Mobile, and had a Mind to bring us back to our Original State of Ignorance and Peasantry.

Philal. I tell you once again, you are much mistaken. I have no design to lessen the Value of any Man's Honour, or Understanding: Let People have as much Sense and Quality as they please ; provided they don't grow troublesome and ridiculous about it.

Philot. I somewhat suspect you have a Mind to engross this Vice of Pride to your self. This sort of Discourse looks like declaiming against Arbitrary Power ; where the sharpest Invectives are commonly made by the most enterprising, and unmortified Men ; who are only Angry that they are not possessed of that Absoluteness Themselves which they endeavour to render Odious in Others.

Philal.

Philal. You are somewhat smart ! However let me tell you, if I have any such Project as you Imagine, you have me upon a fair Dilemma. For, if my Reasons against Pride hold good, they will stand upon Record against my Self ; which I suppose will be no unacceptable Revenge for you : If they are insignificant, you will have the Diversion of Laughing at the Folly of the Attempt : And which is more considerable, you may keep your good Opinion of your Self into the Bargain.

Philot. Pray begin your Attack as you think fit, and for Dispute sake, I'll try how far I can maintain the Ground against you.

Philal. First then, Learning (to begin there) and High Conceit agree very ill together : For a Man of Letters may have a clear Notion of the Stupidness and Deformity of this Vice ; and being better acquainted with the Frame and Passions of humane Nature, he can't choose but discover how unacceptable it must make him to all Mankind. Besides, he is suppos'd to know, that nothing in strict Reason deserves a true Commendation, but a right use of the Liberty of our Will ; which is in every Ones Power to manage to Advantage.

Secondly, Learning gives us a fuller Conviction of the Imperfection of our Nature ; which one would think might dispose us to

Modesty. The more a Man knows, the more he discovers his Ignorance. He can scarce look upon any part of the Creation, but he finds himself encompassed with Doubts and Difficulties. There is scarce any thing so Trifling, or seemingly Common, but perplexes his Understanding; if he has but Sense enough to look into all the Objections which may be raised about it. He knows he has a Being, 'tis true; and so does a Peasant: But what this Thing is which he calls himself, is hard to say. He has reason to believe, that he is compounded of two very different Ingredients, Spirit, and Matter; but how such unallyed and disproportioned Substances should hold any Correspondence, and Act upon each Other, no Man's Learning yet could ever tell him. Nay, how the Parts of Matter *cohere*, is a Question which it's likely will never be well answer'd in this Life. For though we make use of the fairest *Hypotheses*, yet if we pursue the Argument home, we shall go nigh to Dispute away our Bodies, and Reason our selves all in Pieces. Infomuch, that if we had nothing but Principles to encourage us, we might justly be afraid of going abroad, lest we should be blown away like a Heap of Dust: For it's no Solution to say, the greater parts of Matter are connected with hooked Particles; for still the Difficulty returns,

How

How these Hooks were made? *Quis custodiet ipsos Custodes?* What is it that fastens this Soder, and links these First Principles of Bodies into a Chain? And as the more refined Understandings know little or nothing of themselves, and of the material World; so upon Enquiry, we shall find them as Defective in their Skill about Moral Truths: (excepting those who are taught by Revelation; which supernatural Discoveries the unlearned are capable of understanding, as far as their Happiness is concerned.) Those who made Laws in their respective Countries, we have reason to believe had their Minds polished above the Vulgar rate: And yet we see how unaccountably the publick Constitutions of Nations vary. The *Persians* and *Athenians* allowed Incest; the *Lacedemonians*, Stealing; and some *Indians* *Herodotus* mentions, used to bury their best Friends in their Stomachs. In short the Rules of Decency, of Government, of Justice it self, are so different in one Place from what they are in Another, so Party-coloured and contradictory, that one would almost think the Species of Men Altered according to their Climates; and that they had not the same Nature in common. One would almost think, that Right and Wrong lay rather in the Fancies of Men, than in the Reason of Things; and was bounded

more by Seas and Rivers, than by any unalterable Limits of Nature ; that Virtue and Vice were Minted by the Civil Magistrate ; and like Coins, would pass for Currant only in his own Dominions. The Heathen Philosophers may fairly be granted, to have as good pretences to Learning, as any other sort of Men among them : And yet we may observe from *Tully* and *Laertius*, what a small Proportion of solid Knowledge they were Masters of ; how strangely did they differ in Matters of the highest Import ? how eagerly did they Dispute, and not without Probability on both Sides : Whether there was any thing certain ? Whether the *Criteria*s of Truth and Falseness were clear and indubitable, or not ? Whether the Government of the World was Casual, Fatal, or Providential ? How many *Summum Bonum*s have they Presented us with ; Some of them only fit to entertain a Brute : Others Noble enough for a Spirit of the highest Order ? It were tedious to recount the Differences one Sect had with another ; their Inconsistences with themselves, and the ridiculous and ill-supported Tenets some of the most famous of them have held : Insomuch that *Tully* takes notice, that there was no Opinion so absurd, but was held by some Philosopher or other. Tis true, they could Wrangle and

Harangue

Harangue better than the Common People ; they could talk more plausibly about that they did not understand ; but their Learning lay chiefly in Flourish, and Terms, and Cant ; for as for any real Improvements in Science, they were not much Wiser than the less-pretending Multitude. Indeed the more Modest of them would confess, That the chief use of Learning was to give us a fuller Discovery of our Ignorance ; and to keep us from being Peremptory and Dogmatical in our Determinations. Now one would imagine, the more intimate Acquaintance we had with the Imperfections of our Nature, the greater Reason we should have to be Humble. Is weakness a proper Foundation to Erect our Lofty Conceits upon ? Indeed he that has not the Leisure or Capacity to examine how it's with him, may be fondly persuaded to fancy himself some Body ; and grow Vain upon the kind Presumption : But for a Man to be Proud who can demonstrate his own Poverty, is little less than Madness.

Philot. If the Case stands thus, to make all sure, we had best get an Order to Burn the Twenty Four Letters, and hang up *Cadmus* in Effigie ; for---

Philal. Pray don't interrupt me, and I will try if I can give you a little Ease. Granting therefore, as we may, that Learn-

ing does give some Advantage ; and that our Understandings are really enriched by it ; yet in regard we have but a few Principles to build upon, the greatest part of our Knowledge must consist in Inferences ; which can't be wrought out without great Labour and Attention of Mind : And when we are at any distance from self-evident Truths, the Mind is not only perplexed with the Consideration of a great many Circumstances, but which is worse, Forgetfulness, or Mistake in the least of them, frustrates our whole Design ; and rewards us with nothing but Error for our Trouble.

Now he that is so liable to be imposed upon, who rises but by Inches, and enriches himself by such slow and insensible Degrees ; 'tis a Sign that his Stock was either very small, or that he is unskilful in the management of his Business ; and therefore he has no reason to be proud of what he has gotten : Besides, it's an humbling Consideration to reflect what Pains we are obliged to take to Muster up our Forces ; and to make that little Reason we have serviceable. How fast does Obscurity, Flatness and Impertinency, flow in upon our Meditations ? 'Tis a difficult Task to talk to the Purpose ; and to put Life and Perspicuity into our Discourses : Those who are most ready and Inventive, have not their best Thoughts

uppermost : No, they must think upon the Stretch ; ransack, and turn over the Mind, and put their Imagination into a kind of Ferment, if they intend to produce any Thing extraordinary : So that considering the Trouble, and almost Violence we are put upon, one would think that Sense and Reason was not made for Mankind ; and that we strive against our Natures when we pretend to it.

Philot. Well ; What though our Minds were poor, and unfurnished at first ; Is it any Disparagement to us to have more Wit than we were Born with ? What though we can't strike out a Science at a Heat, but are forced to polish our selves by Degrees, and to work hard for what we have ? The less we were assisted by Nature, the greater Com-mendation it is to our Industry ; and our Attainments are so much the more our own. And since we have thus fairly distinguished our selves by Merit, why should we seem unapprehensive of our Performances ? Since we have paid so dear for the Improvements of our Understanding, and our Advantages are gained with so much Difficulty, what harm is it to make our best of them ? Why should we not oblige the Negligent to Distance and Regard ; and make those who are younger or less knowing than our selves, sensible of their Inferiority ?

Philal.

Philal. I agree with you, as I have already hinted, That a Man may lawfully maintain his Character and just Pretences against Rudeness and Ignorance; especially when the Publick Good is concerned in his Reputation. But when he acts a Private Part, and Converses with People of Sense and Modesty, he should give them but very gentle Remembrances of his Prerogative: His Opinion of his own Worth should but just Dawn upon them; and at the most, give them but an obscure and remote Notice, that he expected any singular Acknowledgment: He should take the Respect that is paid him, rather as a Present than a Debt; and seem Thankful for that which is his own: But to be Stiff and formally reserved, as if the Company did not deserve our Familiarity; to be Haughty and Contemptuous, and to make scanty and underproportioned Returns of Civility; This is a downright Challenge of Homage; and plainly tells People, They must be very Mannerly: 'Tis in effect to say; Gentlemen, I have more Learning; and have done the Publick greater Service than you; and therefore I expect to be considered for it: You may possibly say, That I have more Preferment too, and am paid for my Merit in Mony; but that shall not serve your Turn: For except you shew your
selves

selfes very Dutiful, I shall give you broad Signs of my Dissatisfaction ; and never let you have the Honour of Conversing with me again. Now such a Man, if he went much abroad, would plague Mankind more with his Company, than he could Oblige them with his Writings ; though they were never so considerable. Such People seem to owe their Parts to their ill Temper : Their Industry is Malicious ; and they have taken pains not so much to Oblige the World, as to get an Opportunity of Trampling upon their Inferiours. Had they been good-natur'd, they would have been as dull and insignificant as their Neighbours. But their imperious Carriage is just as reasonable, as it would have been for the old *Athletæ* to have drudged hard in Eating and Exercise, that they might employ their Bulk and Activity in beating every one who was weaker, and less skilful than themselves.

Philot. By your Discourse you seem to mistake the Matter ; and not to weigh things rightly. 'Tis not Superiority that these Gentlemen of Learning are so Solicitous about ; 'tis not Personal Advantage which they chiefly intend by their Reservedness : They have, no doubt, a more publick and generous Design : For you may observe, they usually bear hardest upon those of their own Order and Profession ; which is nothing

thing but a forced and politick Statelines for the promoting of Knowledge in Others. The young Fry, whether you know it or not, must be held at a Distance, and kept under the Discipline of Contempt. If you give them any tolerable Quarter, you indulge them in their Idleness; and ruin them to all Intents and Purposes. For who would be at the Trouble of Learning, when he finds his Ignorance is carested; and that he is easy and acceptable enough in the Company of the best Authors of the Town? But when you Brow-beat them, and Maul them, you make them Men for ever: for *Vexatio dat intellectum*; though they have no natural Mettle, yet if they are spurred and kicked they will mend their Pace, if they have any Feeling. Such rigorous Usage will make them study Night and Day to get out of this ignominious Condition; in hopes, that it may come to their own Turn to be Proud one Day. Take my Word for it, There is no such Way to make a Scholar, as to keep him under while he is Young, or Unpreferred.

Philal. Notwithstanding your Flourish, I can't persuade my self, that this Dispensation of Pride is so mighty useful as you pretend. I should think such an outward Management of any Accomplishments, should rather discourage Others from attempting

tempting such dangerous Circumstances. If Sense and Learning are such unfociable imperious Things, a Good-natur'd Man ought to take especial Care not to improve too fast. He ought to keep down the Growth of his Reason, and curb his Intellectuals, when he finds them ready to out-strip his Neighbours. I assure you, if I was of your Opinion, and thought myself near the Temptation to so much ill Humour, I would never look on a Book again.

Philot. Come, when you have said all, there is no keeping up the Credit of Learning, without that which you call a reserved Behaviour. For if those who are Eminent this Way, should condescend to those Familiarities which you seem to desire, the Honour of their Profession would suffer much by it; if they should converse upon the Level, the Veneration which their Inferiours have for them would quickly wear off: And if the Vulgar observed there was no Distinction kept up amongst the Men of Letters; they would suspect there was nothing extraordinary in any of them. Pray who are supposed to be the best Judges of Learning, Those who have it, or Others?

Philal. No doubt, Those who have it.

Philot.

Philot. Then if they seem to undervalue it Themselves, Is not this the Way to bring it into a general Dis-repute? I tell you once again, if the Privileges of Merit are not insisted upon, all must go to wrack. If a Man who has digested all the *Fathers*, and is ready to add himself to the Number, shews any tolerable Countenance to one who has scarce rubbed through *Ignatius*, and lets a pure *English* Divine go Cheek by Jole with him, the Commonwealth of Learning will grow almost as Contemptible as that of the Pigmies; and be only fit to Write Romances upon.

Philal. I shall not enquire how far this lofty Method may advance the Reputation of Learning; but I am pretty sure it's no great Addition to theirs who use it; for it only makes others more inquisitive into their Defects, and more inclinable to Expose them. If they take them tardy, they endeavour to humble them by way of Reprizal. Those Slips and Mismanagements are usually ridiculed and aggravated, when such Persons are guilty of them; which would be over-looked, or excused, in others of a more modest and affable Conversation. If they happen to be found inconsistent with themselves: If their Vanity of appearing singular puts them upon advancing Paradoxes, and proving them as Paradoxically.

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If a Presumption upon their own Strength, and a Desire of greater Triumph makes them venture too far into the Enemies Quarters, and take up a Post which they can't maintain; they are usually Laught at for their Folly, and left to shift for themselves: For Pride never has any Friends; and all Men are glad of a just Occasion to lessen his Reputation who makes such an ill-natured Use of it.

Philot. I conceive you harp a little too much upon one String: Do you think the inferiour Clergy, for whom you are now pleading, are discouraged by none but those of their own Profession?

Philal. No, I grant there is another Sort of People who use them with Neglect enough: But then they are somewhat more to be excused. They have not such fair Opportunities to understand the just Pretences of a liberal Education, and a Religious Employment. They are apt to fall under unfortunate Hands in their Minority: The Vanity of their Parents, and the Knavery of Flatterers, often gives them a wrong Notion of themselves; and makes them admire nothing but Wealth and Greatness; and think no Condition deserves Regard but that which resembles their own. Besides, their Neglect looks less unaccountable by reason of their Quality; and their Breeding makes their Pride sit more decently upon

on them. They usually Contemn with a better Grace than others : For there is a great deal of Art and Mystery in Pride, to manage it handsomely : A Man might almost as soon learn a Trade : And if we observe, we shall find that those who were not brought up to it, seldom prove their Crafts-master ; or practise with any sort of Address. To which I may add, That such Persons are usually willing to pay for their Imperiousness ; so that a Man is not made a Fool for nothing. But when this lofty Humour is clumsily and inartificially managed, when it's affected by those of a self-denying and mortified Profession ; and who get their Living by declaiming against it : When it's taken up by Men of Sense, who may well be expected to see through the Folly of this Vice ; and who generally have not those Pretences of a byassed Education to misguide them : Especially when they play it upon Persons of their own Order, who were Born and Bred to as fair Expectations of Regard as themselves ; and are sometimes their Inferiours in nothing so much as in Success ; This is such a singular Practice, that I had rather leave it undescribed, than be forced to give it it's proper Character.

Philos. I believe you will be willing to abate, if not to retract your Censure, when you consider that these Gentlemen of the
Gown,

Gown, whom you think too much depressed, are many of them Curates: And is it not very reasonable there should be a Distance observed between Masters and Servants? If you Confound these two Relations by lavish and indiscreet Familiarities, you destroy the Respect; and by degrees, the very Notion of Superiority. If there is not a due Homage Paid in Conversation, those who are in a state of Subjection, will neither know their Condition, nor their Duty: They will be apt to forget they hold by a Servile Tenure; and think themselves enfranchised from all manner of Suit and Service. Besides, if the Parson should use his Curate with that Freedom which you insinuate, as if there was neither Dependance nor Obligation between them; this might be of very ill Example to the Parish, and make all other Servants challenge the same Liberty; and grow pert upon their Masters: And when this Sawciness became universal, as it's likely it might do in a short time, what less Mischief could be expected from it, than an old *Scythian* Rebellion?

Philal. I confess, I was not aware the Being of Government depended so much upon the Distinction between Rector and Curate; and that if the modern Way of Distance and Subordination was not kept up, we must presently return to *Hobbs's* State of

Nature. If a Curate be such a dangerous thing, that a little Civil Usage to him is ready to make the World fall about our Ears, I wonder why so many of them are suffered. Now without raising the *Posse Comitatus*, if the *Pluralists* would but do their best to suppress them, their Number might quickly be so retrenched, that they would not be in the least Formidable. But you seem to argue all this while upon a wrong Principle; you take it for granted, that Curates are Servants; Now if this proves a Mistake, you will own they may be treated with a little more Freedom, without any Danger to Authority.

Philot. Who doubts their being Servants?

Philal. I do; and for very good Reasons.

Philot. See how a Man may be mistaken! I thought the *English* of Curate, had been an Ecclesiastical Hireling.

Philal. No such matter; the proper Import of the Word signifies, One who has the Cure of Souls: Therefore in *France*, all Parochial Priests are called Curates; as they are likewise in our Rubrick and Common-Prayer.

Philot. I find then there lies no Servitude in the Name; so that it must be either the Deputation, or Salary which they receive
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from the Instituted Priest, which sinks them into this Condition.

Philal. That there is no Servitude in either of these, I am ready to make good. 1. Not in the Office: And here I must crave Leave to ask you a few Questions.

Philot. Take your Method.

Philal. What in your Apprehension is a Curate's Employment?

Philot. To serve God in the Publick Offices of Religion; and to take Care of the Parish.

Philal. Then he is not entertained to serve the Rector.

Philot. Go on.

Philal. In the next place, I desire to know whether Authority is not Essential to a Master.

Philot. Who Questions it?

Philal. Has the Curate his Authority to Preach, and Administer the Sacraments, from the Rector?

Philot. No; from the Bishop.

Philal. May not a Master turn away his Servants when he pleases?

Philot. I think so.

Philal. But the Rector has no Power to remove the Curate, after he is Licensed and Fixed by the Bishop. To sum up the Evidence therefore; if the Curate was not entertained to wait upon the Rector, nor has

his Authority from him, nor can be removed from his Employment, I think it is pretty plain, he is none of his Servant.

Philot. Well; but does not the Parson make Choice of him, and Pay him.

Philal. Don't a Corporation choose a Mayor?

Philot. What then?

Philal. Pray whose Servant is he after his Election?

Philot. None but the King's, that I know of: But you have not answered the later Part of my Objection, about his being paid by the Rector.

Philal. If you had not called for my Answer, I had waved it for your sake; because I think your Objection borders somewhat upon Treason.

Philot. How so?

Philal. Why; Is it not of kin to Treason to say, the Subjects are Masters over the Supreme Authority?

Philot. If Nonsense will not excuse a Man, I think it is.

Philal. But your Argument proves the King a Servant to the People.

Philot. How?

Philal. Because they pay him Taxes; and that among other Reasons, by way of Acknowledgment of the Benefits of his Government; and that they may shew themselves

selves willing, if it was in their Power, to requite him for his Care of the State.

Philot. Pray why so much Concern to prove Curates no Servants ?

Philal. Because I am willing to rescue them from that Contempt which they will certainly fall into, as long as they pass under this Notion: Which considering the Number of Persons Officiating this Way, must be very Prejudicial to Religion. Besides, it makes some Persons, who are fit to do the Church Service, *suspend* themselves: and shew their Priesthood only by their Habit, rather than serve God under such uncreditable Circumstances: And for the same Reason, Others are tempted to grow too fond of a Presentation; and choose rather to court it by Flattery, or other indirect Practices, than be condemned to the servile Condition of a Curate. For let me tell you, it is no ordinary piece of Self-Denial, for a Man of a generous Education, who has been trained up all along to Freedom and good Usage, to be degraded in his Manhood, when the Mind is most in Love with Liberty, and to enter upon Business with Marks of Disadvantage, when he stands most in need of Reputation. To my thinking, this is a very discouraging and preposterous Way of Educating the Clergy. If a Man must go to Service,

he had better begin with it as they do in Trades, and not be Master at first, and then be forced to turn Apprentice, or Journey-man afterwards. Of such ill consequence it is to miscall Things ; and as *Plato* observes, That an Alteration of the Notes in Musick is apt to produce an Innovation in the Laws and Customs of a Country : So by changing the Names of Offices for Others of less Repute, we change the Uses and Designs of them ; and make them less Satisfactory to those engaged, and less Serviceable to the Publick, than they would have been if the Character of their Institution had been kept up.

Philot. Granting at present what you say to be true, yet a Curate seems to lie under another Disadvantage ; which makes him considered with Abatement.

Philal. What is that ?

Philot. Why, People are apt to Fancy, that it is the Want either of Parts or Conduct, which keeps him without a Patron.

Philal. If People think so, I am sorry their Sense and Charity is no greater ; for if they examined Things fairly, they would find that the being a Curate is no Argument of a Man's Insignificancy ; nor any just Blemish to his Reputation. For it is often the Integrity and generous Temper of his Mind, which hinders him from a better Provision ;
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it is because he will not flatter the Pride of Some, nor keep pace with the Bigotry of Others; because he will neither court Greatness nor Faction; nor make himself Popular to the Disadvantage of his Audience. Because he cannot digest a Simoniacal Contract; nor charge through Perjury with the Courage of an *Evidence*. In short; it is his plain and impartial dealing with the People, his Resolution to preserve the Decency of his Character, and the Innocence of his Conscience, which bars his Promotion: So that if he was Mean enough to Complain, he might have the Satisfaction to apply this Sentence of *Tully* to himself, *Non nos vitia sed virtutes affligerunt.*

Philot. What a broad *Inuendo* is here upon the Beneficed Clergy?

Philal. I am glad you have given me an Opportunity of Explaining my self. My meaning is not, That those who are possessed of Livings, have gained them by such indirect Courses: God forbid! I only say, That all Men are not so lucky as to have the Offer of fair Conditions; and those who have not, must be Curates if they will be honest; or else lay by the Use of their Priesthood; which I am afraid is not very accountable.

Philot. I confess you have brought your self off well enough: But now I think on't,

you must try to maintain the Liberty of your Curate a little more convincingly. For some say, there lies Prescription and immemorial Custom against it; and then you know he is a Servant by Common Law.

Philal. Not at all; For as we are lately told by a great Lawyer, Prescription is good for nothing where there are any Records to the contrary.

Philot. What Records can you produce?

Philal. Why, to mention no more, the 18th of the Apostles Canon, and the 80th of the Council of *Eliberis*, are, I think, considerable Evidence; the first of which, forbids the Ordaining of those who had Married a Servant; and the other, excludes manumized Persons, while their Patrons were Living, from the Priesthood.

Philot. Say you so? Then I fancy those who drew up Queen *Elizabeth's* Injunctions, knew nothing of this Piece of Antiquity you mention.

Philal. Your Reason?

Philot. Because by those Injunctions, a Clergy-man could not lawfully Marry till he had gone and made his Complaint against Celibacy, before two Justices of the Peace; and gained their Consent, and the *good Will of the Master, or Mistress where the Damself served.*

Philal.

Philal. And then I suppose, if he could not prevail by his Rhetorick, they gave him a Warrant to Distrein.

Philot. Or possibly, if he courted in *forma pauperis*, they assigned him a Wife *gratis* out of an Hospital.

Philal. Upon my Word, this Order, take it which Way you will, has a singular Aspect; and looks as if intended to put the Clergy in Mind, that they ought not to aspire above an *Abigal*. Certainly, Discretion and Merit ran very low in the Church at that Time; or else, some People were willing to make the Nation believe so. But to return to the *Canons*; the Design of which was to secure the Reputation of the Clergy; but according to the modern Opinion, this Provision signifies nothing; for if a man must go to Service after he is in Orders, had he not as good do it before? In your Sense, he often only changes his Lay for an Ecclesiastical Master; which sometimes might be so far from an Advantage, that it would make the Servitude the more uneasy; by being subjected to One, no more than Equal to himself.

Philot. I grant you; in the Primitive Times, the Advantage of Priesthood was equally shared among all the Order; and none of that Character had any Superiority over another. For then the Revenues of
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the Church consisted only in the voluntary Offerings of the People ; which were all deposited with the Bishop ; who assigned every one his respective Portion ; so that no Priest had any Dependance upon Another for his Maintenance : But now the Case is otherwise ; and a Man ought to be Subject to him that Supports him.

Philal. 'Tis somewhat hard, that the bare Alteration of the Church Revenues, should make so wide a Difference, between those who were Equal before ; that a Man must lose his Freedom only for want of a Presentation ; and be made a Servant because he doth not take Tithes ; though he has as much spiritual Authority as if he did : But I perceive, you think there is no Consideration equivalent to a little Money ; and that he who receives it must be no longer at his own Disposal ; though he makes never so valuable a Return. Since therefore, you insist so much upon Maintenance, what if it appears that the Curate maintains the Parson ?

Philot. That would be strange indeed.

Philal. To what End were the Church Revenues intended ?

Philot. To keep up the Worship of God.

Philal. Which Way ?

Philot. By settling a competent Maintenance upon the Ministers of Religion, that they

they may be in the better Capacity to discharge their Office ; and not be obliged to lose their Time, and lessen their Character, by engaging in Laborious or Mechanical Employments,

Philal. By your Arguing there should be something for them to do.

Philot. Yes, They are to take Care of that Precinct to which their Endowment is annex'd.

Philal. I hope you don't mean, not to come at it.

Philot. I mean, they are to take Care of the Performance of the Duties of their Office.

Philal. Then ought not he to have the Revenues, who Performs these Duties?

Philot. I am not willing to grant that.

Philal. Have a care of denying the Conclusion ; you grant, the Revenues of the Church were designed for the Support of the Clergy.

Philot. Yes.

Philal. Of what Clergy? Those who live many Miles distant from the Premises?

Philot. No ; I'm afraid they were intended for those who live upon the Place ; otherwise , methinks Endowments are a very slender Provision for the Benefit of the Parish.

Philal.

Philal. Then if the Curate does all the Work, ought he not to have the Reward for his Pains? In short, either he is qualified to undertake the Parish or not; if not, with what Sincerity can he be employed? If he is qualified, why is he barred the Profit, when he only performs the Conditions upon which they were settled; when none but himself answers the Design they were intended for? To speak properly, the Rector seems to live out of the Labours of another; He is maintained by the Perquisites of the Curate's Office; and therefore is in effect, but a kind of Pensioner to him.

Philot. I see, you are an everlasting Leveller; you won't allow any Encouragement to extraordinary Industry and Merit.

Philal. You mistake me. I would have the best Men, have the best Livings; but then before we go to doubling of Preferments, possibly it were not amiss to examine, whether the number of Benefices exceeds the Persons who are capable of them. Let us first examine, whether they will hold out one a piece; and when every Man has One, then the Supernumerary Livings may be divided amongst those who are most Deserving.

Philot. In good time; when it's likely there will be none left! Now, do you Imagine
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gine the Church can be defended against her Adversaries by the strength of a single Parsonage? But it may be you will say, all our Plurality-Men are not Writers.

Philal. No; nor Readers neither. Besides, We may observe, that Heresie and Schism were very successfully Combated before Unions, Dispensations, and Consolidations were heard of. If you Consult *Father Paul's* History of the Council of *Trent*, (p. 216.) he will inform you, that Non-residence and Pluralities are Things of no very Primitive Establishment. I confess, some of the Lay-managers of our Reformation have not been over-kind to the Church; so that Affairs are not in so good a Posture as they might have been: But God be thanked, there is still some Provision left for the Ornament and Defence of Religion.

Philot. What Provision do you mean?

Philal. Why, to speak to your Case; there are Dignities to which those Gentlemen who are prepared to engage in the Controversie, have a good Right: And with Submission to better Judgments, I think it would not be amiss, if all dignified Persons held their Preferments by a new Tenure?

Philot. What Tenure?

Philal. By Knights Service; pursuant to which, they should be obliged to draw their

their Pens in the Cause, whenever their Superiours required them; to appear in the Field upon an Invasion, with their *Quota*; and in short, to Maintain any Post that shall be assigned.

Philot. What if a Man has not a Mind to Quarrel, must he be turn'd out of his Dignity for being of a peaceable Disposition?

Philal. Those peaceable Men you speak of, are none of the most useful in a time of War; and therefore a smaller Gratification should content them. However, I don't pretend to make any general Rules; for there may be other Qualifications Equivalent to Writing.

Philot. What if they are disabled by Age?

Philal. Then they should be continued for their past Services.

Philot. Truly, this is a good probable Expedient to keep the Church Militia in Discipline; and might for ought I know, very much improve the *noble Science of Controversie*. But to return to the Old Argument; if you intend to bring me over to your Opinion of the Curate, you must clear the business of his Salary a little better; for I am afraid, where he has his Money, he ought to own he has his Master too.

Philal. I confess there would be a great deal in what you say, if the Rector had the Right of Coinage. If the Money had his Image

Image and Superſcription upon it, the Curat's taking it for Currant, would conclude him under his Jurisdiction: But that the bare receiving a Sum ſhould ſink a Man into a ſervile State, is paſt my Comprehension. For conſidering that Money is a Thing of ſuch Quality, and ſovereign Sway in the World, one would imagine it ſhould bring Power and Reputation along with it; and rather enlarge, then abridge a Man's Liberty by receiving it. And to mention nothing farther, the Nature of the Contract between the Rector and Curate, is ſufficient to give you Satisfaction; for there, as has been obſerved, the Curate undertakes no other Employment, but the Inſtruction and Government of the Pariſh. There is no Attendance upon the Parſon, no running upon his Errands, nor Subjection to his Humour indented for.

Philot. Methinks it is a little hard, a Curate muſt not be called a Servant, as well as a Cook or a Footman; ſince he has Wages as much as the other.

Philal. Poſſibly not always ſo much neither; but waving that, if you had remembered what I urged to you before, this Objection would have been no Difficulty.

Philot. What was that?

Philal. Why, that the Curate is to wait upon none but God Almighty; That the
Manage

Manage of his Employment is not prescribed by the Rector; but by the Rubrick and Constitutions of the Church; And that he is not removeable at Pleasure. I suppose by this time, you apprehend there is a Difference between him and a Footman; or a Steward either.

Philot. Well! Notwithstanding your subtlety, this Notion of Wages sticks in my Stomach still.

Philal. I wonder the glitter of a little Money should dazle your Eyes at that rate, that you cannot see so plain a Distinction. You don't seem to understand Commerce, if you think that something of Authority and Dominion is always given in Exchange for Money. Now I am of *Diogenes* his Mind, and believe it possible for one to buy a Master, as well as a Servant.

Philot. As how?

Philal. Why, for the purpose; if a Person of Twenty One puts himself Apprentice to another, you know this is seldom done without Charge: Now what does a Man do in this Case, but purchase his Subjection, and hire himself a Drubbing upon occasion? To give one Instance more, When a Woman of Fortune Marries a Man with Nothing, does she not give him Meat, Drink, and Wages to Govern her? And to end this Dispute, you know, Physicians, and Lawyers,

yers, and Judges, have Fees, or Wages, either given or assigned them by Law, without being thought Servants to those they are concerned with: Now, what Reason is there a Curate should have worse Luck with his Mony than other People?

Philot. To deal plainly; I suppose it is because he does not get enough of it. If his Fees were as considerable as any of those Gentlemen you speak of, I question not but his Office would be much more Reputable.

Philal. Well guessed; and therefore what Character do they deserve who Confine him to this scandalous Pittance? I believe you can scarcely name any sort of Injustice, which has a more malignant Influence upon Religion, than this Oppression of Curates.

Philot. Why so Tragical?

Philal. Because their Poverty exposes them to Contempt; which renders their Instructions insignificant! and which is worse, makes them less Considerable in themselves, as well as in the Opinion of others.

Philot. I hope Poverty is no Crime.

Philal. No; but it's a scurvy Temptation; especially to those who have lived freely, and been bred to better Expectations: For when a Man finds his Hopes disappointed, himself unsupported, and topp'd upon by Persons of meaner Pretences and Employments; this is apt to pall his Spirits, and

check the Courage of his Thoughts; so that his Compositions and Fortune will seem to be much of a piece.

Philot. I thought strait Circumstances had been none of the worst Promoters of Learning; according to the old Saying, *Ingenii largitor Venter.*

Philal. I grant there is some Truth in your Observation; and that it is Want which often reconciles Men to Labour and Letters; but this is at their first setting out; when though they have not gained their Point, yet they are full of Hopes; which pricks them on, and puts them upon their utmost. But after they are once qualified for Success, and find their Industry discouraged, this makes them sink in the Socket, and fret away their Strength and Spirits; so that either out of Impotence, or Disgust, or Despair, they give over the fruitless Pursuit; and seldom make any generous Attempt ever after. 'Tis true, there are some hardy Souls that won't be beaten off by ill Usage; but these are very rarely to be met with.

Philot. Then you think there would be a strange Improvement in the unbeneficed Clergy, if they had a better Salary.

Philal. Yes; I think they would have more Books, and more Learning, and more Credit. They would not be so easily obliged

liged to improper Compliances; nor so liable to several other Miscarriages in their Conduct.

Philot. By your Discourse, the slender Provision which is made for them, should be very Criminal.

Philal. Doubtless so it is. For pray consider.

Philot. Pray be as Brief as you can.

Philal. I say then, for a Clergy-Man to enrich himself by the Labour and Necessities of One of his own Order, and make his Figure out of the Church, without performing the Services required, is a direct translating the Holy Revenues to a Foreign and Secular Use; and consequently, besides other Aggravations, is no better than Sacrilege; which is a very uncanonical Sin; And unless we are very much in the dark, will be accounted for afterwards. In short, this practice has been the main ground of the Contempt of the Clergy; making one Part of them grow Cheap by their Poverty, and the Other by their Covetousness.

Philot. Pray, what Allowance would you oblige the Rector to, if you had the Regulation of that Affair?

Philal. To speak within Compass, in my Opinion the Curate ought to have half the Profits, let the value of them be never so considerable; for if the Parson has the other

Moiety for doing nothing, I think he has no reason to Complain. But if the Living be Small, then he that supplies it, should have two Thirds assigned him; because he cannot be decently Supported under that Proportion.

Philot. Well, I am not disposed to examine that Matter any farther. But I beseech you, what is all this to the Business of Pride? I think your Zeal for the Curates has transported you a little out of your Subject.

Philal. No such matter; for it is generally nothing but Ambition which makes Men Covetous and Mean: Besides, if it is a Digression, it is a very seasonable one. However, I am willing to take my leave of this Part of the Argument; therefore, if you please, we will call a new Cause.

Philot. I think it best to Adjourn at present; and when we meet again, I will venture the other Brush with you.

Philal. Till then farewell.

A S E C O N D
 C O N F E R E N C E
 B E T W E E N

Philotimus and Philaethes.

Philal. **W**ELL met! I am glad the Opportunity you mentioned is so quickly returned.

Philot. So am I; and therefore if you please, without any further Ceremony, let us pursue the Argument we were last upon.

Philal. With all my Heart, and since (as has been shewed) Learning and Conceit, make so odd a Figure; let us proceed to examine the Pretences of Nobility, for I am afraid the Vulgar Notion of it is screwed somewhat too high, and that it has not Ballast enough to carry all the Sail which is commonly made out.

Philot. I must tell you, you are upon a touchy Point, and therefore I hope you will treat so nice a Subject as this is with proportionable Caution.

Philal. I am sensible of what you say, and shall manage my Enquiry with all the

Fairness and Decency, the free Discussion of the Question will allow. To begin, you know all Men were equally Noble, or, if you will, equally Plebeian at first: Now I would gladly understand how they came to be so much Distinguish'd afterwards, for there are different Reasons assigned.

Philal. I suppose the Distinctions you mentioned were founded upon extraordinary Performances, and won at the Expence of Industry and Merit: For how can you imagine any Persons should Emerge out of the common Mass of Mankind, unless by the Advantages of Capacity, Labour, and Resolution? Their mounting, argues that Fire was the ruling Element in their Composition; and that they were of a more vigorous and enterprizing Spirit than their Neighbours.

Philal. I am willing to suppose with you, that they made a generous Use of these Advantages, and employed them for the Benefit of Mankind; being as remarkable for their Justice, Fidelity, and good Humour, as for their Conduct and Courage; and therefore I am not willing to believe the Account which some pretend to give concerning the Original of Nobility.

Philal. What is that?

Philal. They will tell you that it has been often founded upon Rapine and Injustice

justice. It seems they have observed out of *Thucydides*, that in ancient Times it was counted an Heroick Atchievement to Plunder lustily ; and he was a Man of the best Quality, who was able to Steal most Cattle. These *Nimrods* (say they) grew great by the Strength of their Limbs and their Vices, engraved their Murthers upon their Shields, and Hectored all the Little and Peaceable People into Peasantry.

Philot. This looks so like a Chimerical and ill-natur'd Opinion, that I shall not do it the Honour of a Confutation.

Philal. I have no Exceptions to your Resentment ; but to go on, for the more distinct Consideration of the Argument, we will divide Nobility into two Kinds, *Hereditary*, and *Acquired*. The first is transmitted to us from our Ancestors, the other is immediately conferred by the Favour of the Prince.

Philot. Proceed upon the several Parts of your Division.

Philal. I. Then, *Hereditary* Nobility seems no just Ground for a high Opinion, because it is borrowed. Those Great Actions which we had no Share in, cannot properly be any Part of our Commendation, especially if we want Abilities to imitate them. 'Tis true, they ought to be taken notice of by others for the Encouragement

of Virtue, and the Ornament of Society. But then he that depends wholly upon the Worth of Others, ought to consider that he has but the Honour of an Image, and is Worshiped not for his own sake, but upon the Account of what he Represents. To be plain ; it is a sign a Man is very Poor, when he has nothing of his own to appear in ; but is forced to patch up his Figure with the Relicks of the Dead, and rise Tomb-Stones and Monuments for Reputation.

Philot. Notwithstanding your Rallying, I cannot conceive what Crime it is to Possess the Inheritance of our Forefathers. Now Honour is part of their Estate, which was raised on purpose that we might be the better for it. And since their Children were the Occasion of their Merit, and pushed them on to generous Undertakings, ought they not to share in the Glory of the Success ?

Philot. Yes. But it should be managed with great Modesty, because though an honourable Title may be conveyed to Posterity ; yet the ennobling Qualities, which are the Soul of Greatness, are a sort of Incommunicable Perfections, and cannot be transferred. Indeed, if a Man could Bequeath his Vertues by Will, and settle his Sense, and Learning, and Resolution, upon his Children, as certainly as he can his Lands, a brave Ancestor would be a mighty Privilege.

Philot.

Philot. I hope those fine Qualities are not so Incommunicable as you suppose; for methinks, there is a *Je ne scay quoi*, in Persons well born; there is a peculiar Nobleness of Temper in them, their Conversation is inimitably Graceful, and a Man may distinguish their Quality by the Air of their Faces.

Philal. I wish that Spirit of Honour and Bravery you mention, was inseparable to their Quality; but it is too plain that great Minds, and great Fortunes don't always go together; however, I grant there is some Truth in your Observation, but am afraid the Distinction does not always spring from the Cause you assign. For by the Gracefulness of Conversation, I suppose you mean a decent Assurance, and an Address in the Modes, and Gestures, of Salutation. Now these are pretty Accomplishments I confess, and recommend a Man to Company with some Advantage; but then they are easily gained by Custom and Education, and therefore we need not fetch them *ex Tra-duce*. And moreover, these little Formalities are often magnified beyond all Sense and Reason; And some People are so Fantastically fond of them, as if they were the top Perfections of Humane Nature; and that it were in reality a more valuable and gentle Quality to Dress well, and come
hand-

handsomely into a Room, than to take a Town, or to be fit to discharge the Office of a Privy Counsellor. Now, with Submission to these Ceremonious Gentlemen, I am not of their Mind in this Matter, but think it much better for a Man's Parts to lie in his Head, than in his Heels.

Philot. I think so too, but you have not answered the whole.

Philal. True! Your Air was Omitted: Now if this was a constant Privelege of Birth, which you know it is not, yet in this deceitful Age of ours, there is no Arguing from an Out-side. Besides, I doubt this Advantage is sometimes the effect of a Slothful and Effeminate Life. When Men will Attempt nothing either in the Field, or in their Closets: When they will neither trouble themselves with Thinking, nor endure to be exposed to the Weather: This Niceness, though it renders them Insignificant to the great Purposes of Life, yet it Polishes their Complexion, and makes their Spirits seem more moving and transparent. Sometime this Sprightliness and Grandure of Face, is Painted by Flattery; for when Men are once made to believe they are very Considerable, they are presently for trying to Write the Inscription of their Quality upon their Forehead. Now Conceit, when it is Corrected with a Mixture of Gravity, is an admira-

admirable *Wash*, and will make one look as Wise, and as Great as you would wish.

Philot. This Grandure of Face, as you call it, may possibly be explained upon kinder Principles; for I am apt to believe that a quick Sense of Honour, a Consciousness of Worth, an Elevation of Thought, will sometimes break out into a Lustre, and make the great Soul sparkle in a Man's Eyes.

Philal. I cannot deny what you say, and therefore the best Construction ought to be made, where the known Character of the Person does not disallow it.

Philot. I see you can be fair when you list, therefore I shall venture to go on with you to another Advantage of Nobility, *viz.* Antiquity. Now to begin in your own way, Don't you think it is a great Addition to ones Birth, to stand at the bottom of a long Parchment Pedigree, and be some Yards removed from the first Escutcheon? Is not that Family substantially Built which can stand the Shock of Time, and hold out against all Varieties of Accidents? How generous must that Blood be, which has been so long Refining, and run through the Channels of Honour for so many Ages, where it is sometimes as hard to come to the Plebeian Fountain, as to find out the Head of *Nilus*?

Philal.

Philal. Not so hard neither; For if you go but one Inch farther than the Gentleman at the Top you spoke of, it is ten to one but you take old *Goodman*, &c. by the Leathern Breeches. And as for the Antiquity of a Family, though it looks prettily at first sight, yet I fear it will abate upon Examination.

Philot. Pray try your skill upon it, for I am not of your Mind.

Philal. Then to deal plainly with you, I conceive the Antiquity you talk of, is commonly nothing but ancient Wealth; and therefore the chief Commendation of this Privilege consists in the long continued Frugality of the Family; who after they were once possessed of an Estate, had the Discretion to keep it.

Philot. Is it nothing then for a Man's Ancestors to have lived in Reputation, and to have had Interest and Command in their Country, for so many Generations?

Philal. I suppose the *English* of all this is no more than that they have lived in good Houses, Eat and Drank better, and born higher Offices than those who have wanted a Fortune. Now Money, and a moderate Share of Sense, will furnish any Man with all these Advantages. And as to the holding out against so many Accidents, and Alterations of State, I am afraid it sometimes

times proceeds from Shifting and Indifferent Principles ; and from a servile Compliance with whatever is Uppermost. So that what my Lord *Bacon* mentions, in reference to Notions and Inventions, may be sometimes applicable to Families ; where he tells us, That time is like a River, in which Metals and solid Substances are sunk, while Chaff and Straws swim upon the Surface.

Secondly, You are to consider that an ancient Gentility does not necessarily convey to us any Advantage either of Body or Mind : And, to speak like Philosophers, these are the only two Things in which we are capable of any real Improvement. I confess, if every Generation grew Wiser, Stronger, Handsomer, or longer-Lived than the other ; if the Breed of a Man's Family was thus Improved, the farther it was continued ; then indeed the Quality of an Escutcheon would be exactly contrary to that of Cloaths, and the One would always grow better, as the Other does worse, by wearing. From whence it would follow, that if the Seven Sleepers had been made Gentlemen immediately before they entered their Cave, and had held on their Nap from Seventy to Seven hundred Years, they had most undeniably slept themselves into a considerable Degree of Quality.

Philot. You may talk as Subtily as you please, but you must not think to baffle Established and Uncontested Opinions, with a few Logical Quirks.

Philal. Pray don't grow warm, and I will endeavour to satisfy you; and in order to it, I observe in the third Place, That an ancient Gentility makes a Man Superiour only to those of the same Quality, (*viz.* an Esquire, to an Esquire, and so in the rest) and that in nothing but in Point of Precedency. The Reason, I suppose, why those which are placed in any Degree of Honour, precede others who are afterwards raised to the same Height, is for the Encouragement of Industry. To make Men forward to exert their earliest Endeavours, to deserve well of the State; for this Reason there is a Distinction made between Merit, otherwise equal, only upon the account of the Priority of Time.

Philot. Is this all you can afford?

Philal. Look you! We that pretend to be Subject to a Constitution, must not Carve out our own Quality; for at this rate a Cobler may make himself a Lord.

Philot. And what then?

Philal. Why, then I say, it is Vanity for any Man to have a better Opinion of his Family than the Law allows: My Reason is, because the Law is the measure of Honour,

as well as of all other Civil Rights. Besides, I must tell you, that it is both Reasonable, and the Interest of the State, that Merit should be considered, of what date soever it is. A Worthy Action ought to be as much Rewarded now, as one of the same Kind was a Thousand Years since. The prospect of Honour to a generous Mind, is the chief Incitement to all great Undertakings. This Consideration Polishes Arts and Sciences, makes Men Industrious in improving their Understandings, and Resolute in exposing their Persons for the Publick Service. If therefore we dote upon Antiquity so far, as to undervalue the Merit of the present Age, the Government must necessarily suffer by it; for such a Partiality will slacken the Nerves of Industry, and occasion a Negligence both in those who have an ancient Title to Honour, and in those who have not. The first will grow sluggish, because they have a sufficient Share of Reputation already; and therefore need not run any hazards about getting more. The latter will abate in their forwardness to oblige their Country, because they know their Service, though never so great, will be contemned; and for that very Reason which ought to make them the more valued; that is, because their Considerableness came from themselves. More-
over,

over, if the Inheritors of ancient Honour, have not by personal Additions improved that Stock which was granted to their Ancestors; there is no Reason it should be Rated above the same Degree (Precedency excepted) which is given now. For to affirm that a Family raised to Nobility by this King, is not as good as one raised by the Conquerour, is a Reflexion upon his Present Majesty: It supposes his Judgment, or his Authority, less Considerable than that of his Predecessors; and that the Fountain of Honour is almost dried up, and runs more muddy than in former Ages.

Philot. How Plausibly soever you may make your Opinion look, I'm sure it has the Disadvantage of being Singular. For you know a plain Gentleman of an ancient Family is accounted a Person of better Quality than a new made Knight; though the reason of his Dubbing was never so Meritorious. Honour, like *China* Dishes, must lie some Ages under Ground before it comes to any Perfection. And to carry on your own Figure, the greater Distance from the Spring, always makes the Stream the more considerable.

Philal. This it is to be Wiser than the Laws! And since you are for Illustrations, I reply, that to suppose an ancient Title (though lesser in Degree) is preferable to a greater

greater of late Creation, is as if one should affirm that an old Shilling is better than a new Half-Crown, though the Alloy and Impression are the same in both. Nay, from your Argument a Man may conclude, that a coarser Metal, only by being digg'd and refin'd in the Days of our Great Grand-fathers, (though perhaps it has contracted some Rust by lying) is more valuable than the same weight in Gold, but lately separated from the Ore. And that an ancient Estate is really better than one newly Purchas'd, though the Lands of the Latter are richer, and the Survey larger than the Other. Now if a Man should prove so Fanciful, as to demand a greater Rent for his Farm, because it has been in the Possession of his Family for some Hundreds of Years, I believe the want of Tenants would soon convince him of his Errour. From whence it's evident, that in taking an Estimate of Nobility we are not so much to consider it's Antiquity, as the Merit of the first Grantee, and the Distinction the Prince has put upon it; which like Figures or other Marks upon Money, stamp the Value, and tell the Subject for how much it is to pass.

Philot. Pray, by your Favour, are not Medals, and Coins valued more for their Antiquity than their Metal?

Philal. That Question is to the Point ; and therefore I answer

First, That Coins, &c. though they are valuable as Rarities, yet they signifie little in Exchange and common Use ; And if a Man has any Debt to pay, or Commodities to buy, King *Charles* his Image, and Supercription will do him much more Service than *Cesar's*.

Secondly, The Reason why these Things are sometimes so much valued, is not because they are old, but useful : They often rectify Chronology, and explain History, and retrieve us several material Parts of Learning ; which might otherwise have been irrecoverably lost.

Thirdly, There is a Disparity in the case of ancient Coins and Families ; For in the first you have the same numerical Piece, in the latter nothing but the Name or Relation ; so that the Change and Succession of Persons seems to destroy the Notion of Antiquity. To make the Instance parallel, we must suppose a Gentleman as old as *Methusalem*, and then I confess he would be a great Curiosity ; and ought to be valued accordingly.

Philot. As I remember you were saying, the Merit of the first Gentleman of the House ought to be consider'd.

Philal. Yes ; I conceive that Circumstance very Material ; and that if upon enquiry

quiry it proves Unintelligible, or Unlucky, it's no small Abatement to the Family. For if he Advanced himself by a voluntary Engaging in unjust Quarrels, he has no better Pretence to Honour than what a resolute and successful Padder may Challenge. If he owes his Heraldry to a servile Flattery, and a dextrous Application to the Vices of Princes; the Marks of their Favour are rather Infamous than Honourable to his Posterity; because he is Ennobled for those Qualities, for which he ought to have been Punished.

Philot. What if the Gentility was Purchased, I hope we may make the best of what we have paid for?

Philal. By all means! But then this is a sign that Worth and distinguishing Qualities were wanting; otherwise the Honour had been conferred *Gratis*. The same may be said when *Arms* or *Titles* are given at the Instance or Recommendation of a Favorite; for this is down-right begging for Quality; and looks more like an Alms than an Honour. Farther, it's a lessening to a Man's Nobility, when the Reason and Grounds of it are unknown; for if his Rise had been derived from worthy and creditable Causes, he would in all likelihood have been as certainly acquainted with them, as with his Arms; It being both ea-

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sie,

ſie, and for the Reputation of the Family, that Records of this Nature ſhould have been preserv'd; and therefore the Loſs of them ſeems rather to proceed from Deſign than Neglect. In ſhort, if the firſt Principles of Honour happen to be thus Coarſe, or Counterfeit, it's not in the Power of Time to mend them: A Pebble or *Briſtol* Stone will not change their Natures, and improve into Diamonds; though they are laid up a Thouſand Years together.

Philot. Hark you Mr. I doubt your Effects (if you have any) have lain but a little while in the Heralds Office.

Philal. Probably as long as your Worſhips: But I take it to be much more a Gentlemanly Quality to diſcover ſuch unfociable Miſtakes than to abett them. If we are capable of underſtanding any Thing, it muſt undoubtedly be more Creditable to promote good Humour and Modesty in Converſation, and give Men right Apprehenſions of themſelves; than to flatter them into Groundleſs Conceits, and make them believe they may be truly Great, and yet good for Nothing. To maintain ſuch indefenſible and dangerous Principles of Honour, which not only impoſe upon our Underſtandings, but emaculate our Spirits, and ſpoil our Temper, and tend only to the nourishing of Idleneſs and Pride;

is,

is, in my Opinion, no very Heroical Undertaking.

Philot. Then I find we must come to the Merits of the Cause, as you call them ; and examine upon what Foundation the Family stands.

Philal. I think that is the only way to know what we have to trust to ; and how far we may insist upon the Advantages of Birth.

Philot. What are the usual Steps to Honour ?

Philal. I suppose one of these Three, Learning, Commerce, or Arms. The Pre-ferences of Learning have been examined already ; To which I shall only add, That if a Person whose Mind is enlarged, and beautified with all sorts of useful Knowledge, is notwithstanding obliged to Modesty, and Sobriety of Thought, then certainly those who claim under him, and are wise only by Proxy, ought not to grow too big upon their Relation to the *Muses*. To proceed, *Commerce* is another Expedient which often distinguishes a Man from the Vulgar. For Trading raises an Estate, and that procures Honour ; so that in this Case Wealth is the main of the Merit ; and that which is chiefly insisted on by those who Inherit it. But here we ought to be very Cautious and Meek-Spirited, till we are as-

fured of the Honesty of our Ancestors ; for *Covetousness* and *Circumvention* make no good *Motto* for a *Coat*. And yet your Men of Trade are too often assisted in their Fortunes by these Qualities.

Philot. I think you are too hard upon them ; and believe they may come into their Estates by more accountable Methods, *viz.* by their Industry, by Understanding how to make use of all fair Advantages, and by the Luck of a good Acquaintance.

Philal. I grant there is a great deal of Good Faith, Frankness and Generosity to be Found among Tradesmen ; and that such Professions are necessary to the Convenience and Splendor of Life ; and being thus Useful, ought to be esteemed Honourable. But their being used to value small Gains is apt (without care) to make them contract a Narrowness of Spirit, and to stand too much to the Point of Interest.

Philot. What is that which they call the Mystery of Trade ?

Philal. A great part of it consists in the Skill of over-reaching their Customers ; which Science, I fear is not learned meerly for Speculation.

Philot. Possibly it may be for Caution, that they may not be imposed on by others.

Philal. I am willing to think so, however these *Arcana Officinæ*, are counted such
Essentials,

Essentials, that except an Apprentice is fully instructed how to Adulterate, and Varnish, and give you the Go-by upon occasion, his Master may be charged with Neglect; and sued for not teaching him his Art, and his Trade.

Philot. It seems then he cannot be an Honest Man, except he teaches his Servant to play the Knave.

Philal. Granting your Inference, yet you know a Man may understand his Weapon better than his Neighbour; and notwithstanding be of a very peaceable Inoffensive Temper. However, when the Rise of the Family is owing to such an Original, a Man has a particular Reason not to flourish too much upon the Glitter of his Fortune; for fear there should be too much Alloy in it. For some People are forced to climb in a very mean and servile Posture. They must Flatter, Deceive, and Pinch; use their Neighbours, and themselves too, very unkindly, before they can gain their Point. So that if the Ancestor had not been remarkably Little, his Posterity had never been reputed Great.

Philot. But what needs all this Scruple? Why should I enquire so Anxiously how my Ancestors came by their Estate? Let their Merit be as small as you please, the Revenue will not sink upon this Score.

Now, if you considered the Sovereignty of Money, how it commands Honour, and Beauty, and Power; how much of Ornament, and Defence, and Pleasure there is in it; you would allow us to be a little Uppish upon the Matter: For when a Man has such an Universal Instrument of Delight, and is Master of that, which is Master of every thing else, he ought visibly to Congratulate his Happiness, and pay himself a particular Respect.

Philal. If I could Purchase a parcel of new Senses, and some pretty undiscovered Curiosities to please them with, I confess I should be more desirous of growing Rich than I am.

Philos. What though you cannot buy any New, you may please the Old ones better; and make one Sense go as far as two, with Poverty.

Philal. I am not altogether of your Mind; besides, if my Understanding does not improve proportionably, I am only in the fairer Way to be more a Brute.

Philos. Understanding! Money will buy good Books; and though the Owner should not know how to use them, yet if he has an Estate, he will never want People to make him believe he has Sense, which will be in a manner as well; for Pleasure consists mostly in Fancy.

Philal.

Philal. I don't envy such a one the Entertainment of his Imagination, though I believe it is much short of the Transports of Lunacy : But withal I think, That Folly and Madnes are no proper Judges to pronounce upon the Advancements of Human Nature. But to return to the Argument ; no Person can be Great by being Owner of those Things which wise Men have always counted it a piece of Greatness to Despise. To which I must add, That it is not the Possessing, but the right Management of any valuable Advantage, which makes us Considerable. He that does not Employ his Fortune generously, is not to be Respected meerly because he has it. Indeed, if a Man gives me Part of his Estate, I am bound to make him an Acknowledgment ; but I am not obliged to Honour him, because he is pleased to keep it to himself.

Philot. Well! Since Merchandise is sometimes liable to Exceptions, and ancient Wealth has no right to Challenge Worship and Homage, pray what do you think of Nobility raised by Arms? I hope here you will grant the Materials are all shining, and solid. And when an Ancestor works out his Fortune by great and hazardous Undertakings, by Contempt of Danger and Death, and all the Instances of an Heroick Gallantry ; is it not highly reasonable, his De-

Descendants should share his Honour, as well as his Inheritance? Nay, they seem Obliged, in Justice to his Memory, to have some Stroaks of Greatness and Reserve in their Carriage. They might better be Profuse in their Expences, than their Familiarities. The Wasting his Estate, and Razing him out of the Heralds Books, is scarce more Injurious to his Name, than the heedless Condescensions of his Family. For by such ill managed Humility, they do as it were prostitute his Quality; Mingle his Ashes with ignoble Dust; and Deface the Monuments and Distinctions of his Merit.

Philal. I confess, a Man ought to be Civil to his Generation; but not to that Degree, as to Plague the Living, only in Ceremony to the Dead. And I may say farther, That a Noble Ancestor, does not desire his Posterity should pretend to Honour him this way; except his Qualities, as well as his Name, descend upon them. A Person truly Great, is never fond and unreasonable; he hates to see Folly Idolized; though it be in his own Children; and had rather have his Memory buried in Oblivion, than his Honour should be Usurped by a Degenerate Insignificant Off-spring. Besides, the Reasons you assign why Martial Men ought to be valued by After-Ages, seem to be common to other Pretences to Nobility.

Philot.

Philot. I am sorry if they appear so ; since I designed them chiefly for the Advantage of Arms. For in my Judgment, the Profession of a Soldier has a particular, and paramount Title to Honour. For can there be a more extraordinary Instance of Greatness, than for a Man to be undismayed, amidst so many horrible Instruments and Images of Death? To expose his Person as freely as if he knew himself Immortal ; and to fear nothing but Obscurity and Disgrace? And therefore though there are many other Creditable Employments and Accomplishments, yet there is a transcendent, and almost an astonishing Greatness and Gracefulness in Valour. It has something more Illustrious and Sparkling, more Noble and Majestick than the Rest.

Philal. Hold! You are going to describe *Alexander* or *Cæsar* ; Do you think that every *Field*, or *Charge* in *Gules*, can pretend to all these fine Things? This must be examined farther by and by : At present I shall only observe to you, That though I have a great Esteem for a Gentleman of the Sword, and don't in the least intend to lessen the just Character of Military Glory ; yet I conceive there is another Profession, which possibly does not Glitter altogether so much upon the Sense ; but for all that, if you touch it, 'twill prove right Sterling.

Philot.

Philot. What Profession do you mean?

Philal. That of Learning ; Therefore if you please, I will just Glance upon the Advantages of Learning ; without interposing my Judgment by way of Comparison.

Philot. Do so ; for I think you had need say some kind Things upon this Argument, to make Amends for the Freedom you took with it in our former Conference.

Philal. Don't mistake me ; I am conscious of no Injury ; and therefore design nothing by way of Reparation.

Philot. Take your Course.

Philal. I. Then not to mention, That Learning is an improvement of our Minds ; which is the Noblest Part of us. I say not to mention this, you may please to take notice ; that without some share in this accomplishment, War it self cannot be successfully managed. Without the assistance of Letters, a Man can never be qualified for any Considerable Post in the Camp. For Courage and corporal Force, unless joined with Conduct, and reach of Thought (which are the usual Effects of Contemplation) is no more fit to Command, than a Tempest ; doing for the most part more harm than good ; and destroying it self by it's blind and ill directed Motion. It is Learning which teaches a General the Successes and Events of Action in former Ages ;
which

which makes him better able to Judge of his present Preparation. It Instructs him how to take Advantage of his Enemies; and avoid those Miscarriages which have been Fatal to Others before him. It teaches him how to Fortifie and Assault; how to manage the difference of Ground and Weather. It lets him into the Knowledge of Humane Nature; and shews him how to understand the Tempers of other Men; and to Govern his Own. It discovers by what secret Springs the Passions are moved; what are the most probable Causes of Hope and Fear; of Resolution and Cowardise; and how strangely they are mixed, and varied according to the difference of Climates, Governments, Conditions, and Occupations; especially according to the different Age, Temper, Interest, and Experience of Those who are in Power.

Philot. Yes; no doubt it teaches a Man to take a Soul in Pieces, as easily as a Watch! If ever I heard such Conjuring!

Philal. Pray be not so severe; the Discourse is not so Romantick as you suppose.

Philot. Go on.

Philal. Secondly, I observe that the Advantages of Learning are more Lasting and Extensive than those of Arms. The Courage of a Soldier, does his Country not much Service after his Death; the Benefit of

of it being usually confined to one Age: Whereas by the Knowledge of Men and Things, Publick Provisions for Society are Framed, and the Constitution adjusted to the Temper and Convenience of the People; of the happy effects of which, remote Posterity is often sensible. And as the Consequences of Valour, seldom reach beyond the Death of him who shewed it; so there are Few the better for it, except those a Man engages for; which are commonly none but his Country-men. But Learning, by Inventing and Improving Arts and Sciences, scatters its Favours in a much larger Compass; becomes an universal Benefactor; and obliges Mankind in its most Comprehensive Latitude of Place and Time.

Philos. I hope you will grant, That Learning must fly to the Protection of the Sword to secure it's Quiet; and all the Profits accruing from thence. For in earnest, Notions and Syllogisms, are very defenceless Things against Violence. If we had nothing but Philosophy, *Statutes* and *Reports*, to secure the Peace; our *Menum* and *Tuum* were but in an ill Condition.

Philal. I agree with you, and shall just add in the third place, That the successes of Learning are Naturally of a very Innocent Tendency; and under good Management, Prejudicial to None. The Conquests of

Arts

Arts are not like those of Arms; gained by Slaughter, and attended with Ruin and Desolation. No; Here is nothing routed but Ignorance and Errour; nothing destroyed but obstinate Humour, and savage Disposition:

Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros.

But a Martial Man, except he has been sweetned, and polished by a Lettered Education, is apt to have a Tincture of Sowerness and Incompliance in his Behaviour. And therefore if you observe your old Heroes in *Homer*, (for want of being Book-Learned) were none of the Gentilest-Men. What a rugged, Tempestuous, unconvertible Mortal, was *Achilles*; I could never fancy that same *πῶδας ἀκὺς*.

Philot. Well! I perceive it is requisite for a Man to get some Sense to his Courage if he can: But have we not lost all our Pride; and gone somewhat off from the Point?

Philal. No; We have only fetched a Compass; and thrown our Reasoning more into a Circle, to Invest the Place: And now we will come on directly, and make a little Assault; only to try the Strength of the Garison.

Philot.

Philot. Very Soldier-like ! In plain *English*, I doubt you are Attempting to shew, that it is not so much the Profession of Arms, as the unexceptionable Management of that Profession, which makes a Family honorable.

Philal. Yes. Therefore before we fall too much in Love with the Buff in the Wardrobe ; we should examine whether the War was just ; whether our Ancestor Fought in Defence of his Prince and Country ; or let himself out to any Person, who would Hire him to Murther. We should consider, Whether the Enterprize was Great and Dangerous ; whether the Advantages were gained by open Bravery and Resolution ; or were no more than the Effects of Chance, of Treachery, or Surprise ? And though a Man can give a Creditable Answer to all these Questions, he should still remember, there are a great many Persons who have ventured as far as himself ; and yet continue in their first Obscurity : So that, had it not been his good Fortune to have fallen under the Notice of his General, his Merit had been unrewarded. There are many Persons who perform signal Service in a Breach, or Scalado ; and yet their Courage is often unregarded, and lost in the Crowd and Tumult of the Action ; so that they get nothing but Blows for their Pains. To wind up this part of the Discourse :
Let

Let the Rise of the Family be never so Considerable (I mean none but Subjects) it ought not to supersede the Industry ; or stop the Progress of those who are thence Descended. For if we rely wholly upon the Merit of Others ; and are great only by Imputation ; we shall be esteemed by none, but the Injudicious Part of the World: To speak out ; If neither the Advantages of Fortune and Education (which often concur in these Cases) the Expectation of others, nor the Memory of Worthy Ancestors ; if none of these Motives can prevail with a Man, to furnish himself with Supravulgar and Noble Qualities ; this is an Argument, that he is either under a Natural Incapacity, or else has abandoned himself to Sloath and Luxury. And without Dispute, he is most emphatically Mean, who is so under the greatest Advantages and Arguments to the Contrary. So that the Lustre of his Family, serves only to set off his own Degeneracy ; it does *Facem præferre pudendis* ; and makes him the more remarkably Contemptible.

Philot. You are Smart upon the empty Sparks ! And I perceive by your Discourse, That if we intend to set up Strong, we must do something for our selves.

Philal. Yes : And therefore I presume, that Women have more Reason to insist up-

on their Birth than Men; Because they have not so fair a Trial to discover their Worth. They are by Custom, made Incapable of those Employments, by which Honour is usually gain'd. They are shut out from the Pulpit and Barr; from Embassies. and State Negotiations; so that notwithstanding (as I believe it often happens) their Inclinations are Generous, and their Abilities Great, to serve the Publick; yet they have not an Opportunity of shewing it.

Philot. Truly, I think you need not have been so liberal to the *Beau-Sex*; you know they have enough to be Proud of, besides Heraldry.

Philal. What do you mean?

Philot. Their Beauty, Man.

Philal. Right; I believe that may Disturb them sometimes; but they have no great Reason for it. For Beauty, though it's a pretty Varnish; yet it's of a frail Constitution; liable to abundance of Accidents; and but a short-lived Blessing at the best. And waving this Consideration; it seems to be made chiefly for the Entertainment of the Lookers-on. Those who are so much admired by Others, can't share the Pleasure of the Company, without the help of a Glass; for the Eyes which shew us other Objects, cannot see themselves. Nature

ture seems to have laid the most graceful Parts of our Fabrick out of our way ; to prevent our Vanity. For could some People always Command a sight of their Faces ; they would *Narcissus* like, be perpetually poring upon their Handsomeness ; and so be neither fit for Business, nor Company.

Philot. To my thinking you have not cleared the Point ; For why may we not insist upon the Privileges of Nature ? Why should a fine Woman, be so Prodigal of her Beauty ; make Strip and Waste of her Complexion, and Squander away her Face for nothing ? There is no reason Persons of a less agreeable Aspect (except they have some other Advantage) should Converse with Beauty upon a Level. For those who cannot furnish out an equal proportion, towards the Pleasure of Conversation ; ought to pay for their Insufficiency in Acknowledgments. Beauty without doubt, was designed for some Advantage ; and if so, certainly the Owners have the best Right to it.

Philal. I grant it ; and therefore it's allowable for them to set a Value upon their Persons ; for the better Disposal of them. And farther if they have a Mind to it, they may please themselves ; because they are Acceptable to Others ; which is a generous Satisfaction : But when they grow Humourful,

mourfom, they fpoil all; For Pride not only raifes a Prejudice againft their Beauty; but really leffens it. For if you obferve, it Paints an ill-natured Air upon their Face; and fills them with Spleen, and Peevifhnefs, and Paffion; which exhaufts their Spirits; and makes their Blood lefs florid; fo that their Beauty is neither fo agreeable, nor lafting, as otherwife it would be: And if the prefent Inconvenience will not Cure them, they will do well to remember, That they muft of neceffity, grow Humble when they are Old; unlefs they are fo Fanciful, as to doat upon Rubbifh and Ruins.

Philot. Pray let us take leave of the Ladies; and proceed to the other Branch of your Divifion, *viz.* to acquired Nobility. And here methinks, every thing looks unexceptionable and fine, upon your own Principles. For here we are beholden to none but our felves; we are not thrown up the Hill by anothers Arms; and made confiderable by Diverfion, or Chance-medly; but climb the Afcent by plain Strength, and indefatigable Activity. Is it not a fingular Commendation, to have our Circumftances not only Large and Honourable, but Independent; and almoft to Create the Privileges we enjoy? Here is no gilding of a coarfe Substance; no borrowed Glory; no
faint

faint Reflection from an Ancestor ; but the Man is all Bright and Luminous to the Center ; and Shines and Sparkles in his own Worth. He is not Great by Genealogy and ancient Title ; by the Favour of Fortune, and the Labours of those he never help'd ; but by Nature and Performances ; by having Greatness incorporated in himself. Now, may not a Person who has thus distinguished himself by his Merit, make use of the Honour which has been so justly conferr'd upon him, and put the Lazy and less significant in mind of their Defects ?

Philal. If you recollect your self you will find, that this point concerning Acquired Nobility has been occasionally discoursed already ; Therefore I shall only add, that upon supposition a Man has obliged the Publick, and is remarkable for great Abilities and a generous Use of them ; he would do well to remember that there are others who have ventured as far, and performed as considerably as himself, whose Services all miscarried as to any private Advantage, because they were not so lucky as to act under the Notice of those who were able to reward : And that many Persons well furnish'd for Employment and Honour, go out of the World as obscurely as they came in ; only for want of a proper opportunity to bring them into Light, and publick View,

Philot. What tho' some People are unlucky, ought their Misfortunes to be pleaded to the prejudice of Desert in others?

Philal. No. But when a Man has received so valuable a consideration for his Service as Honour and Estate, he ought to acquiesce; and not press too arbitrarily for Submission. He should not set a Tax upon Conversation, and put the Company under Contribution for Respect. Besides, a Gentleman of the first *Head* has a particular reason to manage his Advancement obligingly: For by treating the little People roughly, he does in effect but expose his Ancestors, and reproach his own former Condition.

Philot. You have so many fetches with you! But what do you think of Magistrates? In my Opinion those who represent their Prince, and are the Ministers of Justice cannot practise that Humility and Condescension you seem to admire, with any manner of Decency, or Security to the Publick. For if they don't oblige their Inferiours to Distance, their Reputation will sink, and the Majesty of the Government will be lessen'd; and then it's easie to guess what the Consequence must be.

Philal. I agree with you: Magistrates ought to assert their Office, and not make themselves Cheap by improper Familiarities.

But

But their Character may be over-strain'd. To prevent which Inconvenience, they may please to remember, That their Power was given them upon a Publick Account, more for the Benefit of others than themselves. They are deputed by their Prince, for the countenancing of Virtue, for the Ease and Protection of the People; and therefore they should discourage none who are Regular and Fair; they should shew their Authority upon nothing but Insolence and Injustice, Thieves and Malefactors; upon those who Affront the Government, or Break the Peace. There is no necessity they should bring the Air of the Bench into common Conversation, and wear their *Commissions* always upon their Faces. To manage their Power thus singularly, looks like a little private Design of setting up for themselves; as if they procured their Authority to fright the King's Liege-Subjects; and to Over-awe the Neighbourhood into a greater Reverence.

Philot. But if they should happen to take too much upon them, are the People to slight them upon this Account?

Philal. By no means: The Authority ought to be consider'd, let the Men be what they will. However in general, I observe, That the best way to secure Observance, is not to insist too violently upon it: For

Pride is a most unfortunate Vice. Other Immoralities usually gain their Point, though they lose more another Way: But a Proud Man is so far from making himself Great by his haughty and contemptuous Port, that he is usually punished with Neglect for it: And that Disdain with which he treats Others, is returned more Justly upon himself: Which may be done without much Difficulty; in Regard Honour is not become a Property so far, as to have all its Appurtenances, bounded and fix'd by Law. The Circumstantials, and oftentimes the most pompous Part of Ceremony, are Arbitrary and Undetermined. For we are not told either by *Statute*, or Common Law, how many Bows a Superiour of such a Degree may expect from us; nor how low we are to make them; nor how often the Terms of Respect are to be used in our Application.

Philot. What do you mean?

Philal. I mean that it is not settled by Act of Parliament, how many *Sirs* and *Mesdames*, a Discourse of such a Length is to be sprinkled with; and therefore a cross-grained Fellow, will tell you he has his Betters upon their Good Behaviour; If he likes their Humour, he will be as liberal to them in Acknowledgments as they please; if not, he shall take the Freedom to hold his Hand; and let them help themselves how they can.

Philot.

Philot. Well! I cannot reconcile this Self-denying Humour you are Contending for, to the Character of a Gentleman. Such an untoward management of Fortune and Honour as this is, argues either that a Man wants Sense to understand his Condition, or Spirit to maintain it. To throw away the Prerogatives of our Birth, or the Rewards of our Industry, at such a careless Cynical rate, is a sign of a Rustick Inapprehensive Meanness; and that we have not the least Inclination to Greatness in us. For those who desire to be Great, will endeavour to Excel; and those who Excel will be sure to shew it: For the Essence of Greatness lies in Comparison. A tall Man loses the advantage of his Stature, unless he stands Streight, and overlooks his Neighbour.

Philal. Methinks you are somewhat out in your Notion of Greatness.

Philot. Let us hear if you can hit it better.

Philal. To speak freely, I conceive it a much more Substantial and better natured Thing than you have made it. Greatness certainly does not consist in Pageantry and Show, in Pomp and Retinue; and though a Person of Quality will make use of these things to avoid Singularity, and to put the Vulgar in mind of their Obedience to Authority, yet he does not think himself really

ly the bigger for them: For he knows that those who have neither Honesty nor Understanding, have oftentimes all this fine Furniture about them. Farther, To be Great, is not to be Starched, and Formal, and Supercilious; to Swagger at our Footmen, and Brow-beat our Inferiors. Such a Behaviour looks as if a Man was conscious of his own Insignificancy; and that he had nothing but Out-side, and Noise, and ill Humour, to make himself Considerable with: But he that is truly Noble, has far different Sentiments; and turns his Figure quite another way. He hates to abridge the Liberties, to depress the Spirits, or any ways to impair the Satisfaction of his Neighbour. His Greatness is easie, obliging, and agreeable; so that none have any just Cause to wish it less. And though he has a general kindness for all Men; though he despises not the meanest Mortal, but desires to stand Fair in the Opinion of the World; Yet he never courts any Man's Favour at the Expence of Justice, nor strikes in with a Popular Mistake: No, He is sensible it is the part of true Magnanimity to adhere unalterably to a wise Choice: not to be over-run by Noise and Numbers; but to appear in defence of injured Right, of neglected Truth, notwithstanding all the Censure and Disadvantage they

they may sometimes lie under. To conclude his Character, A Great Man is Affable in his Converse, Generous in his Temper; and Immoveable in what he has maturely Resolved upon. And as Prosperity does not make him Haughty and Imperious. so neither does Adversity sink him into Meanness and Dejection: For if ever he shews more Spirit than ordinary, it is when he is ill used; and the World Frowns upon him. In short, he is equally removed from the Extremes of Servility and Pride; and scorns either to trample upon a Worm, or sneak to an Emperor.

Philot. In earnest; you have described a Person of Honour: And I am so far pleased with the Character, that I would give all I am Master of to make it my Own. But can we receive no other Advantages from Nobility, but what have been hinted already?

Phikal. All that I can think of at present are these following:

First, It gives a fair occasion to excite the Generosity of our Minds, and disposes us to the Imitation of great Examples; that so we may not seem unworthy our Predecessors. Indeed, a Man is bound in Justice not to impair the Reputation, nor spoil the Breed of the Family: but to hand down the Line to his Posterity; at least with

with the same good Conditions he received it.

Secondly, These Priviledges of Birth may serve to Check an insolent Humour in others, who behave themselves Contemptuously towards us upon lesser, or but equal Pretences.

Thirdly, A Man may make some Advantage this way, when he falls undeservedly under Publick Disgrace: or is unrighteously Oppressed. For in such a Case, the mention of his Ancestors seems free from all suspicion of Vanity, and may fairly be interpreted to proceed either from self-Defence, or greatness of Spirit.

Fourthly, The same may be done when any Office or Promotion, may Legally be claimed by virtue of an honourable Condition. For Example, If a Man should put in to be one of the Knights of *Malta*, he might modestly enough publish his Pedigree; and prove his six Descents, against a less qualified Competitor.

Philot. If you are at a stop, I think I can carry your Concessions somewhat farther. For, as I remember it has been granted already, that the common People may pay a Respect to Quality; though you Mortifie the Pleasure a little severely in those who receive it.

Philal. May pay a Respect, call you it? I say

say they must. For not to mention that Gentlemen have generally a greater share of Fortune and Sense too, than those of Vulgar Condition; not to mention this I say, If they had nothing to plead but their Quality, they ought to be regarded upon that Score, because the *State* sets a Value upon it: and that for Publick and Considerable Reasons.

Philot. I perceive if a Man will but stay and hear you out, you are civil enough at the last. Pray what are we to do next?

Philal. Why, Now I could run a Discourse with you upon the Inconveniences of Pride; and shew you in particular, what an unconquerable Aversion it gives all Mankind against us, when we are overgrown with it. How it multiplies, and conceals our Defects from us: and makes us do a Thousand silly Things, without taking notice of them. How it makes us a Prey to Flatterers; and puts us to great Expences, only to be laughed at. I might debate with you, how it spoils Conversation; and takes away the pleasure of Society. How often Families, Kingdoms, and Churches are Embroiled; and the World turned topsie-turvy by this Vice. These and many other ill Consequences of Pride, might be enlarged upon: But this part of the Argument is, I conceive, more proper
for

for Divines; and therefore I shall pursue it no farther.

Philot. Well moved! For now I think it is almost time to give over.

Philal. I won't tire you.

Your Humble Servant.

A
MORAL ESSAY

Concerning

CLOATHS.

Philot. **P***Hilalethes*, I'm glad to meet you again; Where have you been this long time?

Philal. Sometimes not just where I would be: But now I have no reason to complain; for I always think my self Well, when I am with a Friend.

Philot. I must have half an Hours Conversation with you before we part.

Philal. You oblige me extremely. I was afraid your Time had been pre-ingaged to those Gentlemen and Ladies you parted with at the Coach; I heard them desire you not to stay long. By their Habit and Equipage they seem to be Persons of Condition; and therefore you know the Apointment must be well remembered.

Philot. Leave that to me. But by the Way, I thought you laid somewhat of an

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Accent upon their *Habit* ; Were they too Fine for you ?

Philal. They may be so for themselves for ought I know.

Philot. I perceive you are for making *Prize* of me again. I remember what mortifying Discoveries you made at our last Meeting. I wish you had kept your Cynical Truths to your self ; for I'm sure my *Mistakes* were much more Entertaining.

Philal. It seems they were Truths then.

Philot. Yes. And that's it which vexes me ; for now I have much ado to keep my self in my own good Opinion.

Philal. I'm sorry you should be in Love with a Delusion ; especially when you know it to be such. Fevers and Intemperance bring a great many gay Fancies with them ; and yet they are not accounted any of the Blessings or Ornamentals of Life.

Philot. Happiness is Happiness ; whether 'tis founded in Reason or Imagination, 'tis all a Case to me, provided I have a vigorous Sense of it. Nay, in my Judgment, those which you call the Satisfactions of *Fancy*, are the better of the two. They are more at Command than the other, and stand in no need of a Foreign Supply. The Want of *Tools* and *Materials*, if the Model is answered, is a Comendation to the Workman. To make so
fine

fine a *Something* out of *Nothing*, has some Resemblance to Creation: So that if this Way has as much Pleasure in the Effect; it seems to have more of Magnificence in the Cause.

Philal. I grant you, if a Man could be always dreaming of Paradise; The Dream would go a great Way towards making the Thing. But alas! The visionary Pleasure will quickly disappear. The agreeable Part of the *Fit* won't last; therefore let us get rid of it as soon as may be. The longer it continues, the worse and the weaker 'twill leave us. We may, like the *Romans*, *Deify* a *Disease*, if we please; but if we expect any Return of the Worship, we shall be Mistaken.

Philot. I tell you, I came off with Loss the last Rencounter: And now by your surveying me from Head to Foot, I find you think I have too much of Expence and Curiosity about me: But if you expect to Dispute my Cloaths off my Back, you will be disappointed.

Philal. I have no Desire you should turn either *Adamite*, or *Quaker*; but yet I believe some People throw away too much Money, and Inclination, upon these Things.

Philot. You seem to forget, That the Distinctions of Rank and Condition cannot

be kept up, without something Extraordinary in this kind ; And unless this be done, Government must suffer.

Philal. For all that, *Noah* had large Dominions ; and, for ought appears, kept his Subjects in good Order without any great Assistance from the *Wardrobe*.

Philot. But Princes Subjects are not so near of kin to them now ; and therefore not so easily Governed.

Philal. We will Dispute no farther about Princes : Besides, I grant the World is alter'd ; and am willing to make an Allowance upon that Score.

Philot. I shall proceed upon your Concession. And endeavour to prove in the

First Place, That Richness of Habit is not only Lawful, but convenient for those who are possessed of Publick Charges ; especially when they execute their Office. For the People generally take their Measures more from the Appearance, than the Reason of Things. Their Apprehensions are so disposed, that they think nothing Great but what is Pompous ; and Glitters upon the Senses. If their Governours had not some Advantage of them in Figure ; they would be apt to over-look their Character, and forget their Distance.

Philal. I have no Intention to argue against *Gold Chains, Velvet Caps, or Sables ;*

or any Thing of this Nature : But granting this Furniture may be somewhat of a Guard to Authority, yet no publick Person has any Reason to Value himself upon it. For the Design of this Sort of State, is only to Comply with the Weakness of the Multitude. 'Tis an Innocent Stratagem to Deceive them into their Duty ; and to awe them into a just Sense of Obedience. A great Man will rather Contemn this kind of Finery, than think himself Considerable by it. He will rather be Sorry that his Authority needs the Support of so little an Artifice ; and depends in any Measure upon the Use of such Trifles. To stoop to the Vulgar Notion of Things, and establish ones Reputation by counterfeit Signs of Worth, must be an uneasie Task to a Noble Mind. Besides, We are not to think the Magistrate cannot Support his Office without Fine Cloaths: For if he is furnished with general Prudence ; with Abilities particular to his Business ; and has a competent Share of Power, he needs not doubt his Influence over the People.

Philot. Pray what do you think of private Quality ? I hope you don't intend to strike us out of all Distinction, to run all Metals together ; and make a Sort of *Corinthian Brass* of us.

Philal. By no means. However, your Argument must abate farther upon this Head. For Quality, separated from Authority, is sufficiently maintained by *Title*, *Arms*, and *Precedency*: This is enough to keep up *Distinction*, and to encourage Industry and Merit. There is no Necessity for Persons, without Jurisdiction, to March always with *Colours displayed*. It seems more agreeable that they should Conceal, than make a needless Ostentation of their Wealth. Would it not look oddly in a Soldier, to give in a *History* of his Valour and Conduct in Conversation? Or for a Man of Learning, to make Harangues upon his own Parts and Performances; and tell the Company how Ignorant they are in Respect of him?

Philot. That would be a little Fulsome I confess; But is the Case the same?

Philal. Much at one, in private Persons. For them to appear Pompous in Equipage, or Habit, is but a vain glorious Publishing their own Grandeur; a silent Triumphant over the Inferiority of Others; and is in Effect to proclaim themselves extraordinary People. Whereas a modest Man, if he was somewhat Taller than his Neighbours, would chuse to shrink himself into the Dimensions of the Company; and be content-
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ed rather to lose something of his own *Stature*, than to upbraid them with the *Littleness* of theirs.

Philot. What, because a Lord of a Manor has not always a *Commission*, must he be allowed no better Cloaths than a Cottager?

Philal. Yes. There may be some Difference; and yet it need not be very Expensive. A Gentleman's Mien and Behaviour is sufficient to discover him, without any great Dependance upon *Shops* and *Taylers*. After all, the best way of distinguishing, is by the Qualities of the Mind: Let Persons of Condition strive rather to be richer in their Disposition than the Vulgar: Let them put on a better Humour, wear a finer Understanding, and shew a more shining Fortitude: Let them appear remarkably Justy, Inoffensive, and Obliging. This is the Way to be nobly Popular, and gives them the Hearts, as well as the Ceremony, of their Inferiours.

Philot. How must they spend their Estates; they cannot Eat and Drink them all?

Philal. However, they seem willing enough to try their Skill; and I believe the Experiment succeeds sometimes. But to your Question: Was the Surplufage of Wealth employed in Charitable Uses, and

Entertainments soberly Hospitable, I conceive it would run in a more proper Channel: Did Men lay out their Abilities in the Service of Religion, and for the Promoting of Arts and Knowledge, how might they Advance the Prosperity and Glory of a Nation this Way? How much Wiser, and Easier, and Richer, might they make their Inferiors; And as they would be more Beneficial to their Country, so they would serve the Designs of Greatness much more Effectually. Such a generous Use of Fortune, would give Lustre to their Reputation; and make the World look with Wonder and Regard upon them. How would it Raise a declining Interest to its former Height; and with what advantage convey their Memories to Posterity? But to Return; Richness of Habit is not only unnecessary to keep up the Distinction of Degrees, but insufficient: For where there are no *Sumptuary Laws* to confine the condition of Persons, and ascertain the *Heraldry* of the *Wardrobe*, every one has the Liberty of being as Expensive, and Modish as he pleases. And accordingly you may observe, that ordinary People, when they happen to abound in Money and Vanity, have their Houses and Persons as richly Furnished, as those who are much their Superiours. There are other Instances in
which

which methinks, these Things are a little misplaced.

Philot. As how?

Philal. Why, to see Gold and Scarlet condemn'd to *Liveries*, the Coach-box furnish'd like the *Council Chamber*, and the Horses wear as good *Velvet* as the *Company*; is methinks not very agreeable. This Prostitution of Finery, is enough to make it Nauseous; and to ruinit's Reputation to all Intents and Purposes.

Philot. When you have said all, A good Suit does a Man Credit; and puts People in Mind of paying him a proper Respect. And since others esteem me upon this Account, I ought to follow their Opinion. For why should I think my self Wiser than the *Majority* of Mankind? Singularity seems to have always a *Spice* of Arrogance in it.

Philal. You are wonderfully resigned in your Understanding; I guess the Occasion; and shall endeavour to disappoint your Humility. For notwithstanding your *Majority*, I conceive the Reasons of Things are rather to be taken by *Weight* than *Tale*: And if so, fine Cloaths will signify nothing in the Value of a Man, because they are but Signs of *Wealth* at the best; which generally speaking, is no more an Argument of Worth, than of the Contrary. And as

Cloaths don't suppose a Man Considerable, so neither can they make him so. This will appear, if we examine either the Materials of which they consist, or the Art and Curiosity which is shewn in the Fashioning of them. The *Matter* of which a Rich Habit consists, is either the Skins of Beasts, the Entrails of Worms, the Spoils of Fishes, some shining Sand or Pebbles, which owe their humble Original to the Dirt: And is it not a ridiculous Vanity to Value our selves upon what we Borrow from Creatures below *Reason* and *Life*? In short, Either they are a real Advantage, or not: If they are, they prove our Dependance upon inferior Things; which ought to be a mortifying Consideration; unless we can be proud of Beggary: If they are not, then to dote on them, is a Sign we are sunk beneath our proper Level; that we admire Trifles, and disgrace the Dignity of our Nature. To see these insignificant Ornaments valued at so great a Rate, and preferred to the Necessaries of Life, is no small Disparagement to the Understandings of Men; and is an Argument of the Littleness, and Degeneracy of our Kind. One would think, He that has the Liberty of looking upon the Sun and Moon for Nothing, would never purchase the Glimmerings of a Peble at so high a Price.

Philos.

Philot. I find you imagine *Pearls* were made only for *Cordials*; and that *Diamonds* are fit for nothing but *Bartholomew-Babies* to sparkle in: But I believe the *Jewellers* would do well enough if they had nothing but your *Philosophy* to damp their *Trade*.

Philal. That may be; But what if I can prove that the Price of them is kept up by *Imagination*, and *Ill Humour*; and that the very Reason which makes them *Dear*, ought to make them *Cheap*.

Philot. Let's hear.

Philal. You may observe then, That most of these *Ornaments* owe their *Value* to their *Scarcity*; For if they were *Common*, Those who most *Admire* them, would be ready to throw them away. *Tertullian* (*de Habit. Muliebr*) Observes, That some People bound their *Melefactors* in *Chains of Gold*; And if a *Man's Crime* was very *Notorious*, they would make him as *fine* as a *General Officer*.

Philot. I suppose they were *Sir Thomas Moor's Utopians*. A pretty *Device*! 'Tis pitty *Whitehall* was not plundered to *Ornament Newgate*!

Philal. *Tertullian* Observes farther, That *Diamonds* and *Rubies* were little esteemed by the *Eastern Nations*; where they were the *Growth of the Country*. So that I suppose, when the *Parthian Children*, and
Milk-maids,

Milk-Maids, had worn them till they were weary, they were bought up for the *Roman Ladies*.

Now to be fond of any thing, purely because it is uncommon, because the Generality of Mankind wants it, is an ill-natured Pleasure; and arises from an unbenevolent, and ungenerous Temper.

Philot. Pray what do you think of the Artificial Improvement; Is not a Rich Dress an Addition to the *Wearer* upon this Account.

Philal. Not at all. 'Tis true, the Refining upon what was more imperfectly begun by Nature; the graceful Disposition of the Parts; and the judicious Mixture of Colours; are Arguments of Industry and Ingenuity: But then this Commendation does not belong to those that Buy them. If the meer *Wearing* them is any ways Creditable, it is because the *Taylors, &c.* are the *Fountains of Honour*.

Philot. I grant you, those People make 'em; but the *Suiting* them is above their Talent. None but Persons of Condition can hit this Point. Indeed they have a great Delicacy and Exactness in their Fancy: They pitch upon nothing that is Tawdry and Mechanick, Staring, or ill Matched. One may know a Gentlewoman almost, as well by seeing her chuse a Mantua, or a Ribbon;

bon ; as by going to *Garter*, or *Clarencieux*.

Philal. The mixing of *Light*, and *Shade*, handsomely, looks like a *Genius* for *Painting* : And that is the most you can make of your *Observation*. To go on with you: I shall venture to add, That for private Persons to expect an usual *Observance* upon the Account of *sine Cloaths*, argues them *Conscious* of their own little *Worth*; and that the greatest Part of their *Quality* comes out of the *Dressing Room*. Having nothing to prefer them to the *Esteem* of the *Judicious*, they are contented to take up with the *Ceremony* of the *Ignorant*; and with a little *Glitter* and *Pageantry*, draw the gazing unthinking *Mobile* to *Admire* them. Now to desire *Respect* where we have no *Jurisdiction*, purely upon our own Account, is an *Argument* either of a weak *Judgment*, or weak *Pretences*. If we understood the true *Grounds* of *Esteem*; If we were well stock'd with *Abilities*, or good *Actions*, to entertain us at *Home*; we should not make our selves so mean, as to let our *Satisfactions* depend upon the *Reverences* of the *Ignorant*, or *Designing*. Besides, to delight in the *Submissions* of *Others*, is a certain *Sign* of *Pride*. This supposes, That we are not so much pleased with our own *Station*; as with looking down, and seeing our
Neigh-

Neighbours, as we fancy, in a worse Condition than our selves. Whereas a generous Mind has its Happiness encreased, by being Communicated.

Philot. I suppose your Artillery may be almost spent by this time.

Philal. I was going to tell you, That Rich Cloaths are accounted unsuitable to Old Age; which is a farther Proof of their Insignificancy. That Age which is most remarkable for Wisdom and Temper; which is particularly Honoured with the Weight of Business, and Dignity of Office; and has deservedly the greatest Regard paid it: That Age, I say, chuses to appear in a plain, unornamented Garb. Whereas, were fine Cloaths Marks of true Honour; were they Ornaments great enough for a Man's Reason to delight in, the wisest Part of the World would not go without them: Especially since the Decays of Nature give so fair a Plea for the Assistances of Art. There cannot be a greater Disparagement to this Sort of Finery, than its being refused by that Age which seems to need it most; and if it was Considerable, best deserves it. Since Men at the Height of Discretion are ashamed of these Additions; this is a Convincing Proof that they are Childish and Trifling; and fittest for those, who carry more *Body* than *Soul* about them.

Philot.

Philot. Your Inference is, that there should be a Resemblance between Age and Habit; and that a Finical Old Spark, can never be in the Fashion.

Philal. Right. For Old People to set up for Mode and Dressing, is a nauseous Piece of Vanity. Indeed, when we come into the World first, 'tis not so remarkable an Imprudence, if we misplace our Esteem, and make an indiscreet Choice. 'Tis no wonder if we stick upon a gaudy Out-side, when we are not sharp enough to look through it. When our Minds are unfurnished with Materials for Thinking; and scarce strong enough to wield a rational Pleasure; they are apt to divert themselves with the amusements of Sense. But when we have run through the Experience of many Years, and had so many Opportunities of Improvement: When our Reason is grown up to Maturity; and we are supposed to have made our last Judgment upon Things: When every thing we say or do, should have an Air of Gravity and Greatness in it; then to dote upon Trifles, is a shrewd Sign that our Minds are no less decay'd than our Bodies. It looks as if we were ashamed of making any Pretences to Wisdom, and betrays an impotent Desire of returning to the Extravagance of Youth.

Philot. After all your Strictness, I hope you have some Reserve of Liberty for Women. They have the Excuses of Custom, the Agreeableness of Figure, and the Inclinations of Sex, to plead in their Behalf. Besides, I am told St. *Augustine* (*Ep.* 245. *Tom.* 2.) abates very much of the Rigour of your *Tertullian*; and speaks with great Moderation upon the Point. “He thinks fine
“Cloaths ought not to be forbidden marri-
“ed Women; who are obliged to please
“their Husbands. And if they may use
this Expedient to *Please* them when they have them; why may they not do it that they may *Please* to have them? Why may not the same little Charm be practis’d to Begin, as well as to Entertain the *Relation*?

Philal. With all my Heart; let St. *Augustine*’s Indulgence pass. But ’tis my humble Opinion, they should keep their Inclinations unengaged. They would do well not to dress their Fancy, nor wear their Finery in their Head; nor think their Afternoon Quality better than their Morning. For when a Woman is once smitten with her *Drapery*, Religion is commonly laid aside; or used more out of Custom, than Devotion. When her governing Passions lye this way, Charity is disabled, and Good-nature fails, and Justice is overlook’d; and she is lost to all the noble Purposes

poses of Life. How often are Relations neglected, Tradesmen unpaid, and Servants stinted to Mortifying Allowances, for the Support of this Vanity? How patched and un-uniform does it make the Figure of some Families? and what a disagreeable Mixture of Poverty and Riches, do we see sometimes within the same Walls? These Excesses make them forget the Compassion of their Sex; and the Duties of their Station: They Rob the Necessities, and Flourish in the Penance, and Wear that which should have been the *Flesh* and *Blood* of their own *Retinue*.

Philot. What do you think of those below the *Gentry*? Ought they not to be somewhat Frugal, and Unpretending in their *Appearance*?

Philal. Truly I think the Taylor should *take Measure* of their *Quality*, as well as of their Limbs. For those who make their *Cloaths* much better than their Condition, do but expose their Discretion. Persons of Quality have some little Colour for their Vanity: But as for Others, they have nothing to say for Themselves. In them it looks like a Levelling Principle; like an Illegal Aspiring into a forbidden Station. It looks as if they had a Mind to destroy the Order of Government, and to confound the Distinctions of Merit and Degree. In a Word,

At this rate of Management, a Man loses his Wealth and Reputation at the same Time; makes himself expensively Ridiculous: and over-shoots Extravagance it self.

Philot. My time is up, I must leave you.

Philal. Adieu.

O F

O F

DUELLING.

THE FOURTH
CONFERENCE

BETWEEN

Philotimus and Philaethes.

Philal. **W**Hither so fast this Morning; methinks you are somewhat earlier than usual?

Philot. May be so. But when a Man's Occasions are Up, and Abroad, 'tis fit he should attend them.

Philal. Pray what may your Business be; for you don't use to break your Sleep for Trifles?

Philot. Why last Night Mr. A. and I happen'd to fall into a Misunderstanding over a Glass of Wine. At length he told me the Controversy could not be taken up,

I

without

without giving the *Satisfaction* of a Gentleman. My Answer was, That I would Debate the Matter with him in his own Way this Morning. And I am now going to settle some little Affairs before the time of Meeting.

Philal. If you design to make your *Will*, you are out: For to do that to any Purpose, a Man must be *sound in Mind and Memory*; which is none of your Case. For the Business you are going about, is sufficient to prove you *Non Compos*.

Philot. Pray let us have no Bantring. You know me too well, to imagine that a Concern of this Nature should make any dishonourable Impression: However; Because an Accident may happen, I love to make a proper Provision; and leave my Discretion unquestioned!

Philal. That you will not do with me, I promise you; unless you can give a better Account of your Undertaking than is usually done.

Philot. I am now obliged to Dispute the Matter at the Swords Point; so that it will be to no effect to Argue it any other Way: For a Man of Honour must keep his Word.

Philal. Yes, no doubt on't. If he promises to set a Town on Fire, 'tis as much as his Eschutcheon and Pedigree is worth,
to

to fail in the Performance. Look you; you seem sensible that you are within a Hazard: If you are a Gentleman, learn to value your self. Don't Stake your Life against a Nut-shell; nor run into the other World upon every *Fop's* Errand.

Philot. I tell you I am engaged. What if I understood the Practice as little as you do? Since it is the Custom, I must defend my Honour; For to suffer under the Imputation of Cowardize, is worse than being buried Alive. However, if you have any thing to say, I have an Hour good to hear you.

Philal. As much a Custom as you make it, 'tis not improved into Common Law: That is point Blank against you; and *Tyes* you all up, if you kill upon the Occasion.

Philot. 'Tis the Custom of Gentlemen; and that is sufficient for my purpose.

Philal. What if it was the Custom to Tilt your Head against a Post, for a Mornings Exercise; would you venture the Beating out your Brains, rather than be Unfashionable? What if it was the Custom for People of Condition to betray a *Trust*; to forswear a *Debt*; or forge a *Conveyance*; would you follow the Precedent, or Forfeit their good Opinion?

Philot. You seem to Mistake the Point. I grant you, Men of Figure are too often

Faulty in some of the Instances you mention: But then they are not bound to it upon the Score of Reputation; which makes a Disparity in the Case.

Philal. They are not; true. But suppose they were, what then? Does not this Supposition clearly prove, That we are not to take the Conduct of any Sort of People upon *Content*: But to examine the Reasonableness of a Custom, before we go into it? Whatever is beneath a Man, is beneath a Gentleman: But to Act without Thinking, is beneath a Man; much more against it.

Philot. I perceive you believe this Sort of *Satisfaction* very Unaccountable.

Philal. I do so. And the Law is of my Opinion; which I hope is no Contemptible Authority.

Philot. Hark you, We do but Laugh at these Stories. Do you think a Parcel of starched Lawyers, with a *Jury* of *Haberdashers*, and *Chandlers*, are proper Judges in the Case? Are such *Pedants*, and *Mechanicks* as these, fit to give Rules to *Men of Honour*?

Philal. I perceive you think Ignorance and Idleness, necessary Qualifications of a Gentleman; and doubt not, but that you practise accordingly. But if Men of Honour are too Great to be govern'd by
the

the Law, they should be so Modest as not to plead it for their Advantage. They should throw up their Fortune; and Disband from Society. Yes, and their Quality too; for this, as well as the other, is settled by the *Constitution*.

Philot. I thought *Quality* had been the sole Privilege of Birth; or at least of the Prince's Favour.

Philal. All Honour, as well as Land, is Originally a Gift from the Crown. Now *Prerogative* is a Part of the Law: And though Quality and Estate are settled upon a Man and his Heirs; yet the Grant runs always with a Condition of Forfeiture, in Case of Treason: And therefore the Son of an unrestored Traytor, has no Pretences to the Quality of his Ancestors.

Philot. I know we say, That Treason taints a Man's Blood; and makes it Baser than that of a Peasant: But I look upon this as a kind of Whimsy. For though the Government may take away my Estate; yet it cannot make me nothing of Kin to my Father. So that the Son of a Gentleman must be a Gentleman, in spite of Fate.

Philal. But not in spite of Treason. For in that Case, he is banished the *Blood*; and transplanted from the Family of his Ancestors. His Lease of Heraldry is Expired, his Title is Extinct; and he can no more

Claim his former Honour, than an Estate which was Sold by his great Grand-father. I grant you, the Relation between him and his Father continues, and that's it which destroys his Pretensions ; The Stream of Honour is dryed up, before it reaches the Chanel of Posterity. The Father has lost all ; and therefore can Convey nothing *over*. The Son if he pleases, may be of kin to the Treason ; for the Infamy of that remains : But as for the Quality 'tis all wiped out, as if it had never been. And therefore though your Instance is true, your Inference fails ; for the Son of a Traytor, is not the Son of a Gentleman. In short, You must either allow that Quality, like other Branches of Property, stands upon the Basis of Law ; or else you unavoidably run into the Principle of Levelling. For where the Distinctions of Condition are not ascertained by publick Provision, every one is at Liberty to rate his Own and his Neighbour's Station, as he pleases. Where there are no Inclosures, all People may intercommon, without Preference or Ceremony. New Grounds of Honour may be set up, and the old ones disclaimed ; and a Taylor may make himself a Lord ; and clap a Coronet upon his *Goose*, if he has a mind to it.

Philot. I suppose your Conclusion is, That the Notion of Honour is to be taken from the Laws and Government ; and not from any private Set of People, how valuable soever in other Respects.

Philal. Right. And from thence I infer, That Duelling is a very dishonourable Practice. For when you have given the best Proof of your Sufficiency, and *killed your Man*, you are seized into the Hand of *Justice* ; treated like *Affassins* ; and condemned to Die with Circumstances of Ignominy. You are not *Indicted* for Acquitting yourselves like Gentlemen ; but for disturbing the Publick Peace , and murdering the King's Subjects. Now the Law never loads a Man with Reproaches, nor punishes him thus coarsely, for doing a handsom Action.

Philot. What do you tell me of Lawyers Cant ; *Murdravit , stragem exercuit , & practicavit* : Very pretty Stuff to dispatch a Man of Honour with ! You see how the Men betray their Ignorance by their Forms of Speaking : And as for the Bench, they have a Thousand Pound *per Annum* , for making of Malefactors ; and they must say something in Defence of their Trade.

Philal. As for the *Bench*, the *Bar*, and the rest, they are not the *Makers*, but the

Ministers of Law; they are the Servants of the Government; And their Methods of Proceeding are chalked out by their Superiours: And when the Reason of Things is good, 'tis not material though the *Latin* proves otherwise. Indeed, I think the Laws can't use you too rigorously; for I'm sure you treat them with great Contempt. When Highway-men Kill, 'tis commonly for a Livelihood; to prevent Discovery; or in the Heat and Surprize of Passion: And when 'tis over, they seldom justify the Fact; but Condemn what they have done. But your Tribe are Murtherers by *Principle*; which is something worse than *Malice prepence*, because 'tis ready upon all Occasions, and often Acts without any Provocation; except the Vanity of complying with a barbarous Custom. As if it was as indifferent a thing to cut a Man's Throat, or let it alone, as to wear a Broad or Narrow brim'd Hat: And that these little Concerns of *Blood*, ought to be perfectly governed by the *Fashion*, And when the Barbarity is committed, you have the Assurance to maintain it; and to argue for the Murther against Law and Gospel. In short, I think you stand in the greatest Defiance to Authority of all Men Living.

Philot. How so?

Philal.

Philal. I have given you some of my Reasons; and you shall have the rest.

I. You Scorn to refer your Differences to the Law; but make your selves your own Judges.

Philot. If the Government will not make a sufficient Provision for the Honour of Gentlemen, they must right their own Case; and there's an end on't.

Philal. You would do well to prefer a *Bill* against all Kings and Parliaments since the Conquest; and if that won't do, *Challenge* the Crown, and the two Houses at their next Meeting, to give you Satisfaction. Do you not perceive, That by thus taking the Business out of the Hands of the Government, you both Reproach, and in effect, Renounce it at your Pleasure. The Laws very well suppose, that People are apt to be too Partial and Passionate in their own Concerns; and therefore remit them to a publick Decision. Now 'tis a kind of Maxim with us, That *no Man should be wiser than the Laws.*

Philot. What would you have me Complain to a Magistrate, when a Man gives me the *Lye*; or any such sort of Affront? These things won't bear an Action; and yet a Gentleman will rather Dye than put them up.

Philal.

Philal. By the way, a *Lye*, was not counted so Mortal an Affront till *Charles* the Fifth happened to say, He was no Gentleman that would take it. Now what has *England* to do with *Germany*? If an Emperour throws out an unweigh'd Sentence, must we be governed by it? Are Law and Justice such Phantoms, that a *Spanish* Rodomontade should make them vanish? Or must a Foreign Prince's Humour Command farther than his Legal Authority?

Philot. The Prince's Opinion is the Standard of Mode. And to be Precise and Singular, looks like Spleen, and Monkery, and ill Breeding. You know when *Dionysius* of *Sicily* had a Fit of Geometry upon him, his Court took it immediately. You could scarce meet a Man of Quality without a pair of *Compasses* about him, and Visits were mostly spent about *Squares* and *Circles*. But as soon as the King grew weary, the Fashion was quite laid aside. And then as *Plutarch* observes, nothing was a greater *Pedant* than a Mathematician.

Philal. You lay so much Stress upon these Compliances, one would think you took them for part of your *Allegiance*.

Philot. Not to follow a Prince's Opinion, is in effect to say, he is Mistaken; which is an unhandsom Reflection.

Philal.

Philal. In Things indifferent you say well. But where Justice and Conscience are concerned, meer Complaisance should not carry it. By the Extent of your Maxim, you would have made an admirable *Æthiopian* Courtier.

Philot. What is that?

Philal. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us (*Biblioth. l. 3.*) That the *Æthiopians* happened once to have a One-Eyed Bandy-Leg'd Prince; now such a Person would have made but an odd Figure if care had not been taken.

Philot. Pray how did the Court behave themselves upon this Accident?

Philal. Like Men of Honour. They made a Fashion of their Prince's Misfortune; and immediately shut up one of Natures Windows, and got a sort of *Scotch-Boot* to bend their Hams in.

Philot. I think I could have imitated *Alexander's* wry Neck, as well as the *Macedonians*. But this which you mention is a Chargeable Fashion.

Philal. However it prevailed so far, that a Gentleman would no more appear with Strait Legs, or Two Eyes in his Head, than you would in a Pink'd-Doublet, or Boot-Hose-Tops. You see how far good Breeding will carry a Man, if he will but stick to his Principle. But to return.

Your

Your saying that these Indignities won't bear an *Action*, is to confess that the Wisdom of the Nation has thought them below Notice. And will you venture your *All* upon a Cause, which would be Hissed out of all the Courts of *England* as ridiculous? Will you take away a Man's Life upon a Provocation, for which no Government will allow you Six-peny worth of Damages? A Complaint fitter for a Boy to run to his Mother with, than to disorder a Man. If there was but a few of you, and you should talk at this Rate, you would be sent to *B-----lam*; but *Defendit numerus*; and that's the best of your *Plea*.

Philot. As the Case stands, He who refuses a *Challenge*, loses the Reputation of a Gentleman; none of that Quality will keep him Company.

Philal. Lucifer's Excommunication exactly! And I perceive you dread the *Censure* much more than that of the Church. The best on't is, you are somewhat out in your Calculation. For there are not a few of Good Extraction, of another Opinion.

Philot. I suppose you mean Ecclesiasticks. Now we have nothing to say to them: Their Profession exempts them from a necessity of Fighting.

Philal. I mean *Seculars* too. I hope the Temporal Lords and Commons are no Peasants.

fants. And will they Account any Person Infamous for the Regularity of his Behaviour? For not breaking those Laws which they either made or approved themselves? At this rate they must be a very extraordinary Assembly; and *Westminster* altogether as great a Sight as the *Tower*. Will not the Judges and Justices go for Gentlemen; and do you think they will avoid a Man's Company for declining a Challenge; and yet Commit and Hang him up for succeeding in it? Pray don't make the Governing Part of a Nation so extravagantly Ridiculous. There are many other grave Persons of Worth and Blood, who would give the Cause against you: But I find none of these will pass Muster. It seems *Beau's* and *Bully's*, and their wise Admirers, have seized the *Herald's Office*; and engrossed all the Quality to themselves.

Philot. When you have declaimed till you are weary, I must tell you that we have no small Party of as much Honour, and Value, as any you have mentioned; who will very hardly be brought over to your Sentiment.

Philal. I hope not. 'Tis true, I know some People are all Quality: You would think they were made up of nothing but Title and Genealogy. If you happen to encounter a Prejudice, or cross upon their
 Fancy,

Fancy, they are too Considerable to understand you. These, I confess, I almost Despair of; but hope their Number is not great. By the way, let me tell you, your Fraternity take a very great Liberty in their Opinion; you make nothing to Renounce the Publick Sense in Matters of the highest Importance: And count that a Noble Achievement, which the Laws punish as a Capital Offence. Now to set up a Notion of Honour against the Government, with such Circumstances as these, is of very dangerous Consequence. 'Tis such an Affront to the *Constitution*; such a deliberate Contempt; such an open Defiance of Authority; as nothing can be more. It makes the Laws Cheap and Ridiculous; the Solemnities of Justice a piece of Pageantry; the Bench a few Reverend Poppets, or Scharamouches in *Scarlet*. And thus by Exposing the Administration, the very Foundations of Peace and Property are shaken and *sap'd*.

Philot. Certainly you are retained by the whole Corporation of Cowards, you make so Tragical a Business on't!

Philal. By your Favour: To have our Swords ready to execute the Orders of every paultry Passion; To put Murther into our Creed, and cut Throats upon professed Principles, is a Tragical Business; and I believe you'll find it so.

Philot.

Philot. Trouble not your self; we value neither your Judges, nor your Juries. If we kill *fairly*, we have always Interest at Court to bring us off.

Philal. You may set up a Science against the Government; and range Murthering under Discipline and Rule; and call it by what fine Names you please: But your Methods of Killing, and that of Highway-men, are alike *Fair* in the Eye of Justice; and the same Rewards are assigned to both. As for your Friends at Court, 'Tis to be hoped that Princes in time will Resent the Breach of their Laws, and the Loss of their Subjects, a little more heartily: That they will not encourage a Practice which Insults their Authority, and ridicules their Ministers; and keeps up a Spirit of Barbarity throughout the Nation. Besides, there are Things they call *Appeals*; and in that Case you know your Pardon is out of Doors.

Philot. We must take our Chance for that.

Philal. You are hardy Men some of you. If all the Subjects should take the same Liberty, we should have wild Work. You say the Government is Defective in considering the Respects of Honour; and therefore are resolved to be your own Carvers. What if the under sort of People should take the Hint, and Practice upon it, in the

Instance of Property? *Look ye Neighbours* (says a sharp Country Fellow) *the Fine Folks have gotten away all the Land from us; for my part I want so many score Acres to live easily, and I suppose you do so too; and I think our Industry deserves it. 'Tis true, Estates are otherwise settled; and I should believe my self obliged to observe my Countries Customs, if others would do the same: But I perceive, the Gentry can set the Constitution aside without any Scruple. They can tilt through one anothers Lungs in a Bravado, though the Law makes Hanging matter on't. Why should we be more Slaves to the Government than others; I'm sure we do not get so much by it? We are enough of us; let us mind our Business.* 'Tis true, this would be a lewd Project; but 'tis the Consequence of your own Principle; therefore have a care of setting the Example.

Philot. If we may take a greater Freedom with the Government than the Vulgar, our Quality is our Excuse; that will bear us out.

Philal Quite contrary. For first, a Gentleman is supposed to be better acquainted with the Laws than a Peasant; therefore his breaking them must be a greater Fault; because it implies more of Contempt in the Action.

Secondly, Where the Example is of worse Consequence, the Care to check it should be

be the greater. The Influence of Men of Figure is Considerable. When they are at the Head of an ill Custom, they have presently a Train to Attend them. The Infection spreads like Lightning; and 'tis a Credit to live counter to Reason and Regularity. The slender Principles, the loose Practices of these Men, is that which has so effectually Debauched the Age. This is it which has exposed Virtue, and banished Religion; and almost buried the Distinctions of Good and Evil.

Thirdly, Since Quality is a Distinction settled by Law; those who have the greatest Share of this Privilege, are most obliged to observe the Publick Regulations. The Government is a greater Benefactor to such Persons; and they are very ungenerous and ungrateful, if they fly in the Face of it. A Man that enjoys Honour and Estate by a Society, has greater Engagements to Regard it, than he who receives only a Common Protection. One has perhaps a 1000*l.* per Annum for keeping the Laws; and the Other nothing but his Labour for his Pains: And pray which is most to Blame then, if they break them?

Philot. You seem to forget, that their Fortune and Condition follows their Birth; so that they are only obliged to their Family for the Advantage.

Philal. You argue too fast. Pray are not *Descents* and Inheritances governed by Law? What Claim can we make to Privilege or Property, without it? A Man when he is about it, may as easily be Born to 10000*l.* a Year, as to 10 Pence. The Trouble to himself, or his Mother, is much the same as to that Matter. People come into the World in *Turkey* the same Way they do Here; and yet, excepting the Royal Family, they get but little by it. Nature has set us all upon a Level, as to these Things: 'Tis only the *Constitution* which makes the Difference; and therefore those who have the Advantage, should pay it a proportionable Respect.

Philot. I perceive you are coming on again; And to stop you a little, let me tell you, 'tis my Observation, That the Custom of Duels puts Gentlemen upon their good Behaviour; 'tis a Check upon Conversation, and makes it more Inoffensive than it would be otherwise.

Philal. An admirable Remedy! Just such a one as Death is against all Diseases. If there must be Disputes, is not Squabbling less inconvenient than Murther? Had not a Man better have a Black Eye, than a Napkin drawn through him; and Bleed rather at the Nose than at the Heart? These Contests, though much better let alone, make
neither

neither Orphans nor Widows; nor perpetuate Feuds among Families. Besides, the Disorders of Conversation may be prevented without such a dangerous Expedient. For not to mention Religion, a moderate share of Prudence and Behaviour will do the Business. 'Tis not yet the Fashion, for Women of Quality to Tilt. Now though they can hate one another pretty heartily; though their Humours are full as Nice, and their Passions as Strong, as those of the other Sex; yet the sense of Decency is sufficient to keep them from coarse Language, and rude Provocations.

Philot. However, Misunderstandings will happen sometimes. And when they do, it does not become Gentlemen to manage them like lesser People. Their Revenges must be particular; as well as the rest of their Breeding. It looks as oddly for them to Quarrel, as to Salute, like a Clown.

Philal. So that I perceive if Butchers had but the Manners to go to *Sharps*, Gentlemen would be contented with a Rubber at Cuffs. If they must be singular in their Disputes, let it be for the better I beseech you. Let us not be so Vain, as to think it a Commendation to be more Unreasonable in our Demands, and more Savage in our Resentments than the Meanest, and most

Undisciplined. If they must run counter to the Vulgar in every thing, I wonder they don't leave off Swearing, Drinking, &c. These, by their Assistance, are grown *Plebeian Vices*: Insomuch that Porters and Footmen, are as perfect in them as themselves.

Philot. I grant you, Clowns may Box it off, and be quiet; this way of Satisfaction is agreeable enough to their little Pretensions. But the Honour of a Gentleman must have other sort of Damages.

Philal. If the Dispute was between Peasant and Gentleman, you would say something, though not enough. But you know a Gentleman is not obliged, to Fight another who is not so. Now where the Condition of the disobliged is Equal, at least to the Degree of Gentlemen; why should the Affront be counted so Mortal an Injury? I know no reason for this, unless you will say, That Men of Quality are obliged to be more Bloody and Implacable; and to carry their Passions to greater heights of Fury, than other People. But this Plea proves them really less, not greater than the common Size of Mankind; and is far wide of the true Character of Honour. If Quality consists in such Sallies as these are; Tigers and Fiends may put in for a considerable Share.

Philot.

Philot. If this way of deciding Quarrels among Gentlemen were peculiar to our Age or Country, your Reasoning would have more force; but we have almost a general prescription of Time and Place against you.

Philal. Not so General as may be brought for the Heathen Religion, or the *Alcoran*; and yet I hope you will not plead in Defence of either of these. To give you an Instance near home. The *French* you know are far from being an inconsiderable Nation. Their Nobility are as numerous, and their Pretensions as well supported; they have as much Fire in their Tempers, and as much Regard for their Honour, as any of their Neighbours: Notwithstanding this, you see the Practice of Duelling is absolutely suppressed; and they are all contented to refer their Grievances to the Government.

Philot. The *French* King takes more care to Right a Gentleman's Honour, than is done with us; which makes the Case different.

Philal. Particular Satisfaction for every Affront in Conversation cannot be Awarded by *Stated Laws*; the Circumstances are too many to be brought within a Rule. A Prince must be little less than Absolute to do this effectually. Now

such a Stretch of Prerogative, would be agreeable neither to the *English* Genius, nor *Constitution*. And is it not a hard Case, that we must either Deliver up all our Property to the Crown; or our Lives to every ungovernable Passion and Caprice?

Farther. You may remember, that the Subject holds his Honour and Estate by no other Tenure than the Laws. What a monstrous Injustice; what an Ingratitude; what an insufferable Pride must it then be, for private Men to erect a Magistracy of their own; to *Judge* and *Execute* in Matters of Life and Death; and to *Hang* and *Draw* within themselves? If the Subjects may set the Laws aside with so little Ceremony, and make Supplemental Provisions at Discretion, the significancy of Government will be unintelligible. If Authority may be slighted in an Instance of so high a Nature, why not in a hundred? And when the *Fences* are thus broken down, Peace and Property Good-night!

Philot. Your mentioning the *French*, puts me in mind of the old *Romans*; they were a very Brave People: Pray what was their Practice in the Case; for I have almost forgot it?

Philal. Not at all for your Purpose. 'Tis true, there was a Sort of Duelling among them, as that of the *Horatii*, and *Curatii*; of *Manlius Torquatus*, and the *Gaul* that Challenged the Army. But then there was a Difference in the Persons and Occasion. These Duellists were Enemies, Subjects of different Princes, a Sort of Fighting *Representatives*, chosen like *David* and *Goliath*, to Decide the Controversy of the Field. At least the Contest was allowed by Publick Authority; and undertaken upon the Score of their Country. But as for one Subject's cutting another's Throat about private Disputes, they were perfect Strangers to these Methods of Justice. When *Milo* killed *Clodius* upon the Road, though there was no such Thing as a Challenge; though *Tully* proves it no more than a *Rencounter*; yet because there was a former Misunderstanding between them; neither the *Rhetorick* of the *Council*, nor the Bravery of the *Prisoner*, could prevent the *Sentence*.

Philot. After all; you cannot deny but that the present Custom has prevailed for several Ages.

Philal. So have a great many other ill Things besides. There is scarcely any Extravagance so singular as to want a Precedent. But Custom without Reason, is no

better than ancient Error. And now since you press your Prescription, I shall trace it to the Original. Now the Practice of Subjects Righting themselves by the Sword, was introduced by the *Lombards*, *Saxons*, and *Normans*. A People, who possibly at that Time of Day, had not Brains to decide the Matter any other Way. For how much soever they may be of Kin to us, we must own they were a very unpolish'd Sort of Mortals; and why should we be tied up to the Dictates of Paganism and Ignorance? If a Man's House, and Habit, and Eating, was not better than theirs; he would not be thought to have much of the Spirit of a Gentleman. If we are bound to implicit Submission; if we are to follow Antiquity, without any Exceptions of Judgment; Why don't we feed upon *Mast*, and lodge in *Caves*, and go almost *Naked*? And to come nearer our Northern Ancestors; Why don't we Vindicate our selves by *Trial Ordeal*; Bath our Innocence in *Scalding Water*; and hop over *Heated Ploughshares* Blindfold?

Farther, We may observe, that the Barbarity of this Custom was somewhat restrained, and bound up to certain Forms of Law. The Occasion was generally Considerable: Either for wiping off Imputations of *Treason*, or prosecuting Appeals of *Murder*,

Murther, or trying Titles of Land. As for the Disputes of *Sharpers*, of Bottles, Dice, and Wenches, we don't read of any Provisions made for the Honour of such Sparks, and Diversions as these. We may observe,

Secondly, That the Men were just come off from Heathenism; and very undisciplined in Life. Their Reason was in the *Oar*; and their Understanding as low as their Morals. This Condition of Things, made their Princes either mislead or indulge them. They had Authority to misguide their Conscience, to encourage their Revenge; and in some Measure to excuse it. The *Writ of Combate* was made out in the King's Courts; and the whole Manage of the Quarrel under the Direction of the Government. 'Twas none of their Way to be kill'd in Hugger-mugger; and steal a Stabbing as they do now. (*Cotton. posthum.*)

Thirdly, If they Fought without Publick Allowance, and any Person fell in the Quarrel, the Survivers were apprehended and tryed for *Murther*.

Fourthly, These *Combats*, though governed by these Restrictions, and under the Countenance of Law, were always Condemned by the *Censure* of the Church.

Philot. Do you think then, they are not capable of Regulation?

Philal.

Philal. No more than Adultery. This Practice is *Malum in se* ; and an ill Thing cannot be done within a Rule. 'Tis a strong Poyson, it must be Expelled ; for all the Cooking in Nature will ne'er make Diet on't. 'Tis true, there are Degrees in Deformity, as well as Beauty ; and therefore some Cases may be more remarkable than others. For the Purpose ; when a Gentleman of Estate Fights an indigent Bully, who possibly knows no more how to live in this World, than he does in the next. This Man is angry to see his Neighbour in easy Circumstances. And when it Comes once to this ; The Strength of his Malice, and the Opinion of his Skill, will pick a Quarrel from a slender Occasion. Now should I desire him to get an answerable Fortune before the *Glove* comes : To make the Hazards of the Combat Equal, their Pockets as well as their Weapons, should be in some Measure adjusted. To throw down a few Farthings, and make a Noise to have them covered with Gold ; would be absurd in a *Wager* : And a Man must be very Weak to accept it. And if Life be either valuable to Keep, or dangerous to Lose, one would think the Parallel should Hold. This venturing All against Nothing, puts me in mind of *Mark Anthony*, who after he had lost the Battel at *Actium*,
and

and was Pinned up in *Alexandria*, would needs send *Augustus* a Challenge. *Cæsar's* Answer was, *That if he was weary of Living, there was other Ways of Dispatch besides Fighting him; And for his part, he should not trouble himself to be his Executioner.* *Anthony*, I suppose, thought the Return reasonable; and in a short Time did his own Business.

Philot. I confess as you have represented the Case, it looks oddly enough.

Philal. I will give you one that's more odd, if you call it so. I mean the Mystery of *Seconds*, and *Thirds*.

This is such a Masterpiece; that I think no Description can reach it. These Underpullers in Distraction, are such implicit Mortals as are not to be matched upon any other Occasion: A perfect Stranger shall Engage them at the first Word. To ask Questions would be ungentile. On they go without any Acquaintance, either with the Man, or the Matter. A most honourable Undertaking, to Fight about they know not what; for, and against, they know not whom! So that for ought they can tell, they may be under the Pious Necessity of Murthering their Father.

Philot. However, you can't say there is any *Malice Prepence*.

Philal.

Philal. Right! There is nothing *Prepence*; neither Malice nor Reason. But for all that, I don't like a Man that can hate at first Sight; and kill *Extempore*?

Philot. You mistake; a *Second* is not angry. He only engages in Complaisance to his *Principal*.

Philal. So much the worse; because it argues the greater Contempt of human Kind. For my Heart, I can't understand a Combatant that can kill in cool Blood: and shew the utmost Effects of Rage without Passion! 'Tis a Sign his common Temper is as bad as the Malice, and Provocations of other People. This Stoical Improvement, is the Philosophy of a Butcher. It makes a *Beast* of an Enemy; and knocks him down with as little Concern as if he were an Ox.

Philot. To requite you for your extraordinary Instances, I will give you a pretty tough one on the other Side. If a Souldier refuses a Challenge from another, he will not only be counted a Coward; but in all Likelihood, Cashiered into the Bargain.

Philal. The Case is hard, I confess, but not yours; for you are none of the *Military List*. To those who may be concerned, I answer;

1. You know the Challenger is punished as well as the Challenged; which Discipline

pline will prevent the Case from being Common. But when it does happen, it may be replied in the

Second Place, That he who professes Arms, may prove his Courage by more defensible Instances. His former Behaviour in the Field, is oftentimes sufficient to wipe off an Asperion of Cowardise.

Thirdly, If he is not furnished with Proof this Way: Let him desire his Superior Officer, that the next time he is drawn out, the Challenger may be Posted near him; And then would I heartily convince him, and the Enemy to boot, that I wanted no Resolution. If a Man miscarries in such a Tryal, he may justify himself to his Reason. He dyes in his *Calling*; and if nothing else hinders, he may look the other World in the Face.

Philot. But a Souldier may sometimes wait a long while for such an Opportunity of purging himself: And would you have him starved, and laughed at, in the mean Time?

Philal. Let him remember he is a Christian, as well as a Souldier; and that he was first *Listed* under God Almighty.

Now a Man of Honour will rather starve, than be false to a solemn Engagement. And where the Cause is just, he is to be commended for his Constancy. And if

if Interest strikes in too, 'tis not only Criminal, but Weakness to Desert it.

As for the Point of Contempt, let him return it with Pity : 'Tis no Dishonour to be undervalued by those who want either Understanding, or Conscience; or both. If bare Contempt without Reason is so terribly Significant, a Fool would be better than a Philosopher; a Slave than an Empeurour; provided the first had but the Insolence to Scorn the latter.

Philot. For all that, you will have a great many against you.

Philal. So there are a great many Sheep; but I think ne'er the Wiser for their Number.

Philot. Do you think then this Custom is so absolutely forbidden by Religion?

Philal. I am surpris'd one Baptized should put the Question! In earnest, I believe this Notion of Honour as much an Idol, as *Nebuchadnezar's Golden Image* : 'Tis set up by the same Interest; and probably has done more Mischief.

Philot. If it be so, the *Metal* must be good; according to your own Comparison.

Philal. Yes. But the Worship is stark naught; and less to be chosen than the *Fiery Furnace*. 'Tis great Pity so much good *Blood* should be offered at it. That Men who
have

have such Opportunities for Sense, should be entangled in so monstrous an Absurdity! That those who might be the Ornament of their Age, and Defence of their Country, should make themselves a Misfortune to both!

Philot. I believe the Danger of the Adventure makes them think it honourable.

Philal. Look you! To risque the *Main* without Reason or Warrant, is Rashness: 'Tis to be more Stupid than Brave. If a Man should leap a *Garret*, or vault down the *Monument*; do you imagine he would leave the *Memory* of a Hero behind him?

Philot. Methinks 'tis fine to seem above the Impressions of Fear; and to Flash in the Face of Danger.

Philal. I grant you, Fortitude is a very valuable Quality. But then it must be under the Conduct of Prudence and Justice: Without this Assistance, the best Event will prove Ruinous; and the Victory it self a *Defeat*.

Philot. You mean Religion will not endure the Duelling Principle.

Philal. No more than all the *Heresies* since *Simon Magus*. 'Tis a Principle so full of Pride, and Passion, and Revenge; so Tempestuous and Absurd: so absolutely unallied to Reason and Good-nature; that polisht Heathenism would be asham'd
on't.

on't. In a Word, 'Tis as contrary to the Tendency and Temper of Christianity, as *Hob's Creed* is to the *Apostles*; as Light is to Darkneſs, as God is to the Devil.

Philot. 'Tis a hard Matter to part with the Character of a Gentleman.

Philal. Fear it not. As long as the Laws are on our Side, the Heraldry is all ſafe. And if it were otherwiſe, let us remember we are Chriſtians. If there happens a Competition between theſe two Pretentions; let us drop the Gentleman and keep the Chriſtian; for he is a Perſon of the beſt Quality.

Philot. Say you ſo?

Philal. Yes. I ſay a Chriſtian and no Gentleman, is more a Perſon of *Condition*, than a Gentleman and no Chriſtian. The former is more nobly *Related*, born to a greater *Fortune*, and better Founded in perſonal Merit.

Philot. You ſay ſomething. I wiſh you would enlarge upon this Head.

Philal. You know my Buſineſs is not Preaching; any Divine will give you Satisfaction.

Philot. Upon ſecond Thoughts, they need not: A little of the *Bible* will do it without them. To ſpeak frankly, I am ſo well ſatisfied upon the whole, that I am reſolved to take no notice of my Spark; but

I am afraid he will Post me up for a Coward, and how then?

Philal. I would mind it no more than the Railing of a Fever, or a *Proclamation* from *Bedlam*.

Philot. I shall take your Advice. But I must tell you withall, That if he *draws* upon me in the Streets, I will not be so passive as to let the Sun shine through me, if I can help it.

Philal. I have nothing to say as to that. But then you should wish the Occasion may never happen; and keep your Resolution to your self. For to give out this Sort of Language, looks too like a Provocation: And if you should be so unfortunately set upon, be sure you keep within the Compass of Self-defence.



O F

GENERAL KINDNESS.

T H E F I F T H

CONFERENCE

B E T W E E N

Philotimus and Philaethes.

Philot. **W**HAT false, humour-
some, insipid Creatures
are Men ! Sure these are
none of the best Things God ever made !
Upon the Whole, I think one might as
good disband, and turn Hermit, as be trou-
bled with them any longer. I begin now
to understand the Conduct of the first *Monks* ;
but believe their *History* misreported. They
fled the Persecution of Mandkind, more
than that of a single Tyrant. They pre-
fer'd the Wilderness to the Town ; and
found their Safety and their Satisfaction
better secured in *Solitude*, than *Society*. For
a wild Beast does not pretend above his
Order ; and is so frank as to discover his De-

sign : But a Man is a Beast ; and yet has not the Modesty to own it. Hah ! Here is *Philaletes*, he has over-heard me : In earnest, I shall be called to an Account for my Expostulations !

Philal. What Mr. *Hob's* Ghost ! No less than a Satyr upon your whole Kind ? I'm not sorry I have interrupted your Soliloquies, except they had been better natured.

Philot. I did not think you had been so near : But since you have catched me, give me leave to tell you, I know the World, and upon Experiment I find, there is not one in forty without Design, or Vanity, in their Conversation. Pray peruse your Acquaintance well, and if you don't discover some *Flaw* in their Honesty, or their Humour, I'm much mistaken.

Philal. Are not you a Man, *Philotimus* ?

Philot. What then ?

Philal. Then, by your own Confession, 'tis forty to one but that some Part of the disagreeable Character belongs to your self.

Philot. However, you know Odds will not win Wagers ; Difficulties are not Demonstrations ; 'tis unreasonable to argue from Improbabilities against Matter of *Fact*.

Fact. If I find my self Well ; if my Constitution, or my Care, is my *Preservative*, you must not charge the *Plague* upon me ; because I converse with *Epidemical* Infection.

Philal. You are resolved to keep *Well* with your self : I doubt not but in Time your good Opinion will reach your Neighbours : They may, to use your own Similitude, be as free from *Contagion* as your self : And if they are seized, the *Plague* is not always *Mortal*. Besides, it might have been your own Case. So that all things considered, I hope you will not *Mark* the *House* upon bare Suspicion : And when the *Tokens* appear, you will pity their Condition ; and endeavour their *Recovery*.

Philot. To deal freely, I shall take Care of my self, and so I suppose will every body else that is wise. For that which People call *Universal Benevolence*, is but a Piece of *Knight Errantry* : it looks prettily in a *Romance* ; but in *Life*, 'tis neither prudent, nor practicable.

Philal. Do you think it so impracticable an Absurdity to wish all People well ; and endeavour to make them so ?

Philot. What of all Perswasions, Countries, Tempers, and Conditions, whatsoever ?

Philal. Yes. We comprehend all Mankind in the *League*.

Philot. You have a notable Grasp: I dare not strain my Inclinations at that Rate. I love to keep fair with the World as well as you; but it may be upon different Reasons. In a Word, I take Civility to be only a Compliance with the Mode; Friendship but another Name for Trade; all Mercenary and Designing. Indeed considering the State of humane Affairs, 'tis next to impossible to be otherwise. Where there is so much of Indigence, Competition, and Uncertainty, you must expect Self-interest will govern. You may observe, That which You call *Good Nature*, is most remarkable in the Young and Unexperienced. Such Persons I confess are often very Lavish of their Favours, and Caressing in their Conversation: But these Blandishments seem only designed for a State of Impotence; that what they can't carry by Force and Foresight, they may obtain by Flattery. Like unfledged Birds, they are fond of every one, that they may be *Fed* the better. And where this Reason fails, that which I am going to add will supply it.

Philal. What is that?

Philot. Why, young People generally don't Think so far as others, nor consider a Necessity at a Distance: This often makes
them

them more Liberal than Wise. They are apt to be over-credulous at first Setting out; and cannot so well see through Artifice and Pretence: So that 'tis no Wonder if they bestow their Inclinations too freely upon their Neighbours.

Philal. This early Disposition to *Oblige*, appears to me an Impression of Nature, which was intended for Continuance: For as the Use and Posture of the *Limbs* hold the same in Manhood as they were in Infancy; so one would think the Motions of the Mind should be set Right at first. And therefore when good Humour happens to wear off with *Age*, it seems to proceed from Mismanagement; and looks more like a Degeneracy of Nature, than an Improvement of Reason. If you please to hear me, I shall endeavour to prove *Universal Benevolence* both an acknowledged, and a practicable Disposition.

Philot. Pray begin.

Philal. My first Argument then shall be drawn from Community of Nature. We are all cast in the same *Mould*, allied in our Passions, and in our Faculties: We have the same Desires to satisfy, and generally the same Pleasure in satisfying of them. All Mankind is as it were one great *Being*, divided into several Parts; every Part having the same Properties and Affections with an-

other. Now as we can't chuse but desire Accommodations for our own Support and Pleasure; so if we leave Nature to her Original Biass, if we hearken to the undepraved Suggestions of our Minds, we shall wish the same Conveniences to others. For the apprehending a Being so like our own, in prosperous Circumstances, must be an Advancement of our selves: By this we see as it were our own Nature pleased, and Flourishing in another. And thus much Mr. *Hobs* himself confesses to the Ruin of his Cause, *That the Sense of having communicated Satisfaction is naturally Delightful.*

Philot. But will this Notion spread wide enough to do any Execution?

Philal. Yes. For if a Man can but disengage himself from the Excesses of Self-love, in a single Instance, he does the Business. If he can but wish well to another, without making Interest the only Motive, he may be generous enough to take all Mankind into his Affections. For he that can do it to one, without any mercenary View, may for the same Reason do it to a Million. 'Tis but repeating the Action, where for his Encouragement, the Pleasure will be likewise repeated.

Philot. You are going too fast. The different Capacities and Behaviour of Men, will leave your Repetition neither Sense,

nor Possibility : For to love Insignificancy is Dotage ; and seldom passes any farther than Children or *Relations*.---

Philal. For all that ; one may wish a poor Man an Estate ; or a Fool Understanding ; There is no unconquerable Aversion, nor so much as any Difficulty in these things.

Philot. I say farther ; to love malicious, and disobliging Qualities, is impossible.

Philal. If those Qualities were inseparable from the *Object*, I grant your Meaning : But where Malice is only *Accidental*, and Reformation possible, the Case is otherwise. A Physician may have a Kindness for the *Patient*, without being fond of the *Disease*.

Philot. To illustrate your Distinction. If a Man gives me a sower Box on the Ear ; I may love the *Hand*, though I don't like the *Blow*. I assure you he that can thus abstract the Affront from the Person that gives it ; and take off a Cuff so metaphysically, is very much a Philosopher.

Philal. If you are not satisfied, I'll consider your Objection farther afterwards. At present I shall go on to a second Proof, That Universal Benevolence is agreeable to humane Nature ; unless you have a Mind to interpose.

Philot. Not just now. Take your Method.

Philal. I prove my Point, from that *Compassion* which generally follows any considerable Misfortune. This Civility is so very common, and so much expected, that those who are unconcerned at the Troubles of another, are called *Inhumane, i. e.* They are degenerated from their Kind; and don't deserve the Name of Men. And does it not plainly follow, That those who are thus sensibly Touched, must have a real Kindness for the Unfortunate?

Philot. I think not. For *Compassion* is but the Consequence of Infirmity; and bottom'd upon Self-love. We are affected with what another suffers; because this puts us in mind we are not secure our selves. And when our Neighbour's Calamity discovers more than the Possibility of our own, 'tis no Wonder if we are somewhat uneasy.

Philal. I grant you, *Compassion* may be sometimes accounted for, as you say: But then 'tis a Mistake to suppose it can come from no other Cause. For 'tis easy to observe, That the most generous Dispositions are the most *Compassionate*. Such Persons, though their Fortune is never so well Guarded; though the Greatness of their Mind exempts them from Fear, and makes them least concerned for any Accident of their own, yet none condole and sympathise more heartily than they. 'Tis plain therefore,

fore, that this Pity and Tenderneſs, being ſo void of Self-Intereſt, muſt proceed from Good-will.

Philot. Go on. I ſhall come in with you by and by.

Philal. I affirm then in the

Third place, That 'tis not agreeable to the Attributes of God to ſuppoſe, that he has made the Nature of Man ſuch, that according to his Original Inclinations, he ſhould be unconcerned about the Happineſs of his Neighbour.

Philot. Why ſo?

Philal. Becauſe, this would be a Reflection, both upon the Goodneſs and Wiſdom of God Almighty.

Philot. Prove the Parts of your Aſſertion.

Philal. I. This ſuppoſition is repugnant to the Goodneſs of God. For can we imagine that God; who is Infinite Goodneſs himſelf; who made all rational Creatures that they might be Happy? Can we imagine that he ſhould contradict the Affections of his own Bleſſed Nature; and form a *Being* wholly unlike himſelf? A *Being* which he would not only hate as ſoon as it was made; but, which is more, he could impute his Diſlike to nothing but his own Workmanſhip? But if either out of Indifferency, or Diſaffection, 'twas contrary to the Nature of Man to wiſh the

Hap-

Happiness of another; he must be such a Thing as I have described. And is it possible to conceive, That Goodness and Perfection can be the Parent of so unlovely an Off-spring? That the over-flowing Generousness of the Divine Nature, would create immortal Beings with mean or envious Principles? To be thus furnish'd, would make them both Miserable and Troublesome; Neither acceptable to this World, nor fit for the other.

Philot. These Inclinations you so much dislike are very common; therefore if they don't come from *Above*, you must find them out some other Original.

Philal. That will be done without Difficulty. To begin; The Reason which hinders Men from wishing the Happiness of others, proceeds sometimes from the Prejudices of Education; from the ill Examples and Flatteries of those they first conversed with; and sometimes 'tis afterwards contracted by their own Fault. The general Cause of this Depravation, is Covetousness, and Pride.

1. An immoderate Love of Money spoils those generous Dispositions they were sent into the World with. It confines their Affections to their *Pockets*, and shrinks up their Desires into the narrow and scandalous Compass of their own Concerns.

Their

Their Nature is so impoverish'd by their ill Management, that they are not able to spare one kind Wish from themselves; nor expend one generous Thought in Favour of another.

Philot. The Case is somewhat worse than you have represented it. People don't always keep within the Terms of Neutrality. They are not contented to forbear Wishing well; but are oftentimes averse to the Happiness of others.

Philal. Right. When Pride strikes in, that is the Consequence. This Vice makes Men think their Neighbours Advantage prejudicial to their own; and that the greatest Pleasure is to see others beneath them. Such an ill-natured Notion as this, made *Lucifer* uneasy, and envious in Heaven; and we know what was the Issue. Far be it from us to suppose, that God would stamp such Ignoble, such Apostatizing Qualities upon any rational Being. These would not be the *Image* of the Deity, but the Devil.

Philot. In my Opinion, *Self-love* seems the best Expedient to secure *Individuals*. By such a Bent of Nature, a Man will be sure to take Care of one; and not leave his Business to the Generosity of his Neighbours.

Philal.

Philal. If every one could stand upon his own Legs, what you say would have a better Colour. However, your Objection leads me to shew you, That it reflects upon the *Wisdom* of God, to suppose Men made with such narrow inconvertible Inclinations: For by this Temper they would be unfit for *Society*. But God has design'd Man a *sociable* Creature. To this End, he has sent him into the World weak, and defenceless; so that without the Care of others, 'tis impossible for him to Subsist. And when he is best able to Shift, if he had no Assistance or Converse but his own; the Indigence of his Nature would make him very uneasy, and ill supplied.

Now there is nothing so strongly cements Society; nothing makes it flower, and flourish so much, as a hearty Regard to the Publick Good. 'Tis *general Kindness* and Good-will, which establishes the Peace, and promotes the Prosperity of a People: To say, this *Disposition* keeps Men just and inoffensive, is too mean a Commendation. It improves their Practice much higher; and makes them Munificent and Obliging. Without this Virtue, the Publick Union must unloose; the Strength decay; and the Pleasure grow faint and languid. And can we suppose, that God would underfurnish Man for the State he designed him;

him ; and not afford him a Soul large enough to pursue his Happiness? That he should give him *Solitary* Principles ; and yet intend him for Publick Converse? Create him so, that he shall naturally Care for nothing but himself ; and at the same time, make his interest depend upon mutual Affection, and good Correspondence with others? Is it imaginable, that such a Comprehensive Wisdom ; which has made all things in *Number, Weight, and Measure* ; secured the Preservation of *Brutes*, by Instinct and Sympathy ; and made so fair a Provision for the inferiour World ; Is it to be conceived, I say, that so glorious a *Providence* should not proportion the Faculties of his Noblest Creatures ; but send them into *Being* with Inclinations unsuitable to the Condition they must necessarily be placed in?

Philot. Under Favour, there are other *Materials* for a Commonwealth, besides *stark Love and Kindness* ; and I believe the Building might last, without tempering the Mortar with *Honey*. What do you say to the Fear of receiving *Harm* ; and the Hopes of Assistance? These are the Motives of Self-love ; and I think sufficient to make Men Just? and Willing to do a good Turn.

Philal. Truly I think not. I grant you, these Motives are not insignificant : They have
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have an Interest in Life; but not enough to push it to Perfection; and secure its Happiness. For first, They will not restrain a secret Mischief; which considering the unfortified State of Mankind, is a great Defect. Besides, the Agreeableness of Society must be lost this way. 'Tis Inclination and Endearment, that gives Life and Pleasure. But when People have nothing but Fears, and Jealousies, and Plots in their Heads, there is no *Musick* in their Company. And farther, I would gladly know, how these scanty Principles can explain, Why Men should die for their Friends; and sacrifice their Interest for their Country, without Necessity? By the Maxims of Self-love, such Actions as these must be foolish and unnatural: And yet those who are thus forgetful of themselves, have been always reckon'd the Noblest, and best Deserving.

Philot. You forgot that there is such a thing as Honour and vain Glory in the World. This is the Bait that catches the Men you speak of: 'Tis the Reputation of the Action that fires their Spirits; and makes them so Prodigal, and Resigning.

Philal. In earnest, you are catched your self! Your Objection supposes the Truth of what I am contending for. It supposes, That Benevolence and Generosity are possessed of the publick Esteem; That they have Custom
and

and *Prescription* on their side; That they are the highest Improvements of the Will; the most admired and Heroick Qualities. Now 'tis very strange, so universal a Consent should be founded in a Mistake; and none but Mr. *Hobs*, and some few of his Discipling, should, understand the Operations of their own Minds; and the right Constitutions of them.

Philot. Well! If this World won't satisfy you, the other shall. I say then, That the Fear of *invisible Powers*, and the Expectations of future Punishments, are sufficient to keep Men upon their *good Behaviour*; to be a Check upon their Privacies; and make them Honest at Midnight. And yet after all, they may have no great Stomach to the Matter. 'Tis the *Rod*, not the Inclination, which learns the *Lesson*.

Philal. I grant you the Disciplining Part of Religion is very significant. However, it would not give a sufficient Relief in this Case.

Philot. Why so?

Philal. Because, upon your Supposition, the Force of it would be lost. For if the Nature of Man was averse to *general Kindness*; if he could not chuse but think it unreasonable, to love any Body but himself; then God in Commanding him to Love his Neighbour, would oblige him to an Im-

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possibility.

possibility. We might as well be commanded to taste Gall as sweet as Honey: For 'tis as much in our Power, to alter the *Perceptions* of our Senses, as to love any thing contrary to our Reason and Inclination. Upon this Supposition therefore no Man could have an inward Affection for his Neighbour; which yet 'tis certain we are obliged to have.

Philot. If I am used well, I'll ne'er trouble my self about what People think. If they always act like Friends, they may *wish* like Enemies, if they please.

Philal. Have a Care! If they are not so *within*, they will not be long so *without*. For if we had a kind of Antipathy against minding any thing but our selves: If we thought our own Interest prejudiced, or our Quiet embarrassed by being concerned for Others; in this Case, all Offices of Humanity and Obligation, would be so many Acts of Penance. And since the Opportunities of Obliging return so fast; to be commanded the Use of them, would make our Lives almost a perpetual Torment. It would be like feeding upon that we naturally abhor; which instead of Nourishing, would throw us into *Sweats* and *Convulsions*. And at this rate, a Kindness would often be a greater Mischief to the Doer, than a Benefit to the Receiver. The Upshot is,
That

That if the Mind of Man was naturally averse from Wishing well to any thing but himself, the Command of *general Benevolence* would be impossible to be entertain'd in Principle, and Affection. And as for the Counterfeit in outward Practice, that would be such a Grievance to ill Nature, that very few would submit to it. For if Men are so unreasonable, as not to be governed by Religion now, when 'tis both Profitable and Pleasant; of how little force would it be, should it lie almost wholly in Violence and Aversion? If Envy, and Ill-Nature, were the Natural Frame and Complexion of the Mind, Religion would signify not much towards Reformation; so that *Society* could receive but small advantage from thence.----

Philot. Hold! Don't cry Victory; I have a Reserve for you. Besides, you owe me some Satisfaction to an old Objection.

Philal. What's that?

Philot. I told you, that the Injuriousness and the Vanity of a great part of the World was such, That general Kindness, if it came down from Speculation to Practice, would be quickly out of Doors. I confess, if we could stand clear of the *Troublesome* and the *Treacherous*, I could be as Good-Natured as the best of you. But alas, we are in *face Romuli*; and that's enough to Stir any Man's

Spleen, that has either his Understanding, or his Senses about him.

Philal. You find Coldness and Disaffection very general; and thence you argue from *Fact* to Necessity. 'Tis so therefore it must be so. Under favour, that's no Consequence. I suppose that you'll grant, that Men don't act always up to the stretch of their Capacities: And that 'tis possible for them to be much more Prudent, Benign, an Inoffensive, than they are.

Philot. What then! Would you have a Man a Stock; must he not be sensible of ill Usage?

Philal. Look you, all ill Usage proceeds from Ignorance, and Disorder of Mind. Those that give it are the greatest Sufferers. They destroy their own Happiness more than ours. And under this Notion, they will deserve our Compassion much better than our Hatred: Our Charity will take them in as naturally as *Bedlam*. 'Tis true, there may be some degrees of difference in the Distraction; but that is all. And as we may Wish, we may likewise Attempt their Welfare: Not only out of Pity, and common Alliance; but also from the Prospect of a Return.

Philot. How so?

Philal. Why, by our Kindness we shall either Reform the injurious Person, or not;
if

if we do, the ground of our Dislike is gone; and we have made him more commodious for our purpose; If we are disappointed, we shall have the satisfaction of doing Good against Evil; which as 'tis the most Divine Quality, so to maintain it, the Pleasure is proportionably raised. There is a secret Triumph, and Exultation of Spirit, upon such an Occasion. There is no One that acts in this manner, who does not inwardly applaud himself for it; which is as much as to say, God bids him go on.

Philot. If we may be Kind to those we believe our Enemies: If we can fall in Love with Malice and Opposition; then by parity of Reason, we may court undisguised Ruin, and hate our Selves.

Philal. If by Kindness you mean Pity and good Wishes, I think it very practicable to go thus far with an Enemy; but if you enlarge your Sense to Complacency and Affection, I grant it Impossible. Besides, there is no need of winding up the String thus high: We are not obliged to be pleased with those that do us Mischief; the Goodness of God himself does not proceed thus far. For tho' he is kind to the *Unthankful*, and the *Evil*; and *desires* the *Conversion* of a *Sinner*; yet he does not delight in him while he continues such.

Philot. When you have made the most of it, I foresee this Latitudinarian Love will be expensive; and therefore, I would gladly be farther informed what is to be gotten by it.

Philal. Very much. In good earnest, this Quality is well worth the Courting; 'tis valuable in *Fortune*, as well as in Beauty and *Humour*. 'Twill make a Man an Interest in the World. It removes Difficulties, and smoothes the Passages for Business; and like the Marriage of Princes, there is Policy as well as Pleasure in the *Alliance*. You know the Trade of Life can't be driven without *Partners*; There is a reciprocal Dependance between the *Greatest* and the *Least*. And the best Figure is but a *Cypher*, where it stands alone. For this reason, a wise Man will strengthen the Confederacy; and take in all the Help he can get. Now, there is nothing so engaging as a benevolent Disposition. This Temper makes a Man's Behaviour inoffensive, affable and obliging; it multiplies Friends; and disarms the Malice of an Enemy. He that is Kind out of Principle, will be so to all the Advantages of Decency and Compass. That which is Natural, is Uniform, Constant, and Graceful. Whereas, he who Counterfeits good Nature; he who is civil only out of Breeding or Design, will be apt to have *Breaks*,
and

and Inequalities in his Humour. A Man cannot always stand bent; so that either Negligence or Passion, or Interest, will sometime or other return the Posture; and unmask the Pretence; and then the Labour is all lost. But the natural Complexion of Goodness will hold.

Philot. Yes, till the Man breaks.

Philal. No fear of that. This Quality will do more than Pay for its keeping. Remember, that Power goes in with the Inclinations of Course: Get but Mens Hearts, and their Hands will follow. But to do this, there is nothing more likely than a plausible and obliging Honesty. The Charms of Kindness are irresistible; they Conquer, and Captivate; and return with Spoil and Triumph. Besides, the Assistance that comes from Inclination, is generally safer, and more serviceable, than that which is haled in by Force or Money. He that reigns in the Affections is the happy Prince; for in Love there's neither Treachery nor Desertion. A Man remarkably Obliging, is almost Proof against the most Malicious. They'll be afraid of attacking one so fortified in publick Esteem; and under so sacred a Character. Though his Virtue may be over-look'd, the Infamy of the Action will prevent an Injury.

Philot. Will this Disposition do us any farther Service?

Philal. Yes; our Affection to others gives us a share in their Happiness; and so becomes an Addition to our own. Wishing well, enlarges a Man's Capacity of being Happy: This hinders his Satisfaction from being confined to his private Interest. He is really the better for whatever good his Neighbour enjoys; because every thing of this Nature satisfies his Desires; and gives him that he delights in.

Philot. I warrant you, his Mind is like a Burning-glass! The Rays of good Fortune from all diversities of Points, concenter in his Benevolence; and excite an intense and multiplied Pleasure.

Philal. Yes. And in a great measure make him Master of all the Happiness he sees, or hears of. All prosperous Events, all Improvements of Industry, and Blessings of Providence which he is acquainted with, his excellent Temper gives him an Interest in; for tho' he has not the Possession of these things, he has what is most desirable, the Satisfaction of them. Nay, I believe the generous Congratulation may be improved to exceed the Occasion; and make a Man more happy than those he rejoices for. In this Case, the Laws of Nature
give

give way for the Encouragement of Goodness; the Stream rises higher than the Fountain; and the Rebound is stronger than the First Motion.

Philot. This is a new way of extracting the *Spirit* of Happiness; the Chymistry of a Bee is nothing to it; it sucks the *Sweet*, without impoverishing the *Flower*. Were I Master of this *Secret*, I would not concern my self about laying in the usual Provision for Satisfaction. No, I would rather chuse to be happy at the second hand; that is much the easier way; there the Gains come in a-main, without any Venture. For Instance. I would not trouble my self about getting an Estate; 'twere only Loving a Man dearly that has one; and that will do as well. But the Mischief is, at present I am not a Man of that fortunate Imagination.

Philal. The Power of Thought and Imagination you know is very great; and therefore 'tis Prudent to set them the right way at work.

Philot. Be it so. I shall allow your Argument in some measure; and make my Advantage upon it.

Philal. Which way?

Philot. Why, if kind Wishing and Obliging are such entertaining Actions; If they may be carried up to transport, and
almost

almost sensuality; then your general Benevolence is nothing but a refined sort of Self-love; because it acts upon a foreseen Reward. I told you, *Self*, would be at the Bottom after All.

Philal. So let it, since it has Company. For let me tell you, to be delighted in the Happiness of another, is so far from being Mercenary, that 'tis an infallible Proof of a natural and undissembled Goodness. How can we better demonstrate the reality of our Affections to a Friend, than by rejoicing at his Prosperity? As for the Pleasure which attends so noble a Disposition, the Expectation of that is no Vicious Self-design. For we are allowed to love our Selves, as well as our Neighbour: So that the prospect of being pleased, does not lessen the generosity of the Action, if his Advantage was as sincerely sought, and delighted in, as our own. Therefore by Charity's not *seeking her own*, (which you know is made a part of its Character) is only meant, that it does not seek its own, without a joynt Respect to the Welfare of another. In short, I think the Pleasure of Congratulation is so far from a Fault, that the first Satisfaction ought rather to Create a second; we should be pleased with our Pleasure, because it brings us the good News, that our Minds are rightly disposed.

Philal.

Philot. I confess I am beaten off here; but hope to succeed better in my next Attempt.-----

Philal. In the mean time give me leave to observe, That Envy and Disquiet are uneasy Passions; they fret and exhaust the Spirits. The Mind is as it were Sore, and put to Pain at every turn; which is a fair Intimation, things are not in the Condition they should be.

Philot. And what help is there for all this?

Philal. A kind reconciling Thought is present Remedy. This Balsamick Humour closes the Wound, and scatters the Anguish. Like the Motion of *Restitution*, it returns Nature to her Ease; and sets her in the Posture she was made for.

Philot. I grant you, Benevolence has a healing Quality; and sits very smooth at first. But as the World goes, the Consequences of it are more likely to make us unhappy, than otherwise.

Philal. How so?

Philot. If you look Abroad, you'll find Indigence, and Disappointment, and Vexation, much more Common than Prosperity. Now this Predominancy of Misfortune lies very hard upon *Benevolence*; and makes the kindest People the greatest Sufferers. Their Compassion rises in proportion to their Generosity; their Tenderneſs is more
passive,

passive; which makes a Foreign Calamity strike deeper, and grow more pungent. Having strong Desires to Relieve, but small Abilities to Effect it; their good Nature must needs grow troublesome, because 'twill often make 'em Wish those Things, which they see are impossible to compass. But others who keep their Inclinations at Home, are not so much expos'd to disquiet; because their Passions and Expectations being confin'd to their private Interest, they are concern'd for no Misfortune but their own.

Philal. Supposing what you say would hold, it would be no just Discouragement to Goodness; considering how much it will be rewarded hereafter. But because your Objection relates chiefly to the *Present*, I shall direct my Answer against that Sense; and give it you by Parts.

I affirm therefore, That if a Man does but join Consideration with his Benevolence; if his Understanding be good, as well as his Will, his Affection for the common Welfare will never hurt him. For

I. He will perceive, that the unhappy part of the World is not so numerous as at first it appeared. Those who are of low Condition, tho' they may seem most Deserted, are not the worst provided for. Their Fortune is little, 'tis true; and so generally
are

are their Desires; which makes them want as few things as those whose Possessions are larger. They have the Pleasure of their Senses as well as others; and what is denyed in Variety, is supplied by Labour; which sharpens the Appetite, and strengthens the Constitution.

2. As for those who are real Objects of Compassion, the old Maxim will in great measure relieve them; *Dolor, si gravis brevis si longus levis*. At the worst, Life and Misery will be dispatched e'er long; and then, if they deserve it, they are Happy; as Happy as Goodness can wish.

3. Commiseration has a mixture of Satisfaction, as well as Trouble in it. By this a Man is Conscious he does the Office of a Friend; that he is of a generous and humane Disposition. These Thoughts make the Pleasure of the Sympathy equalize the Trouble; if the Person be not very near, or the Calamity very great, which we are concern'd for.

Philos. There is something in what you say; for I have observ'd, that Women will Weep and Condole with abundance of Tendernefs and Affection: I believe they are pleas'd with the Pomp and Passion of their Sorrow; and think themselves the best Natur'd People in the World for't.

Philal. We should interpret all Signs of good Nature in the fairest Sense. But I shall proceed, and observe:

4. A wise Well-wisher will consider, there is a necessity of Discipline; both to secure the Orderly and reclaim the Evil. Goals and Gibbets are as useful in a State, as great Places, and *Patents of Honour*. Where Goodness is mutable, and Reason unabsolute, there must be Rigour to fence in Duty; and check the Abuse of Liberty. As things stand, 'tis not conceiveable how Providence can Govern without Punishing. Upon this Contemplation, a good Man will no more be disturbed at the Methods of Correction, than by seeing his Friend take unpalatable Physick; which he knows to be proper for his Health. And as for those who are lost beyond Recovery, tho' he wishes 'twere otherwise, yet their Obstinacy does not so deeply Affect him as to make him uneasy.

Philot. Is not such a Sedateness, a Sign of Neglect, and Stoical Indifference?

Philal. Not at all. The Saints above are not afflicted at the Punishment of the damned; and yet they have Charity in Perfection: But your Objection runs into an absurd Inference. It Dilutes the Happiness of the other World; and gives Hell an Influence upon Heaven.

Philot. ..

Philot. I have nothing farther to object; and therefore must be your Profelyte: But if you have any more to say, let's hear it; for a Man can never be too well fortified against Custom

Philal. Yes. *General Kindness* may be recommended from the Nobleness of such a Temper. It springs from a generous Root; and spreads and flourishes upon the best Nourishment imaginable. There's nothing in it that is Mercenary or Fantastical. 'Tis not supported by Chance or Humour; by Flattery or Design: It stands upon its own independant Strength; and holds on through all Opposition. 'Tis above Discouragement and ill Usage; and not so much as checked into Indifferency, by frequent Injury and Provocation. I need say no more for this Virtue than that 'tis the Temper of God. This Truth I shall take for granted. Indeed the Universe proves it; all the Powers and Delights of Nature are standing Evidence: If Omnipotence were in other Hands than Goodness, we should feel terrible Effects on't. Now to resemble God, is the Perfection of Virtue; 'tis doing the wisest, and the Greatest Action in its Kind. To mention but one Advantage, We can't recommend our selves more effectually to God Almighty, than by delighting in the same Actions which he does. Love naturally

rally arises from Likeness of Disposition. Our Imitation of Another, is an unquestioned Proof that we value his Person, and admire his Choice; which lays a kind of an Obligation for a Return. Such a Consent of Wills, such an Uniformity of Desires, does as it were incorporate distinct Essences; and makes us almost the same thing with another; so that as long as he has a Regard for himself, he must have one for us too. By being of the same Temper with God Almighty, we do as it were, engage his Inclinations to make us Happy. While we are thus affected, he can no more be unconcerned about our Welfare, than he can deny himself; or put a neglect upon his own Attributes.-----

Philot. You may please to hold your hand. For I am so far convinced, That unless I am Kind to others, I shall now be forced to fall out with my self.

Philal. May the Impression continue.

Philot. I hope recollecting the Reasons, will make it do so.

Your Servant.

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OF A
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Enquir'd into, &c.

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T O T H E
R E A D E R.

TIS some Years since the Publication of this small Treatise; I am still convinced, the Interest of Religion is not a little concern'd in the Enquiry. The Office lies among Persons who have a great Force upon Custom and Practice: and where the Motion is strong, the Direction should be well secured. 'Tis true, Milton treats the Argument, as he does the King, with great Contempt: But to be ill used by such a Hand, and in such Company, is rather an Honour than otherwise. The Scripture (*says this Man*) owns no such Order; and therefore they must be left to the Examination the Sons of Sceva met with. Bishops or Presbyters we know, and Deacons we know, but what are Chaplains? (*Eiconocl. p. 163.*) He might have answered in his own Words, (*p. 164.*) That they were Household-Priests; and given an Instance from the Old Testament. For there we find, that Micah entertain'd a Levite with Salary and Diet; and after all told him, He should be a Father, and a Priest to him. (*Judg. 17. 10.*) It seems, he did not think

he had hired a Servant with his ten Shekels. As for the Heathen, they had a Modester Sense of Religion, than to rob their Gods of their Ministers; and make them their own. The Roman Emperours were Priests themselves; but had none Belong to them till they were Dead, and Deifyed. Towards the Declension of Philosophy, now and then a grave Pretender was drawn off by the Steams of the Kitchen. Lucian ridicules these Men for their Little Compliances. One of them it seems made his Court to the Lap-dog, to improve his Interest with the Lady. But an envious Foot-man happening to smoak the matter, broke a Jest upon the Favourite, and the Philosopher, and spoil'd All. But these Sages don't come strictly within the Question. They were only Seculars; and entertain'd upon the Score of Learning, not Religion.

In the Church, the Business of a Chaplain seems not of the highest Antiquity. In the first Ages, the Clergy were supported by their Bishop; and generally lived under his Observation. (Can. Apost.) And afterwards when they removed from the Mother Church, They had Titles, i. e. Cures assigned them; much larger than single Families. The first Chaplain I meet with, was one Majorinus; a very unfortunate Person. He lived in the Reign of Dioclesian: And was Ordained by the Donatists, for the See of Carthage; against the Catholick

tholick Bishop Cæcilian. He was set up and Countenanced by his Patroness Lucilla, a high Spirited Lady; who refused Communion with Cæcilian, for being Reproved by Him when he was Arch-deacon. (Optat. Lib. 1. cont. Parmen.) However, by the Story, Majorinus might be no more than a Reader in the Family; who in the Custom of those Times, was less than a Sub-deacon.

The wrong Use the Rich Laity might make of the Indigence or Ambition of these Household Clergy, was I suppose, the Reason why the Second Council of Orange (Can. 9. held Ann. 533.) allow'd no Priest to Reside with Secular Persons, without the Bishop's Leave.

Dr. Heylin Reports (Cypr. Ang.) " That Bishop Laud observed, the Interest of " the Church prejudiced by the great Increase of " Chaplains in the Houses of private Gentle- " men. To prevent this Inconvenience, and some others, King Charles the First published his Instructions to Archbishop Abbot, An. 1629. containing Orders to be executed by the Bishops in the Province of Canterbury. The Instructions were comprehended in ten Articles. The seventh enjoyns, That the Bishops suffer none under Noble-men, and Men Qualified by Law, to have any private Chaplain in his House.

I have mentioned these Instances, to shew the Difficulty of the Office. 'Tis a nice Under-

taking; and requires a more than ordinary Sufficiency. And therefore an Unexperienced, Unballasted Divine, must be an improper Missionary. 'Twere well if he understood Something of Men and Things; if he was furnished both with Matter and Form; and rather Brought his Education, than Received it. For a Disadvantage in the Beginning of Business, is not easily overcome. There should be Vigilance in Conversation, a Sweetness of Temper, an Unaffected Piety, and a noble Contempt of Interest. And since the Clergy thus engaged, are more Numerous than formerly, they should manage with the greater Care. For when the Priesthood is misunderstood, Religion must decline of Course. And when Religion is gone, we have lost the best Support of this Life, as well as the other. This Reasoning must be allowed, by those who are not sunk below the Doctrines of Providence. Indeed, if a Man sets up for a Sceptick, I don't expect the Argument should Relish: But the Opinion of such Judges is neither Credit, nor Misfortune. With these People, a Jest passes for a Demonstration; and to Laugh, and Confute is the same Thing. It seems, Truth and Falshood, depends upon their good Liking: And they have the peculiar Privilege of Wisbing Things in, or out of Being, at Pleasure. Who would expect such Flights of Conceit from so humble Pretences? For an Atheist, if you will
take

take his Word for it is a very despicable Mortal. Let us Describe him by his Tenents, and Copy him a little from his own Original. He is then no better than a Heap of Organized Dust; a stalking Machine; a Speaking Head without a Soul in it. His Thoughts are bound up by the Laws of Motion; his Actions are all prescribed. He has no more Liberty than the Current of a Stream; or the Blast of a Tempest. And where there is no Choice, there can be no Merit. The Creed of an Atheist is a degrading System; a most mortifying Perswasion. No Advantages can make him Shine: He strikes himself out of all Claim to Regard: And has no Alliance to any honourable Distinction. He is the Off-spring of Chance; the Slave of Necessity; danced by foreign Impulses no less than a Puppet: Ignoble in his Descent; Little in Life; and Nothing at the End on't. Atheism, the Result of Ignorance and Pride; of strong Senses, and feeble Reason; of Good Eating, and Ill Living! Atheism, the Plague of Society; the Corrupter of Manners; and the Underminer of Property! What can the Raillery, the Reproaches, the supercilious Censures of this Sect signifie? Why should they be raised above their Principle; and rated higher than their own Valuation! They are below all Consideration, except that of Pity and Prayers; and these I heartily give them.

If the Plainness of what Follows disgusts the sober Reader, I am sorry for it. 'Tis a Circumstance which could not be declined, without Prejudice to the Subject. The oversmoothness of an Argument, is apt to abate the Force. You must give it a Point, to make way for Passage. Pleasure cannot always be made the Vehicle of Health. And when the Case Requires it, no Man blames the Doctor for preferring the Cure to the Palate. Besides, the bare mention of some Practices is enough to Expose them. And when things are a Satyr upon themselves, who can help it? The Deformity lies in the Monster; not in him that shows it.

*I am far from desiring a Depression of the Laity; or abetting any Spiritual Usurpation. Honour and Civil Pretences, are not Held at the Will of the Church; and therefore, She should not seize without Warrant. To make Orders a Patent for Pride, and a Privilege for Misbehaviour, is much more than runs in the Commission. I am pleading for no Cynical Neglect; no ill supported Forwardness; no Briskness above Men's Business, or their Talent. But then I hope, 'tis no Harm for Church-men to maintain their Liberty; and keep the Property of their Persons to themselves. Especially since they live amongst a Free People; and have so good Evidence for their Title. Farther, There is no Fear of Levelling from
this*

this Enquiry. For Independency does not suppose Equality : Freedom and Degrees are well enough Consistent.

To prevent all Misconstruction. I willingly grant it no Disadvantage to a Gentleman to Belong to a Person of Quality; provided his Employment be Secular. But the Function of an Ecclesiastick, requires another Relation.

THE HISTORY OF

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CITY OF BOSTON
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THE
OFFICE
OF A
CHAPLAIN
Enquir'd into, &c.

J*Uvenal* observes, *Sat.* 7. that the Practice of the Lawyers in his time, was usually proportioned to the Figure they made at the Bar; where he that appear'd in the best Equipage, was supposed to have the greatest share of Law and Sense in him: So that had the Vulgar had any Power in determining Right, a good Cause might oftentimes have been lost, for want of fine Cloaths to plead it in. Whether any part of this Vanity prevails with us, I shall not dispute; however, this Inference may be fairly allowed, That the Success of Truth depends very much upon the Reputation of its Advocate. For the Generality often stick in the surface of Things; and are more affected with Appearance than Reality. They want either Force
or

or Inclination, to go the Bottom ; and try the Merits ; So that when a Man is Maimed in his Credit, or burlesqu'd in his Office, he must not expect to do any great Execution. The Audience must be prepared no less than the Orator ; for Reasons, without a Disposition to receive them, signify not much : Where the Assent is barr'd up with Prejudice, the weight of the Matter, and the Address of the Management, are scarcely felt. For Perswasiveness is the Effect of Esteem, and right understanding. It goes against the Grain, for Men to learn Conduct from those they Contemn ; 'Tis a Contradiction of their own Censure, and sets the despised Person in some measure, above them. Besides, Intelligence from such a Quarter, is often thought impracticable ; as well as unpleasant : For 'tis generally presumed, that Discourses cannot rise much above the Pitch of those that make them ; and that 'tis scarce possible, for an inconsiderable Man to talk to the purpose. To entertain a contemptible Opinion of any Person, cramps his Power ; and disables his Friendship ; and puts him under a mighty disadvantage of doing any Good. Little Notions, and unfavourable Prepossessions, give an ill Tincture to the Judgment ; and a wrong Turn to the Scale : They keep Men from seeing Things in their true Colours ; and allowing

lowing them their proper weight : And thus good Arguments, and serviceable Advice, are often turned back, for want of Character and Recommendation.

This Consideration puts ill Men upon their Guard ; They see the Truth of the Remark : and provide against the Consequence. They make it their Business to Misrepresent the Ministers of Religion ; to depress their Authority ; and decry the Usefulness of their Profession. And when their Adversaries, as they count them, are disarmed of their Reputation, the Point is gained ; and the Disturbance at an End. From henceforward 'tis to be hoped, They may have Pleasure without Restraint ; and Vice without Infamy.

For this purpose, They would fain persuade the World, That the Clergy gain no Creditable *Addition* by their Office ; That they are rather Distinguished for Disadvantage than Regard. By this wise Reasoning, Learning should be a Crime ; and Priesthood a Punishment : And if so, Those who have it, ought to forfeit the Privileges of Birth and Education ; or at least, not enjoy them without Abatement.

Now, that there are some Persons, and those not all of the lowest Rank, who seem to be of this unreasonable Opinion, is too

apparent; and therefore I shall desire them to consider, That those who account the Priesthood a lessening of a Man's Quality, must either believe all Religion to be an Imposture; or if they do own the Being of a God, their Apprehension of him is so Scandalous and Unworthy, that I think it would be a kindness to them, to suppose them Atheists: For 'tis not so monstrous and provoking, to deny the Existence of a Deity, as to suppose him void of Excellency and Perfection: To imagine him to be so far from being the Fountain of Honour, that he is rather to be accounted a discredit to those who belong to him; and that a Person of Condition ought to be ashamed of his Service: Such a Notion of God Almighty as this, besides the Absurdity of it, looks like a malicious Acknowledgment of his Being; only to make him capable of Contempt.

But besides that the Function of the Clergy in general, is too often misunderstood; (which in such a sceptical and licentious Age, we need not wonder at) Those who Officiate in private Houses lie under particular Disadvantages: Here the Master of the Family usually expects an extraordinary Observance from the Priest; and returns him less notice in exchange, than to others of the same Order and Condition.

Now

Now one would think in point of Reason that an Ecclesiastical (as well as a Civil or Military) Officer, should be more consider'd within the limits and extent of his Employ, than elsewhere; both upon the account of the Jurisdiction he hath there; and because of the Advantage those he is concerned with, do or may receive from the execution of his Office.

Now the reason of this unaccountable Practice, must be resolv'd into one or both of these Pretences; either

1. That a Clergy-man officiating in a Family, ought to be entertain'd no otherwise than under the Notion of a Servant: Or

2. Because 'tis in the Patron's Power to oblige the Priest with Church-Preferment.

It will be therefore the Design of these Papers to shew,

1. That a Priest or Chaplain in a Family, is no Servant.

2. That whatever fair Expectations the Patron may have given the Priest of future Advantage, those are no sufficient Grounds to justify an imperious Deportment on the one hand; or a servile Submission on the other.

1. I shall prove, That a Priest, or Chaplain in a Family, is no Servant; the contrary

trary of which I believe he is often thought to be; though 'tis not always spoken out. Now in order to the removing this Mistake, I shall in the

First place, Answer those Objections, which seem to have given the most probable Occasion of its Rise.

Secondly, I shall give a short Description of the Office of a Chaplain; and shew how much it differs from that of a Servant.

I. I shall Answer those objections, which have given the most probable Occasion to this Mistake; among which we may reckon the Priest's being entertain'd with Diet.

But that eating at anothers Table, does not make a Man a Servant, is plain; for if it did, then every one that visits his Friend, if he happens to Eat or Drink without paying for it, must immediately forfeit his Liberty. If it be said, That 'tis not Eating now and then upon a Visit, which brings a Man into the Condition of a Servant; but doing it constantly; and with the same Person: To this I answer, That if Eating by the Year, makes a Man Servant for a Year, then Eating by the Day, must make him a Servant for that Day; the only difference in this Case is, that the one who eats but a Meal or two, comes into his Liberty sooner than the other.

But possibly, 'tis the Priests contracting for Diet, which makes him mistaken for a Servant to him that affords it; and here 'tis supposed to come under the Notion of Wages; because the Priest is to do something for it. Now because a Consideration of this nature, whether it be received in Money or Diet, or both, is the same thing; I shall prove that a Man's Receiving Money in consideration of bestowing his Time and Pains upon another, does not make him a Servant to him that returns him a Recompence for his Trouble. For example, Lawyers and Physicians have their Fees; or their Wages, if you please; and yet I suppose none will say, that they are Servants to all their Clients and Patients that imploy them; and if not to all, then for the same Reason not to any; The Judges have a Fee for every Cause which is tryed at the *Nisi prius* Bar; and a Justice of Peace hath Money allowed him for making a Warrant; which both of them may receive without forfeiting their Authority. The House of Commons likewise, have Pensions from their Electors, during the Session of Parliament; I confess, 'tis not usually paid now; but if they did receive it, as formerly they have done, I hope no one would say, a Knight of a Shire was Servant to a Man of Forty Shillings *per An-*

num, because he contributed something towards his Maintenance. In all these Cases, a Man is engaged in the Business of others; and receives a Consideration for his Employment; and yet hath no Reason to be accounted a Servant for his Pains.

If it be said that in most of these Instances, the Salaries are assign'd by Law; and consequently, that there is no Contract between him that receives, and him that gives the Consideration; I answer, that there is a vertual, though not an exprefs Contract; because the People have agreed, to Consent to whatever their Representatives shall determine.

2ly, As to the Case of the Lawyers, though their Fees are stated by Law, yet every one chuses whom he will make use of; so that the voluntary retaining any one, is no less than a plain Contract; and the giving him so much Money, upon condition that he will Plead for him.

3dly, 'Tis not the Contracting for Money in lieu of some other Exchange, which makes a Man a Servant; for then every one that sells for Money would be a Servant to the Buyer; and consequently, a Pedlar might make himself a Master of the best Merchant in *London*, if he should happen to be so Ambitious as to be his Customer: And which is most to be

be lamented, if a Man could not by way of Contract receive Mony with one Hand, without parting with his Liberty with the other, then the Landlord must be a Servant to the Tenant, for the bare contracting for Rent, though he never receiv'd a Penny, is enough to bring him Under; so that according to this Opinion, a Man cannot Let his Farm, without Demising and Granting away himself.

But further, That the entertaining the Clergy with Diet and Salary, is no Argument of their Subjection, will appear, if we consider that we are bound to contribute towards the Support of our Parents if they stand in need of it; and yet I suppose it does not follow, That this makes us their Superiours: 'Tis so far from it, that our assisting them, is accounted part of that Honour which the Fifth Commandment enjoins us to pay them; and is so interpreted by our Saviour himself, *St. Matthew. 15: 4, 5, 6.* The communication therefore of part of our Wealth, to the Clergy Officiating in our Houses, is in reason, nothing but a due Respect to their Function, and a grateful Acknowledgment of their Care: What the Priest receives from us, is in effect offered to God Almighty; because 'tis given upon the account of the Relation he hath to him; and the Advantages we receive

ceive from thence. *This is honouring God with our Substance*; who in regard he stands in need of nothing himself, hath ordered those Persons (whom he hath set a part to keep up his Service and Worship) to receive what Men present to him, in token of his Sovereignty and Providence. Thus what was offer'd to God under the Old Testament (except what was spent in Sacrificing) was the Priest's Portion, assign'd by the Divine Appointment, *Numb. 18. 8, 9.* and in the *20th. Verse* of that Chapter, the Reason why the Tribe of *Levi* was to have no Inheritance in the Land which was to be divided, is given, Because God promised to be their Inheritance; that is, to give them those Offerings which were made to him: And that this was a very liberal Assignment; and much exceeded the Provision which was made for the rest of the Tribes, might easily be made good, were it not Foreign to the present Argument.

There are many other places in the Old Testament, which may be alledg'd for the Confirmation of this Truth, as *Deut. 18. 2. Josh. 13. 14. Ezek. 44. 28, &c.* And that this Practice did not depend upon any Ceremonial Constitution; but was founded in the unalterable reason of things, will appear if we look into the New Testament; where *St. Paul* tells us, that God has ordained

that

that those that Preach the Gospel (which every Priest does who reads the New Testament) should live of the Gospel, 1 Cor. 9. 14. Our Spiritual Governours are Ministers of God to us, as well as our Temporal, Rom. 13. 4. and therefore the Apostle's Inference, v. 6. may in a qualified sense at least, be applied to them, *For this Cause pay you Tribute also.* And that the same Apostle did not believe, that a Consideration of this Nature ought to subject the Clergy to Distance and Submissive Behaviour, is beyond question; for he plainly tells the *Corinthians*, 1 Cor. 9. 11. *If we have sown unto you Spiritual things, is it a great thing, if we shall reap your Carnal Things?* It seems, he did not believe this Favour so extraordinary; or to have any such commanding Quality in it, as to make him their Servant or Dependant, if he had received it. Nay he tells them, that he had *power to eat and to drink*; that is, God had given him a Right to a competent Maintenance out of the Estates of those he instructed; which without question, where the Circumstances of the Person will Permit, ought to be proportioned with respect to the Person Represented; and to the Nature and Quality of the Employ, 'Tis plain therefore, that the Apostle thought, that if God's Ministers lived out of the Fortunes of their Charge, yet they were not so

mightily indebted beyond a Possibility of Requital; but that the Obligation was full as great on the other side: and the reason why some Men now a days are not of the same Mind, is, because the Concerns of another World have none, or a very slender Consideration allowed them; for otherwise without question, Men would look upon those as none of their least beneficial Friends, who are appointed by God to guide them securely in their Passage to Eternity: But now 'tis the Mode with too many, to live as if their Souls were the most inconsiderable thing they carried about them.

5. It may be objected, That every Family ought to be under the Government of one single Person; and because the Priest is confessed not to be the Master, therefore he must be under Command; and consequently a Servant. Now this is so slender an Objection, that I should have waved the mention of it, but that some People seem desirous of being imposed upon in this matter; and we know when Men are in love with a Mistake, the least appearance of a Reason is apt to entangle their Understandings; and make them overlook the Evidence of an Assertion they are prejudiced against.

To what is objected therefore, I answer, That this Argument proves all Boarders Servants, though their Office or Quality be never so much above those they sojourn with. I grant, the Priest is not to disturb the Master of the House in the Government of his Family, nor to intermeddle in his Affairs, (to do this were an unreasonable Incroachment) but the living under his Roof makes him no more his Servant, than his Father or Mother are, when they reside with him.

There may be several other things urged against the Truth of the Proposition I am to defend; but the solving the remaining Objections will fall in more conveniently, after I have given a short Description of the Office of a Chaplain; and shew how much it differs from that of a Servant; and how inconsistent it is with it; which I shall proceed to.

I. Therefore, The Office of a Clergyman in a Family, is to Pray for, Bless, and give Absolution to those he is concerned with; which are all Acts of Authority and Jurisdiction. He is to Counsel, Exhort, and Reprove the Master of the Family himself, upon occasion (though with respect to his Station) which Offices are inconsistent with the Condition of a Servant; and must be very unsuccessfully performed

ed by him, as will further appear afterward.

2. He does not receive this Commission from the Master of the Family, or from any humane Authority, but from God himself, whose Deputy he is in things pertaining to Religion: He is not entertain'd upon any secular Account; or to manage any other Business but what relates to another World; and is Consecrated to this Function by the Divine Warrant and Appointment; and consequently he is God's Minister not Man's. The Place in which he is engaged is his Parish; and the difference between a Parochial Priest and him lies in this, That the Extent of his Charge is not so large as that of a Parish-Priest; the one having but only one single Family to take care of; and the other a great many: But the Office is the same; and therefore the one hath no more reason to be accounted a Servant, than the other.

3. However Pride, Ignorance, or Inconsideration, may sometimes byass Men's Minds, yet if they would but Attend to their own Practice, they would see that the Concern of a Priest in a Family, is no servile Employment; because in the absence of a Priest, the Master of the Family supplies his Place, as far as lawfully he may; that is, in Praying and giving Thanks at
Meat;

Meat; which is a plain Confession, that Men are satisfied, that 'tis very improper to imploy any of their Servants in the Performance of Holy Offices; the doing of which would be dishonourable to God, and weaken the Force and Majesty of Religion: And therefore when One Consecrated to Holy Ministrations is not present, God ought to be addressed to by a Person of the greatest Consideration in the Family; which implicit Confession of theirs, is both agreeable to the Reason of Mankind in general, and the Practice of the first Ages of the World, when the Civil and Ecclesiastical Authority were united; the same Person being both Priest and Prince in his Family; as appears from *Abraham, Isaac, Jacob,* and *Job's* erecting Altars, and offering Sacrifices: And before the Institution of the *Mosaick* Law (in which God chose a distinct Tribe to serve him in holy Offices) the First-born, among other considerable Privileges, had the Priesthood annexed to his Birth-right.

4. This Notion of a Servant, destroys the End and Design of the Priestly Office; it renders his Person cheap: and his Discourse insignificant; it causes his Reproofs to be look'd upon as presumptuous; and makes a generous Freedom and impartial Plainness, to be interpreted a forgetfulness
of

of Distance: And yet this sort of Plain-dealing is not more necessary toward any sort of People, than those who are Wealthy and Honourable; the Nature of their Circumstances being such, as make them much more apt to flatter themselves, and to be flatter'd by others; which made *St. Paul* command *St. Timothy*, to charge those that were Rich, that they should not be High-minded: The Apostle well knew, in what great Danger such Persons were of taking the height of their Condition amiss; and confiding too much in it; for to this unhappy Mistake, they have not only the common Artifices of Self-love to betray them; but several confederate Circumstances from without, strike in to carry on the Imposture; and to cheat them into a wrong Opinion of themselves. They see how they are revered and admired, by almost all sort of People: and that Men frequently resign their Ease, their Liberty and Conscience too, to purchase fewer Conveniencies than they are already possessed of: They find, that Wealth and Reputation puts them into a Capacity of gratifying their Senses, and their Humour; gives them many Opportunities of obliging their Friends, and crushing their Enemies, and makes their Will a kind of Law to their Inferiours and Dependants. Now these Advantages, when
they

they are not throughly examined, but rated according to the Value which vulgar Estimation sets upon them, are apt to swell them into an unreasonable Conceit of themselves; which Vanity is still fed and inflamed, because they are often so unfortunate, as not to attend, that these worldly Accommodations are things really distinct from their Owners; that these ornamental Privileges are but a decent Varnish, which enriches no deeper than the Surface; an Impression, which though Royal, cannot alter the Metal: But on the contrary, they are apt to fancy their Fortunes and themselves to be all of a piece; that this glorious Outside grows out of some intrinsic Prerogative; and is the genuine Lustre and Complexion of their Nature. And since a flourishing Condition is thus apt to impose upon Men; and hath such a Natural Tendency to give them a false *Idea* of their own Excellency, have they not need of a prudent and conscientious Friend, to insinuate that they have no essential Advantages above the rest of Mankind; to awaken them into right Apprehensions of things; and rescue them from that Delusion which their own Vanity, and the Ignorance or Design of others, often puts upon them? Therefore if Men would have their Lives correct and happy, they ought

to encourage their Friends, (especially those who are particularly concern'd in the Regulation of their Conscience) to tell them of their Faults; they should invite them to this Freedom, if not by exprefs Declaration, yet by affable Deportment; always receiving the Performance of the nice Office, with demonstrations of Pleasure and Satisfaction. Did Men consider, how slippery and difficultly manageable an elevated Station is, they would easily discern, that it was not the safest way to trust altogether to their own Conduct; but to take in the constant assistance of a Religious Person; that so their Miscarriages might be represented; their Consciences directed in doubtful Cases; and their Minds fortified with Defensatives proper to the Temptations of their Condition and Temper. Indeed, the very Converse of such a Guide, if his Character was rightly understood, and prudently supported, would help to keep them upon their Guard; and by striking a kind of Religious Awe upon their Spirits, make their Conversation more staunch and regular; and often prevent their falling into any remarkable Excesses: But these Advantages are all lost upon those who Misapprehend the Priest's Office; and entertain him upon the same Account they do their Foot-

Men;

Men; only to garnish the Table, and stuff out the Figure of the Family. When a Man hath received such a disparaging Notion of the Priest; and rang'd him amongst his Servants; there is small likelihood of his being the better for his Company; for this Conceit will make his Carriage lofty and reserv'd; his Words, Gestures, and Silence, will all carry marks of Neglect and Imperiousness in them: Which are plain and designed Intimations, that the Priest must not insist upon the Priviledges of his Function; that he must not pretend to any Liberty, but what his Patron is pleas'd to allow; with the Direction of whose Actions he is not to intermeddle; nor remonstrate against the unreasonableness of any Practice; nor show him the Danger of continuing in it: For though all this be done with Caution and Tenderness, and Respect, yet he must look for nothing but Disdain and Disappointment in requital; for presuming to admonish his Superiours: Which is such an Usurpation upon Dominion and Quality as is not to be endur'd; being neither agreeable to the servile Employment of the One, nor consistent with the Honour of the Other.

5. This degrading the Priesthood into a servile Office, takes off from that Veneration which is due to the solemn Mysteries
of

of Religion; and makes them look Common and Contemptible; by being administred by persons not *sui juris*, but obnoxious to the Pleasure of those who receive them: God therefore, to prevent his Ordinances from falling into Contempt, and to make them effectual to procure the happiness of Mankind, hath given his Priests Authority over all they are concern'd with; they are to *bles*s the People in his Name; and the Author of the *Hebrews* tells us, *that without contradiction the less is blessed of the better*, Heb. 7. 7. They are called *the Lord's Priests*, 1 Sam. 22. 17. *The Messengers of the Lord of Hosts*, Mal. 2. 7. And in the New Testament they are stiled the *Stewards* and *Ambassadors of God*; and made *Overseers of his Church by the Holy Ghost*, 2 Cor. 5. 20. Acts 20. 28. The Sense of which Texts, and partly the Words, are by the Appointment of our Church, applied to those who are ordain'd Priests, to put them in mind of the Dignity of their Office; and the great Care they ought to take about the conscientious Discharge of it.

I confess, 'tis possible for a Priest to make himself a Servant; he may 'tis likely, be Steward or Clerk of the Kitchin, if he pleases; (as Bishop *Latimer* complains some of the Clergy were forced to be in his Time, *Heylin's Hist. Refor.* p. 61.) but as long as he does not engage in any Employment

ment which is intended for State, or the Convenience of Life; as long as he keeps to his Priestly Function, so long he may be assured he hath no Master in the House; and for any to suppose he hath, is an unreasonable and absurd Mistake; (to say no worse of it) 'tis an inverting that Order which God made between the Priest and People; and denies that Authority which God hath granted for the Edification of his Church. It endeavours to destroy that Honourable Relation which the Priest hath to the Divine Majesty (to whose Service he is appropriated) which God is pleas'd to Dignifie him with, that he might have the greater Influence upon those he is concern'd with; and be successful in the Execution of his Office: And therefore for a Patron to account such a Consecrated Person his Priest, as if he belonged to him as a Servant, is in effect to Challenge Divine Honours; and to set up himself for a God; For if he is any thing less, he must own, that the Service of the Priest does not belong to him; for that in the very Terms and Notion of it, is intended for no Being Inferiour to that which is supposed to be Divine.

If it be objected, That the Priest hath obliged himself to remove with the Patron, when and whither he thinks fit; and therefore seems to be in the same Condition with
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the rest of the Attendants: To this I answer; That this makes him no more a Servant than the travelling and ambulatory way of Living amongst the *Tartars*, would make the Priests Servants to the People; provided they were Christians: To make it plainer; Suppose a Bishop Ordain'd over the Company of a Ship; and that his Diocess lay only in one Bottom; can we Imagine that he would lose his Episcopal Power; and fall into the Condition of other Sea-men, as soon as the Ship was order'd to weigh Anchor; and began to make its Voyage from one Port to another? At this rate, a Man may call a Guardian Angel one of his Domesticks; because for the Security and Protection of their Charge, these benevolent Spirits are pleas'd to Accompany us from one Place to another. I grant the Scripture tells us, they are sent forth *to Minister for those who are Heirs of Salvation*, Heb. i. 14. but then we must allow them to be God's Ministers, not ours; and so likewise are those of whom I am now Speaking; as among other Places may be seen from 2 *Cor.* 6. 4. God hath pleas'd to put the Clergy in joynt Commission with the Angels themselves; for the Guidance of, and superintending his Church. When St. *John* would have worshipp'd the Angel which appear'd to him, he is forbid to do it; and the reason

alledged

alleged is, *because I am thy Fellow-Servant*, Rev. 19. 10. that is, as *Grotius* expounds it, we are both Ambassadors of the same King. And although St. *John*, and the rest of the Apostles, had Privileges peculiar to themselves, both in respect of the Extent of their Jurisdiction, the Infallibility of their Doctrine, and other miraculous Gifts with which they were endowed; to which Bishops themselves, much less inferiour Priests, have no reason to pretend; yet though God was pleas'd for the more speedy and effectual planting of Christianity, to qualifie the Apostles in an extraordinary Manner; and to give them a larger Commission than to the Clergy of succeeding Ages; yet they all Act by the same Authority, and for the same End: Therefore the unfixt and moving Nature of a Cure, does not alter and degrade the Office of a Priest: He is not less a Shepherd, because the Flock happens sometimes to wander unaccountably, from one Pasture to another: He is bound to attend the Charge he hath undertaken; and must answer the Neglect of it to God; and when it does not continue in the same Place, to accompany it's Motion, is no more a Diminution to his Office, than it is to that of a Judge to go the Circuit; whose Commission is as considerable, though it travels with him from one County to another,

as if he had been always fixt in *Westminster-hall*.

If it be farther objected, That the Patron appoints the Hours of Prayer; which seems to imply something of Command: To this I answer, That in his chusing the Time of Prayer, he does not appoint any Service for himself; but only declares, when he and his Household are ready for God's Worship, and desirous of the Priestly Absolution and Blessing; which is proper for him to do; because the Family is employed in his Business, and under his Command; and therefore without his Permission, they have not many times an Opportunity of meeting together for Divine Service: Which is still more reasonable; because the Priest is supposed only to intend the Affairs of Religion; and to be always ready for the Performance of his Office; and consequently, that Time which is most convenient for those under his Care, and in which the Assembly is like to be most Numerous, he is by Virtue of his Office bound to observe; whether his Cure lies in a private Family, or a whole Parish.

But lastly, it may be urged, That the 13 of *Hen. 8. cap. 28.* calls the Patrons of Chaplains their Masters; and will any Man be so hardy, as to question the Judgment and Determination of the Parliament? But here we may observe,

First,

First, That though the Parliament calls them Servants, yet it does not Enact them such. Now 'tis not impossible, but that the Penners of a Bill may sometimes draw it up in improper Language. Secondly, This Act calls only those Patrons Masters, who can give Qualifications for Pluralities. Having premised this Observation, I answer, with all due Submission and Respect to this Legislative Council; That if the Question was concerning any Civil Right, then 'tis confessed, 'tis in the Power of the Parliament either to limit, or take it away; because the whole Power and Authority of the Kingdom is there, either Personally, or by Representation; and therefore they may deprive any Person of his Honour or Estate (the Right of the Succession to the Crown excepted) as far as they please: Not that 'tis impossible for them to act Unjustly; but only that what they Determine hath the force of a Law; because every Man is supposed to have given his Consent to it. But here we must observe, That the Church is a distinct Society from the State; and independent upon it: The Constitution of the Church is founded in the Appointment of Christ; in that Commission which he gave the Apostles and their Successors; and consequently, does not derive its Authority from any Earth-

ly Power. The Civil Magistrate never yet made a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon; nor ever can; and therefore we may safely affirm, without any injury or disrespect to him, That he cannot make these Spiritual Offices greater or less than they are: Therefore if God hath made the Priests Office (as nothing is plainer in Scripture than that he hath) an Office of Government, Direction, and Superintendence over those he is concerned with; then 'tis not in the Power of the Parliament to make his Condition servile; because no Person, or Society of Persons, can take away that Power which they never gave: The Parliament may with equal Right Enact, That Parents shall be subject to their Children; and that the Wife shall be her Husband's Mistress, without a Compliment, as make the People the Priests Masters; and give the Flock a Jurisdiction over the Shepherd: They may with the same Justice repeal the most Established Laws of Nature; and invert the Right of the two former Relations, as of this latter; for this hath its Establishment from the same God that the other have; and for Ends, at least equally weighty, and momentous. This Power of their Spiritual Governours they have no more Authority to Destroy, than they have

have to Vote down the Canon of Scripture; or to Decree, Sacrilege to be no Sin; 'Tis granted, That all Ecclesiastical Persons, as they are Members of the State, are subject to its Authority; and that a Priest, or Bishop, may properly be a Servant to the Magistrate; if he holds any Secular Employment under him; because in this Case, he Acts by a Commission from the Civil Government; but this only concerns him as he is a Member of the State; and does not in the least affect his Spiritual Capacity: The Power which results from that, flows from another Fountain; and is given by our Saviour himself; and therefore cannot be weakened, or recall'd, by any State-Constitution whatever. Men should do well therefore to consider; That as a Prince hath no reason to take it well, if the People should look upon his Officers as their Servants; so 'tis not over respectful to God Almighty, to suppose his Ministers stand in that inferior Relation to those they are concern'd with.

To go to the Bottom of the Matter; and to put the Churches Independency beyond all Dispute, I shall throw the Argument into a Method, and Treat it a little more at Large.

But to prevent Misconstruction, I desire to be understood, that by *Church-Power*, I mean only that which is *purely Spiritual*: And that Ecclesiasticks, as such, can make no Direct or Indirect Claim to any other. And therefore,

First, They are no less the Subjects of Princes than the Laity.

Secondly, Their merely secular Estates, their Civil Privileges and Jurisdctions, are all under the Cognizance of the State; of which they may be Legally (though not always Equitably) Disseized, whenever the Legislative Authority of a Kingdom shall think fit to do it: Having premised this, I shall endeavour to prove their Independency in things purely Relating to their Function.

1. From the Original of Ecclesiastical Authority.

2. From the End and Design of it.

3. From the Practise of the Primitive Church.

1. From the Original of Ecclesiastical Authority: The Power of Governing the Church, and Performing the Offices of Religion is neither any Gift of the People, nor held by Commission from Kings and Princes: It springs from a Greater Original; and Derives no lower than from Heaven it self. Our Blessed Saviour, who

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Redeem'd the Church, was pleased to settle the Administration of it by his own Appointment: From him the Apostles received Authority to Teach and Govern, such as were Converted by them; the words of their Commission are plain, and expressed with all Imaginable Advantage. *As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you; whosoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted, &c.* St. *Joh.* 20, 21, 23. Upon this account the Apostles are call'd *Ambassadors and Ministers of Christ*, 1 *Cor.* 4. 1. And the People are Commanded *to Obey and Submit themselves to those* who have this Spiritual Authority, *Heb.* 13. 17. Neither was this Power to Expire with the Apostles; but to be Conveyed by Succession, through all Ages of the World; there being the same Cause for it's Continuance, as for its first Institution: And accordingly we find from *St. Paul*, that one reason of his giving *Titus* the super-intendency of *Crete* was, *to ordain Elders in every City*, *Tit.* 1. 5. Thus *Clemens Romanus* (1. *Ep. ad Cor.*) tells us, the Apostles in their Travels used to Ordain Bishops, &c. for the Advantage of such as were only Christians in Prospect; as well as for those who were already Converted. And thus the sacred Order has been Continued, without Interruption, for near 1700 Years: Now our Saviour, we know was

no Temporal Prince. He refused to Interpose in a Case of Property ; and declared Expressly, that his Kingdom was not of this World, *St. Luke* 12. 14. *St. Job.* 18. 36. from whence 'tis plain, that the Authority which our Saviour gave the Church, can have no Dependance upon the State ; because it was never derived from thence. 'Tis true, all Power, both Sacred and Civil, came originally from God ; yet under the Jewish, and especially under the Christian Institution, the Crown and Mitre have been divided : And though the same Persons are capable of both ; yet the Claim must be made upon a different Account ; and conveyed by Titles perfectly distinct : And since the Ecclesiastical Authority doth not hold of the Civil Magistrate, it cannot be forfeited to him : As the State cannot Consecrate Bishops and Priests, so neither can they recall their Character ; or restrain them in the Exercise of their Function ; there being no reason, a Privilege should be either Extinguished ; or limited by those who were never masters of the Grant : For what a Man has no power to give, he can have no Right to take away. This will further appear, if we consider the Means by which the Advantages of Christianity are conveyed to us. Now that the Sacraments are necessary for this purpose, is Evident from
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Scripture: For concerning Baptism 'tis said, *That except a Man be born of Water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* St. John 3. 5. And the Lord's Supper is stiled by St. Paul (1 Cor. 10. 6.) *The Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ*; that is, the Means by which the Benefits of Christ's Death are applied to us. So that without being partakers of the Sacraments, we can have no Pretence to the Covenant of Grace; no Title to the Assistance of God's Spirit; nor any Assurance of a Blessed Immortality.

Now I suppose, none of the Laity will pretend to an Authority to Administer the Sacraments: they will not Challenge a Right to Seal Covenants in God's Name; or to Represent him in Acts of solemn Blessing and Absolution. *No Man* (as the Apostle argues) *ought to take this Honour to himself, but he that is called of God*; as was *Aaron*, Heb. 5. 4. The Fate of *Corah* and *Uzziab*, (Numb. 16. 2 Chron. 26.) are sufficient to deterr all Secular Persons from an Encroachment of this Nature; which if made, God would both Punish the Usurpation, and null the Act: as a Prince would be obliged to do in point of Government, if any Person should Forge a Commission in his Name. Now since the Sacraments, which are both necessary
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to make us Members of the Church; and to Convey the Advantages of Christianity to us; are by our Saviour's special Appointment entrusted with the Clergy; and the Administration of them is lodged in their Hands; from hence it follows, That those who have the Sole Right of admitting into a Society, or Excluding from it; and of dispensing the Rewards and Punishments, are the proper and only Governours of that Society; and can have no Dependance upon any other.

Secondly, The Independency of Ecclesiastical Authority, may be proved from the End and Design of it.

I suppose, I need not Prove that the Christian Religion, as contained in the New Testament, is the *last Revelation* which God intends to make to the World. Now this being granted, we must suppose, that our Blessed Saviour Founded his Church upon such Laws; and gave it such lasting Principles of Government, as should best maintain its Continuance; and secure those important Truths He had entrusted it with: Least of all can we imagine, He would build it upon a Sandy Foundation; and make it Depend upon the Arbitrary Power of its Enemies. Our Saviour foresaw, that all the Princes of the World would disbelieve; and many of them, Persecute

Persecute his Doctrine for several Ages together; and therefore would be very improper Persons to have been trusted with the Sovereign Administrations of Ecclesiastical Affairs. Had the Government of the Church been derived from them; or depended upon their Allowance; Christianity had been a very short liv'd Religion; and never outgrown its Infancy. In this Case the Publick Assemblies, Ordinations, Sacraments, and Discipline, must have lain at the Mercy of Unbelievers; and the Clergy ought not to have Executed their Function, nor taken Care of their Flock, unless the Civil Magistrate would have given them leave. For if the Spiritual Supremacy were the Right of Princes, tho' they might possibly Abuse the Management of this Prerogative; yet it ought to lie absolutely at their Disposal; and under their Regulation: And for any Person to meddle in Ecclesiastical Matters, without a Commission from them; but Especially against their Commands; would be an open Violation of their Right; which no Man ought to be Guilty of, tho' for the Support of the best Religion; *because we ought not to do ill that Good may come of it.* And since no Society can subsist without Government and Discipline; if the Bishops could Exercise no spiritual Authority without a Lay-
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Permission, it would be in the Civil Magistrates Power to make the Perpetuity of the Church impracticable ; and the Christian Religion would Depend upon the Pleasure of the Prince. But besides the Absurdity of this way of Reasoning, we have in the

Third place, the Practice of the Apostles, and of the whole Primitive Church, to prove that the Ecclesiastical Authority was perfectly *sui juris* ; and never under the Controul of the Secular Magistrate. Thus when the Sanhedrim of the *Jews*, who acted by the Authority of the *Romans*, and had the Assistance of the Captain of the Temple ; when they Imprisoned the Apostles, and *commanded them not to speak at all, nor teach in the Name of Jesus.* *Acts* 4. 19. to this their Answer is plain and positive ; *Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, Judge ye, ver. 20.* that is to say, they had a Commission from Heaven to Preach the Gospel ; which they were bound to Execute ; and which no Temporal Jurisdiction had any Authority to revoke. Whereas, had the Church been under the Check of the State in *Matters purely Spiritual* ; St. Peter and St. John were much to blame for refusing to Obey their Superiours ; they ought to have acquiesced in the Sanhedrim's

drim's Prohibition; and not to have pursued their Function after they were solemnly silenc'd; and that by those whom themselves owned to be *Rulers of the People*, *Act. 4. 8.* Either therefore the Church must be Constituted Independent of the State; or the Apostles can never be cleared of the Charge of Sedition.

The same Imputation will, upon the Modern Principles, affect the Bishops of the Universal Church for the first 300 Years; who held Publick Assemblies, Governed their Clergy, and their People, and performed all parts of their Office, not only without any Authority from their respective Princes; but often, contrary to their express Commands; which Matter of Fact is so well known, that 'twould be superfluous to enlarge upon the Proof of it.

If it be said, that these were Heathen Princes; but when the Emperors became Part of the Church, the Case was otherwise.

To this I answer, That the Change of the Emperour's Religion could not gain them any such new Jurisdiction as is Pretended. For as Magistracy in general, do's not imply Right to Spiritual Authority; so neither doth the denomination of *Christian* give it any such Advantage.

vantage. For, I suppose spiritual Dominion is no more founded in Grace, than Temporal. In short, if Princes receive any such Authority by Virtue of their Christianity, it must be conveyed either by Revelation; or implied in the Notion of Baptism.

As to the Point of Revelation; the Scripture nowhere teaches us, That Princes upon their turning Christian, should have their Commission enlarged, with the Addition of Episcopal, or Priestly Power. I grant it was foretold, *That Kings should be nursing Fathers to the Church*, Isa. 44. 23. but then it is added, *That they shall bow down to her with their Faces towards the Earth*; and elsewhere, *that they shall Minister to Her, or Serve Her*, Isa. 60. 10. We see therefore we must not strain upon the Letter, in these Expressions; nor press the Metaphor too far; unless we will conclude Contradictions: Therefore the Character of their being Nursing Fathers, is sufficiently fulfilled by their affording Christians Protection and Encouragement under their Government; and by Punishing the Contempt of Religion. But that the Magistrates Conversion should alter the Seat of Ecclesiastical Government; put a period to the Apostolical Succession; and Dissolve the Church into the State, is not so much as the
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least hinted. And as for Baptism, there is no Authority of any kind implied in the receiving that Sacrament; if there were, every Christian would have an Equal share in this Privilege; which would make the Constitution of the Church Monstrous, in which all its Members would be Governours; and so none under an Obligation of being Governed.

From the Independency of the Church thus Proved, these Conclusions naturally follow.

First, That it is no more in the Power of the State, to deprive the Church Governors of their *purely Spiritual Authority*, than it is in the Power of the Church to remove the Magistracy, or disincorporate the State. For all Punishment and Censure supposes Jurisdiction in the Person who Inflicts it. But this supposition, is Inconsistent with the Notion of Independency: Those who are Independent being in this Sense equal, so far as their Independency reaches; and have no Privileges to Command, or Duties to Obey on either side. From whence it follows,

Secondly, That this Privilege of Independency in *Matters purely Spiritual*, will Reach the Inferior Clergy; for their Authority being Derived from the Bishops, and of the same Nature with theirs, it can be subordinate or related to no other

other Head of Jurisdiction; and therefore These are no more Liable to have their Rights Extinguished, or their Character Abated by a Lay-Power, than the Bishops.

I shall now proceed to the Second thing at first propounded, *viz.* to shew, That whatsoever fair Expectations the Patron may have given the Priest, yet these are not sufficient Grounds for an imperious Carriage on the one hand; or a servile Submission on the other.

I. This sort of Department were unreasonable; supposing the Patron had as full and absolute a Right in Church-Preferment, as he hath in any other part of his Estate. For what can be a more ungenerous and ungentlemanly Practice, than to require that a Man should resign up his Liberty, and forfeit the Privileges of his Station; only upon the probability of receiving some sort of Consideration for it afterwards? How unlike a Benefactor does he look, who sets an Excise upon his bare Word; and clogs the expectation of future Advantage with present Inconvenience? Thus to anticipate the Revenues of a Favour, is like taking Usury for Money before 'tis Lent; which certainly is one of the worst sort of Extortion; because here a Man not only pays for that he hath not, but
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for that which possibly he may never have.
But,

2. Let us suppose the Priest in actual Possession of some considerable Preferment, yet being 'tis pretended to be given, it ought certainly to come disencumber'd from all Conditions which may abate the Kindness of it. He that pretends to give, should chiefly respect the Advantage of him to whom the Favour is Granted. He should demean himself towards the obliged Party, as if the Obligation had never been; that it may plainly appear, that his Intention in conferring it, was disinterested; that he had no little Designs of Profit or State, to serve in it; but that it proceeded purely from a generous Inclination to promote the Happiness of another. Whereas on the contrary, to part with any thing out of a selfish Design, is an Exchange, not a Gift; which when 'tis done by a Person of Estate, is an Argument of a mean and mercenary Spirit. But then to pursue a Benefit with Superciliousness and Contempt, to expect a Compliance with the most unreasonable Humours; to give upbraiding and contumelious Signs of the dependance and unworthiness of the Receiver; to require a Man to relinquish the necessary Freedom of one of the most solemn and

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honourable Professions; this turns an Obligation into Injury and Affront; and looks like a malicious Trap set to catch a Man's Reputation. Who, that hath either Sense or Honesty, would turn his Canonical Habit into a Livery; and make himself useleſs and ridiculous for the greateſt Conſideration whatever? A worthy Perſon would ſcorn a Kingdom, proffer'd upon ſuch diſhonourable Terms.

3. If we put the caſe as 'tis determined by Law, this Practice will appear ſtill more unreaſonable. 'Tis ſufficiently known, and were it not for the overgrown Prejudices of ſome Perſons, it were ſuperfluous to mention, that the Patron is ſo far from having a full Propriety in Church-Preferrments, that his Right only conſiſts in a Power to Nominate who ſhall enjoy them. Which very Nomination, muſt be made within Six Months; and fix't upon a Perſon Canonically qualified; otherwiſe 'tis wholly invalid. His Intereſt in Church-Livings, only enables him to give them away; not to keep them. He hath no Power to enter upon any Part of the *Glebes*, or *Tithes*, or ſo much as to ſequeſter the Profits for the next Incumbent. He is only a Trustee authorized under certain Conditions, to diſpoſe of the Patrimony of the Church; which is
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settled upon it by as good Laws as any he holds his Estate by. That Right which he hath, was originally granted in consideration of Works of extraordinary Piety, in Building or Endowing of Churches: Which is a Title very few (except the King) can pretend to; either upon their own, or their Ancestors Accounts. From all which it appears, that the Patron's giving an Annuity out of his Estate is a quite different Thing from his Presenting to a Living; and therefore his Expectations of Gratitude and Observance, should not be set so high in this latter case: For here neither Law, nor Religion, allow the Donor to be a Penny the better for what he disposes of; he cannot Detain the least part of it without Injustice and Sacrilege; nor Confer it upon exceptionable Persons, without Breach of Fidelity.

The Trust indeed is honourable and weighty; it being in the Power of those to whom 'tis committed, to encourage Learning; and to provide the People with prudent and consciencious Guides: But then I must add, that it ought to be discharged accordingly; and that those who do not chiefly Aim at these Ends in the exercise of it, have little either of Conscience or Honour in them.

We have Reason to believe, That when the Church gave this Right of Presentation to Lay-Patrons, (for that the Bishops had Originally the Right of Judging the Qualifications of Priests, and fixing them in their respective Cures, without being accountable to a *Quare impedit* for their refusal of the Peoples Choice, might be made evident, were it pertinent to the Business in hand,) When the Church I say parted with this Right, she had no Suspicion of the Degeneracy of after Ages; but imagined that the Integrity, and Conscience, if not the Munificence of the first Patrons, might have been transmitted to the Heirs, or Purchasers of their Right. The Piety of those Times would have made it look uncharitable, to have been apprehensive of *Resignation Bonds*; of forced Compositions; and Contracts for *Farms*, or *Women*. But some People have now learn'd to make Bold with God Almighty; beyond the Imagination, as well as the Example of their Predecessors; and to be Guilty of those Sacrilegious Frauds, which by the late Provision of our Laws against some of them, seem not to have been so much as thought on, in those more Primitive and Religious Days.

And here in point of Charity, I think my self obliged to desire those who are concern'd in the Rights of Patronage,
to

to consider before 'tis too late, How great a Sin it is to abuse their Power; and through Covetousness, or some other unwarrantable Principle, to betray the Church; which hath in some measure made them her Guardian: It imports them very much to reflect, how unworthy and unchristian it is to play upon the Indigence or Irresolution of another; and take an Advantage from the Unfortunateness of his Condition or Temper, to oblige him to mean and sinful Compliances! And what an open and undisguised Affront it is to the Divine Majesty, to endeavour to make his Ministers cheap and insignificant; both before, and after the conferring our pretended Favours upon them? To create servile Dependences, and raise our private Grandeur upon the Endowments of Religion, is a perfect Contradiction to the End and Design of them. This makes the Church contemptible by the Strength of her own Revenues; and causes the Monuments of our Fore-fathers Piety to be instrumental in undermining, and exposing that Faith they thereby intended to Secure and Advance: Which whosoever is guilty of, he may be assured he hath a Right to the Imprecations, as well as the Patronage of the first Endowers of Churches; which dreadful Legacy they were generally very careful

full to Settle upon such irreligious Posterity, *Spelman de non temerand. Eccl.*

In short, To prostitute so sacred a Trust as this is, to Pride and Ambition, is in effect to Sacrifice to the Devil with that which is consecrated to God Almighty; and looks like a more provoking Impiety, than *Belshazzar's* debauching to the Honour of his Idols, in the Vessels of the Temple, *Dan.* 5. 3, 4. For here is not only an Abuse of Holy things, but Persons too; and God is dishonoured in those that Represent him upon a most solemn and important Account.

I shall now at last, crave leave, to desire those of the Clergy who are engaged in the Families of Secular Persons (for I mean no other) to reflect of what ill Consequence it is to Religion, for them not to Assert their Office in a prudent defensible way: And how cheap in their Persons, and unsuccessful in their Employment, they must necessarily be, if they betray the Privileges of their Function, by servile Compliance and Flattery. People will be apt to imagine (and not without Reason) that those who will Cringe below the Gravity of their Character, to gain a little of this World, can scarce have any great and Religious Apprehensions of the Other. Overmuch Ceremony in a Clergyman is frequently

quently misinterpreted; and supposed to proceed not from his Breeding or Humility; but from a consciousness of his Meanness; and others are willing to allow him so much Sense, as to be a competent Judge of his own Inconsiderableness; and since he confesses himself contemptible by his Carriage, they think it but Just to treat him accordingly. For Men of Figure, excepting those who are very Understanding and Religious, are apt to have Misapprehensions conveyed into them by over-proportioned Respect; and to imagine the Distance between him that gives it, and themselves, to be much greater than really it is. Since therefore as things stand, there is some danger lest Church-men should Complement away the Usefulness and Authority of their Calling; they would do well to decline superlative Observance; for fear they give others a wrong Notion of their Employ; or be thought to have *Mens Persons in admiration because of Advantage*. It would be no more than requisite, if they would reserve their *Duty* for their King, their Bishop and their Parents, and express their Gratitude to their Patrons in Language less liable to Misconstruction, and more proper to the Relation between them. For as they should not be unwilling to own the Distinctions which the King's Laws have

made, as they ought to make some particular Acknowledgments for the Favours and Civilities of those they are more Immediately concern'd with, and by inoffensive and agreeable Conversation, prevent all reasonable Suspicion of their being displeas'd with the superiour Quality, or fortune of others; so likewise are they obliged, not to be so officiously, or rather parasitically mindful of the Condition of any Person, as wholly to be forgetful of their own. For notwithstanding the Disadvantages they may sometimes happen to come into the World with; the Constitution of the Government hath set them upon the same Level with the Inferiour Gentry; as a reward of their Education; and out of regard to their Function: Now that the Laws were not Priest-ridden, and superstitiously lavish of their Honour in this case might, were it necessary, be abundantly proved from the reason of the Thing, and the general practice of other Countries; both with respect to ancient and modern Times. These Privileges therefore being conferr'd upon just and publick Accounts, a Man is sometimes bound to maintain; And to surrender them up to the superciliousness of every assuming

or ignorant Pretender, is a Reflection upon the Wisdom, and Ingratitude to the Religious Bounty of those Kings who granted them: and which is worse, a Churchman by making himself Contemptible, hath parted with his Power of doing good; and consequently, disappointed the great End of his Calling. Whereas without doubt, 'tis part of the Design of these Privileges, to create a suitable Resolution and Presence of Mind in those that have them; that so their Spirit being raised up to their Civil Station, their Character and Deportment may be the better proportioned; and their Actions keep a truer Decorum with the Nature of their Office; that they might not be Over-awed, and almost struck Dumb with the Glitterings of Title, or Fortune; but retain a graceful Freedom in Conversation; neither Idolizing Greatness, nor Neglecting it. The Intention of the Laws in distinguishing the Clergy from the Vulgar, besides the Consideration of their Merit, was to put them into a better Capacity to maintain the Honour and Interest of Religion among all sorts of Persons; that the Rich as well as the Poor might be advantaged by their Ministry; and when Persons of Condition were to be told of their Faults, the Priest might be fortified with a convenient Courage

rage to give the Reproof, and the others dispos'd to receive it without disgust and impatience. Now to be ready upon all Occasions, to resent any Dishonour done to Religion with a prudent Gravity and Assurance, carries such a noble Air of Greatness and undefigning Honesty in it, that it Forces a secret Veneration from Enemies themselves; and though a Man may happen to be unjustly hated for speaking unacceptable Truths; yet he is sure never to be despised. Whereas a diffident and unsupported Behaviour in a Clergyman, is often suppos'd to proceed from ignoble Qualities; and consequently, will be sure to weaken the force of his publick Instructions; it being natural for ill Men especially, to disregard, if not to deride the Admonitions of those they believe are afraid of them; and he that cannot talk without Concern before a Sinner of Quality any where but in the Pulpit, might almost as good say nothing to him there. For if a Churchman's Conversation be servile and designing all the Week, his appearing with a new Set of Notions upon the Sunday, will be interpreted only a formal Compliance with his Profession: His pressing those Doctrines which his Practice contradicts, will signify little either to his own Advantage, or theirs that hear him: For though Men ought
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to mind what is said, and not who says it; yet the Prejudices of the Generality are such, that a good Cause usually suffers very much when 'tis pleaded by an improper and exceptionable Advocate: How fulsome an Entertainment is it, to hear a Coward harangue upon Valour; or a Covetous Miser Preach up Contempt in the World? The Man might better have spared his Rhetorick; for his commending those good Qualities he neither hath the Honesty or Courage to be Master of, is in effect but a Satyr upon himself; and serves only to make him more despicable and ridiculous; and which is worse, the secret Disdain the Audience hath for such a Panegyrist, often slides from his Person to his Subject; which makes his Exhortation nauseous; and helps to bring Virtue it self into Disgrace.

If it be objected, That the Poverty of some of the Clergy forces them to suppress their Sentiments in some things; and to suffer whatever an encroaching Temper shall think fit to put upon them: To this I answer, That the Temptation to this Sin ought to have been prevented before their going into Holy Orders: For those who cannot be supplied with a competent Fortune by themselves, their Relations, or at least, by some creditable independent Pre-
ferment,

ferment, had much better chuse some other inferiour Employment ; than expose themselves to such apparent Danger in this : But if their own or their Friends Imprudence, hath sent them unprovided into the Church, 'tis more Reputable, Conscientious, and to a generous Mind more easie too, to submit to the Inconveniencies of their own Poverty, than to the Pride of others ; and to prefer a homely unornamented Liberty, to a splendid Servitude. And as for those (if there be any such) who do not discharge their Office with that Plainness, and discreetly managed Resolution which God and the Church expects from them ; it will not be improper to remind them of what Mr. *Herbert* hath written upon this Occasion, *Country Parson*, pag. 5. where he tells us, “ That such Persons wrong the Priest-
“ hood, neglect their Duty, and shall be so
“ far from that which they seek by their
“ Over-submissiveness and Cringing, that
“ they shall ever be despised. Indeed they have no reason to expect any better Usage ; for as Flattery is deservedly accounted one of the most Contemptible Vices ; so a Clergyman when he is guilty of it, is the worst of Flatterers. To which we may add, That 'tis hard to conceive how the Oath against Simony can be fairly taken by such Persons ; for certainly he that purchases
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his Preferment with the Prevarication of his Office, does no less contradict the Design of this Oath, than if he had paid down the full value in Money for it: He that hath barter'd away his Freedom and Usefulness, (and as much as in him lies the Reputation of his Order) cannot in any reasonable Construction be said to be Presented *Gratis*.

Those therefore who are this way concern'd, should do well to consider, How Mean it is to be over-awed, and how Mercenary to be bribed into an Omission of their Duty! What a sordid and criminal Perfidiousness is it, to Betray the Honour of their Function, and the Happiness of their Charge, *For handfuls of Barley and pieces of Bread?* Ezek. 13. How ill do they Represent the God of Faithfulness and Truth; who either by verbal or silent Flattery deceive Men into a false Perswasion of Security; and dissemble their Apprehensions of Danger, when the Mistake is likely to prove Fatal to those that lie under it? Can they that pretend (and that truly) a Commission from our Blessed Saviour, That good Shepherd, *Who laid down his Life for the Sheep*; Can they have so little Charity for the Souls of Men, as to let them miscarry out of Ceremony and Respect; and rather venture their being
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Damn'd, than Disobliged? How such a Treacherous Observance will be look'd upon in the Great Day of Accounts, is not difficult to foretel; were it not too sad an Argument to dilate upon: I shall only add, That those, who in prospect of Preferment, neglect any necessary Admonition or Re-proof, are False to the Interests of *Religion*, the Ends of their Commission; and the Authority of their *Master*. And may in some sense, be said to repeat the Crime of *Judas*; and sell their *Saviour*.

O F T H E
W E A K N E S S
O F
H U M A N R E A S O N .

THere are few Things Reason can discover with so much Certainty and Ease, as its own Insufficiency. This is an over-officious Truth, and is always at a Man's Heels; so that if he looks about him, he must take notice of it whether he will or not. Those who are ignorant of this Imperfection, are the greatest Proofs of it. When the Wound does not complain upon *Searching*, 'tis a sign of *Mortification*. He that is almost Blind, and can't see it, seems to have lost the Notion, as well as the *use* of *Sight*. In such cases, to be without *Sense*, is commonly to be without *Cure*: And though it may seem an odd Undertaking, to give a good Reason why a Man's Reason is not *Good*: Yet upon the least Enquiry, we shall find too many Experiments to keep up the Paradox. To give some Instances of the

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Shortness, and Disorder of this *Faculty*. How Languid it is under the Impotencies of Immaturity, and Age. How often it Drops, or overshoots by the Disproportions of Distance or Application. How 'tis run down by Fancy, and debauched by Interest. For the purpose, as Monsieur *Paschall* observes, The Extremes either of Youth or Age, make a Man's Judgment fail him. If he thinks too *Little* upon Things, he overlooks Truth; and if too Long, he is too much dozed to perceive it. He that views his own Handy-work just as it comes off the Anvil; is apt to be too favourably prepossessed to pronounce: And if he stays till 'tis Cold, and the Model is decayed in his Memory, 'tis odds but some of the Finer Parts will escape him. There is but one precise point proper to shew a Picture in; The rest Misrepresent by Nearness, or Distance; by being too High, or too Low. *Perspective* will tell us this Nice place in Painting; but in *Thinking* and *Morality*, 'tis not so easily fixed. Things are often Mis-marked both in Contemplation and Life, for want of Application or Integrity. We are too Lazy to find out Truth; or too much Interested to confess it. In settling the Value and Quality of an Object; we either follow the Multitude, who judge at random, take Things upon Trust, and dote upon

upon Customs though never so unreasonably begun: Or else, we are governed by those who *Lead the Fashion*; where the danger of Imitation is little less, through the Vanity and Design of our Guides. Upon this Basis *Opinion* is erected, as it stands in Opposition to *Reality*: Hence proceed the Mistakes of Choice, and Aversion; the Miscalculations upon Merit; and the Mismanagements of Pursuit. And the worst is, Opinion, or the Common Sentiment deceives the more dangerously, because it does not Deceive always: It would be infallibly Right, if 'twas infallibly Wrong. For then we might judge by Contradiction. But being Counterfeit only for the most part, it gives us no Marks to discover the Imposture; But stamps Truth and Falshood with the same Impression. What procures Regard and Reputation to Persons and Things? Truly often nothing but Opinion; for if you come to examine them closely, you will find them shrink in the Argument. What gives a Value to Jewels, and other Little Curiosities? What heightens the Expences of Luxury in Rarities; and sets the Dice upon a Man's Palate? Why nothing but Fancy still; for if these Trifles were rated only by Art and Usefulness, we should have them much Cheaper. To go on with Mr. *Paschall*; Opinion commands every

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Thing; 'Tis in a great measure the Fountain of *Honour*; and the Sovereign Judge of Sufficiency, of Beauty, and Behaviour; for these Qualities are formed upon different Actions, Gestures, and Complexions; according to the Variety of Custom. And which is more surprizing, the Standard of *Just* and *Unjust*, is often alter'd with the Climate; Two or three Degrees of *Latitude*, is enough to Ruine a Lawyer; to make the *Twelve Tables* Useless; and Repeal the *Statute Book*. A Meridian upon the Globe, or a few Years of Possession, decides a Cause; for it seems *Right* as well as *History*, has its Chronological Epocha's

Another Instance of the Impotency of Reason, may be taken from the Prevalence of Fancy. For Example, Let a Bridge somewhat Broader then the space a Man usually takes up in Walking; be laid over a Precipice, or deep River: Desire some eminent Philosopher to take a Turn or Two upon it for Meditation sake. I warrant you for all the Strength of his Notions, he begs your Pardon. For though he can demonstrate himself as safe, as if he was upon a *Bowling Green*; yet he is so Ridden by his Imagination, that he dares not venture. And some are so struck, that the very Thought of such an Undertaking, will make them turn Pale, and fall a sweating. I need not

run through all the Particulars of this kind: 'Tis well known, that the sight of a Cat, or the scratching of a *Plate*, will discompose some People almost into an Agony; and throw their Reason quite off the Hinges.

Who would think, but that a Judge Venerable for his Years, and Eminent for his Ability, should keep up his Character; and behave himself suitable to Place, and Occasion? One would suppose such a Person should be entirely Governed by the Reason of Things; and not have his Imagination disorder'd by the trifling Amusements, and Diversions of little People. However, for once, Let us seat him upon the *Bench* in his *Furrs* and *Scarlet*; with all the Formalities of a Court about him. And in the mid'st of the Cause, when one would least expect it, if any of the Council or Witnesses happen to have a Rusty Voice, or a fantastical Face; or have been ill Treated by the Barber, I'll hold you a Wager this Reverend Man forgets his Age, his Habit, and his Office so far, as to forfeit his Gravity.

The Mind of the greatest Man Living is far from being Independent of the most Contemptible Accidents. The least Noise is enough to disturb the Operation of his Brain. You need not discharge a Cannon to break the Chain of his Thoughts: The *Patt*

of a Shittle-Cock, or the creaking of a *Jack* will do his Business. It may be you are surpriz'd to hear him argue at an unto-ward incoherent rate. Don't fret your self, there is a Fly buzzing at's Ear. That's enough to make him Deaf to the best Advice. If you would have him come to himself, you must take off his little *Teazer*, which holds his *Reason* at Bay; and disorders that Sovereign Understanding, which gives Law to Towns and Kingdoms.

To proceed, *Diseases* may likewise be reckoned among the Principles of *Mistake*: For they spoil the Temper of the Blood and Spirits; and by consequence, impair the Judgment; and dull the Senses which should give us Intelligence. And if great Sickneses make a sensible Alteration in the case; I doubt not but smaller Indispositions do a proportionable Disservice.

Farther; Our Interest and *Inclinations* have a strange Power in Deceiving us. A strong Affection or Dislike, is apt to Represent Matters in a different Light; and to alter their Moral Appearances. A Council retained before hand, finds the Justice of the Cause improve strangely under a good Fee. On the other side; some are so humourously fearful of being betray'd by Partiality, that they are govern'd by a most unreasonable Counter-Byass. The only way

way to ruine a Concern depending before them, is to get it Recommended by their near Relations. Then, They will be sure to give it against you, Right or Wrong.

To wind up these Reflections in an Instance or two more. A Regard for Antiquity, does not only hold us in unreasonable Servitude; The Charms of Novelty have an equal Ascendant over us. Hence it is, that you shall hear Men Charge each other in Disputes, either with being governed by the Impressions of their Childhood; or with Rambling after new Chimera's and Fancy's. 'Tis an hard Matter not to encline to one of these Extremes. I would be glad to see the Man who can prove himself Exact. There are few Natural Principles (excepting those relating to Religion) against which there may not be plausible Objections drawn up: Insomuch, that they may be made to pass for false Impressions either of *Sense* or *Instruction*. For the purpose, One starts up and says, ' Because you ' have been used from your Childhood to believe a Vessel empty when you see nothing ' in't, this makes you fancy the probability ' of a *Vacuum*. But under favour, 'tis a ' meer Delusion of your Senses fortified by ' Custom; which you must rectify by *Science*, and Second Thoughts, if you intend ' to make any thing of your Understanding.

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In good time replies another, ‘ You have
‘ heard them Dispute against a *Vacuum* in
‘ the *Schools*; Now the Reputation of the
‘ Place, and the Jargon of Logick, has made
‘ you distrust your Senses; and grow mad
‘ in *Mood* and *Figure*. Prethee let’s have
‘ no more of this Philosophical Foppery;
‘ Return to your first Mistress Nature; and
‘ believe your Eye-sight, unless you have
‘ a mind to be Remarkable.

But to leave these Disputants, and conclude.

We may plainly perceive, That the Prejudices of Education have a great Stroak in many of our Reasonings; and that the Sentiments of Men, discover the Colour of their Original Tinctures. And as there are some Inbred-Principles impregnable against Custom; so there are some Customs, which Nature finds very Difficult to deal with.

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TO THE

READER.

Nothing seems less understood, than the true Interest of Mankind. 'Tis granted, many vigorous Efforts are made, but oftentimes to ill purpose. We love to distinguish our selves by Excesses, and be Great in Disproportions, as if 'twas more creditable to be a Monster than a Man. Our Attainments cannot be over-large, and yet we manage a narrow Fortune, very Unthriftily. Some Truths are over-looked, and others are stifled and betray'd : So that when Ignorance and Hu-

To the Reader.

mour, and Flattery, have done their parts, there's little remaining. And which is worse, some Failings are so strongly Entrenched, that 'tis hard coming at them. They have the Protection of Names and Numbers, and claim a Privilege from Arrest. But with Submission; Errors have no better Right to this sort of Sanctuary, than Treason had to the other. It can be no harm therefore to drag them out and bring them to Justice. For Custom has no Authority to prescribe against Reason. Actions have not their Quality from Men, but Men from Actions. What's done, and why; not who did it, is the right way of Enquiring. But 'tis a Terrible Thing to stem the
Stream

To the Reader.

Stream of Practice : We must be in the Fashion, how ill or unreasonable soever. And yet if the Leading People should Fire their Houses in a Frolick, or catch the Plague, the Humour would scarcely go round : They might e'en die, and be undone by themselves.

I have endeavour'd to remove these Mistakes in the Former Essays : The design of what Follows is much the same. It is to disingage us from Prejudice and false Reasoning. To Proportion our Hopes and our Fears. To keep us from drawing our Pretensions too Big, and our Faults too Little. 'Tis to expose the Weakness of Atheism, and to Unmask the Deformities of Vanity and ill Nature. In short, 'tis to direct the

To the Reader.

Offices of Life, and reach into Business, and Conversation.

Some of the Subjects seem to require brighter Colours; And there the Turn is somewhat different from what it had been, upon a more solemn Argument. As for the Performance, I can only wish it would have held up. I am sensible Sufficiency, and Expectations, and Censure, run high at present. There's no Proportion between Sense and Conscience. Men Write and Relish much better, and Live much worse than formerly. Besides, a Cause of Concern ought to be pleaded to Advantage. Virtue, if one could go to the Expence on't, deserves an Equipage, both to mark her Quality, and Command Respect.

*I'm sure the Reader is heartily
bespoke*

To the Reader.

bespoke on the other side. Some Authors, (I am sorry it may be said so) seem to Solicit for Vice. One would think, Atheism and Lewdness were some very useful Discoveries, they are so carefully cultivated and improved. With what Magnificence of Art are these Things set off? With what Affecting Ideas, Points of Wit, and pompous Descriptions? As if it was a glorious Exploit to sap the Foundations of Justice, to strike at the Vitals of Religion, and Debase Mankind into Brutes! No doubt on't Modesty and Conscience are great Enemies to Society; tis pity therefore they are not thrown off their Basis, and Laugh'd out of Countenance. What then; must fine Thoughts be stifled and the Range of Fancy check'd; Is not this to

To the Reader.

cramp our Understandings, and impose Dullness on the World? Yes, such Restraints without question, are great Grievances: If a Man did not Murther now and then, he might possibly forget the Use of his Weapon. Well! If Sense be so ill Natur'd a Quality, I wish we had less on't. What if some People have Wit? Must we therefore have no Religion? must the Scriptures be ill Treated, the Noblest Professions ridiculed, and the Dignity of things made an Argument for Contempt? I grant there may be Rhiming in such Consequences, but certainly no Reason. To be Muse-ridden at this rate is somewhat hard. If these Outrages are repeated, we must think of Reprizals; and that's all I shall say at present.

O F
F A M E.

I N A
D I A L O G U E

B E T W E E N

Philalethes and Philotimus.

Philal. **Y**Our Servant. I'm afraid I may disoblige your Business: You seem to sit in a Posture of Thinking.

Philot. I am so: And without more Ceremony, for that Reason am glad to see you: For 'tis in your Power to assist me in the Argument I am upon.

Philal. I dare not say so. But pray what is it?

Philot. I was considering the Shortness of Life, and what ill Husbands we are of so slender

slender a Fortune. We manage at that rate of Sluggishness and Neglect, as if we had a thousand Years for Leisure and Improvement. The greater part enter only like *Mutes*, to fill the Stage. Sure they think themselves born to shew their Insignificance : Why else do they make the Voyage of Life to so little Purpose, and spend their Taper in smoke, and smother ?

Philal. Look you ! All Metals will not shine alike. Besides, the Generality want opportunity to brighten and burnish. They are disabled by Labour and Indigence ; and cannot distinguish themselves with that Advantage you seem to expect.

Philot. However, if they would put on, they might be remarkable in their own way. Glow-worms will shine though under a Hedg ; and when the Wine is generous the least drop will sparkle. But, like Beggars, People are willing to dissemble their Ability ; and charge their Sloth upon their Impotence : Whereas if they would rowse their Spirits, and awaken their Vigour, they might probably in a short time command the Force of Nature, reduce their Business to the Art of Clock-work, and make it strike of its own accord. For if you observe, the Drudging part of Life is chiefly owing to Clumsiness and Ignorance ; which either wants proper Tools, or Skill to use them.

them. But this is not all : For in my Opinion, the *Credit* of the Improvement would exceed the Convenience.

Philal. If every Body did their Best, and strain'd to the extent of possibility, I grant you, Things and *Persons*, would be really valuable; and Admiration an Argument of Worth : But now, considering the Degeneracy of Mankind, the common Cry signifies not much. If any Man does well, let him think so, and reward himself. To creep after Applause, is a servile and precarious Satisfaction.

Philot. Without Reflection ; those who despise Fame seldom deserve it. We are apt to undervalue the Purchase we cannot reach, to conceal our Poverty the better.

Philal. What if 'tis held too high, or I don't need it ; Is it any harm to say so ?

Philot. It argues a Tincture of Conceit ; for we cannot lessen the common Opinion, without preferring our own.

Philal. You know I am not singular ; but if I were, I might modestly enough appeal from *Numbers* to *Reason* ; for there the Cause must be tryed at last.

Philot. I am willing to cast it upon that Issue. And to my thinking the general Desire of Fame, if we had nothing more for't, proves it reasonable. People of all Conditions have a Regard for publick Esteem, and
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are willing to be remember'd as long, and to as much advantage as may be: Now Nature does not use to spread an Inclination so wide but for significant Purposes. It seems to be given for an Incitement to Industry, a *Ferment* thrown into the Blood to work it up to Action. It reconciles Men to Labour and Hazard, supports their Constancy, and helps them to shake off Sloath and Despair. And as there are few unaffected with it in some measure, so it takes the firmest hold of generous Minds. 'Tis a Spark which kindles upon the best Fuel, and burns brightest in the bravest Breast. Wealth and Pleasure are vulgar Aims, but 'tis Glory which is the Ambition of a Hero. And when Honour has once gained the Affections, they scorn to admit a Rival. Ease, and Luxury, and Love, and all must give way to the Favourite Desire. The Man is not to be engaged by any Diversions, excepting those which second his Passion, and serve him in his Design. And it must be granted, the World has not been a little obliged this way: The famous Generals, Historians, Poets, and Painters of Antiquity, whence were they produced but from this generous Principle? This was the Passion that pushed on *Themistocles* and *Bra-sidas*, that raised the *Style* of *Thucydides*; that formed the Greatness of *Philip* and *Alexander*. This is that which gives the Heart
and

and the Head their last improvement ; sharpens the Invention, and the Sword ; and shews us all the wonders of Art, of Conduct, and Courage. Had it not been for this noble Ardour, Men would have stopp'd at bare Convenience : The growth of Science and Ingenuity had been check'd, and Life not Grac'd with so much Ornament and Magnificence. The *Rhodian Colossus* had been lost ; the *Carian Mausoleum*, and the *Egyptian Pyramids* unbuilt. Now why a Quality thus beneficial may not be cherished and admired, is past my understanding.

Philal. After all your magnifying of Fame, I am afraid 'twill not hold up to your Standard. 'Tis a rich Soil I grant you ; but oftner cover'd with Weeds than Grain. You say it produces Heroes ; so much the worse. 'Twas well if there were fewer of them : For I scarcely ever heard of any, excepting *Hercules*, but did more mischief than good. These overgrown Mortals commonly use their *Will* with their Right hand, and their *Reason* with their Left. Their *Pride* is their *Title*, and their *Power* puts them in Possession. Their *Pomp* is furnished from Rapine, and their *Scarlet* dy'd with Humane Blood, to drive Justice, and Peace, and Plenty before them, is a noble Victory ; and the progress of Violence goes for Extent of Empire.

Empire. To mention some of your own Instances: Pray how did *Philip's* Glorious Humour discover it self? Why mostly by Debauching, Outraging, and Murdering his Neighbours. 'Tis true, the Man was brave, and had been severely handled by shewing it. He had fought himself almost to the stumps, but still he went on: And had rather have neither Limbs nor Senses, than *Greece* should have any Liberty. And am I to admire a Man because he will use himself ill to use me worse? And as for *Alexander*, what extent of Country did he Ravage; and how many thousands were Sacrificed to his Caprice? What Famine, what Inundation, what Plague could keep pace with him? Did he not burn the Capital of an Empire in a Frolick? If his Power had been equal to his Ambition, God could scarcely have made the World faster than he would have destroyed it. If Wrecks, and Ruins, and Desolations of Kingdoms are Marks of Greatness; Why do'nt we worship a Tempest, and erect a Statue for the Plague? a Panegyrick upon an Earthquake is every jot as reasonable, as upon such Conquests as these. As for the active and pressing Industry of these Men, and the hardships they submit to; what is it, in plain English, but indefatigable Ill-nature; and Laborious Malice? And are we in love with

a Wolf for his Diligence, or a Highway-man for being on the Road late, and in bad weather? But they have Courage too. What then? Courage, when 'tis only a Second to Injustice, and falls on without Provocation, is a disadvantage to a Character. Is a Tyger to be courted for its Fierceness? Does the strength of a Poison make it the more Glorious? or is a Fire to be commended for being so bold as to burn a House down? If you say they hazard their Persons; let them take what follows; that will not mend the matter, unless their Quarrel was more defensible. He that will venture the cutting his own Throat, rather than not cut mine, shall ne'er be an Hero of my making, I promise you. In a word, this thirst after Glory often transports Men into very dangerous Excesses, and makes them the Bane of the Age they live in. 'Tis true, it helps to keep the World from being overstock'd; and if that be a Credit, let them make their most of it. Your improvement of Arts and Sciences, I grant, deserves Commendation; provided they were labour'd to oblige the World. But if Men beat their Brains only to be talk'd of; I think their Skill can hardly exceed their Vanity. And as for those Magnificent Structures you mention'd, I conceive them but small Additions to those who built them. For what
Con-

Connexion is there between a great heap of Stones, and a great Man? Or how can you infer the one from the other?

Philot. Certainly such a stupendious Pile bespeaks the Power of him that raised it.

Philal. Yes, It proves a Prince had Men and Money in abundance; and is that such a Wonder?

Philot. I thought the Nobleness and Curiosity of the Work had proved something more.

Philal. It does so. But the credit of that does not belong to the Monarch, but the Mason.

Philot. However, the Prince has the Name on't. Now, methinks, 'tis a Glorious Privilege to have ones Memory honourably handed down to after Ages; and to stand upon Record to the latest Periods of Time. To be contented with three or four score years of *Breath*, looks like a vulgar Satisfaction.

Philal. As much *Breath* as you please: But pray let it come from my own Lungs, not from the Trumpet of Fame; for that's too thin to live on.

Philot. 'Tis Life at second hand, and in some degree preferable to the first; because 'tis freer from Envy; and lasts longer into the bargain.

Philal. A Man is longer Dead than Living; therefore it seems he had better be
the

the first. This *Logick* won't do. And as for your second hand Living, before you depend too much upon it, you would do well to try it in a parallel Instance.

Philot. How is that ?

Philal. Why by second hand *Eating* and *Drinking* ; or doing it by Proxy. Be not surprized, the Cases are plainly alike : For if another Man's *Talking* can give me a Sort of Life, why not his *Eating* too ; especially when 'tis done upon my Account ? Now, if you please, I will act for you in this latter Business, and then see how you will thrive upon the Representation.

Philot. Well ! When you have said all, I would not have my Name thrown into my Coffin, if I could help it. Oblivion methinks looks like Annihilation : And not be Talk'd of, is almost not to *Be*.

Philal. Your Name ! A Chimerical Advantage ! I'm sorry you are so solicitous to immortalize a *Sound*. What is *Cæsar* the better for our knowing he was called so ? Was it worth his while to charge in Fifty Battles, only to leave a few Letters of the Alphabet behind him ?

—— *Si decora novimus vocabula,
Num scire consumptos datur ?*

A Name is but a weak Representation : And if the *Piece* was never so well finished, what signifies that which is never seen ?

Philot. You mean by him for whom it was drawn?

Philal. Yes. For supposing a Man's Memory never so honourably treated at *Japan*, if he was not to come there, nor receive intelligence of the Respect, what could he make on't? Such an unknown Ceremony would signify just as much as Adoration to a Statue: He that is insensible of the Fact, must be insensible of the Pleasure.

Philot. Why cannot the Presumption of what is done give him some Satisfaction?

Philal. The Certainty of such an Advantage cannot be reasonably presumed. Many a one dies, and makes a large Provision for his *Memory*; and leaves it very rich in Tombstones, Pictures, Records, and such other Chattels of Reputation: But he is no sooner gone, but comes a Fire, a Deluge, or an Earthquake, sweeps away all the Distinctions of Condition, and buries the Great and Small in a common Obscurity. Now the Concern, for fear of such an Accident, must spoil the Pleasure of your Presumption. Besides, take things at the best, you must expect your Memory will be much confined, and as it were, banished from the greater part of the World. You are absolutely lost to all the Ages before you. And as for the rest, if you were a Prince, you would be farther unknown than known,
which

which makes your Obscurity greater than your Renown. What Tribute of Honour had the four Empires from *China*, or *America*? How many Nations have there been which never so much as heard of the *Roman* Name? Alas! what can a private Man expect at this rate? What a slender Portion must fall to his Share; and that without Security? The Customs of his Country may be changed, the Notions of Honour reversed, and the Language which should commend him worn out. Thus the conquering *Goths* altered the State of Things; defaced the Monuments of Antiquity, rifled the Living and the Dead, and suffered no Marks of Greatness but their own.

Philot. These Casualties must be ventured; what may be, may be otherwise. Let us overshoot the Grave as far as we can, and make the most of our Materials.

Philal. What are those?

Philot. They are those Advantages of Person, Fortune, or Improvement; which every one values himself most upon.

Philal. Let's see then how durable and shining they are. Now take them in general, and you'll find them no more than some little Progress in Art, some Smatterings in Science, some Pretensions in Figure and Station; something remarkable it may be in *Eating*, *Dressing*, or *Diversions*. These

are the Inclinations of no small Number : These are the Qualities they strive to excel in ; and this oftentimes is the true Inventory of their Glory. And can they think it worth their while to be remember'd by such Tokens as these ? I'm sorry they think their Understandings will be no better improved by Dying.

Philot. After all, there must be something more in the Matter : For every one is striving to fortify against the Assaults of Time. You see Artificers, Men of Learning and Fortune, get their Names wrought into their *Works*, and *Estates*, as far as they can : And for this reason the Bulk of the Inheritance is cast upon a single Person.

Philal. The Vanity of some Parents makes them unnatural ; and act as if they were of kin to none but the Eldest Son. 'Tis true, their Project of perpetuating is common and ancient too. The *Scripture* (*Psal.* 49.) mentions some who *called their Lands after their own Names*, out of the same fanciful Prospect : But mark what follows, *This is their Foolishness, and yet their Posterity praise their Saying* ; that is, they did as Foolishly too. Not that 'tis a Folly for a Man to leave his Name upon his Estate : But to imagine that this Provision will do him any service when he is Dead, There is the Weakness. People may talk what they
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please of Titles for ever, and *Fees Simple*; but to speak properly, there is none a *Tenant* longer than for *Life*: If this be not Law, 'tis Sense, and that is as good.

To come closer. When People Die, 'tis either very Well, or very Ill with them: If they miscarry, they will take but little Pleasure in the Ceremony and Civilities of the *Living*. Then they will understand themselves too well to be flattered. Pray what would the Respect of the Company signify to a Man stretched upon the Rack? Alas! He is not to be relieved with such Fooleries. All the Homage and Rhetorick in the World can ne'er perswade him out of his Misery. He that is contemn'd by the Wise, and punish'd by the Mighty; what comfort can he receive by the Applause of the Little and Insignificant? The Acclamations of an Infant, or a Parrot, would be a slender Satisfaction to one that lay bleeding under the Sentence of his Prince; that was degraded and stigmatiz'd, tortur'd with Pain and Ignominy. Now this is the Fate of those who raise themselves upon the ruins of Conscience, wrest their Figure from Law and Justice, and seize a Greatness God never meant them. And as for those who land on the right side of the *Shore*; they will have much bigger Company, much better Entertainments, than this World affords.

They'll leave their childish Fancies behind them, out-grow the Stature of mortal Desires, and scorn those little Amusements which pleased them here. All this is said on supposition that departed Spirits have the knowledge of humane Affairs, which is not very probable. The other World, and this, seem too far asunder to be within Hearing. And for the Liberty of returning *incognito*, I believe 'tis no common Privilege. When we are once dead, in all likelihood the Scene of this World is wholly withdrawn: And that we either have not the Curiosity, or the Power, to recover it.

Philot. I must repeat, That this Earnestness for recommending the Memory to Posterity, is an unextinguishable Desire. It governs in all Places, Times, and Conditions. And to think a little Philosophy can check the force, and damm up the current of Nature, is a fanciful Undertaking. You might as good attempt to lay a Storm by Reasoning; and stop a Sea-breach by proving the Water gets nothing by overflowing.

Philal. There are several Diseases as universal as the Desire you mention, and as much fixed in the Constitution; but because they are natural, it seems we must not go about to cure them.—

Philot.

Philot. One Word and I have done. I say then, To baffle the Expectations of Fame is to discourage Desert. It strikes Industry almost dead, damps the Spirits, and makes the *Pulse* beat lazily. If your Maxims should take Place, Mens Understandings would grow downwards; their Courage and Capacity shrink up; and a little time would return us into the unpolish'd Ignorance of the first Ages.

Philal. No. Present Necessity, and Convenience, would prevent that Consequence. And to silence your Fears more effectually, there are a great many other Motives to Merit still remaining.

A Man may affect an Excellency for the sake of Improvement; for the Satisfaction of Significancy. He may do it to excite an Emulation in others, to oblige his Posterity, to serve his Country; and to furnish out Life to the best Advantage. Discoveries of Truth, Defence of Justice, Examples of Courage, and such other distinguishing Qualities, are allowed to entertain the Owner, and reward him for the Expence of the Practice. We may please our selves by considering, that our good Deeds will survive us; and that the World is, and is likely to be, the better for our coming into it.

And if this will not satisfy you, as indeed it ought not, you may carry your Ambition

to a nobler Height. I say, to a nobler Height; for I cannot help reminding you, that the Opinion of poor Mortals signifies not much. They pronounce upon imperfect Views, shoot their Bolt at random; and want either Strength or Steadiness to hit the Mark. Their Partialities spoil their Judgment, and make them Praise and Censure without Reason or Measure. Like some Spectators in a Play, they are apt to Laugh and Admire in the wrong Place: To commend a Man for his Follies and his Faults; or for that which is not properly his own. But to speak familiarly, There are great People in the other World: For Rank, for Merit, and Sufficiency, extremely valuable. The Respect of these I confess is worth the Working for. Their Commendation is a Title indeed; enough to affect the most mortified Humility. But if we expect this Honour, we must Live as it were under their Observation; and govern our Behaviour by their Maxims. Taking this for a Rule, that with them, there is no being Great, and good for Nothing; no Possessing without Purchase, and nothing current, but Honesty and Virtue.

Good night.

O F

M U S I C K .

I Shall say nothing concerning the Theory of *Musick*: Those who have a mind to inform themselves about it, may consult *Boethius, Glareanus, Galtruchius*, and others, who have written upon this Subject. My business shall only be to touch a little upon the Antiquity, the Reputation and the Force of this Science. The Antiquity of Musick reaches beyond the *Flood*: *Jubal, Noah's Brother*, is said to be the *Father*, or first *Teacher*, of those who handled the *Harp, and the Organ*. And how far a Genius which lay that way might improve his Invention, in seven or eight hundred years of Life and Vigour, is not easie to imagine. So that for ought we know, an Antediluvian Air might as far exceed all the latter Performances of *Greece and Italy*, as that World is supposed to have done the present. And how much soever this, as well as other entertaining Arts, might suffer by the *Flood*, by the shortness of Life and the necessity
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of Labour ; it was not long before it emerged again : As we may learn from the *Song of Moses*, and the *Timbrel of Miriam*. *Job* likewise, who is supposed no less ancient than the other, mentions several sorts of Musical Instruments, (*Ch. 21.*) And which is observable, neither of these Divine Authors speak of them as things newly invented. As for the Heathen, they did not forget to divert themselves this way in those earlier ages : *Linus* and *Amphion*, and *Orpheus*, and *Chiron*, who all liv'd before the *Trojan War*, were famous Musicians in their Times. Some of these Heroes were at the Head of the *Argonautick Expedition*. And therefore I cannot see why the *Welch Harp*, if it was Dubb'd, might not make as Honourable a Knight-hood as the *Golden Fleece*; especially since they would have *Apollo* for the *Sovereign* of their *Order*. To come a little lower : *Homer* brings in *Achilles*, relieving his Melancholy with his *Lute*. And *Tully* tells us, that the ancient *Grecians*, the most polished Nation at that time, did not think a Gentleman well bred, unless he could perform his part at a Consort of Musick. In somuch that *Themistocles*, though otherwise a great Person, was tax'd for being defective in this accomplishment. 'Tis true, he turn'd off the Censure with a rough sort of a Jest. He knew how to take a Town, he said ;

faid; but as for Thrumming upon a Fiddle, he left it to such Finical Sparks as they were. Musick was anciently used in the best Company, and upon the greatest Occasions. 'Twas the Entertainment of People of Quality: It bore a part in the Magnificence of Triumphs, and in the Solemnities of Religion. The Heathen Liturgy consisted partly in Hymns; and their Sacrifices were Offer'd up with Musick; as *Plutarch* informs us: The *Jewish* Service, tho' with a proper diversity, was likewise thus regulated: And by the Scripture-descriptions seems to be perform'd with that exquisite-ness, as if nothing but the *New Jerusalem* could reach the Harmony of the *Old*. The best Poets thought this Entertainment great enough for the *Elysian* Fields. And *St. John* has brought it into Heaven, or into the *Millenaal* Paradisifinical Earth, which is next to it. (*Rev.* 14.) Indeed Musick, when rightly order'd, cannot be prefer'd too much. For it recreates and exalts the Mind at the same time. It composes the Passions, affords a strong Pleasure, and excites a Nobleness of Thought. But of this more afterwards.

The manner of the Conveyance of Sounds, which is as it were the Basis of Musick, is untelligible. For what can be more strange, than that the rubbing of a
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little *Hair* and *Cat-gut* together, thou'd make such a mighty alteration in a Man that sits at a distance? But this wonder of *Perception* is not peculiar to the *Ear*: For the Operations of all the *Senses* are in some respect incomprehensible. The Sense of *Hearing*, as well as that of *Sight*, seems to be of a superior Order to the rest. It commands a Satisfaction at a greater distance, strikes a finer stroke and makes a single Object divide it self without Lessening. For Instance: A Man may see the light of a Candle, and hear a Voice or Instrument, as well if there be ten in the Room, as if he was there alone. The stream of Sounds, though cut into several Rivulets, comes as full to the Ear as if it had but one Channel to feed. The *Tast* and *Touch* are, if one may say so, more narrow Spirited. They engross an object to themselves, and will not let the Company share with them. They take^r faster hold, 'tis true, but then they do not Salute so Ceremoniously. They are, comparatively, a sort of Robust, Peasantly Senses: And those who indulge them are, in Reality, of the lowest Rank of Mankind. The Force of Musick is more wonderful than the Conveyance. How strangely does it awaken the Mind? It infuses an unexpected vigour, makes the impression agreeable and sprightly, and seems to furnish a new Capacity, as well

well as a new opportunity of Satisfaction. It raises and falls, and counter-changes the Passions at an Unaccountable rate. It Charms and Transports, Ruffles and Becalms, and Governs with an almost Arbitrary Authority, There is scarcely any Constitution so heavy, or any Reason so well fortified, as to be absolutely proof against it. *Ulysses*, as much a Heroe as he was, durst not trust himself with the *Syrens* Voices : He knew, if he had not waxed up his Ears, they would quickly have spoiled his Philosophy. I believe the softer Musick may the more be irresistible of the two ; because the Soul has a sort of Generosity in it, which loves rather to be Courted than Stormed. However, the rougher Sounds are not without their effect. Have you not observed a Captain at the Head of a Company, how much he is altered at the Beat of a Drum ? what a vigorous Motion, what an erected Posture, what an enterprizing Visage, all of a sudden ? His Blood charges in his Veins, his Spirits jump like Gunpowder, and seem impatient to attack the Enemy. The Antients were much our Superiors in this Mystery. They knew how to Arm a Sound better, and to put more Force and Conquest in it than we understand. To give an Instance or two : *Timotheus*, a *Grecian*, was
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so great a *Master*, that he could make a Man storm and swagger like a Tempest, And then, by altering the *Notes*, and the *Time*. he would take him down again, and sweeten his humour in a trice. One time, when *Alexander* was at Dinner, this Man play'd him a *Phrygian Air*: The Prince immediately rises, snatches up his Launce, and puts himself into a Posture of Fighting. And the Retreat was no sooner Sounded by the Change of the Harmony, but his Arms were Grounded, and his Fire extinct; and he sat down as orderly as if he had come from one of *Aristotle's Lectures*. I warrant you *Demosthenes* would have been flourishing about such a Business a long hour, and may be not have done it neither. But *Timotheus* had a nearer Cut to the Soul: He could Neck a Passion at a stroke, and lay it asleep. *Pythagoras* once met with a parcel of Drunken fellows, who were likely to be troublesome enough. He presently orders the Musick to play Grave, and chop into a *Dorion*: Upon this they all threw away their Garlands, and were as sober and as shamefaced as one would wish.

That the Musick of the Ancients could command farther than the Modern, is past Dispute. Whether they were Masters of a greater Compass of *Notes*, or knew the Secret of varying them more artificially: whether

ther they adjusted the Intervals of Silence more exactly, had their Hands or their Voices farther improved, or their Instruments better contrived: Whether they had a deeper insight into the Philosophy of Nature, and understood the *Laws* of the *Union* of the Soul and Body more thoroughly; and from thence were enabled to touch the Passions, strengthen the Sense, or prepare the *Medium* with greater Advantage: whether they excell'd us in all, or in how many of these ways, is not so clear. However, this is certain, That our Improvements of this kind are little better than *Ale house Crowds* with respect to theirs.

'Tis likely this Declension of Musick has laid some Powers of the Soul perfectly asleep, for want of an Occasion strong enough to call them up. But possibly we are no great losers by it: For the Heathens often made an ill use of this Advantage. The *Fathers* declaim against their Theatre Musick, as Lewd and Licentious. No doubt 'twas capable of being Reformed to Manly and Religious Purposes. And on the other hand, 'tis no less probable we might have misemploy'd it as much as they did.

And here it may not be improper to consider, whether there may not be some *Counter-sounds*; which may give the Mind as high

high a disgust, as the other can a pleasure. For the Purpose: I believe 'tis possible to invent an *Instrument* that shall have a quite contrary Effect to those Martial ones now in use. An *Instrument* that shall sink the Spirits, and shake the Nerves, and curdle the Blood, and inspire Despair, and Cowardise, and Consternation, at a surprizing Rate. 'Tis probable the roaring of Lions, the warbling of Cats and Scritch-Owls, together with a mixture of the howling of Dogs, judiciously imitated and compounded, might go a great way in this Invention. Whether such Anti-musick as this might not be of Service in a Camp, I shall leave to the Military Men to consider. To return.

Though the Entertainments of Musick are very engaging; though they make a great discovery of the Soul; and shew it capable of strange Diversities of Pleasure: Yet to have our Passions lie at the Mercy of a little Minstrelsy; to be sidled out of our Reason and Sobriety; to have our Courage depend upon a *Drum*, or our Devotions on an *Organ*, is a sign we are not so great as we might be. If we were proof against the Charming of Sounds; or could we have the Satisfaction without the Danger; or raise our Minds to what pitch we pleas'd by the strength of *Thinking*, it would be a Nobler Instance of Power and Perfection: But such

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an Independency is not to be expected in this World, therefore we must manage wisely, and be contented.

One word of *Church-Musick*, and I have done. The end of Church Musick is to relieve the weariness of a long Attention; to make the Mind more chearful and composed; and to endear the Offices of Religion. It should therefore imitate the *Perfume* of the *Jewish Tabernacle*, and have as little of the Composition of common Use as is possible. There must be no Voluntary *Maggots*, no Military *Tatoos*, no Light and Galliardizing *Notes*; nothing that may make the Fancy trifling, or raise an improper thought: This would be to Profane the *Service*, and bring the *Play-house* into the Church. Religious Harmony must be Moving, but Noble withal; Grave, Solemn, and Seraphick: fit for a Martyr to play, and an Angel to hear. It should be contrived so as to warm the best Blood within us, and take hold of the finest part of the Affections: To Transport us with the *Beauty of Holiness*; to raise us above the Satisfactions of Life, and make us Ambitious of the Glories of Heaven. And without doubt if the *Morals* of the *Quire* were suitable to the Design of the Musick, it were no more than requisite. To come reeling from a Tavern, or a worse place,

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into a Church, is a monstrous Incongruity. Such irregular People are much fitter for the Exercises of *Penance*, than Exultation. The use of them deserves the Interest of Religion: And is in Effect little better than Singing the Praises of God, through the Organ of the Devil.

O F T H E
V A L U E
O F
L I F E.

TO quarrel with the present State of Mankind is an ungrateful Reflection upon Providence. What if the Offices of Life are not so fine, and great, as we can fancy; they are certainly much better than we can challenge? What pretence could *Nothing* have to insist upon Articles? As long as the Conveniences of *Being* may, if we please, exceed the Inconveniences, we ought to be thankful: For the overplus of Advantage is pure unmerited Favour. He that repines because he is not more than a Man, deserves to be less: Indeed the very complaint makes him so. But the Errors on this hand are not so common: People are not so apt to be too big to Live, as too little to Die. They are much more frequently over fond of the

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World, than asham'd on't. Not that there is a perfect indifferency requir'd. The Laws of Self-preservation, the long acquaintance of Soul and Body, the untry'd Condition of a Separation, and Respect to our Friends, are sufficient Reasons not to turn Backs upon Life out of an Humour. The very uneasiness of taking Leave, is a fair excuse to stay, when it may be done handsomely: For no body is bound to put himself to pain to no purpose. Now 'tis odds but that there will be a Pang at parting: For tho' a Man is born into this World with his Mother's Labour, yet 'tis his own that must carry him to the other. Besides, he that does not go off with a good Conscience, must expect a very bad Reception. This Consideration was overlook'd by most of the Heathen Philosophers. They thought *Annihilation* was the hardest of the Case: That Death would make a Man *Cæsar aut nullus*, Happy, or Nothing. This Mistake made their Arguments bear up with a more negligent Romantick sort of Bravery, than otherwise they would have done. But Religion, which gives us a prospect of Horror beyond the Grave, should make us careful how we go thither. Life was given for noble Purposes; and therefore we must not part with it foolishly. It must not be thrown up in a Pet, nor Sacrific'd to a Quarrel,

rel, nor whined away in Love. Pride, and Passion, and Discontent, are dangerous Diseases to die of. We are Listed under Providence, and must wait till the Discharge comes. To Desert our Colours will be of more than mortal Consequence. He that goes into the other World before he is sent for, will meet with no good Welcome. On the other side, a Man may be too backward as well as too forward, in Resigning. Life may be over-valued, as well as other Things; and he that buys it at the Expence of Duty, purchases too dear. Some People seem resolved to Spin out Life as long as they can: They are for going to the utmost Extent of Nature: And will not venture a single *Pulse* upon any Consideration. But to dote upon Breathing (for 'tis little more) at this rate, is to turn Slave to all sorts of Meanness and Vice. Fright such a one but with the Fear of Death, and you may make him say or do what you please; though never so infamous or ridiculous. And if his Cowardize is not tryed thus far, yet this Lean Principle will be sure to keep him Servile and Insignificant. He will never touch at a great Proposal; nor run any generous Hazards for his Friends or Country. And is it worth ones while thus to value Life, above the Ends and Purposes of Living? The Resolution of *Pompey* was much more

becoming; who when he was dissuaded from embarking because the Weather was tempestuous, replied very handsomely. *Gentlemen, Make no more Words on't. My Voyage is necessary, my Life is not so.*

The true Estimate of being is not to be taken from Age, but Action. A Man, as he manages himself, may die Old at Thirty, and a Child at Fourscore. To nurse up the vital Flame as long as the Matter will last, is not always good Husbandry. 'Tis much better to cover it with an *Extinguisher* of Honour, than let it consume till it burns Blew, and lies Agonizing within the Socket; and at length goes out in no *Perfume*. If the Sun were not to rise again, methinks it would look bigger for him to tumble from the Sky at Noon, with all his Light and Heat about him, than to gain a Course of four or five Hours, only to Languish and Decline in.

When a noble Occasion presents; an Occasion that will bear a cool Debate, and stand the Test of Reason, and may be pleaded to Advantage in the other World; When a Man is called upon to offer up himself to his Conscience, and to Resign to Justice and Truth: In such a Case, one would think, he should be so far from avoiding the Lists, that he should rather enter with Inclination, and thank God for the Honour

nour of the Opportunity. He should then be more solicitous about his Behaviour than his Life. Then,

*Fortem posce animum & mortis terrore
carentem.*

Let him pray for Resolution to act up to the Height of the Occasion. That he may discover nothing of Meanness, or Disorder: nothing that may discredit the Cause, tarnish the Glory, and weaken the Example of the Suffering. There are some Opportunities of going out of the World, which are very well worth ones while to come in for. The last Act of Life, is sometimes like the last Number in a Sum, Ten times greater than all the rest. To slip the Market when we are thus fairly offer'd, is great Imprudence; especially considering we must part with the Thing afterwards for Less. But is it not a sad Thing to fall thus plum into the Grave? To be well one Minute, and dead the Next? Not at all! If we are prepared, the shorter the Voyage is, the better. Is it not more eligible to come in with a smooth Gale, than to be tossed at Sea with a Storm; and then thrown a Shore when the Vessel is wreck'd? Is it so desirable a Condition to run through a long Course of Pain, to consume by Inches, and lose ones Blood by Drops? A Death-bed Figure is certainly the most

humbling Sight in the World. To set in so dark a Cloud, and to go off with Languor, Convulsions, and Deformity, is a terrible Rebuke to the Dignity of Humane Nature. Besides, People are frightened by Phantoms of their own raising, and imposed on by Words and Things ill joined together. A *Natural* Death is generally the most *Violent*. An Executioner does the Business more gently than a Disease. He that can conquer his Imagination, may possibly die easier of a Faggot than of a Fever: And had better chuse to have the Fire kindled without, than within him.

To say *Flesh* and *Blood* cannot be reconciled to this, is a Mistake. People have sometimes too much Courage this way; How often does Revenge, and Poverty, and Disappointment, make Men force their Passage into the other State? A Slave has Stomach enough to kill himself: And he that is not Master of his Liberty, will be Master of his Life. There is no Age nor Sex, no Passion or Condition, so dispirited and low, but affords Instances of the Contempt of Death. The old *Goths*, from whence the *Saxons* are probably descended, were so hardy, that it was part of their Discipline and Religion to scorn their Lives. If they were afraid of any Thing, it was of dying in their Beds.

In *Alexander's* Time the *Indian* Philosophers when they were weary of Living, used to lie down upon their Funeral Pile, without any visible Concern. And afterwards, about the Reign of *Adrian*, *Lucian* mentions one *Peregrinus*, who jump'd into a fiery Furnace at the Olympick Games, only to shew the Company how far his Vanity could carry him. At this day, the Heathen Women under the *Mogul*, offer themselves to the Flames at the Death of their Husbands. 'Tis true, the *Mahumetans* will not always let 'em have their will: But they think they are hardly dealt with, when refused; and make all the Interest they have for the Honour. I need not mention the Primitive Christians, whose Fortitude was both General and Extraordinary. Infomuch that *Lactantius*, and others, observe, That the Women and Children did not shew the least signs of Complaint, either in Looks, Voice, or Motion, when they seemed to lie under the Extremity of Torture. But it may be replied, and that truly, That these were supported by supernatural strength. However, the former Instances may suffice to shew, That there is a Greatness in Humane Nature not to be over-awed by Death. The way to be Possessed of this Quality to purpose, is to live well. There is no such Bravery as
that

that of a good Christian. He that can look the other World in the Face, needs fear nothing. But as the Courage of *Bullies* and *Town-Sparks*, who are so hardy as to risque Body and Soul, upon a point of pretended Honour, There is no Language can reach their Extravagance. They are Distempered beyond the Lunacy of *Bedlam*, and should be taken care of accordingly.

O F T H E
S P L E E N.

THE Spleen is often times nothing but a nice and exceptious Temper, which takes check at every little Disappointment. A Tincture of Conceit will make a Man subject to this Distemper. Those who over-value their Pretensions are apt, upon every little Occasion, to think they are ill used. That Quality should grow thus cheap, and Merit be thus over-lookt! who could have imagined People so strangely stupid and unacknowledging? well! I'll lock up my Face, and draw in my good Humour, and do my self the Justice of a private Resentment. These Expostulations in words would be ridiculous, and therefore they are suppressed; but they seem to be the Thoughts of some Persons. You need not provoke their Spirits by Outrages, either in Fame or Fortune, or by any Injury of a greater Size. A careless Gesture, a Word, or a Look, is enough to disconcert them. Such a supposed neglect spreads a gloominess upon their humour, and makes them grow sullen and unconvertible. And when

when they are disturbed only by their own weakness, and doing Penance for their Vanity, they lay the fault upon their Constitution.

'Tis commonly said the *Spleen* is a *wise Disease*, which, I believe, makes some fond of catching it. 'Tis possible it may be the only symptom of *Sense* they have about them. But if a Man can shew his Understanding no better way than by troubling himself and the Company, let him e'en pretend to it no longer; but rather make it his business to be a Fool. However, it must be granted that these Fits of Chagrin proceed sometimes from Natural Causes. The Fumes of Indigestion, insensible Abatements of Health, sudden Changes of weather affect the Brain, though they make no sensible impression elsewhere. This disturbs the Imagination, and gives a new and Melancholy Complexion to the Appearances of Things. VVise thinking and good Humour, unless People look to it, are precarious Advantages; a Cloud is enough to overcast them; they rise and fall with the *Mercury* in the *Weather-Glass*. Some Men can scarcely talk *Sense*, unless the Sun shines out. Understanding requires a kind Climate, as well as Plants. And if a Man would make nice Remarks, he might almost tell in what *Latitude*, Sea-
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son, and Circumstances, a Book was writ in. Generally speaking, Northern and Southern Wit differ almost as much as Fruits; by Consequence, Summer and Winter must have a proportionable Influence. *Ovid de Tristibus* has nothing of the Air of his *Metamorphosis*; and *Tully* offer'd to prove himself not depressed by a Misfortune, by the Spirit he wrote with under it.

When outward Causes concur, the Idle, the Anxious, and the Unfortunate, are soonest seized by this Infection. At such a time, a Man should awaken himself; and immediately strike off into Business, or innocent Diversion. Next to Religion, there is nothing like a vigorous Mind. Resolution, and Spirit will quickly repel the Malignity, and discuss the Humour. Now every one is bound in Honour, as well as Interest, to do his Best. For to lie at the Command of so many little Accidents, can be no pleasing discovery. To lose the Comforts of Life in a few *Vapours*, and to be smoaked and smothered out of ones *Reason*, are far from Circumstances of Credit. What wise Man would bring the Nightmare upon his Fancy; and conjure up Apparitions to frighten himself? Who would double his Misfortunes, and spoil the habit of his Body and his Mind, if he could help it? The Evils of Necessity are numerous enough,

enough, without being multiplied by those of Choice.

And as the Spleen has great Inconveniences, so the Pretence of it is a handsome Cover for many Imperfections. It often hides a Man's Temper, and his Condition, from breaking out to Disadvantage. For the Purpose ; One Man is press'd with unusual Poverty, and looks, as he has reason, somewhat odly upon it. VVhat makes this Alteration? why, his Blood is over-run with Melancholy ; whereas if you examine farther, you will find the *Seat* of the Distemper lies in the *Pocket*. Another is severely mortify'd by some great Disappointment ; but this must not be own'd : No The Man is Impregnable, he has his Mind in a String ; but no body can command a Constitution. He that has dispirited himself by a Debauch, drank away his good Humour, and it may be raised his Conscience a little upon him, has this pretence to guard against Censure : A civil Gueffer will believe him Hypochondriacal, and all is well. If he is silent and unentertaining to a Visiter, the Spleen is his excuse, and conveys his Pride or Disaffection out of sight. In short, the Spleen does a great deal of Service in Conversation : It makes ill Nature pass for ill Health, Dulness for Gravity, and Ignorance for Reservedness.

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The way to prevent this Distemper, and cure it when it lies in the Mind, is not to be *over Expecting*. If we take it amiss that our Acquaintance are not always ready to solicit our business, to study our inclinations, and to compliment our humour, we are likely to have work enough. To look for so obliging a World as this comes to, is to miscalculate extremely. When all is done, most People will love themselves best. Therefore we should not be surprized when we see them prefer their own Interest, break a Jest at our Cost, or raise themselves by our depression. 'Tis possible they may only make Reprisals, and return our own usage upon us. However 'tis good not to build too much upon the Fairness of others. More especially; those who wou'd be Easie, must not be Nice in trivial Matters; nor insist on Punctualities in Behaviour; nor be afflicted at the Omission of a little Ceremony. All People do not love to be ty'd down to Forms, nor to walk in Trammels. If a Man values Regard, he needs not ask the Company; he may give it himself if he pleases. These Disputes commonly disorder none but Weak and Fantastick Minds, who have taken a Surfeit of Prosperity: And since God has sent them no Crosses, they are resolv'd to make some out of their own Indiscretion.

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To conclude: He that would live at Ease should always put the best Construction on Business, and Conversation. He should not suppose there was Malice, or Contempt, meant him in every Action he does not understand. To interpret up to this Rigour, will make him often mistaken, and always upon the *Fret*: And is the way neither to be just to others, nor kind to himself.

O F

EAGERNESS

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DESIRE.

Desire is a Conscious Emptiness, an unsatisfied Capacity: It implies want in the very Notion, and supposes the Absence of the Thing desired. Was our Power equal to our Will, Desire would be a short-liv'd Passion; it would generally begin and end at a single Thought. For then we should put our selves in Possession, at the first sight, of whatsoever we believed agreeable. Every Intelligent Being, if its Force was not limited, would soon be Master of all known Perfections. And as Desires are the Consequence of Imperfection, so 'tis likely they are naturally enlivened to awaken our Industry, and make us pursue an Advantage. Did our wishes keep a due proportion to the goodness of

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Things, and not mount above the probability of Success, all were well enough. But Men are apt to miscalculate, both upon the *Value* and the *Event*: And then wrong Judgments, and visionary Hopes, always produce extravagant Desires. And how gay soever the Fancy may be made this way, yet there is great reason for Caution and Temper. To desire with Eagerness is a beggarly Condition: It argues a keen Sense of Want, and makes the Mind run strolling after foreign Objects, and grow Clamorous and importunate. And he that begs hard, is either very poor, or very covetous. A wise Man should be satisfied with himself, and live upon the Fund of his own Sufficiency. He should keep his inclinations within the compass of his Power, and wish himself always just what he is. There is Freedom, and Greatness, and Pleasure, in such a management as this. But to over-look the Entertainment before him, and languish for that which lies out of the way, is sickly and servile. To say, he must have such a thing, is to say, he must be a Slave. It lays him at the Mercy of Chance and Humour, and makes his Happiness precarious. Now he that cannot give himself leave to be easie, will hardly ever be so long together. What a long course of Submission and Attendance must a Man run through

through when his Appetite prescribes to him? Resolving to Purchase at any Rate, is in effect to send a *Blank* to the *Seller*. It encourages him to draw up the Conditions at Pleasure, and to rise upon us at the discretion of Avarice, or Ill-nature. If we examine these violent Pursuits, we shall find they have more of heat than light in them. The Object is over-flourished by the Fondness of Imagination, which usually paints beyond the Life, and sticks in the outward Varnish, without having either Leisure or Capacity to discover the Coarseness underneath. How happy should I be, cries one, if I had such an Estate, such a Place at Court, or Post in the Army? 'Twould suit my Genius, and my Humour exactly. Give me but That, and I have done *Wishing* for my Life-time. You have it already, Ten times finer than 'tis any where else. Make much of your Imagination; for you'll scarcely ever Pattern it. 'Tis not possible to Build up to the Model of the Brain: Nature does not furnish so fast as we can think. For often times the Scenes of *Fancy* are richer than those of *Creation*. Gold shines no where so Gloriously as in the Miser's Head: And Ambition makes a Crown sparkle, more than the Jewels of the *Indies*. Nothing draws so finely as Affection: There must be some Colouring

ring extraordinary to justify the Ardour, and reconcile the Dotage to Sense. And thus things are often half spoiled before they are gained, and grow cheap under Use and Experiment. He that would relish Success to purpose, should keep his Passion cool, and his Expectation low; and then 'tis possible his Fortune might exceed his Fancy. Now an advantage always rises by surprize; and is almost doubled by being unlook'd for. To go on, those who desire too eagerly, generally hope too fast; 'tis natural to pass from wishing, to believing. And thus their Affections impose upon their Reason, put them upon expecting Improbabilities; and so lay them open to Miscarriages. Now Desire and Despair when they are both at the height, are some of the strongest Ingredients of Unhappiness. He that gets a Fall upon the *Speed*, comes off well if he does not break his Limits. To miss that which a Man sets his heart upon, puts his Fancy into a Fever; it drinks up his Blood, and fires his Spirits; and throws him into all the Postures of Impatience. Such a grating Disappointment stupifies the Sense, and spoils the Palate; and makes the remaining Satisfaction of Life flat and insipid. Like Children, when we lose our Favourite Play-thing, we throw away the rest in a Fit of Pettishness. We see there-

fore if we would play a safe game, and keep Matters quiet at home, we must engage with Temper, and secure a Retreat; and not love any thing without Reserve, or Measure. Farther,

Strong desires are commonly attended with Fears proportionable. The Man is kept waking, and solicitous: He starts at the least check in Motion; every Cloud over-casts him with the Spleen; and he is equally anxious both how to get and secure. And what can be expected in this Region of Inconstancy, where accidents are so numerous, where hopes appear and vanish like Phantoms; where neither Things nor Persons continue the same long together?

Besides, were there no other Motive, the shortness of our sight ought to moderate our Affections. To wish violently for things, unless we understood our selves and them better, is like running in the Dark; a Man may happen to juttle a Post. However, the hurry of the Pursuit will make but a shuffling Pace, and spoil the Gracefulness of the Motion. But the Lustre of the Surface dazzles the *Sense*, and conceals the more inward Defects. People do not consider, that the best Metal is not without Alloy; and that there are spots in the Sun. To this we may add, That the Name of Misfortune is often misapply'd: There

are many Adventures would *Plague* more than *Pleasure*, if they were driven home. And yet when Men are rescued from the danger of their own Choice, they commonly want the Discretion to be either easie or thankful. But let the event be never so lucky, the satisfaction will wither, and the appetite wear off in time. Diamonds grow dim, by being long look'd on: And Musick may play till the ears are almost grated.

To proceed: Strong desires are Temptations to the use of ill means. In the Tumults of Passion, Reason is seldom heard. He that will have a thing, will have it right or wrong. When Covetousness or Ambition are in their full Career, there is no stopping them with Notions. *Si violandum est jus regnandi causa, violandum est*, and there is an end. *Akab* could neither eat nor drink, till he had the *Vineyard*, and therefore e'en left it to *Jezebel's* Conscience to put him in Possession. And if the Pursuit were never so innocent, the Purchase is not *tanti*: The Mind is over-proportioned to the advantages of Life; they will not hold out to the length of Desire. And since they are not big enough to satisfy, they should not be big enough to dissatisfy. *Solomon* tells us, *All is but Vanity and Vexation of Spirit*. And does any Man think
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to make more of the World than *Solomon*? Can he expect to Command, or improve it farther than that Wise and Mighty Prince? We do but disturb our Quiet, and mispend our Thoughts, and make our selves Mean, by throwing away our Inclinations upon these Things. To make short work on't: Let a Man desire to be Wise: And if he has this *Wish*, 'tis likely he may ne'er be troubled with another,

O F

FRIENDSHIP.

I N A

DIALOGUE

B E T W E E N

Philander and Sophronius.

Phil. **S**IR, You are welcome to Town.
Methinks 'tis almost an Age since
I saw you last.

Soph. Sir, I thank you : I had been here
sooner at your service, had I not been de-
tained by a Misfortune.

Phil. I am sorry for the Occasion : Pray
what is it?

Soph. I have lost my old Friend, on
whose Acquaintance you have heard me
value my self so much.

Phil. Is he dead? That is a Misfortune
indeed ! He was a most admirable Person,
by the Report of all that knew him.

Soph.

Soph. Yes. His Character could scarcely be raised too much. Were I not well assured he was removed to Advantage, I should pass my Time extremely Ill without him. But now I am almost ashamed to *Grieve*, because it looks more like *Self-love*, than Friendship.

Phil Truly to be sorry a Friend is not with us, when he is better from us, is a Sign we rate our Convenience highest; and mourn more for the Living than the Dead. However, 'tis customary to do so; and it passes for Affection well enough; and I believe is so in a less perfect Degree.

Soph. I am glad you have made me an Excuse; for I was carried off my Philosophy a little at first, do what I could.

Phil. Be not concern'd. A Sigh or a Tear, just at Parting, is natural and generous. But you have quickly conquer'd the common Infirmity, and resign'd your self to the Happiness of your Friend. I'm confident, he that acquits himself so handsomly, must have a just Idea to form his Practice: And I heartily wish you would please to lay it before me.

Soph. You are resolv'd to treat People in Mourning with Ceremony. I thank you for your Civility; and for proposing so agreeable a *Subject*. Were I qualified to describe the Offices of Friendship, none could

could undertake it more willingly. Such an Employment would affect me to that Degree, that I should almost fancy my Friend alive again. But I think I had better decline the Task, than injure the Argument. However, if you please to assist, and set me In, I will endeavour to recollect my self for a short Conference, as well as I can.

Phil. To begin then, since you will have it so: I remember 'tis a famous Saying in *Aristotle*, That *he who is pleas'd with Solitude must be either a wild Beast, or a God.* This Sentence, though it favours what we are upon in the Application, yet methinks it is a strange Paradox in the Position. But for the Credit of the Author, if it can be made serviceable, I should be glad to see it.

Soph. I confess it looks somewhat surprising at first Sight, that Two such different Natures should agree in any Disposition, or Branch of Life. But with Submission, the *Saying* carries a very significant Meaning: And imports, That those *Beings* who can live without a Sociable Correspondence, are extraordinary either in their *Defects*, or *Perfections*. They must be under the Standard of humane Nature, or above it: and have something that is either *Savage*, or *Divine*, in their Composition. The first is not generous

nerous enough to relish such a *Communication*; the other is above the Use of it. That humane Friendships are partly founded upon the Wants and Imperfections of Nature, may be said without Disparagement to so noble a *Relation*. A Man has not every thing growing upon his own *Soil*, and therefore is willing to *Barter* with his Neighbour. This Exchange of Offices, when 'tis managed with Frankness and Fidelity, excites native Generosity, and improves into Confidence and Affection. But God is all things to himself: He needs no foreign Commerce to furnish his Happiness, And as he cannot receive an Advantage, so neither does his Satisfaction depend upon giving one.

Phil. As to what you remark upon the Divine Nature, I agree with you. But for the rest, if it is the Author's Meaning, I am not over-fond of it. To derive Friendship from Indigence, is in my Opinion to mistake its Original, and assign it too mean an Extraction. Inclination, and Esteem, and Generosity, seem more creditable and likely Causes of so noble a Production. 'Tis Worth, and Bravery, and good Humour, which engages one virtuous Person to another. These Qualities excite Admiration; and Admiration improves into Love; and Love proceeds to Intimacy and Union. And all this,

this, without any little Expectations of Advantage. To give Interest a Share in Friendship, is in effect to sell it by *Inch of Candle*. He that bids most shall have it. And when 'tis thus mercenary, there is no depending on't. 'Twill be always shifting from one Point to another, and desert upon Danger and Distress; and when a Man has most need of his Friend, he may go look him.

Soph. Don't mistake me, I am far from giving Interest the Ascendent. I would have Honour and Inclination manage the Affair, over-rule the Choice, and govern in the Progress. But after all, I must say a Prospect of Advantage may come under a lower Consideration, without doing either Damage or Discredit. For why should not a just Regard be allow'd to that which betters my Condition? The Appearance of *Good* moves the *Will* by natural Necessity: And that which excites Desire, will have a Weight in Consultation, and help to determine for the Design.

Phil. If Profit is at all concern'd, I wonder those who have least need of it, and seem most above it, should be most forward to engage? Are not the greatest Men oftentimes strongly dispos'd for Friendship? Do they not invite Fairly to it, and reward it Liberally? To give an Instance: What occasion had *Lælius* and *Africanus* for Assistance?

stance? Persons of their Fortune and Quality could well have stood upon their own Legs, and needed not to lay in for Countenance and Support: And yet none closed more heartily, or carried their Friendship to a nobler Height.

Soph. Under Favour, Great Men want Supporters as well as others; and wise Men will provide them. But allowing your Instance: I grant you Money, or Protection, may not be always projected in Friendship. A Man may engage to entertain himself with a wise and agreeable Acquaintance. Now Pleasure is an Interest of the highest kind. 'Tis the last End of Action and Desire. Why does any Man take Pains, but to live easier either in his Mind, or some way else? Why is he fond of Wealth, of Power, or Company, but only to please himself? Now 'tis almost impossible to live pleasantly without Friendship. Humane Nature is imperfect. It has not found enough to furnish out a Solitary Life. Paradise, barr'd from all Commerce, would be insupportable; and make a Man run mad with his Happiness. But without a Friend a Man is almost alone in Company. Reserve, and Suspicion, and guarding against Misconstruction, cramp the Freedom of Strangers, and dilute the Entertainment. I may add, that Virtue it self is not sufficient to attain
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its End single. A good Man often wants an Assistant to direct his Judgment and quicken his Industry, and fortify his Spirits. Infomuch that the very Inclination to an intimate Correspondence, seems contrived for Advantage.

Phil. As I take it, a Friend is called, *Alter Idem*. From whence I conclude the Motives to Friendship and Self-love should be the same. Now a Man does not expect to make a *Penny* of himself. 'Tis not the Prospect of Reward which makes him affected to his Person, but *stark Love* and *Kindness*. And how then can we be just to the Relation we are treating, unless our Inclinations go upon the same generous Ground.

Soph. With Submission, your Objection goes upon a Mistake. For there is a great deal of Interest in *Self-Love*. A Man is considerably paid for his Pains. The Case stands thus: Every one is more intimately sensible of *Pleasure* or *Pain*, in his own Person, than in that of another. For this Reason he will find himself extremely concerned to cherish that, which entertains him so well. And unless he takes care, will give him the greatest Disturbance. Now Interest lies only in a Proportion of Loss, or Gain: And where these run highest, as they do at home, Interest is most concern'd. From whence it

it follows, That *Self-Love*, is one of the most *Mercenary* Actions in Nature.

Phil. 'Tis the first time I have heard so. I perceive you are resolved to stick to your point of Interest : But since you have allowed it so moderate a Share, refined the Notion, and corrected the Malignity, I shall e'en let it pass. And before we go any farther, give me leave to add, That Conformity of Judgment and Temper, seems no inconsiderable Motive to begin a Friendship.

Soph. Right. A Resemblance in Humour or Opinion, a Fancy for the same Business or Diversion, is oftentimes a Ground of Affection : Men love to see their Thoughts and Inclinations approved. This confirms them in the good Opinion of themselves : And therefore they seldom fail of being grateful to the Occasion. *Nature*, like *Narcissus*, is strangely taken with its own Reflection. A Conformity of Opinion and Desire, looks like a Multiplication of ones Self. A Man sees his own *Being*, as it were, doubled and extended in his Friend ; and then 'tis no wonder if he loves him.

Phil. I think now, we may have accounted for the Rise of Friendship ; I wish you would run over the *Means* of Cultivating and Preserving it ; the Extent of the *Offices*, and the Advantages of the *Relation*. For now I have you engaged, I shall leave you to your self.

Soph.

Soph. Then briefly to observe your Order. There goes a great many Qualifications to the compleating this Relation. There is no small share of Honour, and Conscience, and Sufficiency required. There will be Occasion for largeness of Mind, and Agreeableness of Temper. For Prudence of Behaviour; for Courage and Constancy; for Freedom from Passion and Self-conceit. A Man that's fit to make a Friend of, must have Conduct to manage the Engagement, and Resolution to maintain it. He must use Freedom without Roughness, and Oblige without Design. Cowardise will betray Friendship; and Covetousness will starve it. Folly will be nauseous; Passion is apt to ruffle; and Pride will fly out into Contumely and Neglect. Pride is so unso- ciable a Vice, and does all Things with so ill a Grace, that there is no closing with it. A proud Man will be sure to challenge more than belongs to him. You must expect him stiff in his Conversation, fulsom in Commending himself, and bitter in his Reproofs. 'Tis well if his Favours are not turn'd into Injury and Affront; spoiled either by the Contemptuous way of doing, or by upbraiding after they are done. Such Behaviour as this frights away Friendship, and makes it stand off in Dislike and Aversion. Friendship, though not nice and ex-

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ceptious, yet must not be coarsely treated, nor used with Distance or Disdain. A Correspondence managed at this Rate, may be supported by Necessity, but never by inclination. The *Man* may be kept for some time, but the *Friend* is lost. Friendship, to make it true, must have *Beauty* as well as *Strength*: Charms to *endear*, as well as *Power* to *supply*. An obliging Air is a Circumstance of great Moment. 'Tis a good Sign of a benevolent Mind; which to speak properly gives the whole value to a Courtesy. To improve the *Relation*, there must be a Willingness to receive a Kindness, as well as to do one. He who always refuses, taxes the Profferer with Indiscretion; and declares his Assistance needless.

An inoffensive Pleasantness - is another good Quality for the same purpose. This Talent enlivens Conversation, and relieves Melancholy, and Conveys Advice with better Success than naked Reprehension. This gilding of the Pill, reconciles the Palate to the Prescription, without weakning the Force of the Ingredients. And he that can cure by Recreation, and make Pleasure the Vehicle of Health, is a *Doctor* at it in good Earnest.

Phil. Spare me a Word, or I shall lose the Opportunity of a Question. 'Tis said, That Friendship either finds People equal,
or

or makes them so: Do you think it so much a Leveller as this comes to?

Soph. No. There is no more necessity for an Equality of *Condition*, than that their Knowledge, or Stature, should be of the same Proportion. I confess where the Difference is considerable, the Invitation must be the fairer. A Man must stoop his Hand for his Friend, and raise him up towards his own Ground. The Advantage must be laid asleep. There must be no challenge of Superiority, or discountenancing of Freedom, on the one hand: Nothing of Envy, or Repining, on the other. In my Opinion, Disparity in Age, seems a greater Obstacle to an intimate Friendship than inequality of Fortune. For the Humours, Business, and Diversions, of young and old Men, are generally very different. So that if they use a full Freedom, and let their Inclinations strike out, they will displease; if they balk them, they'll be uneasy. Besides, the Occasion of these different Thoughts, is not to be removed. A wealthy Person may cure the Indigence of his Friend, and make him as Rich as himself, if he pleases. But Age and Youth cannot be *made over*, or adjusted. Nothing but *Time* can take away Years, or give them. However, this Impediment does not always take place: *Socrates* and *Alcibiades* may serve for an Instance. And old

Lælius professes he had an extraordinary Kindness for several young People.

Phil. Now if you please to the Extent of the *Office*. How far is a Man obliged to serve his Friend?

Soph. As far as he is able, and the Interest of the other requires it. As far as Opportunity, Discretion, and former Pre engagements will give leave. To *Break* upon the Score of Danger, or Expence, is to be mean and narrow Spirited. Provided always the Assistance may be given without undoing a Man, or prejudice to a third Person; without Violations of Conscience, or Honour. Where the thing is unlawful, we must neither Ask, nor Comply. All Importunities against Justice, are Feverish Desires, and not to be gratified. Where Virtue is not made the Measure of a Correspondence, 'tis no better than that of Thieves and Pyrats. 'Tis a scandalous Excuse to say, I murder'd a Man, or betray'd my Country, at the Instance of a Friend. When Principles and Duty lie thus at the Mercy of a little Ceremony, we are likely to have a good Time on't! He that would engage me unwarrantably, takes me for an ill Person. His Motion is an Affront; and I ought to renounce him for the Injury of his Opinion.

Phil. I am perfectly of your Mind; and shall go on to another Question. Is it fair to conceal

conceal any thing from a Friend ? Or must the Communication be entire, and without Limitation ? Are not *Secrets* in Reserve, ungenerous Suspicions ; and inconsistent with the Confidences of Friendship ?

Soph. 'Tis possible some People have strain'd Courtesy in this point : And made their good Nature over-balance their Caution. My Answer, since you are pleased to ask it, is This : Whatever my Friend is concerned to know, I ought to acquaint him with ; and stand the hazard of the Discovery. But in other Cases, a Man may be allowed to keep a Corner of his Soul to himself. While the *Secret* is lodged at Home, it can never hurt me. For 'tis certain I shall always be true to my own Interest ; and have a Kindness for my self: But I cannot so well *Ensure* the Constancy of another. And why then should I put my self in his Power to no Purpose ?

To dispatch the whole Point. As far as Prudence and Justice will permit, we ought to use a Friend with all the Frankness and Generosity imaginable. There must be no stinting of Inclination, no computing upon Favours ; for fear we should do more than we receive. This is to *State Accounts*, and looks more like Merchandize than Friendship. Exactness, and Management, and Observation, is a Sign of Indifferency and Distrust.

trust. It may do well enough among Strangers, but a Friend should be treated at a nobler Rate; and used with more Confidence and Affection. We should examine his Occasions, and prevent his Desires, and scarce give him time to think he wanted an Assistance. A forwardness to oblige, is a great Grace upon a Kindness, and doubles the intrinsick Worth. In these Cases, that which is done with *Pleasure*, is always received so.

To pass on to the Advantages of Friendship: Now these are so noble, and so necessary, that Empire it self is insipid without it. *Augustus*, and *Tiberius*, had Loftiness enough in their Temper, and affected to make a Sovereign Figure; and had their Nature been more independent, would have liked a *Solitary* Pride very well. But this distance would not do their Business. They were glad to part with the Singularity of their State in some Measure; to lay their Majesty aside; and to purchase Freedom and Familiarity at the Expence of Prerogative. Where they saw the Disposition agreeable, they made no Scruple to raise mean Subjects to the highest Honours, to qualifie them for Intimacy and Conversation. They found the Satisfaction of Greatness imperfect, without the Additions of Friendship. They thought themselves un-

safe

safe without the supports of *Trust*; and uneasy without the Permissions of Freedom. To appear in their *Robes* always, would be a troublesome Piece of State. Unless they can be contented with the Happiness of a Pageant, they must, to some Persons at least, condescend to the *Habit*, and wear the Humour of other Mortals.

'Tis somewhat Remarkable what *Commines* observes of *Charles Duke of Burgundy*: This Prince was so very reserv'd, that he would impart his *Secrets* to No-body; especially those which troubled him most. Whereupon the Historian tells us, That this Closeness did *Impair, and a little Perish his Understanding*. *Pompey's* Ambition was as great as *Cæsar's*; his Project was the same, but his Over-reservedness undid him. He might have been Master of the Enterprize before *Cæsar's* Competition: But he was so Mysterious, that his Party knew not what he would be at. And their having no Aim to direct and proportion their Assistance, was the Cause of his Miscarriage. But besides the Disappointments attending this Humour, the Uneasiness of it must be almost insupportable; especially to those who are in Business, or Trouble. Those who have no Friend to discharge their Cares, and their Grievances upon, are (if one may use so hard an Expression) a Sort

of *Cannibals* to themselves; and prey upon their own *Vitals*. A swelling Discontent is apt to Suffocate and Strangle, without Passage. Whereas those who live within the Communication of Friendship, have a Vent for their Misfortunes. They may safely go to the Bottom of the Matter, report the nicest Case, and expose the affected part to Cure and Compassion. Friendship has a noble Effect upon all Accidents and Conditions: It relieves our Cares, raises our Hopes, and abates our Fears. It doubles our Joys, and divides our Grievs. A Friend who relates his *Success*, talks himself into a new Pleasure. And by opening his Misfortunes, leaves part of them behind him. Friendship, like some universal Medicine, works contrary ways; but always to the Benefit of Nature. And as the Union of *Bodies* fortifies the Action at Home, and weakens the Impressions of *Violence*, so there is a proportionable Improvement from the Union of *Minds*.

Neither is *Friendship* only serviceable to heighten our Pleasures, and compose our Passions. 'Tis likewise of Sovereign Use to the Understanding. The Benefit of Conversation, if there was nothing else in it, would be no inconsiderable Improvement. Discourse (without Enthusiasm) creates a *Light within us*, and dispels the Gloom and

Confusion of the Mind. A Man by tumbling his Thoughts, and forming them into Expressions, gives them a new kind of *Fermentation*; which works them into a finer Body, and makes them much clearer than they were before. A Man is willing to strain a little for Entertainment, and to *burnish* for Sight, and *Approbation*. The very Presence of a Friend, seems to inspire with new Vigor. It raises Fancy, and reinforces Reason; and gives the Productions of the Mind better Colour and Proportion. Conversation is like the Discipline of *Drawing out*, and *Mustering*; it acquaints a Man with his *Forces*, and makes them fitter for Service. Besides, there are many awakening Hints and *Rencontres* in Discourse; which like the Collision of hard Bodies, make the Soul strike *Fire*, and the Imagination sparkle: Effects not to be expected from a solitary Endeavour. In a Word, The Advantage of Conversation is such, that for want of Company a Man had better talk to a *Post*, than let his Thoughts lie Smoking and Smothering in his Head.

Another Advantage of *Friendship*, is the Opportunity of receiving good Advice: 'Tis dangerous relying upon our own Opinion. Affection is apt to corrupt the Judgment. Men, like false Glasses, generally represent their Complexion better than Nature has made

made it. And as they are likely to overflourish their own Case, so their Flattery is hardest to be discover'd. For who would suspect such Treachery at Home? Who would imagine his Reason suborn'd against his Interest; and that himself was guilty of putting Tricks upon himself: Now nothing is so effectual to rescue a Man out of his own hands, as the plain Dealing of a Friend. For Instruction from Books, strikes the Imagination more faintly, than that which is delivered *Viva voce*. And observing resembling Miscarriages in others, may mislead us by the disparity of the Instance. Besides, People are not fond of searching after their own Faults. To lie poring upon their Imperfections, and Deformities, is a dull Entertainment. A Man has no Pleasure in proving that he has plaid the *Fool*: And therefore had rather go upon any other Discovery. Accordingly we may observe, That they who are too Bigg, or too Wise, for Admonition, do a great many ill, unbecoming, and ridiculous Things. As for *Business*, the assistance of a *Friend* is most useful; to form the Undertaking, and secure the Steadiness of the Conduct. In matters of Moment, our Hopes and Fears are commonly ill ballanced. A Man is apt to be too eagerly engaged, to make just Remarks upon the Progress and Probability
of

of Things. Nothing so proper as a judicious *Friend* in such a Case ; to temper the Spirits, and moderate the Pursuit : To give the Signal for Action, to press the Advantage, and strike the Critical Minute.

Foreign Intelligence may have a *Spy* in it, and therefore should be cautiously received. Strangers (I call all such excepting *Friends*) are often Designing in their Advice, and make a Property of their *Client*. And though their Inclinations are hearty, they may give wrong Measures, by mistaking the Case. An old *Friend* has the whole Scheme in his Head. He knows the Constitution ; and the Disease, the Strength and the Humour of him he assists : What he can do, and what he can bear. And therefore none so fit to prescribe ; to direct the Enterprize, and secure the *Main-Chance*.

Farther : *Friendship* is not confined to the consulting Part ; it comes in likewise at the Execution. Some Cases are so nice that a Man cannot appear in them himself, but must leave the Soliciting wholly to his *Friend*. For the purpose : A Man cannot Recommend himself without Vanity, nor Ask many times without Uneasiness. But a kind Proxy will do Justice to his *Merits*, and relieve his Modesty, and effect his Business ; and all without Trouble, Blushing, or Imputation.

These Considerations ought to make Friendship sacred, and guard off all Injury and Misunderstanding. 'Tis great Folly, as well as Injustice, to break off so noble a Relation; especially one which has stood the Test of a long Experience. For Friendship is one of those few Things which are the better for the *Wearing*. *Alphonsus* the Wise, King of *Aragon*, tells us, That *all the Acquisitions and Pursuits of Men, excepting Four, were but Bawbles; i. e. old Wood to Burn, old Wine to Drink, old Books to Read, and old Friends to Converse with.*

To part with a tried Friend without great Provocation, is unreasonable Levity. It looks as if a Man's Spirits were turned Eager, and his good Humour worn out. Such Inconstancy of Temper, seems to be govern'd by Caprice, and Curiosity; and to turn more upon Interest than Affection. An ambiguous Expression, a little Chagrin, or a start of Passion, is by no means enough to take leave upon. The best People cannot be always Even, Awake, and Entertaining. No person performs at this rate of Exactness, and therefore should not require it. The Accidents of Life, the Indispositions of Health, the Imperfections of Reason, ought to be allow'd for. A *Paradisiacal* Temper is not to be expected from *Postdiluvian* Mortals. The bare Inequality

of the *Seasons*, is enough to give one the Spleen. And therefore your *Islanders* ought to bear with their Friends, more than those that live upon the *Continent*. A Man that would make the Best on't, must live under the *Æquator* : And in that steady *Climate*, he may possibly find People always in the *Humour*. To be serious : Nothing but plain Malevolence can justify Disunion. Malevolence shewn either in a single Outrage unretracted, or in habitual *Ill-nature*. Such Behaviour, I confess, is a notorious Breach of Articles ; it strikes at the Fundamentals, and makes a Correspondence impracticable.

When the Engagement proves thus unlucky, the way is to draw off by Degrees, and not to come to an open Rupture. Let the Acquaintance be Decently buried ; and the Flame rather *Go out*, than be *Smother'd*. For as *Cato* well observes, though in the Phrase of a Taylor, *Friendship* ought not to be *Unrip'd*, but *Unstitch'd*.

O F

POPULARITY.

Popularity, is a courting the Favour of the People by undue Practices, or for unwarrantable Ends. By the *People*, I mean those who are under the Government of false Reasoning, or vitious Inclinations, let their Condition be what it will. The Popular Man's Designs are Power, Wealth, Reputation, or all togetherr. He that is conscious how much his Vanity exceeds his Force, and that his Merit will never carry up to his Ambition; if he gets but a favourable Juncture, and a rising Ground, to Work he goes. He pretends a great Concern for his Country, and a more than ordinary Insight into Matters. Now such Professions as these, when they are set off with somewhat of Gravity and Figure, especially when they are recommended by a *Treat*, are very proper to dispose an Audience to hear Reason. So that now he ventures to acquaint them with the *Secret* of their Privileges. That the People are the Original of Power: That Government is always convey'd with an Implication of Trust,

Trust, and Reservation : That Governours are only the Executors and Administrators of the Peoples *Will* : That in strict Reasoning, 'tis a nobler Prerogative to give a Crown than to wear it : That the Pomp of Princes is nothing but the *Livery* of the Subjects Bounty ; and that the greatness of the *Wages*, ought not to exempt them from the Condition of a *Servant*. This, with a little Flourish about Miscarriages and Arbitrary Designs, is strangely Taking. He that has such a burning Zeal, and springs such mighty Discoveries, must needs be an admirable Patriot. What can a civil People do less than resign themselves up to his Conduct ; and present him with their Understandings ?

To come from the *State* to the *Church* : He that would be an Agreeable Ecclesiastick, must survey the Posture of Things ; examine the Ballance of *Interest* ; and be well read in the Inclinations and Aversions of the Generality : And then his Business will be to follow the Loudest Cry, and make his Tack with the Wind. Let him never pretend to Cure an Epidemical Distemper, nor fall out with a Fashionable Vice, nor question the Infallible Judgment of the Multitude. Let him rather down with a Sinking Faction, charge a Stragling Party, and hang upon a broken Rear. Let him

him Declaim against a Solitary Errour, and Batter a Publick Averſion, and Preſs the People upon thoſe Extremes, to which of themſelves they are too inclinable. And when Fears and Jealouſies become clamorous, when Diſcontents run high, and All grows Mutinous and Mad; then eſpecial Care muſt be taken not to dilate upon the Authority of Princes, or the Duties of Obedience. Theſe are dangerous Points, and have ruined many a good Man, and are only to be handled when there is leaſt Occaſion. There are other nice, though inferior Caſes, in which a Man muſt guard, if he intends to keep fair with the World, and turn the Penny. For the purpoſe: If he is in the City, he muſt avoid haranguing againſt Circumvention in Commerce, and unreaſonable impoſing upon the Ignorance or Neceſſity of the Buyer. If you meddle with *Diana of the Ephesians*, you muſt expect to loſe *Demetrius's* Friendſhip. The Dues will come in but heavily at this Rate: But to be ſure all the Voluntary Oblations in *Preſents* and *Reſpect*, are abſolutely loſt. We are a Trading People, (ſay ſome of us) and muſt have no interfering between Buſineſs, and Religion. If the *Pulpits* and the *Exchange* will not Agree, we muſt live, and there is an End on't.

To proceed : If his *Cure* lyes among the Lawyers. Let there nothing be said against Entangling Property, Spinning out of Causes, squeezing of *Clients*, and making the *Laws* a greater Grievance than those who break them. No Rhetorick must be spent against Defending a known Injustice, against Cross-biting a Country Evidence, and frightening him out of Truth, and his Senses. 'Tis granted, that Touching sometimes upon these Heads, is the only way to improve the Audience : Such Plain dealing would either Recover, or Disarm them : Reform the Men, or Expose the Practice. But then you'll say, this Method goes too much to the Quick. This *Divinity* may bring the *Benches* upon the *Preacher*, and make him fall under Censure and Discouragement. Now a person of Discretion will take care not to Embarras his Life, nor expose himself to Calumny, nor let his Conscience grow too strong for his Interest, upon any account.

To speak generally : A Popular Man always swims down the Stream : He never crosses upon a prevailing Mistake, nor Opposes any Mischief that has Numbers, and Prescription on its side. His Point is to steal upon the Blind side, and apply to the Affections : To flatter the Vanity, and play upon the Weakness of those in Power,

er, or Interest; and to make his Fortune out of the Folly of his Neighbours.

Not that 'tis a Commendation to be of a Morose and Cynical Behaviour; to run counter to the Innocent Humours and Customs of Mankind; to be Coarse or Unseasonable in Admonition; or to avoid the good Opinion of People, by Rustick Incompliance, by Peevishness or Singularity. But then neither ought a Man to *Pleaze* another to his Prejudice, to fortify him in an Error by an Over-officiousness, and to Caress him out of his Safety and Discretion.

And after all, the Success is no such mighty Matter. If one considers, he'll find as little Credit as Conscience in the Purchase.

For what sort of Reputation must that be which is gained by Methods of Infamy? to debauch Mens Understandings in order to procure their Good Word, is a most admirable Testimony of our Worth! A Blind Man must needs be a fit Judge of Proportions and Colour. These *Patents of Honour*, which are granted thus by *Surprize*, are always recalled when the Party is better Advised. The Esteem gained this way, like a Love-Potion, works more by the Strength of Charm, than Nature; and if ever the Person recovers, the Hatred will be much greater than the Affection.

The Truth is, if there was no Foul Play used, or the Artifice undiscovered, there would not be much to brag of. For an Universal Applause, is seldom little less than two Thirds of a Scandal. A Man may almost swear he is in the *Wrong*, when he is generally Cryed up. Either Incapacity or Prejudice, Negligence or Imposture, disorders the Judgment of the Multitude. Their Understandings are often too Weak, or their Passions too Strong to Distinguish Truth, or pronounce upon the Right of the Case. If a Great Man happens to make a false Step, and strikes out into a Sudden Irregularity, he needs not question the Respect of a *Retinue*; How is an Exploit of this Nature celebrated by the Crowd, and shouted home with the Pomp of a *Roman Triumph*? In fine: To endeavour not to *Please*, is Ill-nature; altogether to Neglect it, Folly; and to Over-strain for it, Vanity and Design.

A

THOUGHT.

I N A

D I A L O G U E

B E T W E E N

Hylarchus and Lucretianus.

Hyl. **I** Have often thought what it is to *Think*; and the more I press the Enquiry, the farther I am from Satisfaction. The Operations of the *Mind* are so peculiar, so foreign to all the other Appearances of Nature, that 'tis hard to assign them a proper Original. Without *Thinking*, we can have no Sense of *Being*; and with it, we are we cannot tell what. So that the same Faculty seems to make us acquainted with, and Strangers to our selves.

Luc. I am surpriz'd to find you entangled in so slender a Difficulty. *Thinking*

every Body knows is the work of the *Brain*: That is the Forge in which all the Speculations of the Understanding, and the Appetites of the *Will*, are hammer'd out.

Hyl. I confess Possibilities go a great way. But in my Opinion, the *Brain* has a very unpromising Aspect for such a Business. It looks like an odd sort of Bog for *Fancy* to paddle in. When I can see People tread *Sense* out of Mud, as they do Eels, then I may be inclined to believe that *Brains* and *Reasoning* are of Kin; in the mean time I desire to be excused.

Luc. I'm sorry your Conceptions are so Unphilosophical. You seem to forget that the *Brain* has a great many small *Fibres*, or Strings in its Texture; which according to the different Strokes they receive from the *Animal Spirits*, awaken a correspondent Idea, and give us those Notices of Things which we call *Thoughts*.

Hyl. A little clearer, if you please.

Luc. You must know then, that the Nerves, which have their Origin in the *Brain*, are branched into a great many fine Subdivisions, and spread upon all the Surface of the Body. These are the Channels in which the *Animal Spirits* move: So that as soon as any foreign Object presses upon the *Sense*; those *Spirits* which are
post-

posted upon the Out-guards, immediately take the Alarm, and scower off to the *Brain*, which is the Head-Quarters, or *Office of Intelligence*, and there they make their Report of what has happen'd.

Hyl. I suppose they return loaden like Bees, and disburthen themselves in the *Cells* much after the same manner?

Luc. I have told you the Information is convey'd by striking upon the *F. bres*, and giving them a particular Bent; which imprints the Character of the Object upon the Mind.

Hyl. I should almost as soon imagine, that the striking A Viol with a Bow, should entertain the Instrument with its own Musick. But as I remember, some say the *Spirits* Tilt so violently, that they make Holes where they strike; which are no sooner open, but the *Ideas* run into them as fast as may be. And after they have lain there a little while, grow as drowfy as Dormice, unless they are roused by a new Summons. By the way, What are *Animal Spirits*? methinks they perform strange Things.

Luc. They are a kind of little Pellets, wrought of the finer parts of the Blood.

Hyl. Then I perceive they are Bodies all this while.

Luc. Yes, But admirably furnish'd for Dispatch and Intelligence.

Hyl. Let them be as Sleek, and well Timber'd, as those Atoms *Epicurus* made his *Soul* of; yet I'm afraid they are not altogether qualify'd for that Office you have put them in. For supposing a Bird sits before me; these *Mercurys* immediately run up to the Center of *Sensation*, to give an Account of what is arriv'd. Now in doing this, either every single *Animal Spirit* must convey a whole *Representation*, which would multiply the Object, if not overload the Carrier; or else they must divide the Image amongst them, and so lug off every one his share. This I confess is the more equal way: But then when they have taken the Object to pieces, how they will set it together again, is hard to imagine. For they cannot strike all upon one Point; and if they could, they would jumble the Proportions, and run the Object all on heaps; where the later Impression would go near to deface the former. But if they impinge upon different Parts, and make every Part sensible with the Stroke; 'Tis true then they have it among them, but which way the Whole should emerge, is still incomprehensible. For suppose the Image was painted in Order, without any Dislocation, vacant Intervals, or Interloping;

ing; yet the parts of the *Fibres* being distinct, and impregnated by distinct Spirits, they can account no farther than their share of Motion reaches: And therefore how they should club their particular Informations into a common Idea, is inconceivable. For instance: If a Cake is broken among twenty People, though there may be nothing lost in the Division, yet 'twill be next to impossible for each Person, from the view of a single fragment, to understand what Relation either in Site, or Magnitude, his proportion bears to the whole. Besides, if any of the returning *Spirits* should happen to fall foul upon others which are *outward Bound*; (which is not unlikely:) These Counter-motions would over-set them, or occasion a latter Arrival; either of which Accidents would maim the Image, and make it imperfect.

These Rubs you see will lie in the way of *Sensation*: But then in the Business of *Imagination*, the difficulty is still greater. For here are no external Impressions to begin the *Motion*. 'Tis true, outward Objects will make us perceive them, whether we will or no. But the Exercises of *Imagination* are oftentimes purely voluntary. When the Passions are not violent, we may check or quicken, change or extinguish the Operation as we please. Now I would gladly

ly know the main Spring of the Motion. What Power it is which opens the Scene, and gives direction to the whole Management; which chalks out the Course of the *Spirits*, and limits their Commission, both as to Time, and other Circumstances of Action?

Luc. I perceive you imagine a *Mechanical* Solution impossible. But if you examined the exquisite fineness of the *Animal Spirits*, and the exact proportion between them and the *Fibres*, to give and receive Impressions, I believe you would alter your Opinion: Especially considering this Hypothesis is supported by matter of *Fact*.

Hyl. We'll examine your matter of *Fact* afterwards. At present let me tell you, since both the *Fibres*, and *Spirits*, are *Material*; I think it impossible for them to produce Effects, so much above the Vigour of the Cause. You may as well expect that two Bowls should grow sensible by *Rubbing*; As that the Rencounter of any *Bodies*, should awaken 'em into *Perception* and *Reasoning*. The whole Force of *Mechanism*, consists in *Matter* and *Motion*. *Matter* is nothing but *Extension*, that is, Length, Breadth, and Depth. And *Motion* implies no more than a change of Situation in the Parts of *Matter*. Now these two Ingredients, though
ne-

never so well mix'd, will not rise into the Composition of a Spirit. *Thoughts*, and *Dimensions*, are the most incompatible, un-resembling things in Nature. To make the first out of the latter, is a harder Metamorphosis than any is in *Ovid*. Who ever heard of an Ounce of Pain, an Inch of Desire, or an Ell of Contemplation.

Luc. I suppose you fancy if *Matter* and *Motion* can make a *Thought*; a *Thought* may make *Matter* and *Motion*.

Hyl. Why not? what should hinder this *Mercury* from being fix'd after Sublimation, and thrown back into its former state? But as this won't do, so neither will the other. Take a Body and run it through all Shapes and Changes; force it into all Climates, and bandy it through the Universe; yet like some young Travellers, 'twill come home as dull, and unthinking as it went out. For all this Bustle amounts to no more than making the Parts and Motion greater, or lesser than they were before; and giving them a new Neighbourhood.

Luc. I should have fancy'd that when the Parts were broken fine, and curiously filed, a brisk touch of Motion would have quickned them into Thinking.

Hyl. *Motion* makes them *Think*! you may as well expect Discourse from a Tempest, or Conflagrtion. And as for the fineness
of

of Parts, if that signifies any thing, a Mite would have more *Sense* than a Man. And to carry on the Improvement : One would think we might beat *Spice* till it felt the *Pestle* ; and with a good Flint and Steel, strike *Consciousness* into a Tinder-box.

Luc. What makes you so positive against the Sensibility of *Matter* ?

Hyl. Because 'tis nothing but *Extension* variously figured.

Luc. Do you know all the *Affections* of Bodies ? if not, why do you confine their Operations ?

Hyl. If you ask me whether I know all the Effects which may result from all the possible Combinations of *Matter* and *Motion* : I answer, No ; neither is it necessary. But this I know, That all your Transmutations can never hunt a Body out of *Extension*. You may divide, or consolidate ; alter the Superficies, the Bulk, or Place ; quicken the Motion, or interrupt the Quiet ; but alter all 'will have Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity, in spite of Fate. The Consequence is, That all the Revolutions in Nature can give it nothing more than different degrees of these Dimensions. And what affinity has *Thinking* with such *Attributes* as these ? No more than there is between a Syllogism and a *Tard-wand*. In a word : If *Thinking* is essential to *Mat-*
ter,

ter, then all *Matter* must *Think*; and if so, Stocks and Stones will come in for their share of Privilege. But if all *Matter* does not *Think*, none can; for the *Essence* of all *Matter* is the same.

Luc. Does it imply a Contradiction for *Matter* to *Think*?

Hyl. Truly, in my Opinion, as much as for a Man to be a Horse.

Luc. Why so? Does *Thinking* extinguish *Extension*?

Hyl. It extinguishes the *Idea* if you will; and that is sufficient Proof it does not belong to the Thing.

Luc. Because *Extension* and *Cogitation* are unallied in their *Idea's*, and this latter is not implied in the *Notion* of *Matter*, you conclude this Faculty does not belong to it.

Hyl. Yes; and with good Reason. For how can the *Distinction* of Substances be known, but by the different Properties and Operations which proceed from them; and which way can these be discovered, but by the distinct *Notions* and *Sentiments* we have of them?

Luc. Are you sure your *Idea* of *Matter* is complete?

Hyl. That the full *Notion* of *Corporeity* is compriz'd within the three *Dimensions*, is as clear as that two and two makes four. To these *Dimensions* add what Dose of *Mo-*
tion

tion you please, and then you have raised the whole *Posse* of Mechanism. And when you have Disciplined it in all Postures, and Figures, 'twill be *Matter* and *Motion* still. For you may better suppose, That a Mouse may produce an Elephant, than that *Matter* and *Motion* should propagate out of their own *Species*. Now these two Principles fall vastly short of the Notion of *Consciousness*; and are no more like *Perception*, than Colours resemble Sound.

Luc. You take the Differences of Idea's for demonstrations of distinction in things; will that hold?

Hyl. Yes, or else we have nothing to trust to. If clear and distinct *Perception*, is not the infallible *Mark* of Truth, 'tis impossible to know any thing. For all Reasoning is at last resolved into Self-evident Principles: Now these Magisterial Propositions don't Dispute for Belief, but demand it: They flash Conviction so Powerfully that there is no resisting them, unless you will suppose our *Faculties* are false: And then it will be Madness to argue about any thing. To return: Don't you think the *Whole* is greater than any *Part* of it?

Luc. I allow it an indisputable Axiom; what follows?

Hyl.

Hyl. Why as plain and as primary a Truth as it appears, 'tis but a Consequence of what I mentioned before.

Luc. What, that a Distinction of Idea's infers a Distinction in Things.

Hyl. Yes. For do but attend, and you'll find that the reason why you pronounce the *Whole* bigger than a *Part* is because the first takes up a greater room in the Notion, and includes a more comprehensive *Reality*, than the latter.

Luc. It seems then the Functions of *Life* and *Reasoning*, proceed from an *immaterial* Substance; and that the *Body* and *Spirit*, are perfectly distinct.

Hyl. Nothing more certain: And if a Spirit has no *Extension*, it can have no Parts: from hence it becomes indivisible, and thence immortal.

Luc. I own these Consequences are very clear: but then they are embarrassed with some appendent Difficulties which shock a Man's Understanding.

Hyl. Look you! we must not let go manifest Truths, because we cannot answer all Questions about them. Objections are no good Evidence against positive Proofs. This scrupulous way would make us deny our Senses: For there is scarcely any thing we meet with, but puts our Reason to a stand,

in some Circumstance or other : But pray where does the Pinch lie ?

Luc. Why, by this Scheme all Communication between Soul and Body is cut off; and yet nothing is more certain than that Those two maintain a large Correspondence. You see we move our Limbs at our Pleasure, and receive various Impressions according to the objects of Sense, and the Habits of Constitution. But how the Soul can move the Body, or be affected by it, without Extension, is past my comprehension. For all Motion is perform'd by Resistance, and Resistance supposes Contact, Contact requires a Superficies, and this implies Extension ; so that where Extension is absent, the other Requisites must fail of Course : At this rate, a Soul may as soon push down a Church-Steeple, as stir a single Atom.

Hyl. I confess I can't tell you how this Affair is managed. 'Tis possible the Soul does not move the Body at all.

Luc. How then comes it to pass that Motion is so perpetually consequent to our Will? For the Purpose: When I have a Mind to walk, the Muscles are immediately put into a Posture of Travelling, and do their Office at the least Notice imaginable.

Hyl.

Hyl. I believe this mysterious Correspondence depends on the Laws of the Union; which by Sovereign Appointment are order'd to consist in a certain Reciprocation of *Thoughts* and *Motions*, and so *vice versa*.

Luc. You mean, when I would move my Finger, God directs the Organ for such a Performance: And on the other hand, gives me Ideas suitable to the Presence of sensible Objects, and to the State of the *Union*.

Hyl. Right.

Luc. But why do you make use of this Supposition? Do you believe the Power of Exciting *Motion* exceeds the Force of the Soul?

Hyl. 'Tis not improbable it may. For if this Privilege lay within our reach, one would imagine we should know something more of the Manner of using it. But I don't pretend to determine any Thing.

Luc. You don't think it impossible for a *Spirit* to move *Matter*?

Hyl. By no means: If it were, there would be no such Thing as *Motion*. For *Extension* implies no Necessity of being Moved: It supposes no more than a bare Capacity for such an Event. Now that Power which brings this Possibility into Act, must be something distinct from *Matter*. Be-

sides : The Regularity of Motion, visible in the great Variety and Curiosity of Bodies, and the constant and even Revolutions of some of them, is a Demonstration that the whole Mass of *Matter* is under the Conduct of a mighty *Intelligence*.

Luc. By your Reasoning, I conceive you believe that the Power of *Motion*, is either an incommunicable Perfection of the Supreme *Being*, or else a sort of Prerogative Royal, which he is pleas'd to keep in his Hands, that we may be the more sensible of our dependance.

Hyl. I think that Opinion not improbable. You know the Apostle tells us, That *in Him we Live, Move, and have our Being* : Which Words 'tis likely will bear a more Literal Sense than is usually imagined.

Luc. May be so. But to return : If *Matter* be so incapable of *Thinking*, as seems to have been proved ; How comes it about that the Operations of *Sense*, and *Reason*, vary so much according to the Disposition of the Organs ? For if the Musick does not depend on the Instrument, what's matter whether 'tis in Tune, or not ? Now you know any considerable Degrees of Sicknes, or Age, flat the Senses, extinguish the memory, and weaken the Understanding : So that the Vigour of the Mind seems almost stifled under these Corporeal Oppressions.

Hyl.

Hyl. I grant the Powers of *Sensation* are contracted or enlarged, made keen or languid, according to the Temper of the *Body*. But 'tis likely these Circumstances are no more than occasional Causes of this Variety. My Meaning is, That there is no natural Connexion between *Thought* and *Matter* and *Motion*: Or that the Soul and Body do not act by direct Force upon each other. 'Tis true, *Sensations* and Passions, seem to depend upon a particular Set of *Motions*: And the Body, on the other hand, seems to fall into different Postures by the Orders of the Mind; yet these effects may not result from any mutual Agency, but meerly from the Will of a third Power. That this supposition is possible, needs no proof: That 'tis matter of Fact, seems likely; because the two Parties are so essentially foreign and dissimilar, that they seem incapable of entertaining any Commerce by virtue of their own Strength.

Luc. If the Operations of Life have no immediate dependance on the Quality of the Organ; why are our Senses worn up with Age, and decay with the visible Parts of the Body?

Hyl. When the common Period of the *Union* is almost expired, 'tis likely Providence gives us notice of it by such sensible

Declensions, that we may disengage from the World by Degrees, and prepare the better for so great an Alteration.

Luc. Why does *Pain* follow from Obstructions, Dislocation, Discontinuity, &c. and Pleasure from those Actions which support the Frame ?

Hyl. To encourage us to keep the Body in repair, and to prevent Dissolution.

Luc. Your answering in the *Final Cause*, makes me believe you are at a Loss for the *Efficient*.

Hyl. As to that, 'Tis probable the Divine Oeconomy has settled such an interchangeable Train of *Thoughts*, and *Motions*, between Soul and Body ; that as soon as the occasional Hints spring out, the other will as constantly follow, as if they were produced by the most immediate *Causality*. For Instance: If I cut my Finger, I shall as certainly feel Pain, as if my Soul was co-extended with the Limb, and had a Piece of it sawn through. So when I am disposed to Strike, the Action will be performed with the same Force and Regularity, as if it was conducted, and pushed on by the *Will*, in the most corporeal Manner.

I mention this both to illustrate the Point, and to shew that we ought to guard upon both Parts of our Composition: That there may be nothing done which is unbecoming

becoming, or disagrees with the Intentments of Providence.

Luc. If the Soul and Body have no intrinsic or essential Aptness to take or receive Impressions from each other; why is the Structure of the later so curiously Framed? Why is there such variety of Parts, and such admirable Proportion: By your Scheme the Soul might have the same compass of *Sentiment* and *Perception*, and do every jot as well, if it were united to a Clod.

Hyl. So it might, though it had never an Atom belong to it. However your Question about the Curiosity of the Body, may be answer'd by saying, 'That 'tis probably so framed to shew the Wisdom and Power of the Architect, and to heighten the Beauty and Dignity of the Creature.

Luc. Do you say the Soul may be as happy without a Body, as with it?

Hyl. I say 'tis possible to be so. Though God may order it otherwise, if he pleases; as in Effect he has done with respect to the Resurrection. But let this last Dispute lie undecided. And before I take my leave, I can't but observe to you, that there are a great many strange Appearances in *Thoughts*, Methinks, if it might be, I would gladly understand the Formation of a Soul, run it up to its *Punctum Saliens*, and see it beat

the first *conscious* Pulse. These *Thoughts* whence do they arise? What *Stuff* are they made of? And what *Vigour* is it that gives them such an *Instantaneous Production*? They are conceived in full *Maturity*, and step into *Perfection* at first. They scorn the *Gradations of Bodies*, and the heavy *Successions of Motion*. They gain the *Race* at a *Start*, out-stretch the *Speed of Gunpowder*, and *Distance Light and Lightning*.

Luc. If they come up in that *Perfection*, why are some *Thoughts* said to be unfinished, and to require the working off with *Labour and Time*?

Hyl. I grant you *Projects, Harangues, and Chains of Reasoning*, are not so quickly *Wrought up*. They include *Multitude, and Order, and Choice*; and therefore must have some *Leisure for Ranging and Invention*. But as to single *Ideas, Inconnexions, and slight Touches*, my *Observation* holds good. For pray what time does it take to raise the *Notion of a Mountain*? Or to *Think from England to Japan*? A *Man* may set both the *Poles* together in his *Head*, without *trouble*; and *Clutch the whole Globe* at one *Intellectual Grasp*, if he pleases. To go on: Methinks the *Conveyance and Disposition of Things in the Mind*, is very extraordinary. What *Faculty* is it which takes the *Model of the largest*

largest Objects, and draws the Picture in Little? That reconciles all disagreeing Qualities, and lodges Sympathy and Antipathy, Fire and Water, together without disturbance? That contracts the Intervals of *Space*, unites the Distances of Time, and draws *Past*, *Present*, and *Future*, into a single View? How comes it to pass that such an infinite Number of Things are placed with such Order and Distinction in the *Memory*, notwithstanding the Tumults and Confusions, Marches, and Counter-marches, of the *Animal Spirits*? What room is there for such variety of *Characters*, and length of *Records*? What is the reason some remarkable Passages will remain fresh and entire for Sixty Years together; when all the Furniture of the Head has been often renewed in that Period?

Luc. I confess I can't explain the *How* to you, unless the impregnated *Fibres*, or *Spirits*, at their going off, deposit their *Charge* with those that remain.

Hyl. They are very just if they do so: But I am afraid this handing of *Notions* from one Piece of Brain to another, is somewhat unintelligible. In short, if you reflect upon the Liberty of *Thought*, the Extent, the Abstractions, and all the Singularities of its Operations; you'll be obliged to assign it a nobler Original than *Matter* and *Motion*.

Luc. I am satisfied with what you say ; and upon a through View , I find the System of a *Mechanical Soul*, wretchedly ridiculous.

Hyl. All the Branches of Scepticism are so. If the Success of our *Hobbits* were no better than their Reasoning, they would have few Disciples. But some People are willing to be imposed upon. For loose Practices must have supporting Principles, otherwise there will be no Quiet.

Adieu.

OF THE
ENTERTAINMENT

OF
BOOKS.

THE Diversions of *Reading*, though they are not always of the strongest Kind, yet they generally Leave a better Effect than the grosser Satisfactions of *Sense*: For if they are well chosen, they neither dull the Appetite, nor strain the Capacity. On the contrary, they refresh the Inclinations, and strengthen the *Power*, and improve under Experiment: And which is best of all, they Entertain and Perfect at the same time; and convey Wisdom and Knowledge through Pleasure. By *Reading* a Man does as it were Antedate his Life, and makes himself contemporary with the Ages past. And this way of running up beyond ones Nativity, is much better than *Plato's Pre-existence*; because here a Man knows something of the *State*, and is the wiser for it; which he is not in the other.

In conversing with Books we may chuse our Company, and disengage without Ceremony or Exception. Here we are free from the Formalities of Custom, and Respect: We need not undergo the Penance of a dull Story, from a Fop of Figure; but may shake off the Haughty, the Impertinent, and the Vain, at Pleasure. Besides, Authors, like Women, commonly Dress when they make a Visit. Respect to themselves makes them polish their Thoughts, and exert the Force of their Understanding more than they would, or can do, in ordinary Conversation: So that the Reader has as it were the *Spirit* and *Essence* in a narrow Compass; which was drawn off from a much larger Proportion of Time, Labour, and Expence. Like an Heir, he is born rather than made Rich; and comes into a Stock of *Sense*, with little or no trouble of his own. 'Tis true, a Fortune in Knowledge which *Descends* in this manner, as well as an inherited *Estate*, is too often neglected, and squandered away; because we do not consider the Difficulty in Raising it.

Books are a Guide in Youth, and an Entertainment for Age. They support us under Solitude, and keep us from being a Burthen to our selves. They help us to forget the Crossness of Men and Things; compose our Cares, and our Passions; and lay

lay our Disappointments asleep. When we are weary of the *Living*, we may repair to the *Dead*, who have nothing of Peevishness, Pride, or Design, in their Conversation. However,

To be constantly in the *Wheel* has neither Pleasure nor Improvement in it. A Man may as well expect to grow stronger by always *Eating*, as wiser by always *Reading*. Too *much* over-charges Nature, and turns more into Disease than Nourishment. 'Tis Thought and Digestion which makes Books serviceable, and gives Health and Vigour to the Mind. Neither ought we to be too Implicit or Resigning to *Authorities*, but to examine before we *Assent*, and preserve our Reason in its just Liberties. To walk always upon *Crutches*, is the way to lose the Use of our Limbs. Such an absolute Submission keeps us in a perpetual *Minority*, breaks the *Spirits* of the Understanding, and lays us open to Imposture.

But Books well managed afford Direction and Discovery. They strengthen the *Organ*, and enlarge the Prospect, and give a more universal Insight into Things, than can be learned from *unlettered* Observation. He who depends only upon his own *Experience*, has but a few Materials to work upon. He is confined to narrow Limits both of Place, and Time: And is not fit to draw
a large

a large *Model*, and to pronounce upon Business which is complicated and unusual. There seems to be much the same difference between a Man of *meer Practice*, and another of *Learning*, as there is between an *Empirick* and a *Physician*. The first may have a good Receipt, or two; and if Diseases and Patients were very scarce, and all alike, he might do tolerably well. But if you enquire concerning the *Causes of Distempers*, the *Constitution* of human Bodies, the Danger of *Symptoms*, and the Methods of *Cure*, upon which the Success of *Medicine* depends, he knows little of the Matter. On the other side: To take Measures wholly from *Books*, without looking into *Men* and Business, is like Travelling in a *Map*, where though Countries and Cities are well enough distinguished, yet Villages and private *Seats* are either Over-looked, or too generally Marked for a Stranger to find. And therefore he that would be a *Master*, must *Draw* by the *Life*, as well as Copy from *Originals*, and joyn Theory and Experience together.

O F

CONFIDENCE.

Confidence as 'tis opposed to Modesty, and distinguished from decent Assurance, proceeds from Self-opinion ; occasioned by Ignorance or Flattery. When a Man over-rates himself by his own Folly, or the Knavery of others, he is presently for falling to work with his Privileges ; and takes care upon all Occasions to do justice to his Merit. This Extravagance makes him over-forward in Business, assuming in Conversation, suddain and peremptory in his Answers, and afraid of nothing so much as to seem within the Possibility of a Mistake. 'Tis true, it sometimes happens that People who have the Wit to know they are good for little, set up notwithstanding for Men of Sufficiency. They are for trying if they can serve a Turn upon the Weakness of the Company. But this Trick seldom succeeds long together : For if a Man wants a good Opinion of himself, and is not sincere in his Vanity, he will be apt to want Spirits, and Presence of Mind, to do his Business :

ness: A Diffidence of himself will make the Paint fall off, sink his Figure, and betray his Meanness; especially when he meets with those who are his Superiours in Quality, or Sense. A Man must first put a Cheat upon himself, before he can expect to do any Good with other People: For he that is not conceited in his Conscience, is never likely to make a Coxcomb worth a Groat. But when the Mind is thoroughly tingured, the Face will hold the same Colour; and the Man will be Proof against all Oppositions of Sense and Difficulty: For as *Malbranch* observes, Peoples Opinions of themselves, are commonly legible in their Countenances. Thus a kind Imagination, makes a bold Man have Vigour and Enterprize in his Air and Motion. It stamps Value and Significancy upon his Face, and tells the People he is to go for so much; who oftentimes being deceived by the *wash*, never examin the Metal, but take him upon *Content*. Not that Men are bound to look as Sheepishly as they can, for fear of an Imputation: For sometimes a Consciousness of Worth; a Nobleness and Elevation of Mind, together with Fineness of Constitution, gives Lustre and Dignity to the Aspect; and makes the Soul, as it were, shine through the Body. But to return: A Man of Confidence presseth forward upon every Appearance of
Ad-

Advantage ; and thinks nothing above his Management, or his Merit. He is not easily discouraged by the greatness of an Attempt, by the Quality of Rivals, or the Frequency of Misfortune. He is ready to rally after a Defeat ; and grows more troublesome upon a Denial. Thus where his Force is too feeble, he prevails by dint of Impudence : Thus People are stormed out of their Reason and Inclinations ; plagued into a Compliance ; and forced to yield in their own Defence. These Men of Forehead, are magnificent in their Promises, and infallible in their Prescriptions. They love to ensure a Cause, and seldom talk under Certainty and Demonstration. This Talent makes them often succeed against modest Men of much greater Sufficiency, where the Competition is governed by a popular Choice. For though there is Reason in many Cases to decide Controversies by the Vote ; yet 'tis no less true, on the other hand, that the Majority of Mankind is seldom the Wisest. The Multitude are more smitten with Appearances, than Things. The Noise, and Glitter, and Parade of a Pretender, calls up their Attention ; and flashes upon their Weakness, at an irresistible Rate. It surprizes their Imagination, and subdues their Judgment : So that a bold Undertaker gains mightily upon the
Peo-

People, especially at his first Setting out. Nay, wise Men are sometimes over-born, or imposed on this way, when they are taken at a Disadvantage. Indeed this Faculty is of great Use to play a Prize with, or carry on an Imposture; and therefore your Quacks, Figure-slingers, Petty-foggers, and Republican Plotters, cannot well live without it. It enables a Man to Flourish, Rail, and Romance, to Admiration. It makes Impertinencies shine, Impossibilities seem credible, and turns Rats-bane into *Elixir Vitæ*. And when Matters are brought to a Pinch, and the Crowd drawn out, in Expectation of something extraordinary; then if the Mountain will not come to *Mahumet*, he will for once condescend to go to the Mountain. And thus by entertaining the Company with a Jest; the Prophet's disengaged, and the Miracle adjourned to a more convenient Season. However, these Sparks meet with their Mortifications: For when they happen to fall among People of Judgment, they are looked through immediately; and then the Discovery spreads apace: For Confidence is apt to expose itself; o over-grasp Business; to talk without thinking; and to fail in the Decencies of Conversation. Now when a bold Man is out of Countenance, he makes a very
wood=

wooden Figure on't. He has no Hand at Blushing for want of Practice : And Acts Modesty with so ill a Grace ; that he is more ridiculous in the Habit of Virtue, than in that of Vice. To go on with him a little farther : One of this Character, is like an Out-landish Show ; most admired at first Sight. He has Gloss, but without either Fineness, or Substance, and therefore like Cloath ill made, he looks better in the Shop, than he wears in the Suit. In a word, He is the Jest of wise Men, and the Idol of Fools : And commonly his *Patent* runs for his Life-time.

H

O F

The first section of the book discusses the early history of the United States, from the time of the first European settlers to the beginning of the American Revolution. It covers the exploration of the continent, the establishment of the first colonies, and the struggle for independence from Great Britain.

The second section of the book discusses the early years of the American Republic, from the signing of the Constitution to the end of the War of 1812. It covers the formation of the federal government, the development of the economy, and the expansion of the nation's territory.

O F

E N V Y.

ENvy is a *Displeasure for some supposed Advantage in another.* The Object of this Passion is something Desirable. And though Excellency, precisely considered, cannot occasion Dislike; yet Excellency misplaced may. The Envious believes himself Eclipsed by the Lustre of his Neighbour. That which is good in its self, becomes an Evil to him; which makes him wish it either Removed, or Extinguished. The Discovery of the Rise and Unreasonableness of Envy, and the way to prevent being either Active in it, or Passive under it, will comprehend the Argument. To begin with the first. Envy lies mostly between Beings equal in Nature, though unequal in Circumstances, We don't envy *Brutes*, though they exceed us in many Respects not inconsiderable. No body is angry with a Bird because she can *Fly*. We are not offended with the Strength of an *Elephant*, or the Speed of a *Horse*; or with a *Dog*, for having a better *Nose* than his Master: These are all foreign Commodities, they are not look'd on as the Growth of our Soil;

which makes them neither Expected, nor Desired. Besides, we excel these Creatures in other Qualities more valuable : So that upon the whole Comparison, we remain their Superiours ; which is sufficient to lay our Envy asleep. On the other hand, Men are not subject to repine at the higher Condition of an *Angel* : They know there is a comparative Disadvantage in their first Composition : The Model of Humanity was Drawn less. Our Capacities, if they were all fill'd, are not large enough to hold so much Happiness. To this I may add, That the Angelick Grandeur is seldom seen. By being thus conceal'd, it does not awaken our Poverty, nor mortify our Littleness so much, as if it was always display'd before us. And lastly, our Hopes of rising to this Height hereafter, makes us bear our present Inferiority well enough.

But where the Essential Properties are alike, Pretensions are apt to Mount, unless seasonably check'd. “ I am (crys the Envious) of the same Nature with the Rest,
 “ and why then should such a Man Top me?
 “ Where there is an Equality of Kind, there
 “ should be no Distinction of Privilege. I
 “ am as near of Kin to God Almighty as the
 “ Best ; and he is certainly the Noblest Ancestor.
 “ I am cast in the same *Mould*, made
 “ up of the same *Matter*, and stamp'd
 “ with

“ with the same *Impression* ; and why should
“ I not pass equally in general Esteem ? In
“ taking Gold and Silver, ’tis not enquired
“ what Mines they came from, nor how
“ long they have been dig’d ; if they answer
“ the Qualities of the Metal, that’s enough.
“ Why then should one piece of human Na-
“ ture be thought so much worse than ano-
“ ther ; since it keeps within the *Species*,
“ and shines true upon the Touch-stone ?

In answer to this Expostulation ; I shall only say, That though the Metal is the same, yet the Figure, the Quantity, and the Fineness, is often different, which makes a Difference in the Value. To proceed.

Those anciently possess’d of Honour, are apt to envy others newly raised : The reason is, This later Promotion takes away the former Difference between the Persons. The Singularity of a Man’s Greatness is in some measure destroy’d. He has fewer to look down upon than he had before : He has lost an Inferior ; which, without being well considered, will make him uneasie, like a Prince who has part of his Dominions won from him. But this Practice how common soever is unreasonable, where the later Rise is creditable. For all Quality that is good for any thing, is originally founded upon Merit. Now when a Man purchases Ho-

nour at as great an Expence of Deserving as my self; why should not his Title be as good? And if so, why should I grudge him the Possession? To value *Worth* in my self, or my Family, and over-look it in another, is plain Partiality; and Partiality is always Injustice.

When Two start into the World together, he that is thrown behind, unless his Mind proves generous, will be displeas'd with the other: For the Success of the First, seems to press upon the Reputation of the later. For what will the World say; Why could not he hold up? What made him come on so heavily, but that he wanted either Management or Metal? With Submission, this Inference is not good, and therefore one should not grow Peevish about it. Success does not always attend Desert. Sometimes Favour, and Opportunity, and Fortune, run most on one side. Sometimes a Man cracks his Conscience as a Horse does his *Wind*, by straining up the Hill.

But if the Advantage was fairly gained, 'tis unbecoming to complain. If my Friend charges in the Post of Honour, while I am sleeping in my Tent, 'tis great Injustice to envy him the Reward of his Bravery. In all likelihood I brought all my Limbs out of the *Bed*, which 'tis probable he has not done off the *Breach*. And if he has, his *Merit* should
not

not be lessen'd by his Good Fortune. He that hazards his Life upon an honourable Score, deserves the same Regard as if he had lost it.

Envy among Persons of the same Trade, is common. The Competition of Interest occasions this Malevolence. They Glean up Custom from their Neighbours; and so what one gets, the other loses.

But why should I grudge a Man the common Advantage of his Employment? Why should I desire more than my share of Business, and be sorry to see another thrive by his Industry? Here can be nothing but Covetousness at the bottom, and that is never to be satisfied. However, it must be granted that all Concurrences of this Nature; whether for Money, Favour, or Power, are in danger of being displeas'd with a fortunate Rival. The Pinch lies here; The Matter in competition is often Indivisible. An *Office*, or a *Mistress*, can't be Apportion'd out like a *Common*, and shared among distinct Proprietors. The Case is like a Lottery with one Prize, a single *Ticket* is only enrich'd, and the rest are all *Blanks*. So that they'll tell you, 'tis not so much Ill Nature as Disappointment, which Sowres the Humour. Where the Objects of Desire are more Communicative, there is no Exceptions taken. People don't like a

Prospect the worse, because others have the Pleasure of it. They are seldom disturb'd, because their Neighbours hear the same Musick, or smell the same *Perfumes* with themselves: For here is enough for them all. The Satisfaction is so noble, that it spreads without Lessening; 'tis not the thinner for being Beaten: But if there was any interfering, if the *Senses* should engross or balk one another, as in the Case of Eating and Drinking, you would quickly see the Tables turn'd. If a fine Object should tarnish by having a great many see it; or the *Musick* should run mostly into one Man's Ears, these Satisfactions would be made Inclosure as well as the rest. Farther,

Those Advantages, which 'tis no Discredit to want, are not usually envied in another. For Instance: He that does not pretend to Painting, is not Touched at the Commendation of a *Master* in that Profession. A Woman does not envy a Man for fighting Courage; nor a Man a Woman for her Beauty. An Old Man is not uneasy at the strength and Activity of those who are younger; neither does Youth envy the Knowledge and Experience of Age. In these Cases, Reputation is unconcerned, and the Esteem of the Person is not sunk by being unfruish'd: For either the Advantage is foreign to the Condition of Life, or Sex; either

either we have been possessed already, or have time enough to gain it afterwards. The Absurdity of this Passion has partly been discover'd already, and may be farther enlarged.

Envy is an ill-natur'd Vice ; 'tis made up of Meanness and Malice, It wishes the Force of Goodness restrain'd, and the Measure of Happiness abated. It laments over Prosperity, and sickens at the Sight of Health. Had Envy the governing of the Creation, we should have a sad World on't. How would it infect the Air, and darken the Sun ; make the Seas unnavigable, and blast the Fruits of the Earth ? How would the Face of Nature be over-cast ? How soon would Peace be banish'd, and Pleasure languish and expire ? We should see Confusion without Settlement, Madness without Intervals, and Poyson without Antidote. Discord, and Disappointment, and Despair, would then be the only Blessings and Entertainments of Life. Could the Envious prevail, all noble Undertakings would be crush'd, and Invention nip'd in the Bud. Nothing extraordinary in Industry, Sense, or Bravery, would be endured. Whatever was Shining would soon be eclipsed. Beauty would be deform'd, and Courage turn'd into Cowardize. To excel either in Art or Nature would be a
Crime

Crime: And none could be Safe, but the Ill, and the Useless.

Emulation is a handsom Passion, 'tis enterprizing, but just withal: It keeps a Man within the Terms of Honour, and makes the Contest for Glory fair and generous. Here is nothing Malevolent and Insidious: The Advantage is gained by Improvement, not by Injury. The Man strives to excel, but then 'tis by raising himself, not by depressing another. But Envy oftentimes wants Spirit, as well as good-nature: Like a cold Poyson, it benumbs and stupifies. And thus as it were conscious of its own Impotence, it folds its Arms in Despair, and sits Cursing in a Corner. When Envy conquers, 'tis commonly in the Dark; by Treachery and Undermining, by Calumny and Detraction. The Envious are always ungrateful; they hate a noble Temper, though shewn upon themselves. If you oblige them, 'tis at your peril: They'll fly in the Face of a good Turn, and Out-rage where they ought to Reward. Has not many a brave Man been ruined, by being overcharged with Merit? What banish'd *Themistocles*, and sent *Belisarius* a begging, but doing too much for their Country? The com.ort is, Envy is no less foolish than detestable; 'tis a Vice which they say keeps no Holy-days, but is always in the *Wheel*, and working.

working upon its own Disquiet. Envy, strictly considered, is a mark of inferiority. It supposes some Excellency in another which is wanting in it self. This is a cruel Mortification; For the Envious are generally Proud. 'Tis a strong desire to be *Above*, which makes People uneasy *Beneath*. Now to see a hated Person Superior, and to lie under the anguish of Disadvantage, is far enough from Diversion. Envy is of all others the most ungratifying and disconsolate Passion. There is Power for Ambition, and Pleasure for Luxury, and Pelf even for Covetousness; But Envy can give nothing but Vexation. 'Tis made up of Impotence and Malice; and where these two Qualities are well compounded, there needs no other Ingredients of Misery. Envy how carefully does it look? How meager and ill-complexioned? It preys upon it self, and exhausts the Spirits: 'Tis a Disease in its Constitution, and every *Pulse* is a Pain. Ease must be impracticable to the Envious; They lie under a double Misfortune; Common Calamities, and Common Blessings, fall heavily upon them: Their Nature gives them a share in the one, and their Ill-nature in the other. And he that has his own Troubles, and the Happiness of his Neighbours, to disturb him, is likely to have work enough. Envy looks ill under every

Aspect.

Aspect. For if a Man be Good, he ought to be Loved; if Bad, to be Pitied. To Envy a Superior, makes the odds more smarting, and the distance more sensible. To Envy an Inferiour, is to lose the higher Ground, and to set him upon a Level. To grudge any Man an Advantage in Person or Fortune, is to censure the Liberalities of Providence, and be angry at the Goodness of God.

And since Envy is so Odious, and every way Unlucky, and does so much Mischief to it self and others, it may not be improper to offer something more particular to prevent it.

First then let us consider, That Providence has given the least of us more than we can pretend to. If we could make out a Title to more Privilege, to Complain, were not Unreasonable: But I suppose no one is so hardy as to say, God is in his Debt; that he owed him a Nobler Being, or a Better Subsistence. For Existence must be antecedent to Merit. That which *was not*, could not oblige; and *Nothing* can claim *Nothing*. You'll say such a one is much better furnish'd than my self. Besides, I want several Conveniences which I could mention; and if I must not have them, I wish they had not come in my way. Look you! Are we to cry, like ill-managed Children,

dren, for every thing before us? If I give a Beggar Six-pence, has he reason to grumble because he has seen a Shilling, or knows how to spend a Crown? Let him give me leave to be Master of my Charity, and do what I please with my own. If bare *Knowledge* would give *Possession*, and our Senses could Challenge all they lay hold of; there would be a strange World quickly: But these are wild and impracticable Suppositions: There is neither Justice, nor Convenience, nor possibility, in such an Expectation. Let us remember we are well dealt with; and then we shall not be troubled to see another in a better Condition. To consider we have more than we deserve, will help our Reason to silence our Murmuring, and make us ashamed to Repine. Just Thoughts, and modest expectations, are easily satisfied. If we don't over-rate our pretensions, all will be well. Humility disarms Envy and strikes it dead.

Secondly, We should endeavour to improve our respective Abilities. Men naturally desire to stand fair in the Opinion of others: And to have somewhat of Value to support them in their own thoughts. When they are the worst of their way, and fix'd in the Fag-end of Business, they are apt to look not kindly upon those who go before them. He that can be reconciled to
the

the Character of an insignificant Person, has a mean Soul. To be easie, a Man should examine his Genius, and exert his Spirits, and try to make the most of himself. 'Tis true, every one cannot expect to distinguish himself in the highest Posts; To Command an Army, or Ride Admiral in a Fleet, or be at the Head of *Justice*, or *Religion*: (Neither is it material to the Point.) Notwithstanding there are few but may shine in their own Orb, and be remarkable in their Station; so far at least, as to guard off Contempt, and secure a moderate Repute: And those that are easie at home, will not be envious abroad. Those that are good for something themselves, will be contented that others should be so too. All things considered, they have their share of Regard, and let who will take the rest.

Thirdly, The proportioning Reward to Merit, (which will be done hereafter) is a sufficient expectation to remove Envy. The persuasion of such a Regulation of Honour, is certainly the most solid Principle for this purpose imaginable. For this way all the seeming Partialities of Birth and Fortune are set aside. And to speak familiarly, every one has a fair Turn to be as great as he pleases. Here all people are upon equal terms of advantage: The Temple of Honour stands open to all comers; and the

the Peasant has an opportunity of being as great as a Prince. Thus Station and Happiness lies in every ones power : The Management of the *Will* determines the Precedency. A slender share of present Advantage, will do no prejudice, to future pretensions. For Men will not be valued by the size of their Understandings, but their Honesty. Not consider'd by the Height of their Character, but for the Decency of *Personation*. When the Scene of Life is shut up, the Slave will be above his Master, if he has acted better. Thus Nature and Condition, are once more brought to a Ballance ; and as all Men were equal at first, so they may be at last ; if they take Care. This Consideration digs up Envy by the Roots ; because no Man can be less than another, without his own Fault. The way

To prevent being Envied, (for that should be thought on too,) in a Privilege, is to shew it not undeserved. That 'tis either transmitted from worthy Ancestors, or acquired by Qualities extraordinary. He that rises above a common Performance, and goes far in an honourable Danger, may be thought to Earn the Distinction of his *Circumstances*. In such Cases, People are more inclined to commend the Merit, than repine at the Success ; Especially if the Advantage

vantage be civilly managed. Conceit, and Arrogance, and Ostentation spoils all. Pride and Ill nature will be hated in spite of all the Worth in the World. But he that is obliging in his Exaltation, and makes a modest use of his Superiority, may sit secure, and have the Odds of good Wishes on his side.

O F T H E

A S P E C T .

THE Countenance seems design'd not only for Ornament, but Information. The Passions there displayed make way for Commerce and Communication; and help to let one Man into the Sentiments and Affections of another. 'Tis true, the Soul is not altogether discovered: If the *Thoughts* lay open to Observation, there would great Inconveniencies follow: Many good Designs would be defeated: Many improper Aversions and Desires would appear: The Business of Life would be disturbed, and Conversation made almost impracticable. In such Cases, People would chuse to converse in the Dark, rather than trust themselves with the Sight of each other. However, though the Soul can't be all forced into the Face, yet there is no small part of it to be seen there; especially when it comes of its own accord. Here the different Apprehensions of the Mind discover themselves. I grant, they are not always fully distinguished in their Causes, and their Kind. But though they are

not drawn at Length, you have something of the Colour, and Proportion. Here Joy and Grief, Resolution and Fear, Modesty and Conceit, Inclination, Indifferency and Disgust, are made legible. The Character is fairest, and best marked in Children, and those who are unpractised in the little Hypocrisies of Conversation. For when Nature has learnt to put on Art, and Disguise, the Forehead is not easily read. Now 'tis very surprizing to see the Image of the Mind stamp'd upon the Aspect: To see the Cheeks take the Dye of the Passions thus naturally, and appear in all the Colours and Complexions of Thought. Why is this Variety of Changes confined to a single Place? What is the Reason a Man's *Arm* wont smile and frown, and do all the Intellectual Postures of the Countenance? The *Arm* seems to have a finer Skin than the Face: 'Tis less exposed to the Weather; the Veins are larger, and more visible, and the Pulse beats stronger. In short, If *Matter* and *Motion* would do the Business, the *Arm*, excepting the Eye, seems to have the Advantage, and might put in for the Index and Interpreter of the Mind. And yet we see 'tis strangely uniform and unaffected upon every Accident and turn of Thought; and nothing but a Blow, or a Pinch can make it change Colour. But the Face being design'd to be

uncloathed, and in view, God has there fixed the Seat and Visibility of the Passions; for the better direction of Conversation. The suddain Alteration of the Countenance, is very remarkable. A forcible Object will rub out the freshest Colours at a stroke, and paint others of a quite different Appearance. A Vigorous Thought, or a Surprize of good Fortune, dispels the Gloom, and brightens the Air, immediately. To metamorphose the *Blood* and *Spirits* thus *extempore*, is not a little strange. It argues an amazing Fineness and Curiosity in the *Parts*; that the least Touch of the Imagination can alter them into almost what Appearances it pleases. The strength of the Representation, is another Circumstance worth considering. The Inward Motions and Temper, are sometimes drawn with wonderful Life. The Advantages of Youth and Complexion, the particular Force of the Mind and Occasion, answer to the Fineness of the Colours, and the Skill of the *Painter*. When all these Causes meet, the Passions are marked with extraordinary Clearness, and Strength. What can be more significant than the suddain Flushing and Confusion of a Blush, than the Sparklings of Rage, and the Lightning of a Smile? The Soul is as it were visible upon these Occasions; the Passions Ebb and Flow in the

I 2 Cheeks;

Cheeks; and are much better distinguish'd in their Progress, than the Change of the Air in a *Weather-glass*. Some People have an Air of Dignity and Greatness, and an unusual Vigour, in their Aspect. Others have a Sweetness and good Humour printed upon them, which is very engaging: A Face well furnish'd out by Nature, and a little disciplined, has a great deal of Rhetorick in it. A Graceful Presence bespeaks Acceptance, gives a Force to Language, and helps to Convince by *Look*, and Posture. But this Talent must be sparingly used, for fear of falling into Affectation; than which nothing is more nauseous. Of all the *Appearances*, methinks a *Smile* is the most extraordinary. It plays with a surprizing Agreeableness in the Eye; breaks out with the brightest Distinction, and sits like a *Glory* upon the Countenance. What Sun is there within us that shoots his Rays with so suddain a Vigour? To see the Soul flash in the Face at this rate, one would think might convert an Atheist. By the way, we may observe that *Smiles* are much more becoming than *Frowns*: This seems a natural Encouragement to good Humour: As much as to say, If People have a Mind to be Handsome, they must not be Peevish, and Untoward.

Another Thing remarkable, is the Obsequiousness of the Aspect. It goes as true to the Mind, when we please, as the Dial to the Sun. The Orders are publish'd as soon as given. 'Tis but throwing the *Will* into the Face, and the Inward Direction appears immediately. 'Tis true, a Man cannot command the standing Features and Complexion; but the Diversities of Passion are under Disposal. The Image of Pleasure is never seen, when Anger was intended. No, The Sentiments are painted exactly, and drawn by the *Life* within.

And since 'tis in our Power not to give a wrong Sign, we should not pervert the Intendments of Providence. To *wash* over a coarse or insignificant Meaning, is to counterfeit Natures Coin. We ought to be just in our *Looks*, as well as in our Actions; for the Mind may be declared one way no less than the other. A Man might as good break his *Word*, as his *Face*, especially upon some critical Occasions. It may so happen that we can converse no other way, for want of an Interpreter. But though I cannot tell what a Man says, if he will be sincere, I may easily know what he looks. The Meaning of Sounds are uncertain, and tyed to particular Times and Places: But the Language of the *Face* is fixt, and universal. Its Consents and Refusals, are every

where alike. A *Smile* has the same Form and Sense in *China*, as with us. If *Looks* were as arbitrary as Words, Conversation would be more in the Dark; And a Traveller would be obliged to learn the Countenances, as well as the Tongues of Foreign Countries.

And as the Language of the Face is universal, so 'tis very comprehensive. No *Lacconism* can reach it. 'Tis the *Short-hand* of the Mind, and crowds a great deal in a little room. A Man may look a Sentence, as soon as speak a Word. The Strokes are small, but so Masterly drawn, that you may easily collect the Image and Proportions of what they resemble.

Whether Honesty and Dishonesty are discernable in the Face, is a Question which admits of Dispute. King *Charles* the Second thought he could depend upon these Observations. But with Submission, I believe an Instance might be given in which his Rules of Physiognomy failed. 'Tis true, the Temper and Inward Disposition is sometimes visible in the Countenance. Thus *Salust* tells us, *Cataline* had Rage and Defiance in his Looks, even after he was dead. However, here the Impression was partly design'd, and voluntary: He had a Mind, no question, to appear as fierce and formidable as he could: But in Insincerity the

Case

Case is otherwise; for no Man is willing to be known for a Knave. Whether Men, as they say of *Plants*, have *Signatures* to discover their Natures by, is hard to determine. Some People fancy an Honest Man looks plain, and open, and all of a Piece: And therefore when they see a shy and compounded Air, a remote and absconding kind of Countenance, they conclude it *Cain's Mark*. This, in their Opinion, is either a Caution given us by Providence, or the natural Effect of a crafty and suspicious Mind. A Knave, say they, is apprehensive of being discovered; and this habitual Concern puts an Odness into his Looks. But

After all, no Man's Face is Actionable. These Singularities are interpretable, from more innocent Causes. And therefore tho' there may be ground for Caution, there is none for Censure.

This is a list of the names of the
 persons who were present at the
 meeting on the 10th of January
 1800. The names are given in
 the following order: first the
 names of the persons who were
 present at the meeting, and then
 the names of the persons who
 were absent. The names are
 given in full, and in the order
 in which they were present.

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A G A I N S T
D E S P A I R.

THE trouble of Despair always rises in proportion to the Evil that is feared. By consequence, the greatest Agonies of Expectation, are those which relate to another World. But I shall leave this Consideration to the *Pulpits*, and proceed upon a lower Object. Now Despair, as it respects the Business and Events of Life, is an uneasy and impolitick Passion: It Antedates a Misfortune, and *Torments* a Man *before his time*. It spreads a Gloominess upon the Soul, and makes her live in a Dungeon beyond the Notion of *Pre-existence*. It preys upon the *Vitals*, like *Prometheus's Vultur*; and eats out the Heart of all other Satisfactions. It cramps the Powers of Nature, and cuts the Sinews of Enterprize, and gives Being to many cross Accidents, which otherwise would never happen. To believe a Business impossible, is the way to make it so. How many feasible Projects have miscarried by Despondency, and been strangled in the Birth, by a cowardly Imagination? If Things will

not do of themselves, they may let it alone : for he that Despairs is resolved not to help them : For who would work upon an Impossibility ? Such an Expectation, crys one, will never come to pass : Therefore I'll e'en give it up, and go and fret my self. How do you know that ? Can you see to the utmost limits of Nature ? And are you acquainted with all the Powers in Being ? Is it an easy Matter to pronounce upon all the Alterations of Time, and Accident ? And to foretel how strangely the Ballance of Force and Inclination may be turned ? Pray let us see whether 'twill or no, before we grow too positive, and give Sentence against our Interest. A very pretty Device you'll say ! For at this rate, a Man must never Despair while he lives ! And pray where is the Harm on't, if it should be so ? Is Despair so entertaining a Companion ? Are the Pleasures of it so inviting, and rapturous ? Is a Man bound to look out sharp to plague himself ? And to take care that he slips no Opportunity of being unhappy ? *As long as there is Life, there is Hope* : And if so, 'tis Prudence not to desert it. Hope is a vigorous Principle : 'Tis furnished with Light and Heat, to Advise and Execute : It sets the Head and the Heart on work, and animates a Man to do his utmost. And thus by perpetual Pushing, and Assurance, it puts
a diffi-

a difficulty out of Countenance, and makes a seeming Impossibility give way. At the worst, if the Success happens to fail, 'tis clear Gains, as long as it lasts. It keeps the Mind easy, and expecting; and fences off Anxiety and Spleen. 'Tis sometimes so Sprightly and Rewarding a Quality, that the Pleasure of Expectation exceeds that of Fruition. It refines upon the Richness of Nature, and Paints beyond the *Life*: And when the Reality is thus out-shined by the Imagination, Success is a kind of Disappointment; and to Hope, is better than to Have. Besides, Hope has a creditable Complexion: It throws a generous Contempt upon ill Usage, and looks like a handsome Defiance of a Misfortune: As who should say, You are somewhat troublesome now, but I shall conquer you afterwards. And thus a Man makes an honourable *Exit*, if he does nothing farther. His Heart *Beats* against the Enemy when he is just Expiring, and Discharges the last *Pulse* in the Face of Death.

But Despair makes a despicable Figure, and descends from a mean Original. 'Tis the Off-spring of Fear, of Laziness, and Impatience. It argues a defect of Spirits, and Resolution; and ostentimes of Honesty too. After all, the Exercise of this Passion is so troublesome, that methinks nothing but
Dint

Dint of Evidence, and Demonstration, should force it upon us. I would not despair unless I knew the irrevocable Decree was past: Unless I saw my Misfortune Recorded in the Book of *Fate*, and Signed and Sealed by *Necessity*. Indeed where the Act is unmanly, or the Expectation immoral, or contradictory to the Attributes of God; we ought to drop our Hopes, or rather never entertain them. And therefore I would neither Hope to play the Fool, or the Knave, or be Immoral. But when the Object is defensible and fair, I would not quit my Hold, as long as it was within the Reach of Omnipotence. What then, must we Hope without Means? Yes; why not? When we cannot work them out of our own Industry. Pray what *Means* was there to make the World with? There was neither Timber nor Tools to raise the Building, and yet you see what a noble Pile it is. Why should we suppose a Miracle so strange a Thing, since Nature her self was produced this way? He that made *Second Causes*, can as easily work without, as with them.

— -- *Quicquid Dii voluere peractum est.*
 To Will, and to Do, is the same Thing with an Almighty Power. If we could Cure a Fever with a Wish, Decree up a House, and make what we would, consequent upon Inclination: In such a Case, we need not tye
 our

our selves to Application, and Materials. The bare *Fiat* of our Will would give Birth to the Idea : And make it start out into Existence without any more ado.

To use the Ministrations of subordinate Causes, looks like a Going about : For where there is *Matter* and *Motion*, there must, in humane Apprehension, be Succession of Parts, and Resistance, and Time, for the Performance. The Powers of Nature seem too Heavy, to keep Pace with *Thought*, and to drive out an Instantaneous Production : So that one would almost imagine, the Acting by immediate Omnipotence, was the most disencumber'd, as well as the most magnificent Method. But is it not extravagant to expect a Miracle ? Not at all. I believe we are assisted with many more Miracles than we are aware of. For the purpose : A Man in a Storm prays that he may escape being Wreckt. I desire to know, whether he thinks it possible for him to be the better for his Devotions ? If he does not, he is an impertinent Atheist for using them : If he does, he must believe that Providence will interpose, and disarm Nature, or divert her Violence. Now to check Second Causes in their Career, to change their Motion, or lay them Asleep before they are Spent, is no less a Miracle than to Act without them.

Let no Man therefore disquiet himself about the Future, nor quit a just Undertaking, out of Despondency. Honest People ought to be Cheerful, if it was only for the Credit of their Virtue. Let us not grow Melancholick upon a superficial View of Things; for that is as far as we can discover. 'Tis a much better way to do our own Parts carefully, and rest the Event with God Almighty.

O F

COVETOUSNESS.

B E T W E E N

Demeas and Mitias.

Dem. I Thought I should have Dined with you to Day; what made you fail your usual Eating-house?

Mit. I ask your Excuse. I have been at a Miser's Feast: I went thither to entertain my Curiosity rather than my Palat; for you know that is a Sight which is not every day to be met with?

Dem. And was it as great as the Proverb makes it?

Mit. Every jot. I have not had my Senses so regaled this long time: 'Twas so inviting, that I'm afraid the Founder has taken a Surfeit.

Dem. You mean of the Expence. Fear it not, he will have a *Lent* after his *Carnival*; that will cure him.

Mit.

Mit. This Fit of *Feasting* comes upon him once a Year. If you did not know him, you'd think it was an Ague; he looks so desparately Pale, and Thin, for a great while after. And now, as you say, he will go into a Course of Abstinence, but I wish we could prevent the return of the Distemper; for in my Opinion, he is well neither Full, nor Fasting. In short, The Disease lies in his Mind, and how to reach it with a *Recipe*, I can't tell; for Covetousness is generally incurable.

Dem. I own 'tis difficultly removed, and incredible into the bargain? and therefore I hope you will not report it upon any Person, unless the Symptoms are very clear, and undisputed. Give me Leave to tell you, there are often great Mistakes in this Matter. Some think to screen their own Profuseness from Censure, by reproaching the Frugality of their Neighbours: And others pronounce rashly out of Ignorance. With their good Favour, wise Men will look beyond their Nose, and take care of the main Chance, and provide for Accidents and Age. They know that Poverty is unfashionable, and Dependance uneasy; and that a generous Mind cannot live upon *Curtesy*, with any great Relish. Besides some People do not decline Expence out of Parsimony, but because they do not care for the Trouble

of a Figure. They do not care to be crowded with Visitors, to have their Table pestered with Flies and Flatterers, and to be always yoked in Ceremony. They don't believe any Master the more considerable by keeping a great many Idle People about him; or that any true Greatness can be made out of that which is Little. And because a Man is willing to have his House and his Head cool, and to keep his Time and his Liberty to himself must he be called Covetous upon this Account?

Mit. I have no Intention to condemn a just Value for Money. And if any Man has more Sense and Sobriety than his Neighbours, I think it great Injustice to burlesque his Prudence, or represent him in any Character of Disadvantage: But then I must say, That some People have the Misfortune to fall into the Extremes, and that Covetousness does not lie only in Satyr, and Speculation.

Dem. I perceive you have a mind to say something upon this Argument: With the Precautions above-mentioned, I am willing to hear you: Take your Method, and draw out into what Length you please; you will have no Interruption, for at present I am not in the disputing Humour.

Mit. To begin then. There is no need of giving a close Definition of this Vice;

'twill be sufficiently discovered in the Description. Covetousness has a relation to Wealth, or Fortune. Whether a Man has no more than a just Value for this Advantage, is seen in his Getting, Keeping, and Using it. A short Survey of the Mismanagement in these three Particulars, will take in the Compass of the Case.

But lest you may think this Method somewhat too loose, I shall come a little nearer in a Word or two; and affirm, That he is Covetous who balks any part of his Duty, for fear he should grow the Poorer; and chuses rather to save his Money than his Conscience. He that denies himself the Conveniences of Life, without either Necessity or Religion. He that is anxious in Riches. He that sets his Interest above his Honour; and values insignificant Gains, which hold no Proportion with his Fortune.

As for the Getting Part, a covetous Man never troubles himself with the Niceties of Morality. His Business is to secure the End, not to distinguish upon the Means. Let the Project be but Rich and Practicable, and he enquires no farther. Honour and Conscience are fine Things, but they seldom fill the Pocket. When They will Purchase any Thing, a good Manager can counterfeit them; but to be tyed down to a Set of No-

tions

tions, is the way to be a Beggar. He that resolves to Thrive, won't be discouraged by a few hard Names. His Industry is not to be check'd by Fancies, and common Mistake. He will scarcely believe himself, when it makes against him. Inward Reluctance, passes for Spleen, and Vapours; Shame, for an infirm Vanity that hangs too servilely upon foreign Opinion; Generosity, is nothing but a ceremonious Prodigality; and Pity, a foolish Tenderness. These Maxims remove the Difficulties of Business, and open the way for Expedition and Success.

Reason and Religion 'tis likely will interpose sometimes, but the covetous Man goes on for all that. And though he can't command his *Principles*. he is Master of his *Practice*. Sometimes a Man gets only to spend: In that Case, Covetousness is but a ministerial Vice; and serves under Luxury, or Ambition. But here I shall consider it as having the Ascendant. Now to recount the Disorders of Life, the Knavery, and little Practices that flow in upon us from this Spring, were almost infinite. Whence comes all Circumvention in Commerce, adulterating of Wares, vouching and varnishing against all good Faith, and Honesty? 'Tis Covetousness that Brews and Dashes; gives you false Lights, and false Language; and

shews many other Dexterities to get your Money. Now what can be Meaner, than to make Over-reaching a part of a Profession? And to impose upon the Ignorance, or Necessity of a Neighbour; Let an Apprentice be bound to a Miser, and he might as good be Becalmed, or Besieged; for he is sure to be put to *short Allowance*. One would think Hunger was put into his Indentures, he is so constantly held to it. His Master will not let him grow to his Joynts, nor *Set up*, with all the Flesh and Bones which Nature design'd him; but is resolv'd to put part of his Limbs in his Pocket. What is the reason of racking of Tenants, and rigorous Seizures, that the Rich oppress the Poor, and the Poor steal from the Rich, but because they are not contented with their own?

Whence come Soldiers of *Fortune*, and Lawyers of Fortune? Men that will fight and be see'd of any side, and sometimes of Both? What makes the Courtier supplant his Friend, and betray his Master, and sell his Country? Why, 'tis oftentimes nothing but the Love of Money, which makes the Court, and the Camp, and the *Bar*, thus Mean, and Mercenary. How many Trusts are abus'd, *Wills* forged, Orphans and Widows robb'd, and ruin'd upon this Score? Where Avarice rules and rages, there is nothing of Humanity remaining. Hence it is
that

that those who recover from the Plague die sometimes of the Nurse; that the Shipwreckt are dispatched on Shore, that they may not claim their Goods; that Travelers are murther'd in the Houses of Protection and Entertainment. Things so bloody and barbarous, that the Guilty are sometimes, as it were discovered by Miracle, prosecuted by Apparitions, and pursued by *Hue* and *Cries* from the other world.

To leave these Extremities of VVickedness, and proceed to Instances of a lower Nature. VVhat can be more ridiculously Little, than to see People of Figure, and Fortune, weigh an Interest to the utmost Grain? Haggle away Time and Credit about Trifles, and part with a Friend to keep a Shilling?

'Tis not Unentertaining to see Men how they can make their State truckle to their Parsimony. How they will draw in their Figure upon the Road, sink their Titles to save their Purse, and degrade themselves to lie cheap at an Inn. Covetousness is a most most obliging Leveller; it mingles the Great and Small with wonderful Condescension; and makes *L--ds*, and *Valets*, Company for one another. But these are but petty Indecencies. Covetousness will sink much lower, if there be but any Oar at the Bottom; It will solicit in the meanest Of-

fice, and submit to any Infamous Disguise. It turns Lions into Jack-calls; engages Honour in the most scandalous Intrigues, and makes it under-pull to Cheats and Sharpers.

And as the Drudgery of this Vice is mean, so 'tis constant too. It keeps a Man always in the *Wheel*, and makes him a Slave for his Life time. His Head or his Hands are perpetually employ'd: VVhen one Project is finish'd, his Inclinations roll to another; so that his Rest is only variety of Labour. This Evil *Spirit*, throws him *into the Fire, and into the Water*; into all sorts of Hazards, and Hardships: And when he has reached the Tombs, he *sits Naked*, and out of his *Right Mind*. Neither the Decays of Age, nor the Approach of Death, can bring him to his Senses, nor shew him the Extravagance of his Passion; on the contrary, his Folly commonly encreases with his Years. VVolves, and other Beasts of prey, when they have once sped, can give over and be quiet till the return of Appetite: But Covetousness never lies down; but is ever Hungry, and Hunting. 'Tis perpetually harrassing others, or it self, without Respite, or Intermision. The *Miser enlarges his Desires as Hell*; he is a Gulph without a Bottom; all the Success in the VVorld will never fill him. Sometimes the Eagerness of his

his Appetite makes him snap at a Shadow, and drop the Substance. Thus *Crassus* lost himself, his Equipage, and his Army, by over-straining for the *Parthian* Gold. Thus the Mareschal *Balagny* was outed of the Sovereignty of *Cambray*, by the Covetousness of his Lady, who sold the *Spaniards* the Stores which should have maintained the *Garison*. And thus the Bait of a cheap Bargain, or a large Interest, often helps a Man to stolen Goods, and crackt Titles. And if he has better Luck than he deserves, the possibility of a Miscarriage keeps him uneasy. The Miser is seldom without Pain: The Shortness of Human Foresight, and the Uncertainty of Accidents, and the Knavery of Men, haunt his Imagination with all the Possibilities of danger. He starts at every new Appearance, and is always waking and solicitous for fear of a Surprize. Like a Night Centinel, the least Noise alarms him, and makes him apprehensive of the Enemy. And let a Man's Fright be never so visionary in the Cause, the Trouble will be real in the Effect. But sometimes the Anxiety does not lie altogether in a Romance, but comes out of Life and Business. And then you may be sure his Fears will encrease with his Danger. The Loss of a Battle, or the Revolution of a Kingdom, don't affect him half so much, as the News of a Goldsmith's, or

Money Scriveners going aside. Here, tho' the Misfortune is remote, he is not insensible. Indeed 'tis the only Sympathy he seems capable of. But then the Agonies he lies under, when he comes to be Touched in his own Case! When a Bond or a *Mortgage* fails, there is nothing can support his Spirits, or keep him within the Compass of Decency. How passionately does he lament over the *Parckment.Carcass*, when the *Soul* of the Security is departed? His Humour and his Face is put into Mourning, and so would the rest of his Person, were it not for the Charge. However, a covetous Man is not easily baffled: He has a great many Tools to work with. If Deceit makes for his Purpose, he will use it to the best of his Skill. If Cruelty will save a Penny he will not stick to flay a poor Debtor for the Price of his Skin. No Turn either in State or Religion can hurt him: He receives any Impression, and runs into any Mould the Times will cast him. He is a *Christian* at *Rome*, a *Heathen* at *Japan*, and a *Turk* at *Constantinople*. What you will *Without*; and nothing *Within*. 'Tis a Jest in a Miser to pretend to be honest. To resolve against Poverty, is in effect to forswear Justice and Truth. The Knavery of such People, is as indisputable as an Axiom; and ought to be supposed as a *Postulatum* in Business.

They

They are false by necessity of Principle, and want nothing but an Occasion to shew it. Conscience and Covetousness are never to be reconciled: Like Fire and Water, they always destroy each other, according to the Predominancy of the Element.

Now one would think he that takes such Pains for a Fortune, and purchases so dear, should know how to use it. One would think the covetous Man had refined upon the Satisfactions of Life; and discovered some unheard of Mysteries of Epicurism. One would imagine his Appetites were more keen and lasting; his Capacities enlarged; and that he could please himself faster, and farther than his Neighbours. For why should we put our selves to an uncommon Trouble, for a common Advantage? But how can this be? How can Anxiety and Ease stand together? Strong Pleasures and strong Fears are incompatible. A constant dread of Death, makes Life insipid. And he that is always afraid of *Lossing*, has little Leisure to enjoy. Besides, a continual Load of Cares depresses the Vigour of the Mind, and dulls the Inclination, and clouds the Chearfulness of the Spirits: Like a Labourer worked down, he is too much tired for Entertainment.

But alas! were he never so much dispos'd, he has not the Courage to recreate
his

his Senses, and reward his Industry. No. He has more respect for his Wealth, than to take those Freedoms. He salutes it at an humble Distance, and dares not be too familiar with an Object of Worship. His Gold might as good have stay'd at *Peru*, as come into his Custody; for he gains nothing by Possession, excepting the Trouble of looking after it. 'Tis true, he can command the Sight on't this way; but if seeing an Estate would make one Rich, there's few but the Blind would be Poor. He calls it his own too; but with great Impropriety of Language. My own? What is my own? Why 'tis something that I eat, or drink, or put on. Something which makes my Body, or my Mind, the better. Something with which I serve my Friend, or my Country, or relieve the Poor. Property without Application to advantage, is meer Cant, and Notion. The best Metals will rust, by lying under Ground; and lose their Colour, unless brightned by Use. But where Covetousness governs, the Appetite is tyed up, and Nature is put under Penance. Like a Malefactor, a Man has just enough to keep him alive in Pain; enough to Suffer with, but not to Please. The Covetous guards against himself, as well as against Thieves: He loves to step short of Necessity, and hates Convenience no less than a wise Man does Excess.

And

And he that dares not Enjoy, wants that which he has, as well as that which he has not. The encrease of his Fortune, is but an addition to his Trouble. The more he has, the more he has to take Care for; and an Ass is as much enriched by his Burden, as such a one is by his Estate. He may, like a *Sumpter*, carry Things of Value; but he never Wears them. He is only tired, and galled, with his Furniture. Nothing is more uneasy when 'tis on, nor looks more wretchedly when 'tis off. If a Man lays his Meat upon his Shoulder instead of putting it in his Stomach, the Quantity may load him if he will, but never nourish. And as 'tis easier, it would be more reputable for the Miser to be poor. The Pretence of Necessity might cover a narrow Soul. A Coward will pass, when there is little trial for Courage. Wealth does but serve to expose Covetousness, and make it more ridiculous. For what can be a more wretched Sight, than to see a Man mortify without Religion? to submit to such voluntary Hardships to no purpose, and lose the Present, without providing for the Future. But thus Covetousness revenges the Quarrels of others upon it self, and makes a sort of Reprizals at Home. The truth is, if the Covetous did not make their Neighbours some amends, by using themselves thus ill, they were scarcely to be endured.

But

But they are generally fair enough to give Satisfaction this way. This Disease sometimes rises up almost to Lunacy and Distraction? Sometimes it over-casts them with Gloom and Melancholy; and sometimes breaks out in the Clamours of Despair and Impatience. They are tortured with raging Fears of Want; and the greatest Abundance is not able to keep them in tolerable Humour. To eat, or wear any Thing, till 'tis past the Best, is Luxury and Profuseness. They must have their Meat tainted, and their Bread mouldy, and their Cloaths moth eaten, before they dare venture on them. It would be great Charity to take them out of their own unmerciful Hands, and put them under Wardship. But 'tis likely the Laws leave them to their Liberty for a Punishment. For as this Vice ought to be severely corrected, so there is scarce any Discipline sharper than its own. And if the Rigour should abate at Home, the Censures of the Neighbourhood would help to do Justice. The covetous Man is *Homo illaudatus*, A Man that you can say no Good of. He abuses all his Advantages either of Person, or Fortune. His Inclinations are ungenerous, his Understanding cheats, and his Power oppresses his Neighbour. He is not Big enough to Love, to Pity, or Assist? Neither Blood, nor Honour, nor Humanity,

nity, can take any hold, where Interest comes in competition. So far from doing any Good, that he desires none. His Wishes are often malevolent ; for *Blasting* and *Mildew*, for Rots and Murrain, for Storms and Shipwrecks ; that he may put off his Stock, and his Stores the better. Upon these Accounts he generally receives as little Kindness as he does, and finds as few Friends as he deserves. Every one think themselves authorised to execute his Credit, to palt and lash him ; and make him either the subject of their Anger or their Scorn.

To sum up the Evidence. A covetous Man loves to be boaring in the Earth, like an *Insect* ; and lives always in a creeping and inglorious Posture. His Satisfactions are as Mean as his Figure. He has not the Heart to oblige any Body, no not himself ; and therefore is both hated and despised.

Dem. Enough said. I think your Correction is neither Excessive, nor Misplaced. If those concerned will not mend their Manners, they may e'en take it for their Pains.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is written in a clear and concise style, and is well adapted for the use of students in schools and colleges. The author has done his best to give a full and accurate account of the events of our history, and to show the causes and effects of the various revolutions and wars which have taken place in our country.

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O F

LIBERTY.

BY Liberty, I mean a Latitude of Practice within the compass of Law, and Religion. 'Tis a standing clear of inferiour Dependances, and private *Jurisdiction*. He who is Master of his Time, and can chuse his Business and Diversions; He who can avoid disagreeable Company, and be alone when his *Humour* or *Occasions* require it; is as Free as he ought to wish himself. 'Tis true, as the World stands, general Liberty is impracticable. If one had nothing but a *Soul* to keep, he need not go to *Service* to maintain it: But a *Body* at present is a very indigent sort of a Thing; it can't subsist upon its own Growth, but stands in want of continual *Supplies*. This Circumstance of *Eating*, and *Drinking*, is a cruel Check upon many a Man's Dignities; and makes him hold his Life by a *Servile Tenure*. However, he that lies under this Incumbrance, should make his best on't, and not quarrel with the Order of Providence. At the worst, *Death* will knock off his Chain shortly: In the mean time his Business is to play with it. But where the Necessaries of Life may be had at a cheaper Rate, 'tis Folly

ly

ly to purchase them this way. He that will sacrifice his Liberty to his Palat, and convey over his Person for Superfluities, is a Slave of his own making, and deserves to be used accordingly.

Dependance goes somewhat against the Grain of a generous Mind; and 'tis no wonder it should be so, considering the unreasonable Advantage which is often taken of the Inequality of Fortune. The Pride of Superiours, and the wanton Exercises of Power, make Servitude much more troublesome than Nature intended. Some People think the Life of Authority consists in Noise and Imperiousness, in Menacing and *Executions*. To let their *Servants* live easy, is in some measure to make them their Equals: Therefore they love to be always brandishing their Advantage, to part with nothing without a Stroke of Discipline; and to qualify their Favours with Penance, and Mortification. But the being enfranchised from Arbitrariness and ill Humour, is not the only Convenience of Liberty. This State affords great Opportunities for the Improvement of Reason. It gives Leisure for Reading and Contemplation; for an Acquaintance with Men and Things; and for looking into the History of Time and Nature. He that has the Business of Life at his own Disposal, and has
no

no Body to account to for his Minutes but God and himself, may if he pleases be happy without Drudging for it. He needs not Flatter the Vain, nor be Tired with the Impertinent, nor stand to the Curtesy of Knavery and Folly. He needs not Dance after the Caprice of an Humourist, nor bear a part in the Extravagance of another. He is under no Anxieties for fear of displeasing, nor has any difficulties of Temper to struggle with. His Fate does not hang upon any Man's Face: A Smile will not transport him, nor a Frown ruin him: For his Fortune is better fixed, than to flote upon the Pleasure of the Nice and Changeable. This Independence gives Easiness to the Mind, and Vigour for Enterprize, and Imagination. A Man has nothing to strike a Damp upon his Genius, to over-awe his Thoughts, and check the Range of his Fancy. But he that is Embarrassed in his Liberty, is apt to be unassur'd in his Actions; palled and dispirited in his Humour and Conceptions; so that one may almost read his Condition in his Conversation. 'Tis true, a peculiar Greatness of Nature, or the Expectations of Religion, may relieve him; but then every one is not furnished with these Advantages. the Reason why *Parmenio* could not rise up to *Alexander's* Height of Thinking, was possibly because he was under his Command. *Longinus* ob-

serves, that there were no considerable *Ora-*
tors in *Greece*, after their Government was
altered by the *Macedonians* and *Romans*. Ac-
cording to him, their Elocution and their
Freedom seem'd to languish and expire to-
gether. When they were once enslaved, the
Muses would keep them Company no long-
er. The Vein of Rhetorick was seared up,
the Force of *Demosthenes* spent, and no *Sub-*
lime to be had for Love, nor Money.

Now though Freedom within a Rule is
very desirable; yet there is scarcely any one
Thing has done more Mischief than this
Word misunderstood. Absolute Liberty is a
Jest; 'tis a Visionary and Romantick Privi-
lege, and utterly inconsistent with the pre-
sent state of the World. The generality of
Mankind must have more Understanding,
and more Honesty too, than they are likely
to have as long as they live, before they
are fit to be at their own disposal. To tell
People they are free, is the Common Ar-
tifice of the Factious and Seditious. These
State-Gypsies pick the Pockets of the Igno-
rant with this specious *Cant*, and with in-
forming them what mighty Fortunes they
are all born to. And what is this fine Free-
dom, after all, that these *Sparks* can help
them to? Why they are free to be out of
their Wits, and to be undone, if they take
their Advice; To lose their Conscience, their
Credit

Credit and their Money, and to be ten times more press'd than they were before.

There is still a more extravagant Notion of Liberty behind. Some People are for Repealing the Laws of Morality, for throwing open the Inclosures of Religion, and leaving all in Common to Licentiousness and Violence. They are for making their Inclinations the Rule, and their Power the Boundary of their Actions. They hate to let any Opportunity slip, or any Capacity lie Idle : But are for grasping at all Possibilities of Pleasure, and Playing their Appetites at whatever comes in their way. To tye Men up from Enjoyment, and cramp them with Prohibitions, is an Encroachment upon the Rights of Nature. These ungenerous Impositions are it seems the Dotages of Age, the Results of *Spleen* and *Impotence* ; or at best the Pretences of Designing Power, which lays an Embargo upon some Branches of *Trade*, to engross the Advantages to it self. I wonder why these Men don't improve their Principle farther. Why they don't dance upon the Battlements of Houses, Vault down the *Monument*, and jump into a Furnace for Diversion. To forbear these Things are great Restraints upon the Liberties of Motion, and make many of the Faculties of Nature insignificant. They ought to step in to the

Rescue of Fevers and Phrensy, and not let their Acquaintance lie under such an ignominious Confinement, especially when their *Spirits* are up, and they are so well disposed for Satisfaction. Why do they not draw up a *Remonstrance* against *Goals*, *Pillories*, and *Executions*; What! have they no Sense of the *Grievances* of their Fellow *Subjects*? Can they see their own generous Principle suffer, their very *Magna Charta* violated, and do nothing towards a Relief? they ask your Pardon; To embark in such *Expeditions* might endanger their Interest, and come home to them at last. And to speak Truth, they are for having this Arbitrary Privilege in no *Hands* but their own. For touch them in their Honour or Property, and you'll find them sensible enough. A small Injury to themselves seem intolerable, and fires them with a Zeal for Justice and Restitution. Then the Laws are Defective, and give too little Damages; And therefore tho' they venture their *Necks* for it, they must have a Supplemental *Satisfaction*. Their own Case, one would think might shew them the unreasonableness of their Scheme; And that a Liberty against Virtue and Law, is only a Privilege to be Unhappy; And a Licence for a Man to murder himself.

O F

OLD AGE.

I N A

DIALOGUE

B E T W E E N

Philebus and *Eutropius*.

Phil. **Y**OUR Servant, This Visit is very obliging. If so good a Friend as you are, can be more welcome at one time than another, you are so now. I was just going to send to you, to Beg a little of your Conversation.

Eutrop. Sir I thank you, you are always contriving to give your Friends a Pleasure, one way or other : But methinks you seem somewhat concern'd. I hope no Accident has happen'd.

Phil. Nothing but what I'm afraid you'll smile at; and yet it sits pretty hard upon my Spirits.

Eutrop. I'm sorry for that; pray what's the matter?

Phil. Then without any farther Preamble, I must challenge you upon your last Promise. You may remember we were talking about *Old Age*, and the Inconveniences attending it. This Speculation has hung cruelly in my Head ever since: I think my Fancy is grown quite *Grey* upon't.

Eutrop. If that be your Case, 'tis somewhat unlucky; I have no Receipt against that Distemper. What would you be exempted from the common Fate, and have Nature alter'd, for your single Satisfaction?

Phil. With all my Heart, If I knew which way. Not but that I could wish the Advantage was Universal, as much as any Man. To be plain, I don't think myself over-furnish'd, and should be glad to keep up my Person in Repair as long as it lasts. In earnest, It troubles me to consider the greatest part of Life is no better than a slow Consumption; That we must shortly sink into a state of Weakness and Insignificancy, and grow unacceptable both to others, and our selves. When our Limbs and our Memory, and it may be our Understanding too will fail us; when nothing but a Fever will warm our Blood; and all the lively *Perceptions* are forced out of Pain. We begin Life with

a slender Stock, and yet it improves strangely. I wonder when we are well furnished we can't hold it: What! Turn Bankrupts when we have more Effects to Trade with, and more Skill to manage? A Flame well kindled and supplied, will burn for ever. When a Man is Rich, a little Care keeps him so. But Life, like an ill gotten Estate, consumes insensibly, in despite of all imaginable Frugality. Infancy is a state of Hope; and has the Tenderneſs of Parents, or the Compassion of Strangers, to support it. Youth, like a Blossome, gives us Beauty in hand, and Fruit in Prospect. But Age grows worse and worse upon the Progress, sinks deeper in Sorrow and Neglect, and has no Relief to expect but the Grave.

Eutrop. I think you are too Tragical upon the Occasion; Health, and Vigor, and Sense, hold out sometimes to the length of a long Journey. *Plato* enjoyed them all at 80. And so, if you'll take his Word for't, did *Cato Major*; and reckons you up a great many more. *Tully* was more than 60 when he wrote his famous *Philippicks*: In which his Rhetorick is not only more Correct, but more moving and Tempestuous, than in his younger Orations. The Poetick Fire, which is soonest extinct, sometimes rages beyond that Period. Of this I

could give modern Proof, were it necessary. To go on; Old Father *le Moin* writes now with all the Force, and Spirit, and Pleasantness of 35. And a Gentleman of our own Country, has the same Happiness. Now those that can Entertain others, are never ill Entertain'd themselves.

Phil. One Swallow makes no Summer. One had need have a Body and Soul made on purpose, to do these things you talk of. I am sure it is otherwise with the Generality: And since Age seems a Common Penance imposed upon Mankind, I could almost wish we had it sooner; and that the sweet Morfel of Life was left for the last.

Eutrop. That might engage your Appetite too much. What! you would be old when you are young, would you?

Phil. No; it may be I would be young after I am old.

Eutrop. Not in this World if you please; all old People have had their Time, they were young once, let that suffice.

Phil. Were young once! That is in plain *English* they have lost the Advantage; a very comfortable Reflection! *Were*, serves only to trouble what we *Are*. *Fuimus* may make a good *Motto*, but in Life it is stark naught.

Eutrop.

Eutrop. If the whole Business was as bad as you represent it, there is no help for't, therefore we should be contented.

Phil. Under favour, therefore we should not be contented. What! is Despair an Argument for Satisfaction?

Eutrop. For Patience it is, when we have other Considerations to support us. Besides; are no Favours valuable but those which last a Man's Life time? Does nothing less than an Annuity deserve Thanks? Certainly we ought to be of a more acknowledging Temper than this comes to; especially where we have nothing of Merit to plead. Upon the whole, I conceive the Consequence may be work'd another way to better Advantage.

Phil. How so?

Eutrop. Why, since we can avoid *Old Age* by nothing but Death; our business is to make it as easy as may be. If you ask me which way? My answer is, we must Guard against those Imperfections, to which *Old Age* is most liable. By Imperfections, I mean, Moral ones; for the other are not to be fenced off. In the second place, let us consider, that *Age* is not altogether Burthen and Incumbrance. There are several peculiar Privileges and Dignities annex't to this part of Life. A short View of the Reason of these Advan-

tages, will help to relieve us under the Decays of the Body.

Phil. I am glad to hear it; pray go on with your Method.

Eutrop. To begin then with the *Imperfections*. Not that they are as unavoidable as Grey-Heirs; or to be charged upon *Age* without Exception. My meaning only is, that without Care People are more in danger of them when they are old, than at any other time. The first I shall mention, is a Forwardness to be displeas'd upon little occasions; to take things by the wrong Handle; and to put severe Constructions upon Words and Actions. This unhappy Temper may be assign'd to several Causes.

1st. Old Persons, may be over-suspicious of being contemn'd. Long Experience has taught them that the World is generally unbenevolent and narrow spirited; that Self-Love, and Ill-Nature, are extremely common; and that the Pleasures of too many are drawn from the Misfortunes of their Neighbours. These Remarks confirmed by repeated Instances, make no kind Impression. So that when a Man is conscious of his own Decay, when he grows less active and agreeable, when he can neither Oblige, nor Punish, with the usual Advantage: When this happens, he is apt
to

to fancy younger People are more ready to divert themselves with his Declension, than to pity it. This Apprehension makes him interpret with Rigour, conclude himself injur'd upon a remote Appearance, and grow disgusted upon every Ambiguity.

Phil. By the way, is Mankind capable of such Barbarity as this Jealousy supposes? Can they misapply their Passions at so scandalous a rate? Can they insult an unavoidable Infirmary, and trample upon the Venerable Ruins of Humane Nature? This Insolence is foolish, as well as unnatural. He that acts in this manner, does but expose his own future Condition, and laugh at himself before-hand.

Eutrop. You say well. But very ill Things are often done. And those who have seen most of them, are most Apprehensive. On the other side, Those who are less acquainted with the Vanity and Vices of the World, and have met with fewer Disappointments, are inclin'd to a kinder Opinion.

Phil. A very charitable Ignorance! However, I think your Remark not ill founded; for I have observed an unusual Sweetness of Temper in Children. Nature usually makes a very obliging Discovery of her self in them. They throw them-

themselves with entire Confidence upon Conversation. They act without Artifice or Disguise; and believe others as kind and undesigning as themselves: But when they once understand what a sort of World they are come into: When they find that Easiness of belief betrays them, and that they are losers by the openness of their Carriage; Then they begin to be upon their Guard, to grow cautious and reserv'd, and to stand off in Jealousy and Suspicion. Like Birds that are shot at, Nature grows wild by ill Usage; and neither Loves, nor Trusts, so much as Before.

Eutrop. Most certainly, unless Care be taken. For this Reason, if a Man does not use to reflect upon his Temper; if he does not shake off his Spleen, and check his Disgusts; if he does not strive to sweeten his Blood, and refresh his Generosity, his esteem of Mankind will abate too fast. This Humour, unless prevented, will slide into Indifferency and Disinclination; and make him have a kindness for nothing but himself. And because odd Discoveries, Ruffles and Discouragements, encrease upon him in his Journey, the farther he travels, the less he will like the Company. And since the World has lost his good Opinion, a slender Presumption will be apt to awaken his Jealousy, make him suspect
hard

hard measure, and put the worst Interpretation upon Things.

Phil. May not this Forwardness to be disobliged, proceed from the Infirmities of Age? The last part of Life is a perpetual Indisposition; you are seldom free from the Pain or the Weakness of a Disease. The Fever of the Fit may sometimes intermit, but then your best days are short of Health. Such uneasy Discipline is apt to make the Spirits turn eager. When a Man is loaden a Feather is felt, and the least rub will make him complain.

Eutrop. I believe the difficulty of some Humours may be thus accounted for. And where this Reason fails, I think I could assign another.

Phil. What is that?

Eutrop. With Submission; I'm afraid old Persons may sometimes over-rate their own Sufficiency. 'Tis true, generally speaking. Knowledge is the Consequence of *Time*, and *Multitude of Days* are fittest to *teach Wisdom*. But this Rule, like others, has its Exception. For all that, People are apt to fancy their Understandings move upon an Ascent, and that they must grow Wiser of course, as they grow Older. Thus they often take their Improvement upon *Content*, without examining how they came by it. As if the

meer Motion of the Sun, or the running of an Hour-glass, would do the Business. Now a Mistake in this Case makes them impatient of Contradiction, and imagine themselves always in the Right. To argue the Point, and debate their Opinions is to injure them. Younger Men ought to believe hard, and take Authority for the last Proof.

To proceed. Resting too much upon the Privilege of their Years, may be the occasion of a second Imperfection; *i. e.* Incompliance with the innocent Demands and Satisfactions of those who are Younger. Their Opinions are the Standard of Truth, and their Desires the Measure of Agreeableness.

This Partiality of Thought, this indulging their own Inclinations, makes them firm to Prepossession, and difficultly removed from those Customs which first engaged them. The bare Novelty of a Thing is enough to cast it: They condemn the prudent Alterations of the present Age, and are too kind to the Errors of the former.

Phil. Under favour, I conceive this Method scarcely defensible. 'Tis true, they are old when they maintain these Opinions, but were they not young when they took them up? And why should

Should they prefer the Judgment of their own Youth, to that of a later Generation? Is it such an advantage to stand first upon the Roll of Time? Or does Sense and Understanding wear out the farther a Line is continued? That a succeeding Age is born with the same Capacity with the former, that it may use the same Industry, cannot be deny'd: Why then should we be barr'd the Privilege of our Fore-Fathers? Why may we not Pronounce upon the state of Truth, upon the Decency of Custom, and the Oeconomy of Life, with the usual Liberty? Is Humane Nature improved to the utmost, or was Infallibility the Gift of those before us? If not, what harm is it to chuse for our selves? Why should we be servilely ty'd to their Reason, who used the Freedom of their own? Those who come last, seem to enter with Advantage. They are Born to the Wealth of Antiquity. The Materials for Judging are prepar'd, and the Foundations of Knowledge are laid to their Hands; why then may they not be allowed to enlarge the Model, and Beautifie the Structure? They View in a better Light than their Predecessors, and have more leisure to examine, to polish and refine. Besides, if the Point was tryed by Antiquity, Antiquity would lose it. For the present Age is really the

Oldest,

Oldest, and has the largest Experience to plead.

Eutrop. If you please I'll go on to a third Misfortune incident to Old Age, and that is *Covetousness*. This, I confess, looks like so great a Paradox, that nothing but matter of Fact could force me to believe it. I have less Time to stay in the World, and less Capacity to enjoy it; therefore I must love it better than ever: What sort of Reasoning is this? To what purpose should a Man grasp so hard when he can take the least hold? Why should he make himself uneasy with so ill a Grace? Who could imagine that Appetite should thus exceed Digestion, and that the Age of *Wisdom* should make so preposterous a Judgment? If there were any just fears of Poverty, or the Provision was moderate, 'twas something. Fore-sight and Frugality are good things. But alas! Covetousness in old People is often unfurnished with these Excuses.

Phil. Had you thought fit, I could have liked a Reason upon the *Cause*, as well as a Declamation upon the *Effect*.

Eutrop. To satisfy you, I'll give you my Conjecture; You know Age is not vigorous enough for Business and Fatiguing. 'Tis no Time to work up an Estate in, or to repair a Misadventure. A strain in an
old

old Man's Fortune like one in his Limbs, is seldom out-grown. And where Labour is impracticable, and Recovery despair'd of, Parsimony has the better Colour. Old Persons are apt to dread a Misfortune more than others. They have observed how Prodigality is punished, and Poverty neglected: These Instances hang like Executions before them, and often fright them into the other Extream. They are sensible their Strength decays, and their Infirmities encrease; and therefore conclude their Supplies should Increase too. They are best acquainted with the Uncertainty of Things, and the Deceitfulness of Persons. They know People won't do their Duty out of meer good will; that Observance must be purchased, and that nothing Engages like Interest and Expectation. Now the natural Diffidence, and the Anxiousness of Age, is apt to press the Reasons of Frugality too far; to be over apprehensive of an Accident, and guard with too much Concern. Their Blood grows cool and dispirited; and unless they relieve themselves by generous *Thinking*, they'll be in danger of falling into Excessive Cares, Unnecessary Provisions; and little Management. I have now laid the hardest of the Case before you: These are the worst Diseases of Age; And

yet not so formidable neither, but that Prudence and Precaution may prevent them.

Phil. I hope so too. However your Inference from the decay of Constitution, does not please me; Because, I doubt, there is something more in it than what you mentioned.

Eutrop. Pray what do you mean?

Phil. Why, I'm afraid a Man may live so long till he wants Spirits to maintain his Reason, and to Face an honourable Danger. Some People will undertake to *Bleed*, or Fast a Man into Cowardice. Now if this may be done, the Consequence may be untoward. For the disadvantages of Age seem no less than either of these Experiments. This Thought has sometimes made me uneasy. For what can be more wretched than to survive the best part of our Character, and close up our Lives in Disgrace?

Eutrop. A Concern so generous as yours needs not fear the Event. Resolution lies more in the Head than in the Veins. A Brave Mind is always impregnable. True Courage is the Result of Reasoning. A just Sense of Honour, and Infamy, of Duty and Religion will carry us farther than all the Force of *Mechanism*. The Strength of the Muscles, and the Ferment of the Humours, are nothing

thing to it. Innocence of Life, and Consciouſness of Worth, and great Expectations, will do the Business alone. These Ingredients make a richer Cordial than Youth can prepare. They warm the Heart at 80, and seldom fail in the Operation. *Socrates* was advanced to the Common Period of Life at his Tryal. But the Chilness of his Blood did not make him shrink from his Notions. He acted up to the height of his Philosophy, and drank off his *Hemlock* without the least Concern. *Eleazer*, a Jewish Scribe, was an older Man than he, and yet behav'd himself with admirable Fortitude under Extremity of Torture. (*Maccab.*) *St. Ignatius* and *Polycarp* were Martyrs after 80, and as fearless as Lions. In Military Men Instances of this kind are numerous; tho' I don't think Courage altogether so well try'd in a *Field*, as at a *Stake*.

Phil. The Reason of your Opinion.

Eutrop. Because in a Battel, the Encouraging Musick, the Examples of Resolution, the Universal Tumult, will scarcely give a Man leave or leisure to be a Coward. Besides, the Hopes of Escaping are no ordinary Support. Of this we have a famous Instance in *Mareschal Biron*. No Person living could be braver in the Field than He. And when he was afterwards

Tryed for Treason, his Spirit seem'd rather too big than otherwise. He used the King roughly, and out-raged his Judges, and appeared fortify'd at a wonderful rate. But when Death came near him, and he saw the Blow was not to be avoided, he sunk into Abjection; and dyed much to the disadvantage of his Character.

Now as to outward Appearance, the Case of Martyrdom is the same with that of the Duke of *Biron's*, and oftentimes much harder. Here is the certainty of Death, the Terrour of the Execution, and the Ignominy of the Punishment. And besides all this, leisure and cool Thoughts to contemplate the Melancholy Scene. In earnest, these are all trying Circumstances, and make the disparity of the Proof very visible.

Phil. I can't deny what you say. But tho' a Soldier can't distinguish himself so well as a Martyr, he may do enough to shew himself no Coward. If you please, let us have an Instance or two from the Camp, to the Point in hand.

Eutrop. That you may a Hundred, were it necessary. I shall mention a few. To come to our own Times. The *Basha* of *Buda*, when it was last taken, was upwards of 70. But this did not hinder him from
any

any Military Function : Like *Ætna*, he was Snow a Top, but all Fire within. For after a noble Defence he dy'd fighting upon the *Breach*. The late Prince of *Conde*, the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, and *Mareschal Schombergh*, were old Generals. For all that, upon an occasion, they would Charge at the Head of the Army with all the Heat and Forwardness of the youngest Cavalier. In short, Courage is at no time impracticable. Providence has dealt more liberally with Mankind, than to make any Action necessary, which is Mean.

Phil. I am glad to hear it ; You have reconciled me to Age much better than I was before. To deal freely, Cowardise makes a Man so insignificant, and betrays him to such wretched Practices, that I dreaded the Thoughts of it. If you please now, let's go on to the *Privileges* of Honour, and examine how the claim is made out.

Eutrop, That Age has a peculiar Right to Regard, is past dispute : Nature teaches it, Religion enjoyns it, and Custom has made it good. And in my Opinion, the Reasons of the Privilege are very satisfactory. For

First, Old Age is most remarkable for Knowledge and Wisdom. When we first

come into the World, we are unimproved in both parts of our Nature : Neither our Limbs, nor Understandings, are born at their full Length, but grow up to their stature by gradual Advances. —

Phil. So much the better : For if we were Infants in our Bodies, and Men in our Souls, at the same time, we should not like it. The Weakness, the Restraints, the Entertainment, and the Discipline of the first Years, would relish but indifferently : A Spirit of *Age* could hardly bear such Usage. Methinks I should be loath to *Transmigrate* into a Child, or lie in a Cradle, with those few Things I have in my Head.

Eutrop. You are safe enough. But to return : For the Reasons above mentioned ? Those who have had the longest time to furnish and improve in, must be the wisest People : I mean, generally speaking, where Care and other Advantages are equal. Men of Years have seen greater variety of Events ; have more Opportunities of remarking Humours and Interests. Who then can be so proper to draw the Model of Practice, and strike out the Lines of Business and Conversation ? The History of themselves is not unserviceable. The Revolutions at Home will open the Scene in a great measure. Thus they may
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trace their Actions to the first Exercises of Reason. This will shew them the Distinctions of Life, and the Complexion of every Period ; Now Novelty pleases, and Inclinations vary with the Progress of Age. And thus with some regard to the diversities of Circumstance ; with some Allowance for Custom and Government, for Fortune and Education, for Sex and Temper ; they may give probable guesses at the Workings of Humane Nature : They may reach the Meaning, and interpret the Behaviour, and Calculate the Passions of those they converse with. These Lights will almost force a Prospect into the Heart, and bring the Thoughts into View. This Advantage is of great Use, It helps us to Discover, and to Please ; It directs us in our Application, and often prevents us from doing, or receiving an Injury. Farther ; Old Persons have the best Opportunities for reviewing their Opinions, and bringing their Thoughts to a second Test. For trying what they took upon Trust, and correcting the Errours of Education. And thus their Judgment becomes more exact : They may know more Things, and know them better, and more usefully than others. This will appear farther by considering

A second Advantage of Old Age ; and that is, freedom from violent Passions.

This Advantage is partly the effect of Conviction and Experience. The danger is consider'd better, and the Indecency more discover'd than formerly. The Constitution likewise contributes its Share. The Current of the Blood moves more gently, and the Heat of the Spirits abate. This Change makes the Mind more absolute, and the Counsels of Reason better regarded. The Object and the Faculty are easier parted. And thus the excesses of Anger and Desire grow less intemperate. Whereas younger People, as they are apt to contrive amiss, so they often fail in the Execution. Their Prospect is too short for the one, and their Passions too strong for the other. Either they are impatient to wait, or pursue too far, or divert too soon: And thus the Design often miscarries. But Age views the Undertaking on all sides, and makes fewer Omissions in the Scheme: It computes more exactly upon Hopes and Fears, and weighs Difficulty and Success with better Judgment. Now Men have Temper to stay for the Ripeness of Things; they don't over-drive their Business, nor fly off to unseasonable Pleasure. They can attend with Patience, and hold on with Constancy. In short, this is the time in which the Mind is most Discerning and Dispassionate; furnished with the best

best Materials for Wisdom, and best disposed to use them. For these Reasons Men of Years have generally been thought the most proper to preside in Councils, and to have the Direction of Affairs. *Aristotle*, as I remember, observes, that odds in Understanding seems to give a natural Right to Command. Corporal Force is a Ministerial Talent, and ought to be under Government. If this Privilege needed Prescription; we have all the Advantage of Time and Place. Age has satt at the *Helm* so long, that the Name of Office and Authority is derived from thence; Witness the *Jewish Elders*, the *Spartan Γερουσία*, the *Roman Senate*, and the *Saxon Aldermen*. Not, but that younger People were sometimes join'd in the Commission. This Favour was sometimes earlier bestowed, either as a Reward to extraordinary Merit, or indulged to Quality, for Discipline and Improvement. Matters of Moment especially, should be managed with Conduct and Temper; brought under the best Regulation; and put into the wisest Hands. 'Tis true, Order and Right must not be disturb'd; but where there is Liberty to chuse, Age has the clearest Pretences, and stands fairest for the Honour. There is a great Deference due to the Judgment of Years; their bare Affirmation and

Authority should have its weight ; especially when they Pronounce upon their own Experience and Employment. Here the Incompliance of our Reason ought to be suspected, and nothing but Evidence should make us dissent.

3^{dly}. Old Persons deserve a more than ordinary Regard, because their Performances are supposed to have been more than ordinary : When nothing to the contrary appears, Justice as well as Charity will report kindly , and conclude in favour of another. In such Cases we should presume People have understood their Opportunities, and managed their Talent, and their Time to advantage. Upon this equitable Supposition 'twill follow , That those who have lived longest, have done most Good. And is it not reasonable that Returns and Benefits should keep a Proportion ; and that those who have obliged most, should receive the fairest Acknowledgment ? Old Persons have been upon *Duty* a great while, and served the *Publick* upon many Occasions. They are the *Veterans* of the *State* , and should be particularly consider'd. The Reasons of Order and Discipline, and Merit, require no less. And since Power must be kept in a few Hands : Since Property won't reach a general Distribution ; since They can't be all gratified
with

with *Offices* and *Estates*, let them be paid with Honour.

Methinks their very Infirmities look not unhandfomly. They carry something of Dignity in them, when well understood. They are not to be wholly attributed to the Force of Time : But partly to their generous Labours, to that constant Fatigue of Business, to that Expençe of Thought and Spirit , for the Publick Advantage. Let not the Alterations in their Person be meerly thrown upon Age, and resolved into Decay. Let's rather consider them as honourable Scars, Marks of Hardship and repeated Action, in the Service of their Country. Under this Notion they'll shine upon the Understanding , and move more for Respect than Pity. I might now assign a Reason of a Lower kind to the same purpose. And that is, meer Decency and Breeding, and good Nature, should make us respectful to Age. An old Man must shortly take his final Leave, and Imbark for a Foreign Countrey ; And therefore should be treated with the Ceremony of a Departing Friend. We should do something to shew that we are loath to lose him, and wish him happy in his Removal. Besides, something of Regard is due to his Condition : We should divert the Sense of his Declension, support his Spi-
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rits by Observance, and keep him easy by obliging Behaviour.

Phil. I confess, I think you have done some Justice to Age : You have proved its Privileges, and settled the Preference, upon Grounds not unsatisfactory. But supposing the young People should not do us Right, can't we relieve our selves without standing to their Courtesy ?

Eutrop. Yes ; There are two Things will do us a Kindness. First, we may consider ; that the Declensions of Age are commonly very gradual. Like the Shadow of a Dial, the Motion is too slow for the Eye to take notice of. Could the Decays in us be mark'd through all their Progress, Life would be more uneasy. But a Man looks at Night, as he did in the Morning. He does not see that when he is past his Prime ; his Vigour is perpetually wearing off, that the Blood grows less florid, and the Spirits abate : That no day comes but impairs the Strength, and cramps the Motion, and tarnishes the Colour, and makes us worse for Service, and Satisfaction than we were before. But our Senses are not fine enough to perceive the Lessening, and so all goes tolerably well. If we were thrown out of our Youth, as we are sometimes out of our Fortune, all at once ; It would sensibly touch us. To go to Bed at Thirty, and
rise

rise with all the Marks of Eighty, would try one's Patience pretty severely. But we walk down the Hill so very gently, that the Change of Situation is scarcely perceiv'd, till we are near the Bottom. This Advantage lies ready to our Hands, and wants little Improvement. But the other which remains, and is the most considerable, depends upon Conduct.

Phil. Pray let's hear it.

Eutrop. Why, if we would enter upon Age with Advantage, we must take care to be regular and significant in our Youth. This is the way to make both the Mind and the Body more easy. I say the Body; for Intemperance antedates Infirmities, and doubles them. It revenges its own Excesses, and plunges us sooner and deeper in the Mire, than otherwise we should fall. He that would have his Health hold out, must not Live too fast. A Man should Husband his Constitution, and not throw it away till he has done Living, if he can help it. Not to provide thus far is to betray our Senses, and prove false to the Interest of Ease and Pleasure. And as to the Mind, a well managed Life will be of great Service. Such a Person will be more disengag'd from the Entertainments of Sense, and not miss his Youth so much as another. He won't be troubled with

impracticable Wishes, but Strength and Desire will fall off together. The Powers of Reason will improve by Exercise; and he that has govern'd a stronger Appetite; will easily govern a weaker. In short, if we would be well provided we must begin betimes. Habits of Virtue, and handsom Performances, are the best Preparatives. Let's lay in a stock of good Actions beforehand. These will secure our Credit *without*, and our Peace *within*. Are the spaces of Life not ill fill'd up? Is the World the better for us? Have we any ways answer'd the Bounties of Providence, and the Dignity of our Nature? These Questions well answer'd, will be a strong Support to Age; they'll keep off a great part of the weight of it; and make a Man's Years sit easy upon him. The Mind has a mighty Influence upon the Body; and operates either way, according to the quality of Reflexion. The disorders of Passion or Guilt, enflame a Distemper, envenom a Wound, and boil up the Blood to a Fever. They often baffle the Virtue of Drugs, and the Prescriptions of Art. On the other hand; When the Review pleases, when we can look backward and forward with Delight; to be thus satisfied and composed, is almost a Cure of it self. 'Tis true, a good Conscience

science won't make a Man immortal. But yet the quiet of his Mind often keeps him from wearing out so fast. It smooths his Passage to the other World, and makes him slide into the Grave by a more gentle and insensible Motion. And when the Body is shaken with Diseases, when it bends under Time or Accident, and appears just sinking into Ruine; 'tis sometimes strangely supported from within. The Man is prop'd up by the Strength of Thought; and Lives upon the Chearfulness and Vigour of his Spirit.

Even Vanity, when strongly impress'd, and luckily directed, will go a great way; Thus *Epicurus* in *Tully* tells us, that the pleasure of his *Writings*, and the hopes of his *Memory*, abated the sharpness of his Pains, and made the Gout, and the Stone, almost sleep upon him.

Phil. Epicurus had a strong Fancy: Though I must own that pleasant Retrospections, and easy Thoughts, and comfortable Presages, are admirable Opiates: They help to assuage the Anguish, and disarm the Distemper; and almost make a Man despise his Misery. However I'm still a little concern'd that I must go less and less every day, and do the same things over again with abatements of Satisfaction. To live only to Nurse up Decays, to feel
Pain

Pain, and wait upon Diseases, is somewhat troublesome and insignificant.

Eutrop. Pardon me there ! Not insignificant, if it should happen so.

To bear Sickness with Decency; is a noble Instance of Fortitude. He that Charges an Enemy does not shew himself more brave, than he that grapples handsomely with a Disease: To do this without abject Complaints ; without Rage, and Expostulation, is a glorious Combat. To be proof against Pain, is the clearest Mark of Greatness : It sets a Man above the dread of Accidents. 'Tis a State of Liberty and Credit. He that's thus fenced, needs not fear nor flatter any thing. He that distinguishes himself upon these Occasions, and keeps up the Superiority of his Mind, is a Conqueror, though he dies for't ; and rides in Triumph into the other World. And when we are engag'd in these honourable Exercises, and proving the most formidable Evils to be tolerable ; are we Insignificant all this while ? Thus to teach Resignation and Greatness, and appear in the heights of Passive Glory, is, I hope, to live to some purpose. Other Performances, I grant, are more agreeable ; but possibly none more useful. Besides every one has not this Trial: Sometimes the Senses are worn
up,

up, and the Materials for Pain are spent, and the Body is grown incapable of being pleased, or troubled in any great degree. To relieve you a little farther; give me leave to add, That the more we sink into the Infirmities of Age, the nearer we are to Immortal Youth. All People are Young in the other World. That State is an Eternal Spring, ever fresh and flourishing. Now to pass from Midnight into Noon on the sudden: To be Decrepit one Minute, and all Spirit and Activity the next, must be an entertaining Change. Call you this Dying? The abuse of Language! To fly thus swiftly from one Extream to another; To have Life flow in like a Torrent, at the lowest Ebb, and fill all the Channels at once; This must be a Service to the Case in hand. For this Reason old People will go off with Advantage. At their first Arrival they seem likely to be more sensible of the Difference. They seem better prepar'd to relish Liberty, and Vigour, and Indolence, than others. The Hardship of their former Condition rewards its own Trouble. It burnishes their Happiness, and awakens the Mind to take hold of it. Health after Sicknes, and Plenty upon Poverty, gives double Pleasure.

In short, *Philebus*, to be afraid of growing Old, is to be afraid of growing Wise,

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and being Immortal. As if we could be happy too soon! Pray what is there in this World to make us fond of? None yet were ever fully pleased with it. If the Publick Interest was generally pursued, and Men did their best to make each other happy, it would not do. Our Ideas of Satisfaction can meet with nothing to answer them. And as long as Fancy out-shines Nature, and Thoughts are too big for Things, we shall always be craving: I could draw up a Scheme of Happiness, if I could have it as easily, that should Mortifie the most fortunate Ambition; kill *Alexander* with Envy, and make *Cæsar* pine away at his own Littleness. And do we Imagine God would make an Appetite without an Object? Must we be always wishing for Impossibilities, and languish after an everlasting Nothing? No, *Philebus*, the Being of Happiness is more than a Dream. There are Entertainments which will carry up to Desire, and fill up all the Vacancies of the Mind. But these Things are not to be met with here. One would think we should be glad to go upon a farther Discovery; and that Curiosity should almost carry us into the other World. Happiness is sure well worth our Enquiry. Who would not try the most unknown Paths in search of so noble an Object? Who would not look into all
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the Regions of Nature; travel over the Sky, and make the Tour of the Universe? And can we then be sorry to see our Voyage fixt, and start back when we are just Embarking? This is to be over-fond of our Native Country, and to hang about Life a little too meanly.

Phil. I thank you. I perceive my Apprehensions were unreasonable. Age has no such formidable Aspect, as I supposed. I am now convinced; that if the other parts of Life have been well managed, this will prove tolerable enough.

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PLEASURE.

That *Pleasure*, precisely consider'd, is an Advantage, must be granted by the most severe Philosophy : 'Tis the principal Intendment of Nature, and the sole Object of Inclination. Every thing Good, is so far desirable. And why is it so? Because it affords a Satisfaction to him that has it. The only reason why *Being*, is better than *Not Being*; is because of the agreeable *Perceptions* we have in the first, which are impossible in the latter. Without Pleasure either in *Hand*, or in *Remainder*, Life is no Blessing, nor Existence worth the owning. Were I sure never to be pleased, my next Business should be to *unwish* my self, and pray for Annihilation. For if I have nothing which delights me in my *Being*, the very Sense of it must be unacceptable; and then I had better be without it. He that can prove himself *Something*, by no other Argument than *Pain*, will be glad to be rid of the Conclusion. For to suppose that Misery is preferable to *Not Being*, is, I believe, the wild-

est Thought that ever entred the Imagination. A very short Fit of Torture, and Despair, would convince the most Obstinate: Now though there are Degrees of Happiness or Misery, there is no *Middle* between them. A Man must feel one or the other. That which some Philosophers call *Indolence*, is properly a State of *Pleasure*. For though the Satisfaction may be somewhat Drowsy, yet, like the first Approaches of Sleep, it strikes smooth and gently upon the *Sense*. To return; 'tis *Pleasure*, which is the last and farthest Meaning of every reasonable Action. 'Tis upon this Score that the Husband-man Labours, and the Soldier Fights, and all the Hazards and Difficulties of Life are undergone. Wealth and Honour, and Power, as Topping as they seem, are but Ministerial to *Satisfaction*. They are supposed to furnish a Man's Person, and fix him in a Place of Advantage. They feed his Appetites, and execute his Will, and make him valuable in his own Opinion, and in that of his Neighbours. These Services they promise at least, which makes them so earnestly desired: 'Tis *Pleasure*, which reconciles us to *Pain*. Who would submit to the Nauseousness of *Medicine*, or the Torture of the *Surgeon*; were it not for the Satisfaction of receiving our Limbs,
and

and our Health? *Pleasure* is pursued where it seems most renounced, and aimed at even in Self-denial. All voluntary Poverty, all the Discipline of Penance, and the Mortifications of Religion, are undertaken upon this View. A good Man is contented with hard Usage at present, that he may take his *Pleasure* in the other World. In short, To dispute the Goodness of *Pleasure*, is to deny Experiment, and contradict *Sensation*, which is the highest Evidence.

But there needs no more to be said in recommendation of *Pleasure*. The greatest danger is, least we should value it too much. The *Season*, the *Object*, and the *Proportion*, are all Circumstances of Importance: A failure in any of them spoils the Entertainment. He that buys his Satisfaction at the Expence of Duty and Discretion, is sure to over-purchase. When Virtue is sacrificed to Appetite, Repentance must follow, and that is an uneasy Passion. All unwarrantable Delights have an ill *Farewel*, and destroy those that are greater. The main Reason why we have Restraints clap'd upon us, is because an unbounded Liberty would undo us. If we examine Religion, we shall find few Actions forbidden, but such as are naturally prejudicial to Health, to Reason, or Society. The Heathen

Philosophers, excepting some few of the *Cyrenaicks*, and *Epicureans*, were all agreed in the folly of forbidden Pleasure, They thought the very Question scandalous; and that it was in effect to dispute, whether 'twere better to be a *Man*, or a *Beast*.

The general Division of *Pleasure*, is into that of the Mind, and the other of the Body. The former is the more valuable upon several Accounts. I shall mention some of them.

1st. The Causes of these Satisfactions are more reputable than the other. Corporal Pleasures are comparatively Ignoble. They seem founded in Want and Imperfection. There must be something of Uneasiness to introduce them, and make them welcome. When the Pain of Hunger is once over, Eating is but a heavy Entertainment. The Senses are some of them so mean, that they scarce relish any thing, but what they Beg for. But Rational Delights have a better Original. They spring from noble Speculations, or generous Actions; from Enlargements of Knowledge, or Instances of Virtue; from something which argues Worth, and Greatness, and Improvement.

2^{dly}. The Satisfactions of the Mind are more at command. A Man may think of

a handsom Performance, or a Notion, which pleases him at his leisure. This Entertainment is ready with little Warning or Expencc. A short Recollection brings it upon the Stage, brightens the Idea, and makes it shine as much as when 'twas first stamp'd upon the Memory. Thoughts, take up no Room. When they are right, they afford a portable Pleasure. One may Travel with it without any trouble, or Incumbrance. The Case with the Body is much otherwise. Here the Satisfaction is more confin'd to Circumstance of Place, and moves in a narrower Compass. We cannot have a pleasant *Taste* or *Smell*, unless the *Object* and the *Sense*, are near together. A little Distance makes the Delight withdraw, and vanish like a Phantasm. There is no Perfuming of the Memory, or Regaling the Palate with the Fancy. 'Tis true, we have some faint confused Notices of these absent Delights, but then 'tis Imagination, and not Sense, which giveth it. I grant the *Eye* and *Ear* command farther, but still these have their Limits. And besides, they can only reach an *Object Present*, but not make it so. Whereas the Mind, by a sort of natural Magick, raises the Ghost of a departed Pleasure, and makes it appear without any dependance upon Space, or Time. Now the almost Omnipresence

presence of an Advantage, is a Circumstance of Value; it gives opportunity for Use and Repetition, and makes it so much the more one's own.

3dly. Intellectual Delights are of a nobler kind than the other. They belong to *Beings* of the highest Order. They are the *Inclination* of Heaven, and the Entertainments of the Deity. Now God knows the choicest Ingredients of Happiness; He can command them without difficulty, and compound them to Advantage. Omnipotence and Wisdom, will certainly furnish out the Richest Materials for its own Contentment. 'Tis natural for every *Being* to grasp at Perfection, and to give it self all the Satisfaction within Thought and Power. Since therefore Contemplation is the Delight of the *Deity*, we may be assured the Flower and Exaltation of Bliss, lies in the Operation of the Mind.

To go no higher than the Standard of Humanity. Methinks the Satisfaction of the Mind are of a brighter Complexion, and appear with a distinguishing Greatness. There is nothing of Hurry and Mistiness in them. The *Perceptions* are all clear, and stay for Perusal and Admiration. The Scene is dress'd up like a Triumph, the Fancy is *Illuminated*, and the *Show* marches on with Dignity and State. If the Senses have
any

any Advantage, it lies in the Strength of the Impression. But this Point may be fairly disputed. When the Mind is well awaken'd, and grown up to the Pleasures of Reason, they are strangely affecting. The Luxury of *Thought*, seems no less than that of the *Palate*: The Discovery of a great *Invention*, may be as moving as Epicurism. The Entertainments of *Plato* were as high-season'd, as those of *Apicius*. And *Archimedes*, by his Behaviour, seems to have passed his Time as pleasantly, as *Sardanapalus*. The Charms of Authority, made *Cato* aver, that Old Age was none of the most undiverting Periods of Life. And in all likelihood the Victory at *Pharsalia*, transported *Cæsar* beyond all the Delights of the *Roman Court*.

The Senses seem not to be built strong enough for any great Force of *Pleasure*. A sudden Excess of Joy has sometimes prov'd Mortal. 'Tis as dangerous as Gun-powder, charge too high, and you split the Barrel. It flashes too hard upon the tender Organ, and stupifies more than pleases. To look upon the Sun strikes us blind. Thus a glorious Appearance from the other World, has often over-set the best Men. Nature sunk under the Correspondence, and was too weak to bear the Lustre of the Object.

The *Body* was not made to be Master in this Affair. This may appear from Self-denial, which has a Mixture of something agreeable. 'Tis a Pleasure to refuse one. To arrest an importunate Appetite, to silence the Clamour of a Passion; and repel an Assault upon our Virtue, is a noble Instance of Force, a handsom proof of Temper and Discretion. A brave Mind must be entertain'd by surveying its Conquests, and being conscious of its Sovereignty. And thus by frequent Resistance, and generous Thinking, the Forbearance grows an Equivalent to Fruition. And that which at first was almost too big for Opposition, is at last too little for Notice. These Satisfactions of Restraint, are a fair Proof of the *Distinction* of *Soul* and *Body*. And that we are made up of something greater than *Matter* and *Motion*. For that *Atomes* should discipline themselves at this rate, check their own agreeable Progress, and clap one another under Hatches; is very unconceivable. *Atomes* don't use to be so cross as this comes to. Pleasure, of what kind soever, is nothing but an Agreement between the Object and the Faculty. This Description well applied, will give us the true Height of our selves, and tell us what size we are of. If little Things will please us, we may conclude we are none of the biggest

biggest People. Children are as well known by their Diversions, as their Stature. Those Satisfactions which require Capacity and Understanding to relish them, which either suppose Improvement, or promote it, are of the better sort. On the other side: To be pleas'd with Gawdiness in Habit, with Gingles and False Ornament in Discourse, with Antick Motions and Postures, is a sign that the Inclinations are Trifling, and the Judgment vulgar and unpolish'd. There should be somewhat of Greatness and Proportion, and Curiosity in Things, to justify our Appetite. To be gain'd by every little pretending Entertainment, does but shew our Meanness.

'Tis somewhat surprizing to observe how easily we are sometimes engag'd, and one would think, when we were least in Humour. For the purpose. Here's a Man that has lately buried his only Son, and is embarrass'd with Debts and Disputes in his Fortune: How comes it about that he is so airy and unconcern'd on the sudden? No longer ago than this Morning, he was extremely sensible of his Misfortune; what has made him forget it in so short a time? Why nothing, but he is just chop'd in with a *Pack* of Dogs, who are Hunting down a *Hare*, and all *Opening* upon the *View*. The Man needs no more to change his Passions.

This

This Noise has drown'd all his Grief: He is Cured and made Happy Extempore. And if it would last, 'twas something: But alas, 'tis quickly over. 'Tis a Happiness without a Fund: 'Tis no more than a little *mantling* of the Spirits upon stirring: A Childish Exultation at the Harmony of a *Rattle*. It proceeds not from any thing rich or solid in Nature: 'Tis meer Levity of Mind, which snatches him a little from his Misery. The Cause of the Intermission is uncreditable. The Entertainment is not big enough for the Occasion. 'Tis true, the trouble is remov'd, and so far the Point is gain'd. But then the Satisfaction is so Fantastick and Feverish, that the Cure it self is an ill Symptom, and almost worse than the Disease. Upon the whole, I think, we ought to be concern'd, that such Trifles can provoke our Appetite: And that we may be toss'd from one State to another, by so weak a Motion. The truth is, as we manage the Matter, our Diversions are oftentimes more uncreditable than our Troubles. However, since Health is kept up, and Melancholly discharg'd by these Amusements, they may be tolerable enough within a Rule. But to pursue them with Application, to make them our Profession, and boast of our Skill in these little Mysteries, is the way to be useless and ridiculous.

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The Being of Pleasure, as things stand at present, is very Precarious. Not to mention any other Inconvenience, it lies terribly exposed to the Incurfions of *Pain*. And when thefe two Parties happen to meet, the Enemy always gets the better. Pain is a ftrange domineering *Perception*. It forces us into an Acknowledgment of its Superiority: It keeps off Satisfactions when we have them not, and deftroys them when we have them. The Prick of a Pin, is enough to make an Empire infpid for the time. The *End of Pleafure* is to fupport the Offices of Life; to relieve the Fatigues of Bufinefs; to reward a Regular Action, and encourage the Continuance. None are allow'd this Privilege, but fuch as keep within the Order of Nature. 'Tis true, it becomes the Greatnefs of the Deity, to work by the moft comprehensive, unvariable Methods; and therefore Satisfaction is tyed to certain General Laws, which it is in the liberty of Man to abufe. And when this happens, the Force of the firft Decree is not fufpended. God does not think fit to alter the Courfe of Nature, and break through a Chain of Causes, to punifh every Mifmanagement. The *Senfes* turn upon Capacity and Proportion, not upon Juftice and Property. For Inftance, He that fteals a Dinner, may tafte it as well, as if

it

it had been his own. If things were otherwise, Virtue would have no Tryal. But let every one take heed, not to make bold with the Divine Establishment, nor riot in the Liberalities of Providence. All Excesses and Misapplications are Usurpations of Pleasure, and must expect an after Reckoning. A Man will be sure to pay for them in Repentance, or something worse.

F I N I S.





Date Due

FEB 2 '56



PRINTED IN U. S. A.

