

Religio Medici
Character of Sheepherds
in Shropshire
Author John Henslow

8409.000.8

R E L I G I O
M E D I C I.

B Y

Sir THO. BROWNE, Knt. M. D.

With the L I F E of the AUTHOR.

To which is added;

Sir *KENELM DIGBY's*

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

A L S O

C R I T I C A L N O T E S

U P O N

All the O B S C U R E P A S S A G E S therein,
never before published:

The T E N T H E D I T I O N carefully corrected.

E D I N B U R G H:

Printed by W. RUDDIMAN *jun.* and COMPANY;
and sold by the Booksellers in Town.

M:DCC:LIV.

A L E T T E R

From the A U T H O R

To Sir K E N E L M D I G B Y.

Upon the information of animadversions to come forth, upon the imperfect and surreptitious copy of Religio Medici, whilst this true one was going to press.

HONOURED SIR,

GIVE your servant, who hath ever honoured you, leave to take notice of a book at present in the press, intitled, (as I am inform'd) *Animadversions* upon a treatise lately printed, under the name of
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Religio Medici ; hereof, I am advertised, you have condescended to be the author. Worthy Sir, permit your servant to affirm there is contained therein nothing that can deserve the reason of your contradictions, much less the candour of your *animadversions* : and to certify the truth thereof, that book (whereof I do acknowledge myself the author) was penned many years past ; and (what cannot escape your apprehension) with no intention for the press, or the least desire to oblige the faith of any man to its assertions. But what hath more especially emboldened my pen unto you at present is, that the same piece, contrived in my private study, and as an exercise unto myself rather than an exercitation for any other, having past from my
hand

hand under a broken and imperfect copy, by frequent transcription it still run forward into corruption, and after the addition of some things, omission of others, and transposition of many, without my assent or privacy, the liberty of these times committed it unto the press; whence it issued so disguised, that the author without distinction could not acknowledge it. Having thus miscarried, within a few weeks I shall, God willing, deliver unto the press the true and intended original, whereof, in the meantime, your worthy self may command a view; so that, when ever that copy shall be extant, it will most clearly appear how far the text hath been mistaken, and all observations, glosses, or exertations thereon, will, in a great part,

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part, impugn the printer, or transcriber, rather than the author. If, after that, you shall esteem it worth your vacant hours to discourse thereon, you shall but take that liberty which I assume myself, that is, freely to abound in your sense as I have done in my own. However you shall determine, you shall sufficiently honour me in the vouchsafe of your refute, and I oblige the whole world in the occasion of your pen.

Norwich,
March 3. 1642.

Your Servant,

T. B.

Sir

Sir KENELM DIGBY's answer to the
foregoing letter.

WORTHY SIR,

Speedily, upon the receipt of your letter of the third current, I sent to find out the printer that Mr. Crook (who delivered me yours) told me was printing something, under my name, concerning your treatise of Religio Medici, and to forbid him any further proceeding therein; but my servant could not meet with him: whereupon I have left with Mr. Crook a note to that purpose, entreating him to deliver it to the printer. I verily believe there is some mistake in the information given you, and that what is printing must be from some other pen than mine; for such reflexions as I made upon your learned and ingenious discourse, are so far from meriting the press,

press, that they can tempt no body to a serious reading of them; they were notes hastily set down; as I suddenly ran over your excellent piece, which is of weighty subject, and so strongly penned, as requireth much time, and sharp attention but to comprehend it; whereas what I wrote was the employment but of one sitting: and there was not twenty four hours between my receiving my Lord of Dorset's letter that occasioned what I said; and the finishing my answer to him; and yet part of that time was taken up in procuring your book, which he desired me to read and give him an account of; for till then I was so unhappy as never to have heard of that worthy discourse. If that letter ever come to your view; you will see the high value I set upon your great parts: and if it should be thought I have been something too bold

in differing from your sense, I hope I shall easily obtain pardon, when it shall be considered, that his Lordship assigned it to me as an exercitation, to oppose in it, for entertainment, such passages as I might judge capable thereof; wherein what liberty I took is to be attributed to the security of a private letter, and to my not knowing (nor my Lord) the person whom it concerned.

But, Sir, now that I am so happy as to have that knowledge, I dare assure you, that nothing shall ever issue from me but savouring of all honour, esteem and reverence both to yourself and that worthy production of yours. If I had the vanity to give myself reputation by entering the lists in publick with so eminent and learned a man as you are, yet I know right well, I am no ways able to do it; it would be a

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very

very unequal progress: I pretend not to learning; those slender notions I have are but disjointed pieces I have by chance gleaned up here and there. To encounter such a sinewy opposite, or make animadversions upon so smart a piece as yours is, requireth a more solid stock and exercise in school-learning. My superficial besprinkling will serve only for a private letter, or a familiar discourse with lady-auditors. With longing I expect the coming abroad of the true copy of that book, whose false and stolen one hath already given me so much delight. And so assuring you I shall deem it a great good fortune to deserve your favour and friendship, I kiss your hand and rest,

Winchester. Your most humble servant,
house.

March 20.
1642.

KENELM DIGBY.

T O T H E

R E A D E R.

CERTAINLY that man would be greedy of life, who should desire to live when all the world was at an end ; and he must needs be very impatient, who would repine at death in the society of all things that suffer under it. Had not almost every man suffered by the press, or were not the tyranny thereof become universal, I had not wanted reason for complaint : but in times wherein I have lived to behold the highest perversion of that excellent invention, the name of his Majesty defamed, the honour of parliament depraved, the writings of both depraved, ly, anticipatively, and counterfeit-ly

To the READER.

ly imprinted, complaints may seem ridiculous in private persons; and men of my condition may be as incapable of affronts, as hopeless of their reparations. And truly had not the duty I owe unto the importunity of friends, and the allegiance I must ever acknowledge unto truth, prevailed with me; the inactivity of my disposition might have made these sufferings continual, and time that brings other things to light, should have satisfied me in the remedy of its oblivion. But because things evidently false are not only printed, but many things of truth most falsely set forth, in the latter I could not but think myself engaged: For tho' we have no power to redress the former, yet in the other, reparation being within our selves,

To the READER.

selves, I have at present represented unto the world a full and intended copy of that piece, which was most imperfectly and surreptitiously published before.

This I confess, about seven years past, with some others of affinity thereto, for my private exercise and satisfaction, I had at leisure hours composed; which being communicated unto one, it became common unto many, and was by transcription successively corrupted, until it arrived in a most depraved copy at the press. He that shall peruse that work, and shall take notice of fundry particulars and personal expressions therein, will easily discern the intention was not publick: and being a private exercise directed to myself, what is delivered therein was rather

To the READER.

ther a memorial unto me, than an example or rule unto any other: and therefore, if there be any singularity therein correspondent unto the private conceptions of any man, it doth not advantage them; or if dissentaneous thereunto, it no way overthrows them. It was penned in such a place, and with such disadvantage, that, I protest, from the first setting of pen unto paper, I had not the assistance of any good book, whereby to promote my invention, or relieve my memory; and therefore there might be many real lapses therein, which others might take notice of, and more that I suspected myself. It was set down many years past, and was the sense of my conception at that time, not an immutable law unto my advancing judg-

To the READER.

judgment at all times; and therefore there might be many things therein plausible unto my past apprehension, which are not agreeable unto my present self. There are many things delivered rhetorically, many expressions therein meerly tropical, and as they best illustrate my intention; and therefore also there are many things to be taken in a soft and flexible sense, and not to be called unto the rigid test of reason. Lastly, All that is contained therein, is in submission to maturer discernments; and, as I have declared, I shall no further farther them than the best and learned judgments shall authorize them: under favour of which considerations I have made its secrecy publick, and committed the truth thereof to every ingenuous reader.

THO. BROWNE.

T H E
L I F E
O F
Sir THO. BROWNE, Knt.

SIR THOMAS was the eldest son of Mr. THOMAS BROWNE, merchant, descended from an ancient family at Upton in Cheshire, and was born in the parish of St. Michael's, Cheapside, London, the 19th of October, 1605. His father dying when he was very young, left him a handsome fortune, but his mother marrying soon after to Sir Thomas Dutton, he was left entirely to the care of his guardians, one of whom had the villainy to defraud him of a great part of his fortune. They sent him however to be educated at Wakeham's grammar-school, near Winchester, and in the year 1623 he was entered a commoner at Broadgates-hall, now called Pembroke-college, in the university of Oxford. January the 31st, 1626, he took the degrees of bachelor of arts, and afterwards that of master, entered on the physick line, and practised that faculty in Oxfordshire for some time.

He travelled afterwards into foreign countries, lived at Montpelier, Padua and Leyden, where he was made doctor of physick,
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and, upon his return to England, took his degree of doctor at the university of Oxford, July the 10th, 1637; about which time, by the persuation of his tutor, Mr. Thomas Lushington, he removed to Norwich, where he practised physick with the greatest reputation and success.

The honour he had acquired by his excellent writings, not only gained him the esteem of his own countrymen who were famous for learning, but likewise those of foreign nations, with whom he corresponded, and who frequently applied to him for his opinion in some nice points of learning; amongst these were Gruter, Windet, Theodore Jones of Ireland, &c. He was likewise peculiarly serviceable to Sir William Dugdale, in his history of imbanking and draining of divers fens and marshes, &c. published in the year 1662. Neither was the honour of his practice confined to the narrow limits of the city where he lived, but gained him so general a reputation, that the college of physicians of the city of London complimented him with a *Diploma*, and, in honour to his memory, his picture is to be seen at this day in their college. About the latter end of September, 1671, King Charles II. being at Norwich, conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, with special assurances of his royal favour.

But to come to his writings. In the year 1642, he published this excellent treatise,
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intituled, RELIGIO MEDICI, which he was obliged to upon account of a spurious copy sent to the press, and in his preface greatly complains of the errors of that copy.

In the year 1643, a tract was published, intituled, ‘Observations upon RELIGIO MEDICI, occasionally written by Sir Kenelm Digby, Knt.’ Another edition of which was printed at London in 1644. The general commendation Sir Kenelm gives of this curious piece, may be seen in his observations here bound together with the original work.

In the year 1645, an answer to RELIGIO MEDICI was published by Alexander Ross, under the title of *Medicus medicatus*: or, ‘The physician’s religion cured by a lenitive or gentle potion,’ &c. But this met with a very indifferent reception from the publick. About the same time annotations upon the most obscure passages therein were published by an unknown hand, and not long after, the RELIGIO MEDICI was translated into latin by Mr. John Merryweather, master of arts, of Magdalen-college in Cambridge, who, from the different sentiments entertained abroad of his book, met with some difficulty to have his translation printed at Leyden in Holland, three several booksellers or printers, Haye, de Vogel, and Christian refusing it; but was at length printed by Hackius, who undertook it after two days deliberation. The translator

flator had the satisfaction to find his version re-printed at Strasburg in 1652, with Latin annotations, by Levinius Nicolaus Moltkuis, a German, who informs us, in his preface, that the book itself, which is translated into French, Italian, German, Dutch, &c. has been much admired by the learned and curious. All these particulars shew in what esteem this book was, by the desire every nation had to read it in their own language. The authors of the *acta eruditorum*, in the first volume of their supplement, published at Leipfick in 1692, pass this judgment upon it, 'That it is full of excellent precepts, among which are inserted some paradoxes.'

Besides the RELIGIO MEDICI, our author published another book at London, *anno* 1646, intitled, PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA; or, 'Enquiries into very many received tenets, and commonly presumed truths;' or, 'Enquiries into common and vulgar errors:' The sixth edition whereof in 1673 was enlarged by the author, with many explanations and alterations. Father Niceron in his memoirs, *Pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres*, gives this character of it, that it is an excellent work, and contains a variety of curious observations. A translation of it was published in High-dutch, *anno* 1680, by Christian Nor, Baron of Roseuroth, under the name of Christopher Paganus. Alexander Ross finding that no notice was taken of his remarks upon

RELIGIO MEDICI, published others equally trifling upon the PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA, under the title of *Arcana microcosmi*; or, 'The hidden secrets of man's body discovered,' anno 1652. This book was likewise answered by Dr. John Robinson a physician, anno 1656, in a tract intitled, *Eudoxa, seu questionum quarundam miscellanearum examen probabile*; which met with the same fate as that of Alexander Ross.

In the year 1658, our author published another treatise, intitled, HYDRIOTAPHIA; or, 'A discourse of sepulchral urns, lately found in Norfolk.' Wherein he gives an account of the manner of burning dead bodies among the Romans, Britains, Saxons and Danes, together with the garden of Cyrus, or the quincuncial lozenge, or network plantations of the ancients, artificially, naturally, and mystically considered, with sundry observations.

Another book was likewise published, anno 1657, under our author's name, intitled, 'Nature's cabinet unlock'd, wherein is discovered the natural causes of metals, stones, precious earths,' &c.

The following is Dr. Wood's character of it; 'A dull worthless thing, stole for the most part from the physicks of Magirus by a very ignorant person, a plagiary so ignorant and unskilful, that not distinguishing *lævis* and *levis* in the said Magirus, he hath told us of the liver, that one part of

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‘ it is gibbous, and the other light ; and yet
 ‘ had the confidence to call this scribble,
 ‘ Nature’s cabinet unlocked ; an arrogant
 ‘ and fanciful title, of which our author’s
 ‘ true humility would no more have suffer-
 ‘ ed him to be father, than his great learn-
 ‘ ing could have permitted him to have
 ‘ been the author of the said book.’

Besides those published by himself, three others have been printed since his death. First his miscellany tracts, published from our author’s manuscripts, by Dr. Thomas Tenison, late archbishop of Canterbury ; containing, 1. Observations upon several plants mentioned in scripture. 2. Of garlands, and coronary or garden plants. 3. Of the fishes eaten by our saviour with his disciples after his resurrection. 4. An answer to certain queries relating to fishes, birds and insects. 5. Of hawks and faulconry, ancient and modern. 6. Of cymbals and other musical instruments. 7. Of ropalick, or gradual verses. 8. Of languages, particularly the Saxon. 9. Of artificial hills, mounts and boroughs in many parts of England : what they are, to what end raised, and by what nations. 10. Of Troas, what place is meant by that name ; also the situation of Sodom, Gomorrah, Zeboim in the dead sea. 11. Of the answers of the oracle of Apollo at Delphos to Cræsus king of Lydia. 12. A prophecy concerning the future state of several nations. 13. *Miscæ-*

um clausum; or, *Bibliotheca abscondita*; containing some remarkable books, antiquities, pictures, and rarities of several kinds, scarce ever seen by any man now living.

The second was printed in the year 1716, intitled, *Christian morals*, by Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich, M.D. and author of the *RELIGIO MEDICI*, published from the original and correct manuscript of the author, by John Jeffery, D.D. archdeacon of Norwich. The third posthumous work of his is a collection of pieces, containing 1. *Repertorium*; or, The antiquities of the cathedral church of Norwich, 1680. 2. Some letters which passed between Mr. Dugdale and Dr. Browne, *anno* 1658. 3. An account of Ireland, *anno* 1662. 4. Concerning some urns found in Brampton-field in Norfolk, *anno* 1667. 5. Against the too nice curiosity of censuring the present, or judging into future dispensations. 6. Upon reading *Hudibras*. 7. A letter to a friend upon the death of his intimate friend.

He wrote a treatise likewise, intitled, *De lucis causa & origine*, in a letter to Isaac Vossius, with whom he had a dispute upon that subject; printed at Amsterdam in 1663. and criticised on Vossius's work, *de natura & proprietate lucis*, wherein he strongly maintains *Des Cartes* hypothesis. He also wrote an apology for the Cartesian philosophy, in opposition to a divine named *Vogelsang*.

Thus

Thus much for our author's writings. I come now to the character of his person. His complexion and hair was brown, his stature moderate, and habit of body neither fat or lean. His manner of cloathing plain and unaffected. He was well skilled in Astronomy, Geography, Geometry, Natural History and Botany ; and had so excellent a memory, that he not only remembered what was most remarkable in the books he read, and knew those persons he had once seen, at any distance of time ; but the particulars of their conversation. In the latin poets he remembered all that was most acute and pungent, and his observations upon history, both ancient and modern, were singular, and such as are not made by ordinary readers. He was so much master over his passions, as always to make them controulable by his reason ; was never seen transported with mirth, or dejected with sorrow ; always chearful, but rarely merry, and seldom heard to break a jest without being apt to blush at the levity of it. Those who knew him only by his writings, found themselves deceived in their expectation when they came into his company, from the gravity of his aspect and conversation ; for he was so far from being loquacious, that it was difficult to engage him in any discourse, tho', when once engaged it, he was singular and uncommon. He was very careful to improve his time, and so impatient
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of sloth and idleness, that he would often say, he could not do nothing. Sir Thomas understood most of the European languages, *viz.* all contained in Hutter's bible; the Greek and Latin he understood critically. As to his religion, tho' the gentlemen of his faculty have fallen under the disgrace of having very little; yet he has declared himself in his *RELIGIO MEDICI* to be a steadfast member of the church of England, preferring its doctrine before any in the world; and for this reason he says himself, 'Because every part of it squares unto his conscience, and its articles, constitutions and customs seem so consonant to reason,' &c. He was a man of exemplary patience, which was founded upon true Christian philosophy, and an humble submission to the providence of God, which he shewed to the day of his death. He died at Norwich on the 19th of October, (the day of his birth) *anno* 1682, in the seventy seventh year of his age, and was buried in the church of St. Peter's Mancroft, at Norwich; where there is a mural monument erected to his memory, fixed to the South pillar of the altar.

R E L I G I O M E D I C I.

S E C T I O N I.

FOR my religion, though there be several circumstances that might persuade the world I have none at all, as the * general scandal of my profession, the † natural course of my studies, the ‡ indifferency of my behaviour, and discourse in matters of religion, neither violently defending one, nor with that common ardour and contention opposing another; yet, in despite hereof, I dare, without usurpation, assume the honourable stile of a Christian: || not that I merely owe this title to the font, my education, or clime wherein I was born, as being bred up either to confirm those principles my pa-
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rents intilled into my unwary understanding, or, by a general consent, proceed in the religion of my country: but having, in my riper years and confirmed judgment, seen and examined all, I find myself obliged by the principles of grace, and the law of mine own reason, to embrace no other name but this: neither doth herein my zeal so far make me forget the general charity I owe unto humanity, as rather to hate than pity Turks, Infidels, and (what is worse) Jews; rather contenting myself to enjoy that happy stile, than maligning those who refuse so glorious a title.

S E C T. II.

But because the name of a Christian is become too general to express our faith,* there being a geography of religions as well as lands, and every clime distinguished not only by their laws and limits, but
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circumscribed by their doctrines and rules of faith; to be particular, I am of that reformed new-cast religion, * wherein I dislike nothing but the name; of the same belief our Saviour taught, the apostles disseminated, the fathers authorized, and the martyrs confirmed; but by the sinister ends of princes, the ambition and avarice of prelates, and the fatal corruption of times, so decayed, impaired, and fallen from its native beauty, that it required the careful and charitable hand of these times to restore it to its primitive integrity. † Now the accidental occasion whereon, the slender means whereby, the low and abject condition of the person by whom, so good a work was set on foot, which in our adversaries beget contempt and scorn, fill me with wonder, and is the very same objection the insolent Pagans first cast at Christ and his disciples.

S E C T.

S E C T. III.

Yet have I not so * shaken hands with those desperate resolutions, who had rather venture at large their decayed bottom, then bring her in to be new trimmed in the dock; who had rather promiscuously retain all, than abridge any, and obstinately be what they are, than what they have been, as to stand in diameter, and swords point with them: we have reformed from them, not against them; for omitting those improprieties and terms of scurrility betwixt us, which only difference our affections, and not our cause, there is between us one common name and appellation, one faith, and necessary body of principles common to us both; and therefore I am not scrupulous to converse and live with them, to enter their churches in defect of ours, and either pray with them, or for them: I could never perceive

ceive any rational consequence from those many texts which prohibit the children of Israel to pollute themselves with the temples of the heathens; we being all christians, and not divided by such detested impieties as might profane our prayers, or the place wherein we make them; or that a resolved conscience may not adore her Creator any where, especially in places devoted to his service; where, if their devotions offend him, mine may please him, if theirs profane it, mine may hallow it; holy water and crucifix (dangerous to the common people) deceive not my Judgment, nor abuse my devotion at all: I am, I confess, naturally inclined to that, which misguided zeal terms superstition; my common conversation I do acknowledge austere, my behaviour full of rigour, sometimes not without morosity; yet at my devotion I love to use the civility
of

of my knee, my hat, and hand, with all those outward and sensible motions, which may express, or promote my invisible devotion. I should violate my own arm rather than a church, nor willingly deface the name of saint or martyr. At the sight of a cross or crucifix I can dispense with my hat, but scarce with the thought or memory of my Saviour; I cannot laugh at, but rather pity the fruitless journeys of pilgrims, or condemn the miserable condition of Friars; for though misplaced in circumstances, there is something in it of devotion: I could never hear the ^a *Ave Marie* Bell without an elevation, or think it a sufficient warrant, because they erred in one circumstance, for me to err in all, that is in silence and dumb

^a A church-bell that tolls every day at 6. and 12. of the clock, at the hearing whereof every one in what place soever either of house or street betakes him to his prayer, which is commonly directed to the Virgin.

dumb contempt; whilst therefore they directed their devotions to her, I offered mine to God, and rectified the errors of their prayers by rightly ordering mine own: at a solemn procession I have wept abundantly, while my consorts, blind with opposition and prejudice, have fallen into an excess of scorn and laughter: there are questionless both in Greek, Roman, and African churches, solemnities and ceremonies, whereof the wiser zealots do make a christian use; and stand condemned by us, not as evil in themselves, but as allurements and baits of superstition to those vulgar heads that look askint on the face of truth, and those unstable judgments that cannot consist in the narrow point and center of virtue, without a reel or stagger to the circumference.

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

As there were many reformers, so likewise many reformati^ons; every country proceeding in a particular way and method, according as their national interest, together with their constitution and clime, inclined them; some angrily and with extremity; others calmly and with mediocrity, not rending, but easily dividing the community, and leaving an honest possibility of a reconciliation; which though peaceable spirits do desire, and may conceive that revolution of time and the mercies of God may effect; yet that judgment that shall consider the present antipathies between the two extreams, their contrarieties in condition, affection and opinion, may with the same hopes expect an union in the poles of heaven.

S E C T. V.

But to difference myself nearer, and draw into a lesser circle: there is no church whose every part so squares unto my conscience, whose articles, constitutions, and customs seem so consonant unto reason, and as it were framed to my particular devotion; as this whereof I hold my belief, the church of England; to whose faith I am a sworn subject, and therefore, in a double obligation, subscribe unto her articles, and endeavour to observe her constitutions: whatsoever is beyond, as points indifferent, I observe according to the rules of my private reason, or the humour and fashion of my devotion; neither believing this, because Luther affirmed it, or disapproving that, because Calvin hath disavowed it. I condemn not all things in the council of Trent, nor approve all in the synod of Dort: in brief, where the scripture is si-

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lent, the church is my text; where that speaks, 'tis but my comment; where there is a joint silence of both, I borrow not the rules of my religion from Rome or Geneva, but the dictates of my own reason. It is an unjust scandal of our adversaries, and a gross error in our selves, to compute the nativity of our religion from * Henry the eight, who, though he rejected the Pope, refus'd not the faith of Rome, and effected no more than what his own predecessors desired and assayed in ages past, and was conceived the state of † Venice would have attempted in our days. It is as uncharitable a point in us to fall upon those popular scurrilities and opprobrious scoffs of the Bishop of Rome, to whom, as a temporal Prince, we owe the duty of good language: I confess there is cause of passion between us; by his sentence I stand excommunicated, Heretick is the best language he affords

sords me; yet can no ear witness
I ever returned him the name of
Antichrist, Man of Sin, or Whore of
Babylon. It is the method of chari-
ty to suffer without reaction: those
usual satyrs, and invectives of the
pulpit, may perchance produce a
good effect on the vulgar, whose
ears are opener to rhetorick than
logick; yet do they in no wise con-
firm the faith of wiser believers, who
know that a good cause needs not
to be patronized by a passion, but
can sustain it self upon a temperate
dispute.

S E C T. VI.

I could never divide myself from
any man upon the difference of an
opinion, * or be angry with his judg-
ment for not agreeing with me in
that, from which perhaps within a
few days I should dissent myself: I
have no genius to disputes in reli-
gion, and have often thought it
wisdom to decline them, especially
upon

upon a disadvantage, or when the cause of truth might suffer in the weakness of my patronage: where we desire to be informed, 'tis good to contest with men above ourselves; but to confirm and establish our opinions, 'tis best to argue with judgments below our own; that the frequent spoils and victories over their reasons may settle in ourselves an esteem, and confirmed opinion of our own. * Every man is not a proper champion for truth, nor fit to take up the gantlet in the cause of verity: many from the ignorance of these maxims, and an inconsiderate zeal unto truth, have too rashly charged the troops of error, and remain as trophies unto the enemies of truth: a man may be in as just possession of truth as of a city, and yet be forced to surrender; 'tis therefore far better to enjoy her with peace, than to hazard her on a battle: if therefore, there
arise

arise any doubts in my way, I do forget them, or at least defer them, till my better settled judgment, and more manly reason be able to resolve them; for I perceive every mans own reason is his best *Oedipus*, and will, upon a reasonable truce, find a way to loose those bonds, wherewith the subtilties of error have enchained our more flexible and tender judgments. In philosophy, where truth seems double-faced, there is no man more paradoxical then myself; but in divinity I love to keep the road, and though not in an implicit, yet in an humble faith, follow the great wheel of the church, by which I move, not reserving any proper poles or motion from the epicycle of my own brain; by this means I leave no gap for heresies, schisms, or errors, of which at present, I hope I shall not injure truth to say, I have no taint
or

or tincture; I must confess my greener studies have been polluted with two or three; not any begotten in the later centuries, but old and obsolete; such as could never have been revived, but by such extravagant and irregular heads as mine; *for indeed heresies perish not with their authors, but like the river † Arethusa, though they lose their currents in one place, they rise up again in another: one general council is not able to extirpate one single heresy; it may be cancelled for the present, but revolution of time, and the like aspects from Heaven, will restore it, when it will flourish till it be condemned again; for as though there were a *Metempsychosis*, and the soul of one man passed into another, opinions do find, after certain revolutions, men and minds like those that first begat them. To see ourselves again we need not look for

* Plato's

^a Plato's year; every man is not only himself; there have been many Diogenes's, and as many Timons, tho' but few of that name; men are lived over again, the world is now as it was in ages past, there was none then, but there hath been some one since that parallels him, and is as it were his revived self.

S E C T. VII.

*Now the first of mine was that of the Arabians, that the souls of men perished with their bodies, but should yet be raised again at the last day; not that I did absolutely conceive a mortality of the soul; but if that were, which faith, not philosophy, hath yet thoroughly disproved, and that both entered the grave together; yet I held the same conceit thereof that we all do of the body,

^a A revolution of certain thousand years, when all things should return unto their former estate, and he be teaching again i his school as when he delivered this opinion.

dy, that it should rise again. Surely it is but the merits of our unworthy natures, if we sleep in darkness until the last alarm: a serious reflex upon my own unworthiness did make me backward from challenging this prerogative of my soul; so I might enjoy my Saviour at the last, I could with patience be nothing almost unto eternity. The second was that of Origen; that God would not persist in his vengeance for ever, but after a definite time of his wrath he would release the damned souls from torture; which error I fell into, upon a serious contemplation of the great attribute of God's mercy; and did a little cherish it in myself, because I found therein no malice, and a ready weight to sway me from the other extream of despair, whereunto melancholy and contemplative natures are too easily disposed. A third there is, which I did never positively maintain

or practise, but have often wished it had been consonant to truth, and not offensive to my religion, and that is the prayer for the dead; whereunto I was inclined from some charitable inducements, whereby I could scarce restrain my prayers for a friend at the ringing of a bell, or behold his corps without an oraison for his soul; it was a good way methought to be remembred by posterity, and far more noble than an history. These opinions I never maintained with pertinacity, or endeavoured to inveigle any man's belief unto mine, nor so much as ever revealed or disputed them with my dearest friends; by which means I neither propagated them in others, nor confirmed them in myself, but suffering them to flame upon their own substance, without addition of new fuel, they went out insensibly of themselves; therefore * these opinions, though condemned by lawful councils,

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were

were not heresies in me, but bare errors, and single lapses of my understanding, without a joint depravity of my will: those have not only depraved understandings, but diseased affections, who cannot enjoy a singularity without a heresy, or be the author of an opinion, without they be that of a sect also; this was the villainy of the first schism of *Lucifer*, who was not content to err alone, but drew into his faction many legions of spirits; and upon this experience he tempted only *Eve*, as well understanding the communicable nature of sin, and that to deceive but one, was tacitly and upon consequence to delude them both.

S E C T. VIII.

That heresies should arise we have the prophecy of Christ; but that old ones should be abolished we hold no prediction. That there must be
heresies,

heresies is true, not only in our church, but also in any other: even in doctrines heretical there will be super-heresies, and Arians not only divided from their church, but also among themselves; for heads that are disposed unto schism, and complexionally propense to innovation, are naturally disposed for a community, nor will ever be confined unto the order or œconomy of one body; and therefore when they separate from others, they knit but loosely among themselves; nor contented with a general breach or dichotomy with their church, do subdivide and mince themselves almost into atoms. 'Tis true, that men of singular parts and humours have not been free from singular opinions and conceits in all ages; retaining something not only beside the opinion of his own church or any other, but also any particular author; which notwithstanding a
sober

sober judgment may do without offence or heresy: for there is yet, after all the decrees of councils and the niceties of the schools, many things untouched, unimagined, wherein the liberty of an honest reason may play and expatiate with security, and far without the circle of an heresy.

S E C T. IX.

As for those winged mysteries in divinity, and airy subtilties in religion, which have unhinged the brains of better heads, they never stretched the *Pia Mater* of mine; methinks there are not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith; the deepest mysteries ours contains have not only been illustrated, but maintained by syllogism, and the rule of reason: I love to lose myself in a mystery, to pursue my reason to an *O altitudo*. 'Tis my solitary recreation to pose my apprehension

prehension with those involved ænigmas and riddles of the Trinity, with incarnation and resurrection. I can answer all the objections of satan, and my rebellious reason, with that odd resolution I learned of *Tertullian*, *Certum est quia impossibile est*. I desire to exercise my faith in the difficultest point; for to credit ordinary and visible objects is not faith, but persuasion. Some believe the better for seeing Christ's sepulchre, and when they have seen the red sea, doubt not of the miracle.. Now on the contrary I bless myself, and am thankful that I lived not in the days of miracles, that I never saw Christ nor his disciples; I would not have been one of those Israelites that passed the red sea, nor one of Christ's patients, on whom he wrought his wonders; then had my faith been thrust upon me, nor should I enjoy that greater blessing pronounced to all that believe

lieve and saw not. 'Tis an easy and necessary belief to credit what our eye and sense hath examined: I believe he was dead, and buried, and rose again; and desire to see him in his glory, rather than to contemplate him in his cenotaphe, or sepulchre. Nor is this much to believe; as we have reason, we owe this faith unto history: they only had the advantage of a bold and noble faith, who lived before his coming, who, upon obscure prophecies and mystical types, could raise a belief, and expect apparent impossibilities.

S E C T. X.

'Tis true, there is an edge in all firm belief, and with an easy metaphor we may say the sword of faith; but in these obscurities I rather use it in the adjunct the Apostle gives it, a buckler; under which I conceive a wary combatant
may

may ly invulnerable. Since I was of understanding to know we knew nothing, my reason hath been more pliable to the will of faith; I am now content to understand a mystery, without a rigid definition, in an easy and platonick description. That allegorical description of *Hermes*^a, pleaseth me beyond all the metaphysical definitions of divines; where I cannot satisfy my reason, I love to humour my fancy; * I'd as soon chuse you would tell me that *anima est angelus hominis, est corpus Dei, as Entelechia; Lux est umbra Dei, as actus perspicui*: where there is an obscurity too deep for our reason, 'tis good to sit down with a description, periphrasis, or adumbration; for by acquainting our reason how unable it is to display the visible and obvious effects of nature, it becomes more humble and submissive unto the

^a *Sphæra cujus centrum ubique, circumferentia nullibi.*

the subtilties of faith: and thus I teach my haggard and unreclaimed reason to stoop unto the lure of faith. I believe there was already a tree whose fruit our unhappy parents tasted, though in the same chapter, when God forbids it, 'tis positively said, the plants of the field were not yet grown; for God had not caused it to rain upon the earth. * I believe that the serpent, (if we shall literally understand it) from his proper form and figure, made his motion on his belly before the curse. I find the trial of the pucelage and virginity of women, which God ordained the Jews, is very fallible. experience and history informs me, that not only many particular women, † but likewise whole nations have escaped the curse of childbirth, which God seems to pronounce upon the whole Sex; yet do I believe that all this is true, which indeed my reason would persuade

suade

swade me to be false; and this I think is no vulgar part of faith to believe a thing not only above, but contrary to reason, and against the arguments of our proper senses.

S E C T. XI.

In my solitary and retired imagination;

— *Neque enim; cum porticus, aut me lectulus accepit, desum mihi.*—

I remember I am not alone, and therefore forget not to contemplate him and his attributes who is ever with me, especially those two mighty ones, his wisdom and eternity; with the one I recreate; with the other I confound my understanding: for * who can speak of eternity without a solecism; or think thereof without an extasie? time we may comprehend; 'tis but five days older than ourselves, and hath the same Horoscope with the world: but to retire so far back as to apprehend a
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beginning, to give such an infinite start foreward, as to conceive an end in an essence that we affirm hath neither the one nor the other; it puts my reason to Saint Pauls Sanctuary; my philosophy dares not say the angels can do it: God hath not made a creature that can comprehend him, 'tis the privilege of his own nature; I am that I am, was his own definition unto Moses; and it was a short one, to confound mortality, that durst question God, or ask him what he was; indeed he only is, all others have been and shall be, but in eternity there is no distinction of tenses; and therefore that terrible term predestination, which hath troubled so many weak heads to conceive, and the wisest to explain, is in respect to God no prescious determination of our estates to come, but a definitive blast of his will already fulfilled, and at the instant that he first decreed it; for to his eternity which
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is indivisible, and altogether, the last trump is already sounded, the reprobates in the flame, and the blessed in Abraham's bosom. Saint Peter speaks modestly, when he saith, a thousand years to God are but as one day: for to speak like a Philosopher, those continued instances of time which flow into a thousand years make not to him one moment; what to us is to come, to his eternity is present, his whole duration being but one permanent point without succession, parts, flux, or division.

S E C T. XII.

There is no attribute that adds more difficulty to the mystery of the trinity, where, tho' in a relative way of Father and Son, we must deny a priority. * I wonder how Aristotle could conceive the world eternal, or how he could make good two eternities: his similitude of a triangle, comprehended in a square, doth

doth somewhat illustrate the trinity of our souls, and that the triple unity of God; * for there is in us not three, but a trinity of souls, because there is in us, if not three distinct souls, yet differing faculties, that can, and do subsist apart in different subjects, and yet in us are so united as to make but one soul and substance; if one soul were so perfect as to inform three distinct bodies, that were a petty trinity: conceive the distinct number of three, not divided nor separated by the intellect, but actually comprehended in its unity, and that is a perfect trinity. I have often admired the mystical way of Pythagoras, and the secret magick of numbers; beware of philosophy, is a precept not to be received in too large a sense; for in this mass of nature there is a set of things that carry in their front, tho' not in capital letters, yet in stenography, and short characters, something of divinity, which

which, to wiser Reasons, serve as luminaries in the abyſs of knowledge, and to judicious beliefs, as ſcales and roundles to mount the pinnacles and higheſt pieces of divinity. The ſevere ſchools ſhall never laugh me out of the philoſophy of Hermes, that this viſible world is but a picture of the inviſible, wherein, as in a pourtrait, things are not truly, but in equivocal ſhapes; and as they counterfeit ſome more real ſubſtance in that inviſible fabrick.

S E C T. XIII.

That other attribute, wherewith I recreate my devotion, is his wiſdom, in which I am happy; and for the contemplation of this only, do not repent me that I was bred in the way of ſtudy: the advantage I have of the vulgar, with the content and happineſs I conceive therein, is an ample recompence for all my endeavours, in what part of knowledge

ledge soever. Wisdom is his most beauteous attribute; no man can attain unto it, yet Solomon pleased God when he desired it. He is wise because he knows all things, and he knoweth all things because he made them all; but his greatest knowledge is in comprehending what he made not, that is himself. And this is also the greatest knowledge in man. For this do I honour my own profession and embrace the counsel even of the Devil himself: had he read such a lecture in paradise as he did at ^a Delphos, we had better known ourselves, nor had we stood in fear to know him. I know he is wise in all, wonderful in what we conceive, but far more in what we comprehend not; for we behold him but asquint, upon reflex or shadow: our understanding is dimmer than Moses's eye, we are ignorant of the back Parts, or lower side of his divinity;

^a *Nescit seipsum.*

divinity; therefore to pry into the maze of his councils, is not only folly in Man, but presumption even in angels; like us, they are his servants, not his senators; he holds no council, but that mystical one of the trinity, wherein tho' there be three persons, there is but one mind that decrees, without contradiction; nor needs he any, his actions are not begot with deliberation, his wisdom naturally knows what is best; his intellect stands ready fraught with the superlative and purest ideas of goodness; consultation and election, which are two motions in us, make but one in him; his actions springing from his power, at the first touch of his will. These are contemplations metaphysical; my humble speculations have another method, and are content to trace and discover those expressions he hath left in his creatures, and the obvious effects of nature; there is
no

no danger to dive into these mysteries; no *sanctum sanctorum* in philosophy: the world was made to be inhabited by beasts; but studied and contemplated by man: it is the debt of our reason we owe unto God; and the homage we pay for not being beasts; without this the world is still as tho' it had not been, or as it was before the sixth day, when as yet there was not a creature that could conceive, or say there was a world: The wisdom of God receives small honour from those vulgar heads; that rudely stare about, and with a gross rusticity admire his works; those highly magnifie him whose judicious enquiry into his acts, and deliberate research into his creatures, return the duty of a devout and learned admiration.

Therefore,

Therefore,

*Search while thou wilt, and let thy reason go,
To ransom truth, even to th' abyss below.
Rally the scatter'd causes, and that line
Which nature twists be able to untwine.
It is thy Maker's will, for unto none,
But unto reason, can he e'er be known.
The devils know thee; but those damned meteors
Build not thy glory, but confound thy creatures.
Teach my endeavours so thy works to read,
That, learning them, in thee I may proceed.
Give thou my reason that instructive flight,
Whose weary wings may on thy hands still light.
Teach me to soar aloft, yet ever so,
When near the sun, to stoop again below.
Thus shall my humble feathers safely hover,
And, tho' near earth, more than the heav'ns discover.
And then at last, when home-ward I shall drive,
Rich with the spoils of nature, to my hive;
There will I sit, like that industrious fly,
Buzzing thy praises, which shall never die;
Till death abrupts them, and succeeding glory
Bid me go on in a more lasting story.*

And this is almost all wherein an
humble creature may endeavour to

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requite,

requite, and some way to retribute unto his Creator; for if not he that saith, *Lord, Lord*; but *he that doth the will of the Father*, shall be saved; certainly our wills must be our performances, and our intents make out our actions; otherwise our pious labours shall find anxiety in our graves, and our best endeavours not hope, but fear a resurrection.

S E C T. XIV.

* There is but one first cause, and four second causes of all things: some are without efficient, as God; others without matter, as angels: some without form, as the first matter: but every essence, created or uncreated, hath its final cause, and some positive end both of its essence and operation: this is the cause I grope after in the works of nature, on this hangs the providence of God; to raise so beautiful

ous a structure, as the world and the creatures thereof, was but his art; but their fundry and divided operations, with their predestinated ends, are from the treasury of his wisdom. In the causes, nature, and affections of the eclipses of sun and moon, there is most excellent speculation; but to dive deeper, and to contemplate a reason, why his providence hath so disposed and ordered their motions in that vast circle, as to conjoin and obscure each other, is a sweeter piece of reason, and a diviner point of philosophy; therefore sometimes, and in some things, there appears to me as much divinity in Galen's books *de usu partium*, as in Suárez's metaphysics: had Aristotle been as curious in the enquiry of this cause as he was of the other, he had not left behind him an imperfect piece of philosophy, but an absolute tract of divinity.

S E C T.

S E C T. XV.

Natura nihil agit frustra, is the only indisputable axiom in philosophy; * there are no Grotesk in nature; nor any thing framed to fill up empty cantons and unnecessary spaces; in the most imperfect creatures, and such as were not preserved in the ark, but having their seeds and principles in the womb of nature, are every where where the power of the sun is; in these is the wisdom of his hand discovered: out of this rank Solomon chose the object of his admiration; indeed what reason may not go to school to the wisdom of bees, ants and spiders? what wise hand teacheth them to do what reason cannot teach us? ruder heads stand amazed at those prodigious pieces of nature, whales, elephants, dromedaries and camels; these, I confess, are the colossus and majestick pieces of her hand; but in these narrow engines

engines there are more curious mathematicks, and the civility of these little citizens more neatly sets forth the wisdom of their Maker. * Who admires not *Regiomontanus* his fly beyond his eagle, † or wonders not more at the operation of two souls in those little bodies, than but one in the trunk of a cedar? I could never content my contemplation with those general pieces of wonder, the flux and reflux of the sea, the encrease of the Nile, the conversion of the needle to the north; and have studied to match and parallel those in the more obvious and neglected pieces of nature, which without further travel I can do in the ‡ cosmography of myself: we carry with us the wonders we seek without us; there is all Africa and her prodigies in us; we are that bold and adventurous piece of nature, which he that studies wisely learns in a *compendium*,
and

what others labour at in a divided piece and endless volume.

S E C T. XVI.

Thus there are two books from whence I collect my divinity; besides that written one of God, another of his servant nature, that universal and publick manuscript, that lies expanded unto the eyes of all; those that never saw him in the one, have discovered him in the other: this was the scripture and theology of the Heathens; the natural motion of the sun made them more admire him, than its supernatural station did the children of Israel; the ordinary effect of nature wrought more admiration in them, than in the other all his miracles: surely the Heathens knew better how to join and read these mystical letters than we Christians, who cast a more careless eye on these common hieroglyphicks, and disdain to suck divinity

divinity from the flowers of nature. Nor do I so forget God, as to adore the name of nature; which I define not, with the schools, the principle of motion and rest, but that straight and regular line, that settled and constant course the wisdom of God hath ordained for the actions of his creatures, according to their several kinds. To make a revolution every day is the nature of the sun, because of that necessary course which God hath ordained it, from which it cannot swerve, by a faculty from that voice which first gave it motion. Now this course of nature God seldom alters or perverts, but like an excellent artist hath so contrived his work, that, with the self-same instrument, without a new creation, he may effect his obscurest designs. Thus he sweetneth the water with a wood, preserveth the creatures in the ark, which the blast of his mouth might have

have

have as easily created: for God is like a skilful Geometrician, who when, more easily, and with one stroke of his compass, he might describe or divide a right line, had yet rather do this in a circle or longer way, according to the constituted and forelaid principles of his art: yet this rule of his he doth sometimes pervert, to acquaint the world with his prerogative, lest the arrogancy of our reason should question his power, and conclude he could not; and thus I call the effects of nature the works of God, whose hand and instrument she only is; and therefore to ascribe his actions unto her, is to devolve the honour of the principal agent upon the instrument; which if with reason we may do, then let our hammers rise up and boast they have built our houses, and our pens receive the honour of our writings. I hold there is a general beauty in
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the works of God, and therefore no deformity in any kind or species of creature whatsoever: I cannot tell by what logick we call a toad, a bear, or an elephant ugly, they being created in those outward shapes and figures which best express the actions of their inward forms; and having past that general visitation of God, who saw that all that he had made was Good, that is, conformable to his will, which abhors deformity, and is the rule of order and beauty: there is no deformity but in monstrosity, wherein notwithstanding there is a kind of beauty; nature so ingeniously contriving the irregular parts, as they become sometimes more remarkable than the principal fabrick. To speak yet more narrowly, there was never any thing ugly, or misshapen but the chaos; wherein notwithstanding, to speak strictly, there was no deformity, because no form,

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nor

nor was it yet impregnated by the voice of God: now nature is not at variance with art, nor art with nature; they being both the servants of his providence: Art is the perfection of nature: were the world now as it was the sixth day, there were yet a chaos; nature hath made one world, and art another. In brief, all things are artificial, for nature is the art of God *.

§ E C T. XVII.

This is the ordinary and open way of his providence, which art and industry have in a good part discovered, whose effects we may foretel without an oracle; to foreshew these is not prophesy, but prognostication. There is another way full of meanders and labyrinths, whereof the devil and spirits have no exact ephemerides, and that is a more particular and obscure method of his providence, directing
the

the operations of individuals and single essences; this we call fortune, that serpentine and crooked line, whereby he draws those actions his wisdom intends in a more unknown and secret way; this cryptick and involved method of his providence have I ever admired; nor can I relate the history of my life, the occurrences of my days, the escapes of dangers, and hits of chance, with a *Bezo las Manos* to fortune, or a bare gramercy to my good stars: Abraham might have thought the ram in the thicket came thither by accident; human reason would have said that meer chance conveyed Moses in the ark to the sight of Pharaoh's daughter: what a labyrinth is there in the story of Joseph, able to convert a Stoick? Surely there are in every man's life certain rubs, doublings and wrenches, which pass a while under the effects of chance, but at the last,

last, when well examined, prove the meer* hand of God: 'twas not dumb chance, that, to discover the fougade or powder-plot, contrived a miscarriage in the letter. I like the victory of 1588. the better for that one occurrence which our enemies imputed to our dishonour, and the partiality of fortune, to wit, the tempests and contrariety of winds. King Philip did not detract from the nation, when he said, he sent his Armado to fight with men, and not to combat with the winds. Where there is a manifest disproportion between the powers and forces of two several agents, upon a maxim of reason we may promise the victory to the superior; but when unexpected accidents slip in, and unthought of occurrences intervene, these must proceed from a power that owes no obedience to those axioms; where, as in the writing upon the wall, we behold
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the hand, but see not the spring that moves it. The success of that petty province of Holland, (of which the Grand Seignior proudly said, that if they should trouble him as they did the Spaniard, he would send his men with shovels and pick-axes, and throw it into the sea) I cannot altogether ascribe to the ingenuity and industry of the people, but to the mercy of God, that hath disposed them to such a thriving genius, and to the will of his providence, that disposeth her favour to each country in their pre-ordinate season. All cannot be happy at once *; for, because the glory of one state depends upon the ruin of another, there is a revolution and vicissitude of their greatness, and they must obey the living of that wheel, not moved by intelligences, but by the hand of God, whereby all estates arise to their zenith and vertical points, according

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ing to their predestinated periods. For the lives not only of men, but of commonwealths, and the whole world, run not upon an helix that still enlargeth, but on a circle, where, arriving at their meridian, they decline in obscurity, and fall under the horizon again.

S E C T. XVIII.

These must not therefore be named the effects of fortune, but in a relative way, and as we term the works of nature. It was the ignorance of man's reason that begot this very name, and by a careless term miscalled the providence of God: for there is no liberty for causes to operate in a loose and straggling way; nor any effect whatsoever, but hath its warrant from some universal or superior cause. 'Tis not a ridiculous devotion, to say a prayer before a game at tables; for even in fortilegies and matters
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of greatest uncertainty, there is a settled and pre-ordered course of effects: 'tis we that are blind, not fortune; because our eye is too dim to discover the mystery of her effects, we foolishly paint her blind, and hoodwink the providence of the Almighty. I cannot justify that contemptible proverb, *That fools only are fortunate*; or that insolent paradox, *That a wise man is out of the reach of fortune*; much less those opprobrious epithets of poets, *whore, barwd and strumpet*: 'tis, I confess, the common fate of men * of singular gifts of mind to be destitute of those of fortune; which doth not any way deject the spirit of wiser judgments, who thoroughly understand the justice of this proceeding, and, being enriched with higher donatives, cast a more careless eye on these vulgar parts of felicity. 'Tis a most unjust ambition, to desire to engross the mercies
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of the Almighty; not to be content with the goods of mind without a possession of those of body or fortune: and 'tis an error worse than heresy, to adore these complemental and circumstantial pieces of felicity, and undervalue those perfections, and essential points of happiness, wherein we resemble our Maker. To wiser desires 'tis satisfaction enough to deserve, tho' not to enjoy, the favours of fortune; let providence provide for fools: 'tis not partiality, but equity in God, who deals with us but as our natural parents; those that are able of body and mind, he leaves to their deserts; to those of weaker merits he imparts a larger portion, and compensates the defect of the one by the excess of the other. Thus have we no just cause to quarrel with nature, for leaving us naked; or to envy * the horns, hoofs, skins, and furs of other creatures, being provided
with

with reason, that can supply them all. We need not labour with so many arguments to confute judicial astrology; for if there be a truth therein, it doth not injure divinity: if to be born under *Mercury* disposeth us to be witty, under *Jupiter* to be wealthy, I do not owe a knee unto these, but unto that merciful hand that hath ordered my indifferent and uncertain nativity under such benevolent aspects. Those that hold that all things were governed by fortune had not erred, had they not persisted there: the Romans, who erected a temple to fortune, acknowledged therein, though in a blinder way, somewhat of divinity; for in a wise supputation all things begin and end in the Almighty. There is a nearer way to heaven than *Homer's* chain; an easy logick may conjoin heaven and earth in one argument, and less than a forites resolve all things into God. For though we

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christen effects by their most sensible and nearest causes, yet is God the true and infallible cause of all; whose concurrence though it be general, yet doth it subdivide itself into the particular actions of every thing, and is that spirit, by which each singular essence not only subsists, but performs its operation.

S E C T. XIX.

The bad construction and perverse comment on these pair of second causes, or visible hands of God, have perverted the devotion of many unto atheism; who, forgetting the honest advices of faith, have listened unto the conspiracy of passion and reason. I have therefore always endeavoured to compose those feuds and angry dissensions between affection, faith, and reason: For there is in our soul a kind of * triumvirate, or triple government of three competitors, which
distracts

distract the peace of this our common-wealth, no less than did that other the state of Rome.

As reason is a rebel unto faith, so passion unto reason: as the propositions of faith seem absurd unto reason, so the theorems of reason unto passion, and both unto reason; yet a moderate and peaceable discretion may so state and order the matter, that they may be all kings, and yet make but one monarchy; every one exercising his sovereignty and prerogative, in a due time and place, according to the restraint and limit of circumstance. There is, as in philosophy, so in divinity, sturdy doubts, and boisterous objections, wherewith the unhappiness of our knowledge too nearly acquainteth us. More of these no man hath known than myself, which I confess I conquered, not in a martial posture, but on my knees. For our endeavours are not only to combat
with

with doubts, but likewise to dispute with the devil: the villainy of that spirit takes a hint of infidelity from our studies, and, by demonstrating a naturalty in one way, makes us mistrust a miracle in another. Thus, having perus'd the archidoxes, and read the secret sympathies of things, he would dissuade my belief from the miracle of the ^a brazen serpent, make me fancy that image wrought by sympathy, and that it was but an Ægyptian trick to cure their diseases without a miracle. Again, having seen some experiments of ^{*} Bitumen, and having read far more of [†] Naphta, he whispered to my curiosity the fire of the altar might be natural, and bid me mistrust a ^b miracle in Elijah when he intrenched the altar round with water; for that inflammable substance yields not easily unto water, but flames in the arms of its antagonist: and thus

would

^a Vid. Num. xxi. 5, 9. ^b 1 Kings ch. xviii.

would he inveigle my belief to think the * cumbustion of Sodom might be natural, and that there was an asphaltick and bituminous nature in that lake before the fire of Gomorrah. I know that manna is now plentifully gathered in Calabria, and Josephus tells me in his days 'twas as plentiful in Arabia; the devil therefore made the query, where was then the miracle in the days of Moses? the Israelites saw, in his time, but what the natives of those countries behold in ours. Thus the devil play'd at chess with me, and, yielding a pawn, thought to gain a queen of me, taking advantage of my honest endeavours; and whilst I labour'd to raise the structure of my reason, he strove to undermine the edifice of my faith.

S E C T. XX.

Neither had these, or any other, ever such advantage of me, as to
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incline me to any point of infidelity, or desperate positions of atheism; for I have been these many years of opinion, there was never any. * Those that held religion was the difference of man from beasts have spoken probably, and proceed upon a principle as inductive as the other: † that doctrine of Epicurus, that denied the providence of God, was not atheism, but a magnificent and high-strained conceit of his majesty, which he deemed too sublime to mind the trivial actions of those inferior creatures: that fatal necessity of the Stoicks, is nothing but the immutable law of his will. Those that heretofore denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost, have been condemned but as hereticks; and those that now deny our Saviour (tho' more than hereticks) are not so much as atheists; for tho' they deny two persons

sons in the Trinity, they hold, as we do, there is but one God.

* That villain and secretary of hell, who composed that miscreant piece of the three impostors, tho' divided from all religions, and was neither Jew, Turk nor Christian, was not a positive atheist. I confess every country hath its Machiavel, every age its Lucian, whereof common heads must not hear, nor more advanced judgments too rashly venture on: it is the rhetoric of satan, and may pervert a loose or prejudiced belief.

S E C T. II.

I confess I have perused them all, and can discover nothing that may startle a discreet belief: yet are there heads carried off with the wind and breath of such motives. I remember a doctor of physick in Italy, who could not perfectly believe the immortality of the soul,
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because Galen seemed to make a doubt thereof. With another I was familiarly acquainted in France, a divine, and a man of singular parts, who on the same point was so plunged and gravelled with ^a three lines of Seneca, that all our antidotes, drawn from both scripture and philosophy, could not expel the poison of his error. There are a set of heads that can credit the relations of mariners, yet question the testimony of St. Paul; and peremptorily maintain the traditions of Ælian or Pliny, yet in histories of scripture raise queries and objections, believing no more than they can parallel in human authors. I confess there are * in scripture stories that do exceed the fables of poets, and to a captious reader sound like Garagantua or Eevis: search all the legends of times past,

*a Post mortem nihil est, ipsaque mors nihil. Mors indicata est nexia corpori, nec parcens animæ.---
Tati morimur, nullaque pars manet nostri.---*

past, and the fabulous conceits of these present, and it will be hard to find one that deserves to carry the buckler unto * Sampson; yet is all this of an easy possibility, if we conceive a divine concurrence, or an influence but from the little finger of the Almighty. It is impossible that either in the discourse of man, or in the infallible voice of God, to the weakness of our apprehensions, there should not appear irregularities, contradictions and antinomies: I myself could shew a catalogue of doubts, never yet imagined, nor questioned, so far I as know, which are not resolved at the first hearing; not fantastick queries; or objections of air: for I cannot hear of atoms in divinity. I can read the history of the pigeon that was sent out of the ark, and returned no more, yet not question how she found out her mate that was left behind: That Lazarus was raised

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from the dead, yet not demand where in the interim his soul awaited; or raise a law-case, whether his heir might lawfully detain his inheritance, bequeathed unto him by his death, and he, tho' restored to life, have no plea or title unto his former possessions. Whether Eve was framed out of the left side of Adam, I dispute not; because I stand not yet assured which is the right side of a man, or whether there be any such distinction in nature; that she was formed out of the rib of Adam I believe, yet raise no question who shall arise with that rib at the resurrection. Nor whether Adam was an hermaphrodite, as the Rabbins contend upon the letter of the text; because it is contrary to reason, there should be an hermaphrodite before there was a woman, or a composition of two natures before there was a second composed. Likewise, whether the world was created

ted in * autumn, summer, or the spring; because it was created in them all; for whatsoever sign the sun possesseth, these four seasons are actually existent: it is the nature of this luminary to distinguish the several seasons of the year, all which it makes at one time in the whole earth, and successive in any part thereof. There are a bundle of curiosities, not only in philosophy but in divinity, proposed and discussed by men of most supposed abilities, which indeed are not worthy our vacant ours, much less our serious studies; pieces only fit to be placed in ^a Pantagruel's library, or bound up with *Tartaretus de modo cacandi*.

S E C T. XXII.

These are niceties that become not those that peruse so serious a mystery: there are others more
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^a In Rabelais.

generally questioned, and called to the bar, yet methinks of an easy, and possible truth. 'Tis ridiculous to put off, or drown the general * flood of Noah in that great particular inundation of Deucalion: that there was a deluge once, seems not to me so great a miracle, as that there is not one always. † How all the kinds of creatures, not only in their own bulks, but with a competency of food and sustenance, might be preserved in one ark, and within the extent of three hundred cubits, to a reason that rightly examines it, will appear very feasible. There is another secret, not contained in the scripture, which is more hard to comprehend, and put the ‡ honest father to the refuge of a miracle; and that is, not only how the distinct pieces of the world, and divided islands should be first planted by men, but inhabited by tygers, panthers and bears. How
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America abounded with beasts of prey, and noxious animals, yet contained not in it that necessary creature, a horse, is very strange. By what passage those, not only birds, but dangerous and unwelcome beasts came over: How there are creatures there, which are not found in this triple continent; all which must needs be strange unto us, that hold but one ark, and that the creatures began their progress from the mountains of Ararat. They, who to solve this would make the deluge particular, proceed upon a principle which I can no way grant; not only upon the negative of holy scriptures, but of my own reason, whereby I can make it probable, * that the world was as well peopled in the time of Noah as in ours, and fifteen hundred years to people the world as full a time for them, as four thousand years since have been to us. There are other
after-

assertions, and common tenets drawn from scripture, and generally believed as scripture, whereunto, notwithstanding, I would never betray the liberty of my reason. 'Tis a paradox to me, * that Methusalem was the longest lived of all the children of Adam, and no man will be able to prove it; when, from the process of the text, I can manifest it may be otherwise. That † Judas perished by hanging himself, there is no certainty in scripture, tho' in one place it seems to ^a affirm it, and by a doubtful word hath given occasion to translate it; yet in another place, in a more punctual description, it makes it ^b improbable, and seems to overthrow it. That our fathers, after the flood, erected the tower of Babel, to preserve themselves against a second deluge, is the general opinion and belief; yet is there another intention

^a Mat. xxviii. 5. ^b Acts i. 18.

tion of theirs expressed in ^a scripture; besides, it is improbable from the circumstance of the place, that is, a plain in the land of Shinar. These are no points of faith, and therefore may admit a free dispute. There are yet others, and those familiarly concluded from the text, wherein (under favour) I see no consequence. The church of Rome confidently asserts the opinion of tutelary angels, from that answer, when Peter knocked at the door ^b, *'tis not he but his angel*; that is, might some say, his messenger, or some body from him; for so the original signifies, and is as likely to be the doubtful families meaning. This exposition I once suggested to a young divine, who answered directly thus; to which I remember the Franciscan opponent replied no more, but, that it was a new, and no authentick interpretation.

S E C T.

^a Gen. xi. 4. ^b Acts xii. 15.

S E C T. XXIII.

These are but the conclusions, and fallible discourses of man upon the word of God, for such I do believe the holy scriptures; yet were it of man, I could not chuse but say; it was the most singular, and superlative piece that hath been extant since the creation; were I a Pagan, I should not refrain the lecture of it; and cannot but commend the judgment of *Ptolemy, who thought not his library compleat without it. †The alcoran of the Turks (I speak without prejudice) is an ill composed piece, containing in it vain and ridiculous errors in philosophy, impossibilities, fictions, and vanities beyond laughter; maintained by evident and open sophisms, the policy of ignorance, demolition of universities, and banishment of learning; which hath gotten foot by arms and violence: this, without a blow, hath disseminated itself thro'

thro' the whole earth. It is not unremarkable what Philo first observed, that the law of Moses continued two thousand Years without the least alteration; whereas, we see, the laws of other commonwealths do alter with occasions; and even those, that pretended their original from some divinity, have vanished without trace or memory. I believe, besides *Zoroaster, there were divers that writ before Moses, who notwithstanding have suffered the common fate of time. Mens works have an age like themselves; and tho' they out-live their authors, yet have they a stint and period to their duration: this only is a work too hard for the teeth of time, and cannot perish but in the general flames, when all things shall confess their ashes.

S E C T. XXIV.

I have heard some with deep sighs lament the lost lines of Cicero; others with as many groans deplore the * combustion of the library of Alexandria; for my own part, I think there be too many in the world, and could with patience behold the urn and ashes of the Vatican, could I with a few others recover the perished leaves of Solomon. I would not omit a copy of † Enoch's pillars, had they many nearer authors than Josephus, or did not relish somewhat of the fable. Some men have written more than others have spoken; ^a Pineda quotes more authors in one work, than are necessary in a whole world. Of ‡ these three great inventions in Germany, there are two which are not without their inconveniencies, and it is disputable whether

^a Pineda in his *monarchia ecclesiastica* quotes one thousand and forty authors.

whether they exceed not their use and advantages. It is not a melancholy *utinam* of mine own, but the desire of better heads, that there were a general synod; not to unite the incompatible difference of religion, but for the benefit of learning, to reduce it as it lay at first in a few and solid authors; and to condemn to the fire those swarms and millions of rhapsodies, begotten only to distract and abuse the weaker judgments of scholars, and to maintain the trade and mystery of typographers.

S E C T. XXV.

I cannot but wonder with what exceptions the Samaritans could confine their belief to the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses. I am ashamed at the rabbinical interpretation of the Jews upon the Old Testament, as much as their defection from the New: and truly
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it is beyond wonder, how that contemptible and degenerate issue of Jacob, once so devoted to ethnical superstition, and so easily seduced to the idolatry of their neighbours, should now, in such an obstinate and peremptory belief, adhere unto their own doctrine, expect impossibilities, and, in the face and eye of the church, persist without the least hope of conversion: this is a vice in them, that were a virtue in us; for obstinacy in a bad cause is but constancy in a good. And herein I must accuse those of my own religion; for there is not any of such a fugitive faith, such an unstable belief, as a Christian; none that do so oft transform themselves, not only into several shapes of Christianity, and of the some species, but into more unnatural and contrary forms, of Jew and Mahometan; who, from the name of Saviour, can condescend to the bare term of prophet;

prophet ; and from an old belief that he is come, fall to a new expectation of his coming : it is the promise of Christ to make us all one flock ; but how and when this union shall be, is as obscure to me as the last day. Of those four members of religion we hold a slender proportion ; there are I confess some new additions, yet small to those which accrue to our adversaries ; and those only drawn from the revolt of Pagans, men but of negative impieties, and such as deny Christ, but because they never heard of him : but the religion of the Jew is expressly against the Christian, and the Mahometan against both ; for the Turk, in the bulk he now stands, is beyond all hope of conversion ; if he fall asunder there may be conceived hopes, but not without strong improbabilities. The Jew is obstinate in all fortunes ; the persecuti-
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on of fifteen hundred years hath but confirmed them in their error: they have already endured whatsoever may be inflicted, and have suffered, in a bad cause, even to the condemnation of their enemies. Persecution is a bad and indirect way to plant religion; it hath been the unhappy method of angry devotions, not only to confirm honest religion, but wicked heresies, and extravagant opinions. It was the first stone and basis of our faith; none can more justly boast of persecutions, * and glory in the number and valour of martyrs; for, to speak properly, these are true, and almost only examples of fortitude: those that are fetched from the field, or drawn from the actions of the camp, are not oft-times so truly precedents of valour as audacity, and at the best attain but to some bastard piece of fortitude: † if we shall strictly examine the circumstances

cumstances and requisites which Aristotle requires to true and perfect valour, we shall find the name only in his master Alexander, and as little in that Roman worthy, Julius Cesar; and if any, in that easy and active way, have done so nobly as to deserve that name, yet, in the passive and more terrible piece, these have surpassed; and in a more heroical way may claim the honour of that title. 'Tis not in the power of every honest faith to proceed thus far, or pass to heaven thro' the flames; every one hath it not in that full measure, nor so audacious and resolute a temper, as to endure those terrible tests and trials, who, notwithstanding in a peaceable way, do truly adore their Saviour, and have, no doubt, a faith acceptable in the eyes of God.

S E C T.

S E C T. XXVI.

Now as all that die in war are not termed soldiers, so neither can I properly term all those that suffer in matters of religion martyrs: The council of Constance condemns * John Huſs for an heretick, the stories of his own party stile him a martyr; he must needs offend the divinity of both; who says he was neither the one nor the other: there are many, questionless, canonized on earth, who shall never be saints in heaven; and have their names in histories and martyrologies, who in the eyes of God are not so perfect † martyrs as was that wise heathen, Socrates, who suffered on a fundamental point of religion, the unity of God. I have often pitied the miserable ‡ bishop who suffered in the cause of antipodes; yet cannot chuse but accuse him of as much madness, for exposing his life on such a trifle,

as those of ignorance and folly who condemned him. I think my conscience would not give me the lie, if I say, there are not many extant who, in a noble way, fear the face of death less than myself; yet, from the moral duty I owe to the commandment of God, and the natural respects that I tender unto the conservation of my essence and being, I would not perish upon a ceremony, politick points, or indifferency: nor is my belief of that untractable temper, as not to bow at their obstacles, or connive at matters wherein there are not manifest impieties; the leaven therefore and ferment of all, not only civil but, religious actions, is wisdom; without which, to commit ourselves to the flames is homicide, and (I fear) but to pass thro' one fire into another.

S E C T. XXVII.

That miracles are ceased, I can neither prove, nor absolutely deny, much less define the time and period of their cessation; that they survived Christ, is manifest upon record of scripture; that they outlived the apostles also, and were revived at the conversion of nations, many years after, we cannot deny, if we shall not question those writers whose testimonies we do not controvert, in points that make for our own opinions; therefore that may have some truth in it that is reported by the Jesuites of their miracles in the Indies; I could wish it were true, or had any other testimony than their own pens: they may easily believe those miracles abroad, who daily conceive a greater at home; the transmutation of those visible elements into the body and blood of our Saviour: for the conversion of water into wine, which
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he wrought in Cana, or, what the devil would have had him do in the wilderness, of stones into bread, compared to this, will scarce deserve the name of a miracle: tho' indeed, to speak properly, there is not one miracle greater than another, they being the extraordinary effect of the hand of God, to which all things are of an equal facility; and to create the world is as easy as one single creature. For this is also a miracle, not only to produce effects against, or above nature, but before nature; and to create nature as great a miracle, as to contradict or transcend her. We do too narrowly define the power of God, restraining it to our capacities. * I hold that God can do all things; how he should work contradictions I do not understand, yet dare not therefore deny. I cannot see why the angel of God should question Esdras to recall the time
past,

past, if it were beyond his own power; or that God should pose mortality in that, which he was not able to perform himself. I will not say God cannot, but he will not perform many things, which we plainly affirm he cannot: this I am sure is the most mannerly proposition, wherein notwithstanding I hold no paradox. For strictly, his power is the same with his will, and they both with all the rest do make but one God.

S E C T. XXVIII.

Therefore that miracles have been I do believe; that they may yet be wrought by the living I do not deny: but have no confidence in those which are fathered on the dead; * and this hath ever made me suspect the efficacy of reliques, to examine the bones, question the habits and appurtinances of saints, and even of Christ himself: I cannot

not conceive why the cross that Helena found, and whereon Christ himself died, should have power to restore others unto life; * I excuse not Constantine from a fall off his horse, or a mischief from his enemies, upon the wearing those nails on his bridle which our Saviour bore upon the cross in his hands: I compute among your *piæ fraudes*, † nor many degrees before consecrated swords and roses, that which Baldwin king of Jerusalem returned the Genoese for their cost and pains in his war, to wit, the ashes of John the Baptist. Those, who hold the sanctity of their souls doth leave behind a tincture and sacred faculty on their bodies, speak naturally of miracles, and do not solve the doubt. Now one reason I tender for little devotion to reliques is, I think, the slender and doubtful respect I have always held unto antiquities: for that indeed which I
admire

admire is far before antiquity, that is eternity, and that is God himself; who, tho' he be stiled the Antient of days, cannot receive the adjunct of antiquity, who was before the world, and shall be after it, yet is not older than It: for in his years there is no climacterick, his duration is eternity, and far more venerable than antiquity.

S E C T. XXIX.

But, above all things, I wonder how the curiosity of wiser heads could pass that great and indisputable miracle, * the cessation of oracles: and in what swoon their reasons lay, to content themselves and sit down with such far-fetched and ridiculous reasons as Plutarch alledgeth for it. The Jews, who can believe the supernatural solstice of the sun in the days of Josphua, have yet the impudence to deny the eclipse, which every Pagan confessed at our Saviour's

Saviour's death : but for this, it is evident beyond all contradiction, ^a the devil himself confessed it. Certainly it is not a warrantable curiosity, to examine the verity of scripture by the concordance of human history, or seek to confirm the chronicle of Esther, or Daniel, by the authority of * Megasthenes or Herodotus : I confess I have had an unhappy curiosity this way, till I laughed myself out of it with a piece of † Justin, where he delivers that the children of Israel for being scabbed were banished out of Egypt. And truly since I have understood the occurrences of the world, and know in what counterfeit shapes, and deceitful vizards, time represents on the stage things past ; I do believe them little more than things to come. Some have been of my opinion, and endeavoured to write the history of their own lives ;
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^a In his oracle to Augustus.

wherein Moses hath outgone them all, and left not only the story of of his life, but, as some will have it, of his death also.

S E C T. XXX.

It is a riddle to me, how this story of oracles hath not worm'd out of the world that doubtful conceit of spirits and witches; how so many learned heads should so far forget their metaphysicks, and destroy the ladder and scale of creatures, as to question the existence of spirits: for my part, I have ever believed, * and do now know, that there are witches; they that doubt of these, do not only deny them, but spirits; and are obliquely and upon consequence a sort, not of infidels, but of atheists. Those who to confute their incredulity desire to see apparitions, shall questionless never behold any, nor have the power to be so much as
witches:

witches ; the devil hath them already in a heresy as capital as witchcraft, and to appear to them, were but to convert them: of all the delusions wherewith he deceives mortality, there is not any that puzzleth me more than the legerdmain of Changelings ; I do not credit those transformations of reasonable creatures into beasts, or that the devil hath a power to transpeciate a man into a horse, who tempted Christ (as a trial of his divinity) to convert but stones into bread. I could believe that spirits use with man the act of carnality, ~ and that in both sexes ; I conceive they may assume, steal, or contrive a body, wherein there may be action enough to content decrepit lust, or passion to satisfy more active veneries ; yet in both, without a possibility of generation : and therefore that opinion, that anti-christ should be born of the tribe
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of Dan, by conjunction with the devil, is ridiculous, and a conceit fitter for a Rabbin than a Christian. I hold that the devil doth really possess some men, the spirit of melancholy others, the spirit of delusion others; that as the devil is concealed and denied by some, so God and good angels are pretended by others, whereof the late defection of the maid of Germany hath left a pregnant example.

S E C T XXXI.

Again, I believe that all that use forceries, incantations, and spells, are not witches, or, as we term them, magicians; I conceive there is a traditional magick, not learned immediately from the devil, but at second hand from his scholars; who, having once the secret betrayed, are able, and do empirically practise without his advice, they both proceeding upon the principles of nature;

nature; where actives, aptly conjoined to disposed passives, will under any master produce their effects. Thus I think at first a great part of philosophy was witchcraft, which, being afterward derived to one another, proved but philosophy, and was indeed no more but the honest effects of nature: what invented by us is philosophy, learned from him is magick: We do surely owe the discovery of many secrets to the discovery of good and bad angels. I could never pass that sentence of Paracelsus without an asterisk or annotation; ^a *Ascendens constellationum multa revelat, quærentibus magnalia naturæ, i. e. opera Dei.* I do think that many mysteries, ascribed to our own inventions, have been the courteous revelations of spirits; for those noble essences in heaven bear a friendly regard

^a Thereby is meant our good angel, appointed us from our nativity.

gard unto their fellow natures on earth ; and therefore believe that those many prodigies and ominous prognosticks, which fore-run the the ruins of states, princes, and private persons, are the charitable premonitions of good angels, which more careless enquiries term but the effects of chance and nature.

S E C T. XXXII.

Now, besides these particular and divided spirits, there may be (for ought I know) an universal and common spirit to the whole world.

* It was the opinion of Plato, and it is yet of the hermetical philosophers ; if there be a common nature that unites and ties the scattered and divided individuals into one species, why may there not be one that unites them all ? However, I am sure there is a common spirit that plays within us, yet makes no part of us ; and that is
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the spirit of God, the fire and scintillation of that noble and mighty essence, which is the life and radical heat of spirits, and those essences that know not the virtue of the sun; a fire quite contrary to the fire of hell: This is that gentle heat that brooded on the waters, and in six days hatched the world; this is that irradiation that dispels the mists of hell, the clouds of horror, fear, sorrow, despair; and preserves the region of the mind in serenity; whosoever feels not the warm gale and gentle ventilation of this spirit, (though I feel his pulse.) I dare not say he lives; for truly without this, to me there is no heat under the tropick; nor any light, though I dwelt in the body of the sun.

As

*As when the labouring Sun hath wrought his track,
Up to the top of lofty Cancer's back,
The icie ocean cracks, the frozen pole
Thaws with the heat of the celestial coal;
So when thy absent beams begin t' impart,
Again a solstice on my frozen heart,
My winter's o'er, my drooping spirits sing,
And every part revives into a spring.
But if thy quickning beams a while decline,
And with their light bless not this orb of mine,
A chilly frost surpriseth every member,
And in the midst of June I feel December,
O how this earthly Temper doth debase
The noble soul, in this her humble place!
Whose winged nature ever doth aspire,
To reach that place whence first it took its fire,
These flames I feel, which in my heart do dwell,
Are not thy beams, but take their fire from Hell:
O quench them all, and let thy light divine
Be as the Sun to this poor orb of mine.
And to thy sacred Sp'rit convert those fires,
Whose earthly fumes choke my devout aspires.*

S E C T.

S E C T. XXXIII.

Therefore, for spirits I am so far from denying their existence, that I could easily believe, that not only whole countries, but particular persons, have their tutelary and guardian angels: It is not a new opinion of the church of Rome, but an old one of Pythagoras and Plato; there is no heresy in it, and if not manifestly defined in scripture; yet it is an opinion of a good and wholesome use in the course and actions of a man's life, and would serve as an hypothesis to solve many doubts, whereof common philosophy affordeth no solution: Now if you demand my opinion and metaphysics of their natures, I confess them very shallow, most of them in a negative way, like that of God; or in a comparative, between ourselves and fellow creatures; for there is in this universe a stair, or manifest scale of
crea-

creatures, rising not disorderly, or in confusion, but with a comely method and proportion: Between creatures of meer existence, and things of life, there is a large disproportion of nature; between plants and animals, or creatures of sense, a wider difference; between them and man, a far greater: and if the proportion hold on, between man and angels there should be yet a greater. Those do not comprehend their natures, who retain the first definition of Porphyry, and distinguish them from ourselves by immortality: for before the fall man also was immortal; yet must we needs affirm, that he had a different essence from the angels: having therefore no certain knowledge of their natures, 'tis no bad method of the schools, whatsoever perfection we find obscurely in ourselves, in a more compleat and absolute way to ascribe unto them.

I believe they have an extemporary knowledge, and upon the first motion of their reason do what we cannot without study or deliberation; that they know things by their forms, and define, by specific difference, what we describe by accidents and properties; and therefore probabilities to us may be demonstrations unto them: that they have knowledge not only of the specific, but numerical forms of individuals, and understand by what reserved difference each single hypostasis (besides the relation to its species) becomes its numerical self. That as the soul hath a power to move the body it informs; so they have a faculty to move any, tho' inform none; we are confined to time, place and distance; but that invisible hand that conveyed Habakkuk to the lion's den, or Philip, to Azotus, infringeth this rule, and hath a secret conveyance, wherewith

mortality is not acquainted: if they have that intuitive knowledge, whereby, as in reflexion, they behold the thoughts of one another, I cannot peremptorily deny, but they know a great part of ours. Those who, to refute the invocation of saints, have denied that they have any knowledge of our affairs below, have proceeded too far, and must pardon my opinion, till I can thoroughly answer that piece of scripture, *At the conversion of a sinner the angels in heaven rejoice*^a. I cannot with those in that *great father securely interpret the work of the first day, *Fiat lux*, to the creation of angels, tho', I confess, there is not any creature that hath so near a glimpse of their nature, as light in the sun and elements: we stile it a bare accident; but where it subsists alone, 'tis a spiritual substance, and may be an angel: in brief, conceive

^a Luke xv. 7, 10.

ceive light invifible, and that is a fpirit.

S E C T. XXXIV.

These are certainly the magifterial and mafter-pieces of the creator, the flower, or (as we may fay) the beft part of nothing, actually exifting, of which we are but in the hope, and probability: we are only that amphibious piece between a corporal and fpiritual effence, that middle form that links thefe two together, and makes good the method of God and nature; that jumps not from extremes, but unites the incompatible diftances by fome middle and participating natures: that we are the breath and fimilitude of God is indisputable, and upon record of holy fcripture; but to call ourfelves a microcofm, or little world, I thought only a pleafant trope of rhetorick, till my near judgment and fecond thoughts told me there

was

was a real truth therein : for first we are a rude mass, and in the rank of creatures which only are, and have a dull kind of being, not yet privileged with life, or preferred to sense or reason ; next we live the life of plants, the life of animals, the life of men, and at last the life of spirits, running on in one mysterious nature those five kinds of existences, which comprehend the creatures not only of the world, but of the universe ; thus is man that great and true Amphibion, whose nature is disposed to live not only like other creatures in divers elements, but in divided and distinguished worlds ; for tho' there is but one world to sense, there are two to reason ; the one visible, the other invisible ; of the one Moses seems to have left description, but of the other so obscurely, that some parts thereof are yet in controversy ; and truly in the first chapters of Genesis,

ness, I must confess a great deal of obscurity ; though divines have, to the power of human reason, endeavoured to make all go in a literal meaning, yet those allegorical interpretations are also probable, and perhaps no other than the mystical method of Moses, bred up in the hieroglyphical schools of the Egyptians.

S E C T. XXXV.

Now for that immaterial world, methinks we need not wander so far as beyond the first moveable ; for even in this material fabrick the spirits walk as freely exempt from the affection of time, place, and motion, as beyond the extremest circumference : do but extract from the corpulency of bodies, or resolve things beyond the first matter, and you discover the habitation of angels, which if I call the ubiquitary, and omnipresent essence

sence of God, I hope I shall not offend divinity; for before the creation of the world God was really all things. For the angels he created no new world, or determinate mansion, and therefore they are every-where where his essence is, and do live at a distance even in himself. That God made all things for man, is in some sense true, yet not so far as to subordinate the creation of those purer creatures unto ours, tho' as ministering spirits they do, and are willing to fulfil the will of God in these lower and sublunary affairs of man: God made all things for himself, and it is impossible he should make them for any other end than his own glory; it is all he can receive, and all that is without himself: for honour being an external adjunct, and in the honourer rather than in the person honoured, it was necessary to make a creature,
from

from whom he might receive this homage, and that is in the other world angels, in this man; which when we neglect, we forget the very end of our creation, and may justly provoke God, not only to repent that he hath made the world, but that he hath sworn he would not destroy it. That there is but one world, is a conclusion of faith: Aristotle with all his philosophy hath not been able to prove it, and as weakly that the world was eternal; that dispute much troubled the pens of the antient philosophers, but Moses decided that question, * and all is solved with the new term of a creation, that is, a production of something out of nothing; and what is that nothing? whatsoever is opposite to something; or more exactly, that which is truly contrary unto God: for he only is, all others have an existence with dependency, and are something, but
by

by a distinction; and herein is divinity conformable unto philosophy, and generation not only founded on contrarieties, but also creation; God being all things is contrary unto nothing, out of which were made all things, and so nothing became something, and omniscience informed nullity into an essence.

S E C T. XXXVI.

The whole creation is a mystery, and particularly that of man: at the blast of his mouth were the rest of the creatures made, and at his bare word they started out of nothing; but in the frame of man (as the text describes it) he played the sensible operator, and seemed not so much to create, as make him; when he had separated the materials of other creatures, there consequently resulted a form and soul; but having raised the walls of man, he was driven to a second and harder
creation

creation of a substance like himself, an incorruptible and immortal soul. For these two affections we have the philosophy and opinion of the Heathens, the flat affirmative of Plato, and not a negative from Aristotle: there is another scruple cast in by divinity, * concerning its production, much disputed in the German auditories, and with that indifferency and equality of arguments, as leave the contraverſy undetermined. I am not of Paracelsus's mind who boldly delivers a receipt to make a man without conjunction; yet cannot but wonder at the multitude of heads that do deny traduction, having no other argument to confirm their belief, than that rhetorical sentence, and antimetathesis of Augustine, *creando infunditur, infundendo creatur*: either opinion will consist well enough with religion, yet I should rather incline to this, did not one

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objection haunt me, not wrung from speculations and subtilties, but from common sense and observation; not pickt from the leaves of any author, but bred amongst the weeds and tares of mine own brain; and this is a conclusion from the equivocal and monstrous productions in the copulation of man with beast: for if the soul of man be not transmitted and transfused in the seed of the parents, why are not those productions meerly beasts, but have also an impression and tincture of reason in as high a measure as it can evidence itself in those improper organs? Nor truly can I peremptorily deny, that the soul, in this her sublunary state, is wholly and in all acceptations inorganical; but that, for the performance of her ordinary actions, there is required not only a symmetry, and proper disposition of organs, but a *crasis and temper correspondent to
its

its operations : yet is not this mass of flesh and visible structure the instrument and proper corps of the soul, but rather of sense, and that the hand of reason. In our study of anatomy there is a mass of mysterious philosophy, and such as reduced the very * Heathens to divinity ; yet, amongst all those rare discoveries, and curious pieces I find in the fabrick of man, I do not so much content myself, as in what I find not, that is, no organ or instrument for the rational soul : for in the brain, which we term the seat of reason, there is not any thing of moment more than I can discover in the crany of a beast : and this is a sensible and no inconsiderable argument of the inorganimy of the soul, at least in that sense we usually so receive it. Thus we are men, and we know not how ; there is something in us that can be without us, and will be after us, tho'

tho' it is strange that it hath no history what it was before us, nor can tell how it entered into us.

S E C T. XXXVII.

Now for these walls of flesh, wherein the soul doth seem to be immured before the resurrection, they are nothing but an elemental composition, and a fabrick that may fall to ashes; *All flesh is grass*^a, is not only metaphorically, but literally true; for all those creatures we behold, are but the herbs of the field, digested into flesh in them, and more remotely carnified in ourselves. Nay further, we are, what we all abhor, anthropophagi and cannibals, devourers not only of men, but of our selves; and that not in an allegory, but a positive truth; for all this mass of flesh, which we behold, came in at our mouths: this frame we look upon, hath
been

^a 1 Pet. i. 24.

been upon our trenchers; in brief we have devoured ourselves. *I cannot believe the wisdom of Pythagoras did ever positively, and in a literal sense, affirm his metempsychosis, or impossible transmigration of the souls of men into beasts: of all metamorphoses or transmigrations, I believe only one, that is of Lot's wife; for that of Nebuchadnezzar proceeded not so far; in all others I conceive there is no further verity than is contained in their implicit sense and morality. I believe that the whole frame of a beast doth perish, and is left in the same state after death, as before it was materialized unto life; that the souls of men know neither contrary nor corruption; that they subsist beyond the body, and outlive death by the privilege of their proper natures, and without a miracle; that the souls of the faithful, as they leave earth, take possession
of

of heaven ; that those aparitions, and ghosts of departed persons, are not the wandring souls of men, but the unquiet walks of devils, prompting and suggesting us unto mischief, blood, and villainy, by instilling, and stealing into our hearts; that the blessed spirits are not at rest in their graves, but wander sollicitous of the affairs of the world; but that those phantoms appear often, and do frequent cemiteries, charnel-houses, and churches, is, because those are the dormitories of the dead, where the devil, like an insolent champion, beholds with pride the spoils and trophies of his victory over Adam,

S E C T. XXXVIII.

This is that dismal conquest we all deplore, that makes us so often cry, *O Adam, quid fecisti?* I thank God I have not those strait ligaments, or narrow obligations to
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the world, as to dote on life, or be convulsed and tremble at the name of death: not that I am insensible of the dread and horror thereof; or that by raking into the bowels of the deceased, by the continual sight of anatomies, skeletons, or cadaverous reliques, like vispilloes, or grave-makers, * I am become stupid, or have forgot the apprehension of mortality; but that, marshalling all the horrors, and contemplating the extremities thereof, I find not any thing therein able to daunt the courage of a man, much less a well † resolved Christian. And therefore I am not angry at the error of our first parents, or unwilling to bear a part of this common fate, or, like the best of them, to die, that is, to cease to breathe, to take a farewell of the elements, to be a kind of nothing for a moment, to be within one instant of a spirit. When I take a full view and circle

circle of my self, without this reasonable moderator, and equal piece of justice, death, I do conceive myself the most * miserable person extant; were there not another life that I hope for, all the vanities of this world should not intreat a moment's breath from me; could the devil work my belief to imagine I could ever die, I would not out-live that very thought: I have so abject a conceit of this common way of existence, this retaining to the sun and elements, that I cannot think this is to be a man, or to live according to the dignity of humanity; in expectation of a better, I can with patience embrace this life, yet in my best meditations do often defy death; I honour any man that contemns it, nor can I highly love any that is afraid of it: this makes me naturally love a soldier, and honour those tattered and contemptible regiments that will die at the
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command of a serjeant. For a Pagan there may be some motives to be in love with life; but for a Christian to be amazed at death, I see not how he can escape this dilemma, that he is too sensible of this life, or hopeless of the life to come.

S E C T. XXIX.

Some divines, count Adam thirty years old at his creation, because they suppose him created in the perfect age and stature of man: And surely we are all out of the computation of our age, and every man is some months elder than he bethinks him; for we live, move, have a being, and are subject to the actions of the elements, and the malice of diseases in that other world, the truest microcosme, the womb of our mother; for besides that general and common existence we are conceived to hold in our chaos, and whilst we sleep

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within

within the bosom of our causes, we enjoy a being and life in three distinct worlds, wherein we receive most manifest gradations: In that obscure world, and womb of our mother, our time is short computed by the moon; yet longer than the days of many* creatures that behold the sun; we being even then endued with life, sense and reason; tho' for the manifestation of its actions, it awaits the opportunity of objects, and seems to live there but in its root and soul of vegetation: entering afterwards upon the scene of the world, we arise up and become another creature, performing the reasonable actions of man, and obscurely manifesting that part of divinity in us; but not in complement and perfection, till we have once more cast our secondine, that is, this slough of flesh, and are delivered into the last world, that is, that ineffable place of Paul, that
proper

proper *ubi* of spirits. The smattering I have of the philosophers stone, (which is something more than the perfect exaltation of gold) hath taught me a great deal of divinity, and instructed my belief, how that immortal spirit and incorruptible substance of my soul may lie obscure, and sleep a while within this house of flesh. *Those strange and mystical transmigrations, that I have observed in silkworms, have turned my philosophy into divinity. There is in these works of nature, which seem to puzzle reason, something divine, and hath more in it than the eye of a common spectator doth discover.

S E C T. XL.

I am naturally bashful, nor hath conversation, age, or travel, been able to effront, or enharden me; yet I have one part of modesty, which I have seldom discovered in another,

another,

another, that is, (to speak truly) I am not so much afraid of death, as ashamed thereof; 'tis the very disgrace and ignominy of our natures, that in a moment can so disfigure us, that our nearest friends, wife and children, stand afraid and start at us. The birds and beasts of the field that before in a natural fear obeyed us, forgetting all allegiance, begin to prey upon us. This very conceit hath in a tempest disposed, and left me willing to be swallowed up in the abyss of waters; wherein I had perished, unseen, unpitied, without wondering eyes, tears of pity, lectures of mortality, and none had said, *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* Not that I am ashamed of the anatomy of my parts, or can accuse nature for playing the bungler in any part of me, or my own vitious life for contracting any shameful disease upon me, whereby I might not call myself as whole-
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son a morsel for the worms as any.

S E C T. XLI.

Some upon the courage of a fruitful issue, wherein, as in the truest chronicle, they seem to out-live themselves, can with greater patience away with death. This conceit, and counterfeit subsisting in our progeny, seems to me a meer fallacy, unworthy the desires of a man, who can but conceive a thought of the next world; who, in a nobler ambition, should desire to live in his substance in heaven rather than in his name and shadow on the earth. And therefore, at my death, I mean to take a total adieu of the world, not caring for a monument, history, or epitaph; not so much as the bare memory of my name to be found any-where but in the universal register of God: I am not yet so cynical, as to approve

prove the ^a testament of Diogenes; nor do I altogether allow that redomontado of Lucan;

---Cælo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.

*He that unburied lies wants not his herse,
For unto him a tomb's the universe.*

But commend in my calmer judgment those ingenuous intentions that desire to sleep by the urns of their fathers, and strive to go the ^{*}neatest way unto corruption. I do not envy the temperament of †crows and daws, nor the numerous and weary days of our fathers before the flood. If there be any truth in astrology, I may outlive a jubilee; as yet I have not seen one revolution of Saturn, nor hath my pulse beat thirty years, and yet, excepting one, have seen the ashes of, and
left

^a Who willed his friend not to bury him, but to hang him up with a staff in his hand to fright away the crows.

lest under ground, all the kings of Europe; have been contemporary to three Emperors, four Grand Signiors, and as many Popes: Methinks I have outlived myself, and begin to be weary of the sun; I have shaken hands with delight in my warm blood and canicular days; I perceive I do anticipate the vices of age; the world to me is but a dream, or mock-show, and we all therein but Pantaloons and Anticks to my severer contemplations.

S E C T. XLII.

It is not, I confess, an unlawful prayer to desire to surpass the days of our Saviour, or wish to out-live that age wherein he thought fittest to die; yet if (as divinity affirms) there shall be no gray hairs in heaven, but all shall rise in the perfect state of men, we do but out-live those perfections in this world, to be recalled unto them by a greater

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ter miracle in the next, and run on here but to be retrograde hereafter. Were there any hopes to outlive vice, or were it a point to be super-annuated from sin, it were worthy our knees to implore the days of Methuselah. But age doth not rectify, but incurvate our natures, turning bad dispositions into worse habits, and (like diseases) brings on incurable vices; for every day as we grow weaker in age, we grow stronger in sin, and the number of our days doth but make our sins innumerable. The same vice, committed at sixteen, is not the same, tho' it agree in all other circumstances, at forty; but swells and doubles from the circumstance of our ages, wherein, besides the constant and inexcusable habit of transgressing, the maturity of our judgment cuts off pretence unto excuse or pardon: every sin the oftner it is committed, the more it acquir-
reth

reth in the quality of evil; as it
 succeeds in time, so it precedes in
 degrees of badness; for as they
 proceed they ever multiply, and,
 like figures in arithmetick, the last
 stands for more than all that went
 before it: And though I think no
 man can live well once but he that
 could live twice, yet for my own
 that part, I would not live over
 my hours past, or begin again the
 thread of my days; not upon Cice-
 ro's ground; because I have lived
 them well, but for fear I should live
 them worse: I find my growing
 judgment daily instructs me how to
 be better, but my untamed affecti-
 ons and confirmed vitiosity makes
 me daily do worse: I find in my
 confirmed age the same sins I dis-
 covered in my youth; I committed
 many then because I was a child,
 and because I commit them still I
 am yet an infant. Therefore I per-
 ceive a man may be twice a child

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before

before the days of dotage, and stand in need of * Æson's bath before threescore.

S E C T. XLIII.

And truly there goes a great deal of providence to protract a man's life unto threescore; there is more required than an able temperament for those years; tho' the radical humour contain in it sufficient oil for 70, yet I perceive in some it gives no light past thirty; men assign not all the causes of long life who write whole books thereon. They, that found themselves on the radical balsam or vital sulphur of the parts, determine not why Abel liv'd not so long as Adam. There is therefore a secret gloom or bottom of our days; 'twas his wisdom to determine them, but his perpetual and walking providence that fulfils and accomplisheth them; wherein the spirits, ourselves, and
all

all the creatures of God, in a secret and disputed way, do execute his will. Let them not therefore complain of immaturity that dye about thirty; they fall but like the whole world, whose solid and well composed substance must not expect the duration and period of its constitution; when all things are completed in it, its age is accomplished, and the last and general fever may as naturally destroy it before six thousand, as me before forty: there is therefore some other hand that twines the thread of life than that of nature; we are not only ignorant in antipathies and occult qualities; our ends are as obscure as our beginnings; the line of our days is drawn by night, and the various effects therein by a pencil that is invisible; wherein tho' we confess our ignorance, I am sure we do not err, if we say, it is the hand of God.

SECT.

S E C T. XLIV.

I am much taken with two verses of Lucan, since I have been able not only, as we do at school, to construe, but understand.

Victurosque Dei celant ut vivere durent,
Felix esse mori.

*We're all deluded, vainly searching ways,
To make us happy by the length of days;
For cunningly, to make's protract this breath,
The gods conceal the happiness of death.*

There be many excellent strains in that poet, wherewith his stoical genius hath liberally supplied him; and truly there are singular pieces in the philosophy of Zeno, and doctrine of the stoicks, which I perceive, delivered in a pulpit, pass for current divinity; yet herein are they in extreams, that can allow a man to be his own Assassine, and so highly extol the end and suicide of Cato, this is indeed not to fear death, but yet to be afraid
of

of life. It is a brave act of valour to contemn death, but where life is more terrible than death, it is then the truest valour to dare to live, and herein religion hath taught us a noble example: For all the valiant acts of Curtius, Scævola or Codrus, do not parallel or match that one of Job; and sure there is no torture to the rack of a disease, nor any poinyards in death itself like those in the way or prologue unto it. *Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum nihil curo*, I would not dye, but care not to be dead. Were I of Cæsar's religion I should be of his desires, and wish rather to go off at one blow, than to be sawed in pieces by the grating torture of a disease. Men that look no further than their outsides think health an appurtinance unto life, and quarrel with their constitutions for being sick; but I who have examined the parts of man, and know upon
what

what tender filaments that fabrick hangs, do wonder that we are not always so; and considering the thousand doors that lead to death do thank my God that we can dye but once. 'Tis not only the mischief of diseases, and the villany of poisons that make an end of us; we vainly accuse the fury of guns, and the new inventions of death; 'Tis in the power of every hand to destroy us, and we are beholden unto every one we meet that he doth not kill us. There is therefore but one comfort left, that tho' it be in the power of the weakest arm to take away life, it is not in the strongest to deprive us of death: God would not exempt himself from that: the misery of immortality in the flesh, he undertook not what was in it immortal. Certainly there is no happiness within this circle of flesh, nor is it in the opticks of these eyes to behold felicity; the first day of
our

our jubilee is death ; the devil hath therefore failed of his desires ; we are happier with death than we should be without it : There is no misery but in himself where there is no end of misery ; and so indeed in his own sense, the stoick is in the right. He forgets that he can dye who complains of misery, we are in the power of no calamity while death is in our own.

S E C T. XLV.

Now besides this literal and positive kind of death, there are others wherèin divines make mention, and those, I think, not merely metaphorical, as mortification, dying unto sin and the world ; therefore, I say, every man hath a double horoscope, one of his humanity, his birth ; another of his christianity, his baptism ; and from this do I compute or calculate my nativity, not reckoning those *horæ combustæ*,

combustæ, and odd days, or esteeming myself any thing, before I was my Saviour's, and inrolled in the register of Christ: whosoever enjoys not this life, I count him but an apparition, tho' he wear about him the sensible affections of flesh. In these moral acceptations, the way to be immortal is to dye daily; nor can I think I have the true theory of death, when I contemplate a skull, or behold a skeleton with those vulgar imaginations it casts upon us; I have therefore enlarged that common *memento mori*, into a more Christian memorandum, *memento quatuor revivissimæ*: those four inevitable points of us all, death, judgment, heaven and hell. Neither did the contemplations of the Heathens rest in their graves, without a further thought of * Radamanthus, or some judicial proceeding after death, tho' in another way, and upon suggestion of their

their natural reasons. I cannot but marvel from what sibyl or oracle they stole the prophesy of the world's destruction by * fire; or whence Lucan learned to say,

Communis mundo superest rogas, ossibus astra
Misturus.-----

*There yet remains to th' world one common fire,
Wherein our bones with stars shall make one pyre.*

I believe the world grows nearer its end, yet is neither old nor decayed, nor will ever perish upon the ruins of its own principles. As the work of creation was above nature, so is its adversary; annihilation; without which the world hath not its end, but its mutation. Now what force should be able to consume it thus far, without the breath of God, which is the truest consuming flame; my philosophy cannot inform me. Some believe there went not a minute to the world's creation nor shall there go to its

Q destruction

destruction; those six days, so punctually described, make not to them one moment, but rather seem to manifest the method and idea of the great work of the intellect of God, than the manner how he proceeded in its operation. I cannot dream that there should be at the last day any such judicial proceeding, or calling to the bar, as indeed the scripture seems to imply, and the literal commentators do conceive: for unspeakable mysteries in the scriptures are often delivered in a vulgar and illustrative way; and being written unto man, are delivered, not as they truly are, but as they may be understood; wherein notwithstanding, the different interpretations, according to different capacities, may stand firm with our devotion, nor be any way prejudicial to the edification of each individual.

S E C T. XLVI.

Now to determine the day and year of this inevitable time, is not only invincible and statute madness, but also manifest impiety; how shall we interpret Elias's * 6000 years, or imagine the secret communicated to a Rabbi which God hath denied unto his angels? It had been an excellent query to have posed the devil of Delphos, and must needs have forced him to some strange amphibology; it hath not only mocked the predictions of fundry astrologers in ages past, but the prophecies of many melancholy heads in the present; who, neither understanding reasonably things past or present, pretend a knowledge of things to come; heads ordained only to manifest the incredible effects of melancholy, and fulfil old prophecies, rather than be the authors of new. [In those days there shall come wars and rumours

mours of wars,^a] to me seems no prophesy, but a constant truth, in all times verified since it was pronounced. There shall be signs in the moon and stars, how comes he then like a thief in the night^b, when he gives an item of his coming? That common sign drawn from the revelation of Antichrist, is as obscure as any; in our computation he hath been come these many years; but, for my own part, to speak freely, I am half of opinion that antichrist is the philosophers stone in divinity, for the discovery and invention of which, tho' there be prescribed rules, and probable inductions, yet hardly hath any man attained the perfect discovery thereof. That general opinion, that the world grows near its end,

^a Mat. xxiv. 11. In those days there shall come lyars and false prophets.

Mat. xxiv. 6. and Mark. xiii. 7.

^b 2 Pet. iii. 10.

end, hath possessed all ages past as much as ours; I am afraid that the souls that now depart cannot escape that lingering exhortation of the saints under the altar, *Quousque Domine? How long, O Lord?* and groan in the expectation of that great jubilee.

S E C T. XLVII.

This is the day that must make good that great attribute of God, his justice; that must reconcile those unanswerable doubts that torment the wisest understandings, and reduce those seeming inequalities, and respective distributions in this world, to an equality and recompensive justice in the next. This is that one day, that shall include and comprehend all that went before it; wherein, as in the last scene, all the actors must enter to complete and make up the catastrophe of this great piece. This is the
day

day whose memory hath only power to make us honest in the dark, and to be virtuous without a witness. *Ipsa sui pretium virtus sibi*, that virtue is her own reward, is but a* cold principle, and not able to maintain our variable resolutions in a constant and settled way of goodness. I have practised that honest†artifice of Seneca, and in my retired and solitary imaginations, to restrain me from the foulness of vice, have fancied to myself the presence of my dear and worthiest friends, before whom I should lose my head rather than be vitious; yet herein I found that there was nought but moral honesty, and this was not to be virtuous for his sake who must reward us at the last. I have tried if I could reach that great‡ resolution of his, to be honest without a thought of heaven or hell; and indeed I found, upon a natural inclination and in-bred loyalty unto vir-

tue,

me, that I could serve her without a livery; yet not in that resolved and venerable way, but that the frailty of my nature, upon an easy temptation, might be induced to forget her. The life therefore, and spirit of all our actions, is the resurrection, and a stable apprehension that our ashes shall enjoy the fruit of our pious endeavours; without this all religion is a fallacy, and those impieties of Lucian, Euripides and Julian, are no blasphemies, but subtle verities, and atheists have been the only philosophers.

S E C T. XLVIII.

How the dead shall arise, is no question of my faith; to believe only possibilities, is not faith, but meer philosophy; many things are true in divinity, which are neither inducible by reason, nor confirmable by sense, and many things in philosophy

losophy confirmable by sense, yet not inducible by reason. Thus it is impossible, by any solid or demonstrative reasons to persuade a man to believe the conversion of the needle to the north; tho' this be possible, and true, and easily credible, upon a single experiment unto the sense. I believe that our estranged and divided ashes shall unite again; that our separated dust, after so many pilgrimages and transformations into the parts of minerals, plants, animals, elements, shall at the voice of God return into their primitive shapes; and join again to make up their primary and predestinate form. As at the creation, there was a separation of that confused mass into its species; so, at the destruction thereof, there shall be a separation into its distinct individuals. As at the creation of the world, all the distinct species that we behold lay involved in one mass,

maſs, till the fruitful voice of God ſeparated this united multitude into its ſeveral ſpecies; ſo at the laſt day, when theſe corrupted reliques ſhall be ſcattered in the wilderneſs of forms, and ſeem to have forgot their proper habits, God by a powerfull voice ſhall * command them back into their proper ſhapes, and call them out by their ſingle individuals: then ſhall appear the fertilitye of Adam, and the magick of of that ſperm that hath dilated into ſo many millions. I have often beheld, as a miracle, that artificial reſurrection and revivification of mercury; how being mortified into a thouſand ſhapes, it aſſumes again its own, and returns into its numerical ſelf. Let us ſpeak naturally, and like philoſophers, the forms of alterable bodies in theſe ſenſible corruptions periſh not; nor, as we imagine, wholly quit their manſions, but retire and contract them-

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them-

themselves into their secret and inaccessible parts, where they may best protect themselves from the action of their antagonist. A plant or vegetable consumed to ashes, to a contemplative and school-philosopher seems utterly destroyed, and the form to have taken its leave for ever: But to a sensible artist the forms are not perished, but withdrawn into their incombustible parts, where they lye secure from the action of that devouring element. * This is made good by experience, which can, from the ashes of a plant, revive the plant, and, from its cinders, recal it into its stalk and leaves again. What the art of man can do in these inferiour pieces, what blasphemy is it to affirm the finger of God cannot do in these more perfect and sensible structures? This is that mystical philosophy, from whence no true scholar becomes an atheist; but
from

from the visible effects of nature, grows up a real divine, and beholds, not in a dream, as Ezekiel, but in an ocular and visible object, the types of his resurrection.

S E C T. XLIX.

Now, the necessary mansions of our restored selves are those two contrary and incompatible places we call heaven and hell; to define them, or strictly to determine what and where these are, surpasseth my divinity. That elegant apostle, who seemed to have a glimpse of heaven, hath left but a negative description thereof; which ^a neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor can it enter into the heart of man to conceive: he was translated out of himself to behold it, but, being returned ^b into himself, could not express it. St. John's description,
by

^a 1 Cor. ii 9.

^b Rev. xxi.

by emeralds, chrysolites, and precious stones, is too weak to express the material heaven we behold. Briefly therefore, where the soul hath the full measure, and complement of happiness, where the boundless appetite of that spirit remains compleatly satisfied, that it can neither desire addition nor alteration, that I think is truly heaven: and this can only be in the enjoyment of that essence, whose infinite goodness is able to terminate the desires of itself, and the insatiable wishes of ours ; wherever God will thus manifest himself, there is heaven, tho' within the circle of this sensible world. Thus the soul of man may be in heaven any where, even within the limits of his own proper body, and when it ceaseth to live in the body, it may remain in its own soul, that is its ceator. And thus we may say that St. Paul, whether in the body, or out of the
body,

body, was yet in heaven. To place it in the empyreal, or beyond the tenth sphere, is to forget the world's destruction; for when this sensible world shall be destroyed, all shall then be here as it is now there, an empyreal heaven, a *quasi vacuum*; when to ask where heaven is, is to demand where the presence of God is, or where we have the glory of that happy vision. Moses, who was bred up in all the learning of the Egyptians, committed a gross absurdity in philosophy, when with these eyes of flesh ^a he desired to see God, and petitioned his maker, that is truth itself, to a contradiction. Those that imagine heaven and hell neighbours, and conceive a vicinity between those two extremes, upon consequence of the parable, where ^b Dives discoursed with Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, do too grossly

^a Exod iii 4.

^b Luke. xvi. 19

grossly conceive of those glorified creatures, whose eyes shall easily out-see the sun, and behold, without a perspective, the extremest distances: for if there shall be in our glorified eyes, the faculty of sight and reception of objects, I could think the visible species there to be in as unlimitable a way as now the intellectual. I grant that two bodies placed beyond the tenth sphere, or in a vacuity, according to Aristotle's philosophy, could not behold each other; because they want a body or *medium* to hand and transport the visibly rays of the object unto the sense; but when there shall be a general defect of either *medium* to convey, or light to prepare and dispose that *medium*, and yet a perfect vision, we must suspend the rules of our philosophy, and make all good by a more absolute piece of opticks.

SECT.

S E C T. L.

I cannot tell how to say that fire is the essence of hell; I know not what to make of purgatory, or conceive a flame that can either prey upon, or purify the substance of a soul: those flames of sulphur mentioned in the scriptures I take not to be understood of this present hell, but of that to come, where fire shall make up the complement of our tortures, and have a body or subject wherein to manifest its tyranny. Some, who have had the honour to be textuary in divinity, are of opinion it shall be the same specifical fire with ours; this is hard to conceive, yet can I make good how even that may prey upon our bodies, and yet not consume us: for in this material world, there are bodies that persist invincible in the powerfulest flames, and tho' by the action of fire they fall into ignition and liquation, yet
will

will they never suffer a destruction. I would gladly know how Moses, with an actual fire, calcined, or burnt the golden calf into powder: for that myſtical mettle of gold, whoſe ſolary and celestial nature I admire, expoſed unto the violence of fire, grows only hot and liquifies, but conſumeth not; ſo when the conſumable and volatile pieces of our bodies ſhall be refined into a more impregnable and fixed temper like gold, tho' they ſuffer from the action of flames, they ſhall never periſh, but lye immortal in the arms of fire. And ſurely if this frame muſt ſuffer only by the action of this element, there will many bodies eſcape, and not only heaven, but earth will not be at an end, but rather a beginning; for at preſent it is not earth, but a compoſition of fire, water, earth and air; but at that time ſpoiled of theſe ingredients, it ſhall appear in a ſubſtance

stance more like itself, its ashes. Philosophers who maintained the world's destruction by fire, did never dream of annihilation, which is beyond the power of sublunary causes ; for the last and proper action of that element is but vitrification, or a reduction of a body into glass ; and therefore some of our chymists facetiously affirm, that at the last fire all shall be crystallized and reverberated into glass, which is the utmost action of that element. Nor need we fear this term [annihilation], or wonder that God will destroy the works of his creation : for man subsisting, who is, and will then truly appear a microsome, the world cannot be said to be destroyed. For the eyes of God, and perhaps also of our glorified selves, shall as really behold and contemplate the world in its epitome, or contracted essence, as now it doth at large and in its di-

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lated substance. In the seed of a plant to the eyes of God, and to the understanding of man, there exists, tho' in an invifible way, the perfect leaves, flowers, and fruit thereof: for things that are *in poffe* to the fenfe, are actually existent to the understanding. Thus God beholds all things, who contemplates as fully his works in their epitome, as in their full volume, and beheld as amply the whole world in that little compendium of the fixth day, as in the fcattered and dilated pieces of thofe five before.

S E C T. LI.

Men commonly fet forth the torments of hell by fire, and the extremity of corporal afflictions, and describe hell in the fame method that Mahomet doth heaven. This indeed makes a noife, and drums in popular ears: but if this be the terrible

rible piece thereof, it is not worthy to stand in diameter with heaven, whose happiness consists in that part that is best able to comprehend it, that immortal essence, that translated divinity and colony of God, the soul. Surely tho' we place hell under earth, the devil's walk and purlieu is about it ; men speak too popularly who place it in those flaming mountains, which to grosser apprehensions represent hell. The heart of man is the place the devil dwells in : I feel sometimes a hell within myself : Lucifer keeps his court within my breast, Legion is revived in me. There are as many hells as * Anaxagoras conceited worlds ; there was more than one hell in Magdalen, when there were seven devils ; for every devil is an hell unto himself : he holds enough of torture in his own *ubi*, and needs not the misery of circumference to afflict him.

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And thus a distracted conscience here, is a shadow or introduction unto hell hereafter. Who can but pity the merciful intention of those hands that do destroy themselves? The devil, were it in his power would do the like; which being impossible his miseries are endless, and he suffers most in that attribute wherein he is impassible, his immortality.

S E C T. LII.

I thank God, and with joy I mention it, I was never afraid of hell, nor never grew pale at the description of that place; I have so fixed my contemplations on heaven, that I have almost forgot the idea of hell, and am afraid rather to lose the joys of the one than endure the misery of the other; to be deprived of them is a perfect hell, and needs, methinks, no addition to compleat our afflictions;
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that terrible term hath never detained me from sin, nor do I owe any good action to the name thereof: I fear God, yet am not afraid of him; his mercies make me ashamed of my sins, before his judgments make me afraid thereof: these are the forced and secondary methods of his wisdom, which he useth but as the last remedy, and upon provocation; a course rather to deter the wicked, than incite the virtuous to his worship. I can hardly think there was ever any scared into heaven; they go the fairest way to heaven, that would serve God without a hell; other mercenaries that crouch unto him in fear of hell, though they term themselves the servants, are indeed but the slaves of the Almighty.

S E C T. LIII.

And to be true, and speak my soul,
when I survey the occurrences of
my

my life, and call into account the finger of God, I can perceive nothing but an abyfs and mafs of mercies, either in general to mankind, or in particular to myfelf; and whether out of the prejudice of my affection, or an inverting and partial conceit of his mercies, I know not; but thofe things which others term croffes, afflictions, judgments, misfortunes, to me who enquire farther into them than their vifible effects, they both appear, and in event have ever proved, the fecret and difsembled favours of his affection. It is a fingular piece of wifdom to apprehend truly, and without paffion, the works of God, and fo well to diftinguifh his juftice from his mercy, as not to miftake thofe noble attributes: yet it is likewise an honeft piece of logic to difpute and argue the proceedings of God, as to diftinguifh even his judgments into mercies

cies. For God is merciful unto all, because better to the worst than the best deserve, and to say he punisheth none in this world, tho' it be a paradox, is no absurdity. To one that hath committed murder, if the judge should only ordain a fine, it were madness to call this a punishment, and to repine at the sentence, rather than admire the clemency of the judge. Thus our offences being mortal, and deserving not only death, but damnation, if the goodness of God be content to traverse and pass them over with a loss, misfortune, or disease; what frenzy were it to term this a punishment, rather than an extremity of mercy, and to groan under the rod of his judgments, rather than admire the scepter of his mercies? therefore to adore, honour, and admire him, is a debt of gratitude due from the obligation of our nature, states, and conditions; and
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with these thoughts; he that knows them best will not deny that I adore him; That I obtain heaven, and the bliss thereof, is accidental, and not the intended work of my devotion, it being a felicity I can neither think to deserve, nor scarce in modesty to expect. For these two ends of us all, either as rewards or punishments, are mercifully ordained and disproportionally disposed unto our actions, the one being so far beyond our deserts, the other so infinitely below our demerits.

S E C T. LIV.

There is no salvation to those that believe not in Christ; that is, say some, since his nativity, and as divinity affirmeth, before also; which makes me much apprehend the end of those honest worthies and philosophers who dyed before his incarnation. * It is hard to
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place those souls in hell whose worthy lives do teach us virtue on earth: methinks, amongst those many subdivisions of hell, there might have been one limbo left for these: what a strange vision will it be to see their poetical fictions converted into verities, and their imagined and fancied furies into real devils? How strange to them will sound the history of Adam, when they shall suffer for him they never heard of? When they who derive their genealogy, from the gods, shall know they are the unhappy issue of sinful man? It is an insolent part of reason to controvert the works of God, or question the justice of his proceedings; could humility teach others, as it hath instructed me, to contemplate the infinite and incomprehensible distance betwixt the Creator and the creature, or did we seriously perpend that one simile

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of St. Paul², *Shall the vessel say to the potter, Why hast thou made me thus?* it would prevent these arrogant disputes of reason, nor would we argue the definitive sentence of God, either to heaven or hell. Men that live according to the right rule and law of reason, live but in their own kind, as beasts do in theirs; who justly obey the pre-script of their natures; and therefore cannot reasonably demand a reward of their actions, as only obeying the natural dictates of their reason. It will therefore, and must at last appear, that all salvation is thro' Christ; which verity I fear these great examples of virtue must confirm *, and make it good, how the perfectest actions of earth have no title or claim unto heaven.

SECT.

² Rom. ix. 20.

S E C T. LV.

Nor truly do I think the lives of these or of any other were ever correspondent, or in all points conformable unto their doctrines. It is evident that * Aristotle transgressed the rule of his own ethicks: The Stoicks who condemn passion, and command a man to laugh in Phalaris's bull, could not endure without a groan a fit of the stone or cholick. † The Scepticks, that affirmed they knew nothing, even in that opinion confute themselves, and thought they knew more than all the world beside. Diogenes I hold to be the most vain glorious man of his time, and more ambitious in refusing all honours than Alexander in rejecting none. Vice and the devil putting a fallacy upon our reasons, and provoking us too hastily to run from it, entangle and sink us deeper into it. * The Duke of Venice, who weds himself unto
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the sea by a ring of gold, I will not accuse of prodigality, because it is a solemnity of good use and consequence in the state: † But the philosopher who threw his money into the sea to avoid avarice, was a notorious prodigal. There is no road or ready way to virtue; it is not an easy point of art to disentangle ourselves from this riddle, or web of sin: To perfect virtue, as to religion, there is required a panoplia, or compleat armour, that whilst we lye at close ward against one vice, we may not lye open to another: And indeed wiser discretions, that have the thread of reason to conduct them, offend without a pardon; whereas weaker heads may stumble without dishonour. There go so many circumstances to piece up one good action, that it is a lesson to be good, and we are forced to be virtuous by the book. Again, the practice
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of men holds not an equal pace, yea, and often runs counter to their theory: We naturally know what is good, but naturally pursue what is evil. The rhetorick wherewith I persuade another cannot persuade myself: There is a depraved appetite in us, that will with patience hear the learned instructions of reason; but yet perform no farther than agrees to its own irregular humour. In brief, we all are monsters, that is, a composition of man and beast; wherein we must endeavour to be as the poets fancy that wise man * Chiron, that is to have the region of man above that of beast, and sense to sit but at the feet of reason. Lastly, I do desire with God that all, but yet affirm with men that few, shall know salvation; that the bridge is narrow, the passage strait unto life; yet those who do confine the church of God either to particular nations,

ons, churches, or families, have made it far narrower than our Saviour ever meant it.

S E C T. LVI.

The vulgar judgments that wrap the church of God in Strabo's cloak and restrain it unto Europe, seem to me as bad geographers as Alexander, who thought he had conquer'd all the world when he had not subdued the half of any part thereof: For we cannot deny the church of God both in Asia and Africa, if we do not forget the peregrinations of the apostles, the deaths of the martyrs, the sessions of many, and, even in our reformed judgment, lawful councils held in those parts in the minoritie and non-age of ours; nor must a few differences, more remarkable in the eyes of man than perhaps in the judgment of God, excommunicate from heaven one another, much less those
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those christians who are in a manner all martyrs, maintaing their faith in the noble way of persecuti-
 on, and serving God in the fire; whereas we honour him but in the sunshine. 'Tis true we all hold there is a number of elect and many to to be saved, yet take our opinions together, and, from the confusi-
 on thereof, there will be no such thing as salvation, nor shall any one be saved; for first the church of Rome condemneth us, we likewise them; the sub-reformists and sectaries sentence the doctrine of our church as damnable, the atomist, or familist reprobates all these, and all these them again. Thus whilst the mercies of God doth promise us heaven, our conceits and opinions exclude us from that place. There must be therefore more than one St. Peter; particular churches and sects usurp the gates of heaven and turn the key
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against each other; and thus we go to heaven against each others wills, conceits and opinions, and, with as much uncharity as ignorance, do err I fear in points, not only of our own, but one, another's salvation.

S E C T. LVII.

I believe many are saved who to man seem reprobated, and many are reprobated, who, in the opinion and sentence of man, stand elected: their will appear at the last day, strange, and unexpected examples, both of his justice and his mercy; and therefore to define either, is folly in man, and insolency, even in the devils: those acute and and subtle spirits, in all their sagacity, can hardly divine who shall be saved, which if they could prognostick, their labour were at an end; nor need they compass the earth, seeking whom they may devour.

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Those who, upon a rigid application of the law, sentence Solomon unto damnation, condemn not only him, themselves, and the whole world; for by the letter, and written word of God, we are without exception in the state of death; but there is a prerogative of God, and an arbitrary pleasure above the letter of his own law, by which alone we can pretend unto salvation, and thro' which Solomon might be as easily saved as those who condemn him.

S E C T. LVIII.

The number of those who pretend unto salvation, and those infinite swarms who think to pass thro' the eye of this needle, have much amazed me. That name, and compellation of little flock, doth not comfort but deject my devotion, especially, when I reflect upon mine own unworthiness, wherein, according to

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my humble apprehensions, I am below them all. I believe there shall never be an anarchy in heaven, but as there are hierarchies amongst the angels, so shall there be degrees of priority amongst the saints. Yet is it (I protest) beyond my ambition to aspire unto the first ranks, my desires only are, and I shall be happy therein, to be but the last man, and bring up the rear in heaven.

S E C T. LIX.

Again, I am confident, and fully perswaded, yet dare not take my oath of my salvation; I am as it were sure, and do believe, without all doubt, that there is such a city as Constantinople, yet for me to take my oath thereon, were a kind of perjury, because I hold no infallible warrant from my own sense to confirm me in the certainty thereof. And truly, tho' many pretend

tend an absolute certainty of their salvation, yet when an humble soul shall contemplate her own unworthiness, she shall meet with many doubts, and suddenly find how little we stand in need of the precept of *St. Paul*^a, *Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling*. That which is the cause of my election, I hold to be the cause of my salvation, which was the mercy, and beneplacit of God, before I was, or the foundation of the world. *Before Abraham was, I AM*^b, is the saying of Christ, yet it is true in some sense if I say it of myself, for I was not only before myself, but Adam; that is in the idea of God, and the decree of that synod held from all eternity. And in this sense, I say, the world was before the creation, and at an end before it had a beginning; and thus was I dead before I was alive, tho'

^a Philp. ii. 12.

^b John viii. 58.

tho' my grave be in England, my dying place was in paradise, and Eve miscarried of me before she conceiv'd of Cain.

S E C T. LX.

Insolent zealots, that do decry good works and rely only upon faith, take not away merit: for depending upon the efficacy of their faith, they enforce the condition of God, and in a more sophistical way do seem to challenge heaven. It was decreed by God, that only those that lapt in the water like dogs should have the honour to destroy the Midianites; yet could none of those justly challenge, or imagine he deserved that honour thereupon. I do not deny, but that true faith, and such as God requires, is not only a mark or token, but also a means of our salvation; but where to find this, is as obscure to me, as my last end. And if
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our Saviour could object unto his own disciples, and favourites, a faith, that, to the quantity of a grain of mustard seed, is able to remove mountains; surely that which we boast of is not any thing, or at the least, but a remove from nothing. This is the tenor of my belief, wherein, tho' there be many things singular, and to the humour of my irregular self, yet, if they square not with maturer judgements I disclaim them, and do no further father them than the learned and best judgements shall authorize them.

The SECOND PART.

S E C T. I.

NOW for that other virtue of charity, without which faith is a meer notion, and of no existence, I have ever endeavoured to nourish the merciful disposition, and humane inclination I borrowed from my parents, and regulate it to the written and prescribed laws of charity; and if I hold the true anatomy of myself, I am delineated and naturally framed to such a piece of virtue: for I am of a constitution so general, that it con-
 sorts, and sympathizeth with all things; I have no antipathy, or rather idio-syncrasy, in dyet, humour, air, or in any thing; I wonder not at the French, for their dishes of frogs, snails and toadstools, nor at the Jews for locusts and grasshoppers;

hoppers ; but being amongst them, make them my common viands ; and I find they agree with my stomach as well as theirs. I could digest a salad gathered in a churchyard, as well as in a garden. I cannot start at the presence of a serpent, scorpion, lizard, or salamander : at the sight of a toad, or viper, I find in me no desire to take up a stone to destroy them. I feel not in myself those common antipathies that I can discover in others : Those national repugnances do not touch me, nor do I behold with prejudice the French, Italian, Spaniard, or Dutch ; but where I find their actions in balance with my countrymens, I honour, love, and embrace them in the same degree. I was born in the eighth climate, but seems to be framed for, and constellated unto all : I am no plant that will not prosper out of a garden. All places, all airs make
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unto me one country ; I am in England every where, and under any meridian ; I have been shipwreckt, yet am not in enmity with the sea or winds ; I can study, play, or sleep in a tempest. In brief, I am averſe from nothing ; my conſcience would give me the lye if I ſhould ſay I abſolutely deteſt or hate any eſſence but the devil, or ſo at leaſt abhor any thing but that we might come to compoſition. If there be anything among thoſe common objects of hatred I do con-temn and laugh at, it is that great enemy of reaſon, virtue and religion, the multitude ; that numerous piece of monſtroſity, which taken aſunder ſeem men, and the reaſonable creatures of God ; but conſuſed together, make but one great beaſt, and a monſtroſity more prodigious than Hydra : it is no breach of charity to call theſe fools ; it is the ſtyle all holy writers have

afforded

afforded them, set down by Solomon in canonical scripture, and a point of our faith to believe so. Neither in the name of multitude do I only include the base and meaner sort of people; there is a rabble even amongst the gentry, a sort of plebeian heads, whose fancy moves with the same wheel as these; men in the same level with mechanicks, tho' their fortunes do somewhat gild their infirmities, and their purses compound for their follies. But as in casting account, three or four men together come short in respect of one man placed by himself below them; so neither are a troop of these ignorant Dorados, of that true esteem and value, as many a forlorn person, whose condition doth place him below their feet. Let us speak like politicians; there is a nobility without heraldry, a natural dignity, whereby one man is ranked with another,

ther, another filed before him, according to the quality of his desert, and pre-eminence of his good parts. Though the corruption of these times, and the bias of present practice wheel another way, thus it was in the first and primitive commonwealths, and is yet in the integrity and cradle of well-ordered polities, till corruption getting ground, ruder desires labouring after that which wiser considerations condemn, every one had a liberty to amass and heap up riches, and these a license or faculty to do or purchase any thing.

S E C T. II.

This general and indifferent temper of mine, doth more nearly dispose me to this noble virtue. It is a happiness to be born and framed unto virtue, and to grow up from the seeds of nature, rather than the inoculation and forced grafts

grafts of education; yet if we are directed only by our particular natures, and regulate our inclinations by no higher rule than that of our reasons, we are but moralists; divinity will still call us Heathens. Therefore this great work of charity, must have other motives, ends and impulsions: I give no alms to satisfy the hunger of my brother, but to fulfil and accomplish the will and command of my God; I draw not my purse for his sake that demands it, but his that enjoined it; I relieve no man upon the rhetorick of his own miseries, to content mine own commiserating disposition, for this is still but moral charity, and an act that oweth more to passion than reason. He that relieves another upon the bare suggestion and bowels of pity, doth not this so much for his sake, as for his own: for by compassion we make another's misery our own,

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and so by relieving them, we relieve ourselves also. It is as erroneous a conceit to redress other mens misfortunes upon the common consideration of merciful natures, that it may be one day our own case; for this is a sinister and politick kind of charity, whereby we seem to bespeak the pities of men, on the like occasions: and truly I have observed that those professed Eleemosynaries, tho' in a croud or multitude, do yet direct and place their petitions on a few and select-ed persons; there is surely a physiognomy, which those experienced and master mendicants observe, whereby they instantly discover a merciful aspect, and will single out a face, wherein they spy the signatures and marks of mercy: for there are mystically in our faces certain characters which carry in them the motto of our souls, wherein he that cannot read A, B, C, may read

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our natures. I hold moreover that there is a phytognomy, or physiognomy, not only of men, but of plants and vegetables; and in every one of them, some outward figures which hang as signs or badges of their inward forms. The finger of God hath left an inscription upon all his works, not graphical or composed of letters, but of their several forms, constitutions, parts and operations, which aptly joined together do make one word that doth express their natures. By these letters God calls the stars by their names, and by this alphabet Adam assigned to every creature a name peculiar to its nature. Now there are besides these characters in our faces, certain mystical figures in our hands, which I dare not call meer dashes, strokes, *a la volee*, or at random, because delineated by a pencill, that never works in vain; and hereof I take more particular notice,

notice, because I carry that in mine own hand, which I could never read of, nor discover in another. Aristotle, I confess, in his acute, and singular book of physiognomy, hath made no mention of Chiromancy, yet I believe the Egyptians, who were more addicted to those abstruse and mystical sciences, had a knowledge therein, to which those vagabond and counterfeit Egyptians did after pretend, and perhaps retained a few corrupted principles, which sometimes might verify their prognosticks.

It is the common wonder of all men, how among so many millions of faces, there should be none alike; now on the contrary, I wonder as much how there should be any; he that shall consider how many thousand several words have been carelessly and without study composed out of twenty-four letters; withall how many hundred lines there are

to be drawn in the fabrick of one man, shall easily find that this variety is necessary : and it will be very hard that they shall so concur as to make one portrait like another. Let a painter carelessly limn out a million of faces, and you shall find them all different; yea let him have his copy before him, yet after all his art there will remain a sensible distinction; for the pattern or example of every thing is the perfectest in that kind, whereof we still come short, tho' we transcend or go beyond it; because herein it is wide and agrees not in all points unto its copy. Nor doth the similitude of creatures disparage the variety of nature, nor any way confound the works of God. For even in things alike, there is diversitie, and those that do seem to accord, do manifestly disagree. And thus is man like God, for in the same things that we resemble him,

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we are utterly different from him. There was never any thing so like another, as in all points to concur; there will ever some reserved difference slip in, to prevent the identity, without which, two several things would not be alike, but the same, which is impossible.

S E C T. III.

But to return from philosophy to charity: I hold not so narrow a conceit of this virtue as to conceive that to give alms, is only to be charitable, or think a piece of liberality can comprehend the total of charity. Divinity hath wisely divided the act thereof into many branches, and hath taught us in this narrow way, many paths unto godness; as many ways as we may do good, so many ways we may be charitable; there are infirmities, not only of body, but of soul, and fortunes, which do require the mercifull

merciful hand of our abilities. I cannot condemn a man for his ignorance but behold him with as much pity as I do for Lazarus. It is no greater charity to cloath his body, than cover the nakedness of his soul. It is an honourable object to see the reasons of other men wear our liveries, and their borrowed understandings do homage to the bounty of ours. It is the cheapest way, of beneficence, and like the naturall charity of the sun illuminates another without obscuring itself. To be a scrub and niggard in this part of goodness, is the fordidest piece of covetousness, and more contemptible than pecuniary avarice. To this (as calling myself a scholar) I am obliged by the duty of my condition: I make not therefore my head a grave, but a treasure of knowledge; I intend no monopoly, but a community in learning; I study not for my own

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sake only, but for theirs that study
 not for themselves. I envy no
 man that knows more than myself,
 but pity them that know less. I
 instruct no man as an exercise of
 my knowledge, or with an intent
 rather to nourish and keep it alive
 in mine own head, than beget and
 propagate it in his: and in the
 midst of all my endeavours there
 is but one thought that dejects
 me, that my acquired parts must
 perish with myself, nor can be
 bequeathed unto my honoured
 friends. I cannot fall out or con-
 temn a man for an error, or con-
 ceive why a difference in opinion
 should divide an affection: for con-
 troversies, disputes, and argumen-
 tations, both in philosophy, and
 in divinity, if they meet with dis-
 creet and peaceable natures, do not
 infringe the lawes of charity: in
 all disputes so much as there is of
 passion, so much there is of no-
 thing

thing to the purpose; for then reason, like a bad hound spends, upon a false scent, and forsakes the question first started. And this is one reason why controversies are never determined, for tho' they be amply proposed, they are scarce at all handled, they are so swelled with unnecessary digressions; and the parenthesis on the party, is often as large as the main discourse upon the subject. The foundations of religion are already established, and the principles of salvation subscribed unto by all; there remains not many controversies worth a passion, and yet never any disputed without, not only in divinity, but in inferior arts: What * a *Βατραχομυχία*, and hot skirmish is betwixt S. and T. in Lucian? how ^a doth grammarians hack and slash for the genitive case in Jupiter? How do they break their own pates to save that

* Whether Jovis or Jupiteris.

that of Priscian? *Si foret in terris, videret Democritus.* Yea, even among wiser militants, how many wounds have been given, and beliefs slain for the poor victory of an opinion or beggarly conquest of a distinction? Scholars are men of peace, they bear no armes, but * their tongues are sharper than Actius's razor, their pens carry farther, and give a louder report than thunder; I had rather stand in the shock of a basilisco than in the fury of a merciless pen. It is not meer zeal to learning, or devotion to the muses, that wiser princes patronize the arts, and carry an indulgent aspect unto scholars, but a desire to have their names eternized by the memory of their writings, and a fear of the revengeful pen of succeeding ages: for these are the men, that when they have played their parts, and have had their exits, must step out and give the moral of their scenes,

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and deliver unto posterity an inventory of their virtues and vices. And surely there goes a great deal of conscience to the compiling of an history, there is no reproach to the scandal of a story; it is such an authentick kind of falsehood that with authority belies our good names to all nations and posterity.

S E C T. IV.

There is another offence unto charity, which no author hath ever written of, and few taken notice of, and that's the reproach, not of whole professions, mysteries and conditions, but of whole nations, wherein by opprobrious epithets we miscall each other, and by an uncharitable logick from a disposition in a few conclude a habit in all.

Le mutin Anglois, et le bravache Escossois ;
 Le bougre Italien, et le fol Francois ;
 Le poltron Romain, le larron de Gasconne,
 L' Espagnol superbe, et l' Alemain yrongue.

St. Paul³ that calls the Cretians liars, doth it but indirectly, and upon quotation of their own poet. * It is as bloody a thought in one way, as Nero's was in another. For by a word we wound a thousand, and at one blow assassinate the honour of a Nation. It is as complete a piece of madness to miscall and rave against the times, or think to recal men to reason, by a fit of passion. Democritus, that thought to laugh the times into goodness, seems to me as deeply hyponchondriack, as Heraclitus that bewailed them; it moves not my spleen to behold the multitude in their proper humours, that is, in their fits of folly and madness, as well understanding that wisdom is not profaned unto the world, and 'tis the privilege of a few to be virtuous. They that endeavour to abolish vice destroy also virtue; for contraries,

though

³ Tit. i. 12.

though they destroy one another, are yet in the life of one another. Thus virtue (abolish vice) is an idea; again, the community of sin doth not disparage goodness; for when vice gains upon the major part, virtue, in whom it remains, becomes more excellent, and being lost in some, multiplies its goodness in others which remain untouched, and persists intire in the general inundation. I can therefore behold vice without a satyr content only, with an admonition, or instructive reprehension; for noble natures, and such as are capable of goodness, are railed into vice, that might as easily be admonished into virtue; and we should be all so far the orators of goodness, as to protect her from the power of vice, and maintain the cause of injured truth. No man can justly censure or condemn another, because indeed no man truly

ly knows another. This I perceive in myself, for I am in the dark to all the world, and my nearest friends behold me but in a cloud, those that know me but superficially, think less of me than I do of myself; those of my near acquaintance think more; God, who truly knows me, knows that I am nothing; for he only beholds me and all the world, who looks not on us thro' a derived ray, or a trajection of a sensible species, but beholds the substance without the helps of accidents, and the forms of things, as we their operations. Further, no man can judge another, because no man knows himself; for we censure others but as they disagree from that humour which we fancy laudable in ourselves, and commend others but for that wherein they seem to quadrate and consent with us. So that in conclusion, all is but that we all condemn,
 self-

self-love. 'Tis the general complaint of these times, and perhaps of those past, that charity grows cold; which I perceive most verified in those which most do manifest the fires and flames of zeal; for it is a virtue that best agrees with coldest natures, and such as are complexioned for humility: But how shall we expect charity towards others, when we are uncharitable to ourselves? Charity begins at home, is the voice of the world, yet is every man his greatest enemy, and as it were, his own executioner. *Non occides*, is the commandment of God, yet scarce observed by any man: for I perceive every man is his own *atropos*, and lends a hand to cut the thread of his own days. Cain was not therefore the first murderer, but Adam, who brought in death; whereof he beheld the practice and example in his own son Abel, and saw that verified in

the experience of another ; which faith could not persuade him of in the theory of himself.

S E C T. V.

There is I think no man that apprehends his own miseries less than myself, and no man that so nearly apprehends anothers. I could lose an arm without a tear, and with few groans, methinks, be quartered into pieces; yet can I weep most seriously at a play, and receive with a true passion, the counterfeit griefs of those known and professed impostures. It is a barbarous part of inhumanity to add unto any afflicted party's misery, or endeavour to multiply in any man, a passion, whose single nature is already above his patience ; this was the greatest affliction of Job, and those oblique expostulations of his friends a deeper injury than the down right blows of the devil. It is

is not the tears of our own eyes only, but of our friends also, that do exhaust the current of our sorrows, which falling into many streams, run more peaceably, and is contented with a narrower channel. It is an act within the power of charity, to translate a passion out of one breast into another, and to divide a sorrow almost out of itself; for an affliction like a dimension may be so divided, as if not indivisible, at least to become insensible. Now with my friend I desire not to share or participate, but to engross his sorrows, that by making them mine own, I may more easily discuss them; for in mine own reason, and within myself I can command that, which I cannot entreat without myself, and within the circle of another. I have often thought these noble pairs and examples of friendship not so truly histories of what had been,
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as fictions of what should be, but I now perceive nothing in them, but possibilities, nor any thing in the heriock examples of Damon and Pythias, Achilles and Patroclus, which methinks upon some grounds I could not perform within the narrow compass of myself. That a man should lay down his life for his friend, seems strange to vulgar affections, and such as confine themselves within that worldly principle, charity begins at home. For mine own part I could never remember the relations I held unto myself, nor the respect that I owe unto mine own nature, in the cause of God, my country, and my friends. Next to these three, I do embrace myself; I confess I do not observe that order that the schools ordain our affections, to love our parents, wives, children, and then our friends, for excepting the injunctions of religion, I do not find
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in myself such a necessary and indissoluble Sympathy to all those of my blood. I hope I do not break the fifth commandment, if I conceive I may love my friend before the nearest of my blood, even those to whom I owe the principles of life; I never yet cast a true affection on a woman, but I have loved my friend as I do virtue, my soul, my God. From hence we think I do conceive how God loves man, what happiness there is in the love of God. Omitting all others, there are three most mystical unions. two natures in one person; three persons in one nature; one soul in two bodies. For tho' indeed they be really divided, yet are they so united, as they seem but one, and make rather a duality than two distinct souls.

SECT.

S E C T. VI.

There are wonders in true affection, it is a body of *anigmas*, mysteries and riddles, wherein two so become one, as they both become two; I love my friend before myself, and yet methinks I do not love him enough; some few months hence my multiplied affection will make me believe I have not loved him at all; when I am from him, I am dead till I be with him; when I am with him, I am not satisfied, but would still be nearer him: united souls are not satisfied with embraces, but desire to be truly each other, which being impossible, their desires are infinite, and must proceed without a possibility of satisfaction. Another misery there is in affection, that whom we truly love like our own, we forget their looks, nor can our memory retain the idea of their faces; and it is no wonder, for they are ourselves, and
our

our affections make their looks our own. This noble affection falls not on vulgar and common constitutions, but on such as are marked for virtue; he that can love his friend with this noble ardour, will in a competent degree affect all. Now if we can bring our affections to look beyond the body, and cast an eye upon the soul, we have found out the true object, not only of friendship but charity; and the greatest happiness that we can bequeath the soul, is that wherein we all do place our last felicity, salvation, which tho' it be not in our power to bestow, it is in our charity, and pious invocations to desire, if not procure. And further, I cannot contentedly frame a prayer for myself in particular, without a catalogue for my friends, nor request a happiness wherein my sociable disposition doth not desire the fellowship of my neighbour. I never

ver hear the toll of a passing bell, tho'
 in my mirth, without my prayers
 and best wishes for the departing
 spirit; I cannot go to cure the body
 of my patient, but I forget my
 profession, and call unto God for
 his soul; I cannot see one say his
 prayers, but instead of imitating
 him, I fall into a supplication for
 him, who perhaps is no more to
 me than a common nature: And
 if God hath vouchsafed an ear to
 my supplications, there are surely
 many happy that never saw me,
 and enjoy the blessing of my un-
 known devotions. To pray for e-
 nemies, that is, for their salvation,
 is no harsh precept, but the prac-
 tice of our daily and ordinary de-
 votions. I cannot believe the sto-
 of the Italian, that our bad wishes
 and uncharitable desires proceed no
 further than this life; it is the de-
 vil, and the uncharitable votes of
 hell,

hell, that desire our misery in the world to come.

S E C T. VII.

To do no injury, nor take none, was a principle, which to my former years, and impatient affections, seemed to contain enough of morality, but my more settled years and Christian constitution have fallen upon severer resolutions. I can hold there is no such thing as injury, that if there be, there is no such injury as revenge, and no such revenge as the contempt of an injury; that to hate one another, is to malign himself, that the truest way to love one another, is to despise ourselves. I were unjust unto my own conscience, if I should say I am at variance with any thing like myself; I find there are many pieces in this one fabrick of man; this frame is raised upon a mass of antipathies: I am one, methinks, but

as the world; wherein, notwithstanding there are a swarm of distinct essences, and in them another world of contrarieties, we carry private and domestick enemies within, publick and more hostile adversaries without. The devil that did buffet St. Paul, plays methinks at sharp with me: let me be nothing if within the compass of myself, I do not find the battle of Lepanto, passion against reason, reason against faith, faith against the devil, and my conscience against all. There is another man within me that is angry with me, rebukes, commands, and dastards me. I have no conscience of marble to resist the hammer of more heavy offences, nor yet so soft and waxen, as to take the impression of each single fault or scape of infirmity: I am of a strange belief, that it is as easy to be forgiven some sins, as to commit some others. For my original

ginal sin, I hold it to be washed away by baptism; for my actual transgressions, I compute and reckon with God, but from my last repentance, sacrament, or general absolution: And therefore am not terrified with the sins and madness of my youth. I thank the goodness of God, I have no sins that want a name; I am not singular in offences, my transgressions are epidemical, and from the common breath of our corruption. For there are certain tempers of body, which matched with an humourous depravity of mind, do hatch and produce viciousities, whose newness and monstrosity of nature admits no name; * this was the temper of that leacher that carnald with a statue, and the constitution of Nero in his spintrian recreations. For the heavens are not only fruitful in new and unheard of stars, the earth in plants and animals, but mens minds also

in

in villany and vices ; now the dulness of my reason, and the vulgarity of my disposition, never prompted my invention, nor solicited my affection unto any of these ; yet even those common and daily infirmities that so necessarily attend me, and do seem to be my very nature, have so dejected me, so broken the estimation that I should have otherwise of myself, that I repute myself the most abject piece of mortality : divines prescribe a fit of sorrow to repentance ; there goes indignation, anger, sorrow, hatred into mine, passions of a contrary nature, which neither seem to suit with this action, nor my proper constitution. It is no breach of charity to ourselves to be at variance with our vices, nor to abhor that part of us, which is an enemy to the ground of charity, our God ; wherein we do but imitate our great selves, the world, whose divided

vided antipathies and contrary faces do yet carry a charitable regard unto the whole by their particular discords, preserving the common harmony, and keeping in fetters those powers, which if getting once the mastery, might be the ruin of all.

S E C T. VIII.

I thank God, among those millions of vices I do inherit and hold from Adam, I have escaped one, and that a mortal enemy to charity, the first and father sin, not only of man, but of the devil, pride; a vice whose name is comprehended in a monosyllable, but in its nature not circumscribed by the world; I have escaped it in a condition that can hardly avoid it: those petty acquisitions and reputed perfections that advance and elevate the conceits of other men, add no feathers to mine; I have seen a grammarian exult and elevate himself over

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ver a single line in Horace, and
 shew more pride in the construc-
 tion of one ode, than the author
 in the composition of the whole
 book. For my own part, besides
 the jargon and gibberish of several
 provinces; I understand no less
 than six languages, yet I protest I
 have no higher conceit of myself
 than had our fathers before the
 confusion of Babel, when there
 was but one language in the world,
 and none to boast himself either
 linguist or critick. I have not
 only seen several countries, beheld
 the nature of their climes, the cho-
 rography of their provinces, to-
 pography* of their cities, but un-
 derstood their several laws, customs,
 and policies; yet cannot all this
 persuade the dulness of my spirit
 unto such an opinion of myself, as
 I behold in nimbler and conceited
 heads, that never looked a degree
 beoynd their nests. I know the
 names

names, and somewhat more, of all the constellations in my horizon, yet I have* seen a prating mariner, that could only name the pointers and the north star, out-talk me, and conceit himself a whole sphere above me. I know most of the plants of my country, and of those about me: yet me thinks I do not know so many as when I did but know an hundred, and had scarcely ever simple'd further than Cheap-side: for indeed heads of capacity, and such as are not full with a handful, or easy measure of knowledge, think they know nothing, till they know all, which being impossible, they fall upon the opinion of Socrates, and only know they know not any thing, * I cannot think that Homer pined away upon the riddle of the fisherman, or that Aristotle, who understood the uncertainty of knowledge, and confessed so often the reason of man

too weak for the works of nature, did ever drown himself upon the flux and reflux of Euripus: We do but learn to-day, what our better advanced judgments will unteach to-morrow: * And Aristotle doth but instruct us as Plato did him; that is, to confute himself. I have run through all sorts, yet find no rest in any, tho' our first studies and *junior* endeavours may style us Peripateticks, Stoicks, or Academicks, yet I perceive the wisest heads prove at last, almost all Scepticks, and stand like Janus in the field of knowledge. I have therefore one common and authentick philosophy-I learned in the schools, whereby I discourse and satisfy the reason of other men; another more reserved and drawn from experience, whereby I content mine own. Solomon, that complained of ignorance in the height of knowledge, hath-not only humbled my
con-

conceits, but discouraged my endeavours. There is yet another conceit that hath sometimes made me shut my books; which tells me it is a vanity to waste our days in the blind pursuit of knowledge; it is but attending a little longer, and we shall enjoy that by instinct and infusion which we endeavour at here by labour and inquisition: it is better to sit down in a modest ignorance, and rest contented with the natural blessing of our own reasons, than buy the uncertain knowledge of this life, with sweat and vexation which death gives every fool *gratis*, and is an accessory of our glorification.

S E C T. IX.

I was never once married, nor do I commend their resolutions who† marry twice: not that I disallow of second marriages; as neither in all cases of polygamy, which,

considering sometimes the unequal number of both sexes, may be also necessary. The whole world was made for man, but the twelfth part of man for woman: man is the whole world and the breath of God; woman the rib and crooked piece of man. * I could be content that we might procreate like trees, without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the world without this trivial and vulgar way of coition; it is the foolishhest act a wise man commits in all his life, nor is there any thing that will more deject his cool'd imagination, when he shall consider what an odd and unworthy piece of folly he had committed; I speak not in prejudice, nor am averse from that sweet sex, but naturally amorous of all that is beautiful: I can look a whole day with delight upon a handsom picture, tho' it be but of an horse: It is my temper, and I like it the better,

better, to affect all harmony; and sure there is musick even in the beauty, and the silent note which Cupid strikes, far sweeter than the sound of an instrument. For there is musick where-ever there is a harmony, order or proportion: and thus far we may maintain the musick of the spheres; for those well ordered motions, and regular paces, tho' they give no sound unto the ear, yet to the understanding they strike a note most full of harmony. Whosoever is harmonically composed, delights in harmony; which makes me much distrust the symmetry of those heads which declaim against all church musick. For myself, not only from my obedience but my particular genius, I do imbrace it; for even that vulgar and tavern musick, which makes one man merry, another mad, strikes in me a deep fit of devotion, and profound contemplation

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on of the first composer: there is something in it of divinity more than the ear discovers. It is an hieroglyphical and shadowed lesson of the whole world, and creatures of God, such a melody to the ear, as the whole world well understood, would afford the understanding. In brief, it is a sensible fit of that harmony, which intellectually sounds in the ears of God. I will not say with Plato, the soul is an harmony, but harmonical, and hath its nearest sympathy unto musick: thus some, whose temper of body agrees, and humours the constitution of their souls, are born poets, tho indeed all are naturally inclined unto rhyme. ^a This made Tacitus in the very first line of his story, fall upon a verse; and Cicero, the worst of poets, but declaiming for a poet, falls in the very first sentence upon

^a *Urbein Roman in principio Reges labuere.*

upon a perfect ^a hexameter. I feel not in me those sordid, and unchristian desires of my profession, I do not secretly implore and wish for plagues, rejoice at famines, revolve ephemerides, and almanacks, in expectation of malignant aspects, fatal conjunctions, and eclipses: I rejoice not at unwholesome springs, nor unseasonable winters; my prayer goes with the husbandman's; I desire every thing in its proper season, that neither men nor the times be put out of temper. Let me be sick myself, if sometimes the malady of my patient be not a disease unto me, I desire rather to cure his infirmities than my own necessities: where I do him no good methinks it is scarce honest gain, tho' I confess 'tis but the worthy salary of our well-intended endeavours: I am not only ashamed, but heartily sorry, that

^a *In orat. pro Archia Poeta.*

In qua me non inficior medicriter esse.

that besides death, there are diseases incurable ; yet not for my own sake, or that they be beyond my art, but for the general cause and sake of humanity, whose common cause I apprehend as mine own: and to speak more generally, those three noble professions which all civil commonwealths do honour, are raised upon the fall of Adam, and not any of them exempt from their infirmities ; there are not only diseases incurable in physick, but cases indissoluble in laws, vices incorrigible in divinity: if general councils may err, I do not see why particular courts should be infallible, their perfectest rules are raised upon the erroneous reasons of man, and the laws of one, do but condemn the rules of another; as Aristotle oft-times did the opinions of his predecessors, because, tho' agreeable to reason, yet were not consonant to his own rules, and the

logick

logick of his proper principles. Again, to speak nothing of the sin against the Holy Ghost, whose cure not only, but whose nature is unknown; I can cure the gout or stone in some, sooner than divinity can cure pride, or avarice in others. I can cure vices by physick, when they remain incurable by divinity, and they shall obey my pills, when they contemn their precepts. I boast nothing but plainly say, we' all labour against our own cure, for death is the cure of all diseases. There is no catholicon or universal remedy I know but this, which, tho' nauseous to squeamish stomachs, yet to prepared appetites is nectar, and a pleasant potion of immortality.

S E C T. X.

For my conversation, it is like the sun's with all men, with a friendly aspect to good and bad.

Methtinks

Niethinks there is no man bad, and
 the worst best; that is, while they
 are kept within the circle of their
 qualities wherein they are good:
 there is no man's mind of such
 discordant and jarring a temper to
 which a tuneable disposition may
 nor strike a harmony. *Magne vir-*
tutes nec minora vitia, is the poly
 of the best natures, * and may
 be inverted on the worst; there are
 in the most depraved and venemous
 dispositions certain pieces that re-
 main untouched; which by an an-
 tiperistasis become more excellent,
 or by the excellency of their anti-
 pathies are able to preserve them-
 selves from the contagion of their
 opposite vices, and persist entire be-
 yond the general corruption. For
 thus it is also in nature. The great-
 est balsames do' lye enveloped in
 the bodies of most powerful corro-
 sives; I say moreover, and I ground
 upon experience, that poisons con-
 tain

contain within themselves their own antidote, and that which preserves them from the venom of themselves, without which they were not destructive to others only, but to themselves also. But it is the corruption that I fear within me, not the contagion of commerce without me. 'Tis that unruly legion within me that will destroy me, 'tis I that do infect myself; * the man without a navel yet lives within me; I feel that original cancer corrode and devour me, and therefore *defende me Deus de me*, Lord deliver me from myself, is apart of my litany, and the first words of my retired imaginations. There is no man alone, because every man is a microcosm, and carries the whole world about him; † *Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus*, tho' it be the apophthegm of a wise man, is yet true in the mouth of a fool; for indeed, tho' in a wilderness,

derness, a man is never alone, not only because he is with himself, and his own thoughts, but because he is with the devil, who always consorts with our solitude, and is that unruly rebel that musters up those disordered motions, which accompany our sequestered imaginations. And to speak more narrowly, there is no such thing as solitude, nor any thing that can be said to be alone, and by itself, but God, who is his own circle, and can subsist by himself: all others besides their dissimilar and heterogeneous parts, which in a manner multiply their natures, cannot subsist without the concurrence of God, and the society of that hand which doth uphold their natures. In brief, there can be nothing truly alone, and by itself, which is not truly one, and such is only God: All others do transcend an unity, and so by consequence are many.

S E C T.

S E C T. XI.

Now for my life, it is a miracle of thirty years, which to relate, were not a history, but a piece of poetry, and would sound to common ears like a fable; for the world, I count it not an inn, but an hospital; and a place not to live, but to die in. The world that I regard is myself; it is the microcosm of mine own frame, that I cast mine eye on; for the other, I use it but like my globe, and turn it round sometimes for my recreation. Men that look upon my outside, perusing only my condition and fortunes, do err in my altitude; for I am above Atlas's shoulders. The earth is a point not only in respect of the heavens above us, but of that heavenly and celestial part within us: that mass of flesh that circumscribes me, * limits not my mind: that surface that tells us the heavens hath an end, cannot persuade

suade me I have any ; I take my
 circle to be above three hundred
 and sixty, tho' the number of the
 ark do measure my body, it com-
 prehendeth not my mind : Whilst I
 studied to find how I am a micro-
 cosm or little world, I find myself
 something more than the great
 world. There is surely * a piece of
 divinity in us, something that was
 before the elements, and owes no
 homage unto the sun. Nature tells
 me, I am the image of God, as well
 as scripture ; he that understands not
 thus much, hath not his introduction
 or first lesson, and is yet to be-
 gin the alphabet of man. Let me
 not injure the felicity of others, if
 I say I am as happy as any, *Fiat
 cælum, fiat voluntas tua*, salveth all ;
 so that whatsoever happens, it is
 but what our daily prayers desire.
 In brief, I am content, and what
 should providence add more ? Sure-
 ly this is what we call happiness,
 and

and this do I enjoy; with this I am happy in a dream, and as content to enjoy a happiness in a fancy as others in a more apparent truth and reality. There is surely a nearer apprehension of any thing that delights us in our dreams, than in our waking senses; without this I were unhappy; for my awakened judgment discontents me, ever whispering unto me, that I am from my friend; but my friendly dreams in the night requite me, and make me think I am within his arms. I thank God for my happy dreams, as I do for my good rest; for there is a satisfaction in them unto reasonable desires, and such as can be content with a fit of happiness; and surely it is not a melancholy conceit to think we are all asleep in this world, and that the conceits of this life are as mere dreams to those of the next, as the phantasmes of the night, to the conceits of
of

of the day. There is an equal delusion in both, and the one doth but seem to be the emblem or picture of the other; we are somewhat more than ourselves in our sleep, and slumber of the body seems to be but the waking of the soul. It is the ligation of sense, but the liberty of reason, and our waking conceptions do not match the fancies of our sleep. At my nativity, my ascendant was the watery sign of Scorpius; I was born in the planetary hour of Saturn, and I think I have a piece of that leaden planet in me: I am no way facetious, nor disposed for the mirth and gallantry of company; yet in one dream * I can compose a whole comedy, behold the action, apprehend the jests, and laugh myself awake at the conceits thereof; were my memory as faithful as my reason is then fruitful, I would never study but in my dreams, and this time also would

I chuse for my devotions ; but * our grosser memories have then so little hold of our abstracted understandings, that they forget the story, and can only relate to our waking souls a confused and broken tale of that that hath passed. Aristotle, who hath written a singular tract of sleep, hath not, methinks, thoroughly defined it ; nor yet Galen, tho' he seems to have corrected it ; for those noctambuloes and night-walkers tho' in their sleep, do yet enjoy the action of their senses : we must therefore say, that there is something in us that is not in the jurisdiction of Morpheus ; and that those abstracted and ecstatick souls do walk about in their own bodies, as spirits with the bodies they assume, wherein they seem to hear, see, and feel, tho' indeed the organs are destitute of sense, and their natures of those faculties that should inform them. Thus it is observed,

served, that men sometimes upon the hour of their departure, do speak and reason above themselves. For then the soul being near freed from the ligaments of the body, begins to reason like herself, and to discourse in a strain above mortality.

S E C T. XII.

We term sleep a death; and yet it is waking that kills us, and destroys those spirits that are the house of life. 'Tis indeed a part of life that best expresseth death, for every man truly lives so long as he acts his nature, or some way makes good the faculties of himself: Themistocles therefore that slew his soldiers in his sleep was a merciful executioner; this is a kind of punishment the mildness of no laws hath invented; * I wonder the fancy of Lucan and Seneca did not discover it. It is that death by which
we

we may be literally said to die daily, a death which Adam died before his mortality; a death whereby we live a middle and moderating point between life and death; in fine, so like death, I dare not trust it without my prayers, and an half adieu unto the world, and take my farewell in a colloquy with God.

*The night is come like to the day,
Depart not thou, great God, away.
Let not my sins, black as the night,
Eclipse the lustre of thy light.
Keep still in my horizon; for to me
The sun makes not the day, but thee.
Thou, whose nature cannot sleep,
On my temples centry keep;
Guard me 'gainst those watchful foes,
Whose eyes are open while mine close.
Let no dreams my head infest,
But such as Jacob's temples blest,
While I do rest, my soul advance;
Make me sleep a holy trance.
That I may, my rest being wrought,
Awake into some holy thought.*

*And with as active vigour run
 My course, as doth the nimble fion.
 Sleep is a death; O make me try,
 By sleeping, what it is to die.
 And as gently lay my head
 On my grave, as now my bed.
 How e're I rest, great God, let me
 Awake again, at last, with thee.
 And thus assur'd, behold I lye
 Securely, or to wake or die.
 These are my drowsy days, in vain
 I do now wake to sleep again.
 O come that hour, when I shall never
 Sleep again, but wake for ever.*

This is the dormitive I take going
 to bed, I need no other *laudanum*
 than this to make me sleep; after
 which I close mine eyes in securi-
 ty, content to take my leave of
 the sun, and sleep unto the resur-
 rection.

S E C T. XIII.

The method I always use in di-
 stributive justice, I often observe
 in-

invariably, and keep a geometrical proportion in both, whereby becoming equable to others, I become unjust to myself, and supererogate in that common principle, Do unto others as thou wouldest be done unto thyself, I was not born unto riches, neither is it, I think, my stars to be wealthy; or if it were, the freedom of my mind, and frankness of my disposition, were able to contradict and cross my fate: for to me avarice seems not so much a vice, as a deplorable piece of madness; to conceive ourselves urinals*, or be persuaded that we are dead, is not so ridiculous, nor so many degrees beyond the power of hellebore, as this. The opinions of theory, and positions of men, are not so void of reason as their practised conclusions: some have held that snow is black, that the earth moves, that the soul is air, fire water, but all
 this

this is philosophy, and there is no *delirium*, if we do but speculate the folly and indisputable dotage of avarice to that subterraneous idol, and God of the earth. I do confess I am an atheist, I cannot persuade myself to honour what the world adores; whatsoever virtue its prepared substance may have within my body, it hath no influence nor operation without; I would not entertain a base design, or an action that should call me villain, for the Indies; and for this only do I love and honour my own soul, and have, methinks, two arms too few to embrace myself. Aristotle is too severe, that will not allow us to be truly liberal without wealth, and the bountiful hand of fortune; if this is true, I confess I am charitable only in my liberal intentions, and bountiful well-wishes. But if the example of the mite be not only an act of wonder, but an ex-
ample

ample of the noblest charity, surely poor men may also build hospitals, and the rich alone have not erected cathedrals. I have a private method which others observe not, I take the opportunity of myself to do good; I borrow occasion of charity from mine own necessities, and supply the wants of others, when I am in most need myself; for it is an honest stratagem to take advantage of ourselves, and so to husband the act of virtue, that where they are defective in one circumstance, or in one respect they may repay their want, and multiply their goodness in another. I have not *Peru* in my desires, but a competence, and ability to perform those good works to which he hath inclined my nature. He is rich, who hath enough to be charitable; and it is hard to be so poor, that a noble mind may not find a way to this piece of good-

goodness ; *He that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord* ; there is more rhetorick in that one sentence than in a library of sermons, and indeed if those sentences were understood by the reader, with the same emphasis as they are delivered by the author, we needed not those volumes of instructions, but might be honest by an epitome. Upon this motive only I cannot behold a beggar without relieving his necessities with my purse, or his soul with my prayers ; these scenical and accidental differences between us cannot make me forget that common and untouched part of us both : there is under these cantoes and miserable outsides, these mutilate and semi-bodies, a soul of the same alloy with our own, whose genealogy is God's as well as ours, and in as fair a way to salvation, as ourselves. Statists that labour to contrive a commonwealth without poverty,

poverty,

poverty, take away the object of charity, not understanding only the commonwealth of a christian, but forgetting the prophesy of Christ.

S E C T. XIV.

Now there is another part of charity, which is the basis and pillar of this, and that is the love of God, for whom we love our neighbour: for this I think charity, to love God for himself, and our neighbour for God. All that is truly amiable is God, or as it were a divided piece of him, that retains a reflex or shadow of himself. Nor is it strange that we should place affection on that which is invisible; all that we truly love is so: what we adore under affection of our senses, deserves not the honour of so pure a title. Thus we adore virtue, tho' to the eyes of sense, she be invisible. Thus that part of our noble friends that we love, is not
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that part that we embrace, but that insensible part that our arms cannot embrace. God being all goodness, can love nothing but himself, he loves us but for that part which is as it were himself, and the traduction of his holy spirit. Let us call to assize the loves of our parents, affection of our wives and children, and they are all dumb shows, and dreams, without reality, truth, or constancy; for first there is a strong bond of affection between us and our parents, yet how easily dissolved? we betake ourselves to a woman, forgetting our mothers in a wife, and the womb that bare us in that which shall bear our image. This woman blessing us with children, our affections leaves the level it held before, and sinks from our bed unto our issue and picture of posterity, where affection holds no steady mansion. They growing up in years desire our ends, or ap-
plying

plying themselves to a woman, take a lawful way to love another better than ourselves. Thus I perceive a man may be buried alive, and behold his grave in his own issue.

S E C T. XV.

I conclude therefore and say, there is no happiness under (or as Copernicus will have it, above) the sun, nor any crambo in that repeated verity and burden of all the wisdom of Solomon, *All is vanity and vexation of spirit*^a; there is no felicity in what the world adores. Aristotle, whilst he labours to refute the ideas of Plato, falls upon one himself: for his *summum bonum*, is a *chimera*, and there is no such thing as his felicity. That wherein God himself is happy, the holy angels are happy, in whose defect the devils are unhappy, that dare I call happiness: whatsoever conduceth

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^a Eccles. ii. 26.

unto this, may with an easy metaphor deserve that name; whatsoever else the world terms happiness, is to me as a story out of Pliny, a tale of Boccace or Malizpini, an apparition, or neat delusion, wherein there is no more of happiness than the name. Bless me in this life with but peace of conscience, command of my affections, the love of thyself and my dearest friends, and I shall be happy enough to pity Cesar. These are, O Lord, the humble desires of my most reasonable ambition, and all I dare call happiness on earth: wherein I set no rule or limit to thy hand or providence, dispose of me according * to the wisdom of thy pleasure. Thy will be done, tho' in my own undoing.

F I N I S.

OBSERVATIONS

U P O N

RELIGIO MEDICI.

Occasionally written by

Sir KENELME DIGBY Knight.

OBSERVATIONS

U P O N

RELIGIO MEDICI.

To the Right Honourable Edward
Earl of Dorset, Baron of Buck-
hurst, &c.

MY LORD,

I Received yesternight your Lord-
ship's, of the 19th current;
wherein you are pleased to oblige
me, not only by extreme gallant
expressions of favour and kindness;
but likewise by taking so far into
your care the spending of my time
during the tediousness of my re-
straint, as to recommend to my
reading a book that had received
the honour and protection of your
appro-

approbation; for both which I most humbly thank your Lordship. And since I cannot, in the way of gratefulness, express unto your Lordship as I would, those hearty sentiments I have of your goodness to me, I will, at least, endeavour, in the way of duty and observance, to let you see how the little needle of my soul is thoroughly touched at the great loadstone of yours, and followeth suddenly and strongly which way soever you direct it. On this occasion, the magnetick motion was impatient to have the book in my hands, that your Lordship gave so advantageous a character of; whereupon I sent presently (as late as it was) to Paul's church-yard, for this favourite of yours, *Religio Medici*; which after a while found me in a condition fit to receive a blessing by a visit from any such master-piece as you look upon with gracious eyes; for

for I was newly gone to bed. This good-natured creature I could easily persuade to be my bedfellow, and to wake with me as long as I had any relish to entertain myself with the delights I sucked from so noble a conversation. And truly my Lord, I closed not my eyes till I had enriched myself with, or at least exactly surveyed, all the treasures that are wrapt up in the folds of those few sheets. To return only a general commendation of this curious picce, or at large to admire the author's spirit and smartness, were too perfunctory an account, and too slight a one, to so discerning and steady an eye as yours, after so particular and encharged a summons to read carefully this discourse. I will therefore presume to blot a sheet or two of paper with my reflexions upon sundry passages thro' the whole context of it, as they shall occur to

my remembrance. As now your Lordship knoweth this packet is not so happy as to carry with it any other expression of my obsequiousness to you, it will be but reasonable you should even here give over your further trouble of reading, what my respect engageth me to the writing of.

He whose first step is ingenuity and a well natur'd evenness of judgment, shall be sure of applause and fair hopes in all men for the rest of his journey: And indeed (my Lord) methinks this gentleman setteth out excellently poised with that happy temper; and sheweth a great deal of judicious piety in making a right use of the blind zeal that bigots lose themselves in: yet I cannot satisfy my doubts thoroughly, how he maketh good his professing to follow the great wheel of the church in matters of divinity: which surely is the solid basis of true religion:

religion: for to do so, without jarring against the conduct of that first mover by eccentrical and irregular motions, obligeth one to yield a very dutiful obedience to the determinations of it without arrogating to ones self a controuling ability in liking or misliking the faith, doctrine, and constitutions of that church which one looketh upon as their north star: whereas, if I mistake not, this author approveth the church of England not absolutely, but comparatively with other reformed churches.

My next reflexion is concerning what he hath sprinkled (most wittily) in several places, concerning the nature and immortality of the human soul, and the condition and state it is in, after the dissolution of the body. And here give me leave to observe what our countryman Roger Bacon did long ago; that those students who busy

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themselves much with such notions as reside wholly in the fancy, do hardly ever become fit for abstracted metaphysical speculations; the one having bulky foundation of matter, or of the accidents of it, to settle upon, at the least, with an foot: the other flying continually, even to a lessening pitch, in the subtile air: and accordingly it hath been generally noted, that the exacted mathematicians, who converse altogether with lines, figures, and other differences of quantity; have seldom proved eminent in metaphysicks or speculative divinity. Nor again the professors of these sciences, in the other arts. Much less can it be expected that an excellent physician whose fancy is always fraught with the material drugs that he prescribeth his apothecary to compound his medicines of, and whose hands are inured to the cutting up, and eyes to the inspection of anatomized

anatomized bodies; should easily, and with success, flie his thoughts at so towring a game, as a pure intellect, a separated and unbodyed soul; surely this acute author's sharp wit, had he orderly applyed his studies that way, would have been able to satisfy himself with less labour, and others with more fullness, than it hath been the lot of so dull a brain as mine, concerning the immortality of the soul: and yet I assure you (my Lord) the little philosophy that is allowed me for my share, demonstrateth this proposition to me, as well as faith delivered it: which our physician will not admit in his.

To make good his assertion here, were very unreasonable, since, to do it exactly (and without exactness, it were not demonstration) requireth a total survey of the whole science of bodies, and all the operations that we are conversant with,
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of a rational creature ; which I having done, with all the succinctness I have been able to unfold so knotty a subject with, hath taken me up in the first draught near two hundred sheets of paper. I shall therefore take leave of this point with only this note, that I take the immortality of the soul (under his favour) to be of that nature, that to them only that are not versed in the ways of proving it by reason, it is an article of faith ; to others, it is an evident conclusion of demonstrative science.

And with a like short note I shall observe how if he had traced the nature of the soul from its first principles, he could not have suspected it should sleep in the grave till the resurrection of the body. Nor would he have permitted his compassionate nature to imagine it belonged to God's mercy (as the Millenarians did) to change its condition in those that
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are damned, from pain to happiness. For where God should have done that, he must have made that tormented soul another creature than what it was, as to make fire cease from being hot, requireth to have it become another thing than the element of fire;) since, that to be in such a condition as maketh us understand damned souls miserable, is a necessary effect of the temper it is in, when it goeth out of the body, and must necessarily, of its own nature, remain in, unvariably for all eternity; tho', for the conceptions of the vulgar part of mankind, who are not capable of such abstruse notions, it be styled, and truly too, the sentence and punishment of a severe judge.

I am extremely pleased with him, when he saith, there are not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith: and no whit less, when, in philosophy, he will not
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be satisfied with such naked terms as in schools use to be obtruded upon easy minds, when the master's fingers are not strong enough to untie the knots proposed unto them. I confess, when I enquire, (to use our author's example) what light is? I should be as well contented with his silence, as with his telling me it is *actus perspicui*, unless he explain clearly to me what those words mean, which I find very few go about to do. Such meat they swallow whole, and eject it as entire. But were such things scientifically, and methodically declared, they would be of extreme satisfaction and delight. And that work taketh up the greatest part of my forementioned treatise. For I endeavour to shew by a continued progress, and not by leaps, all the motions of nature; and unto them to fit intelligibly the terms used by her best secretaries: whereby all
wild

wild fantastick qualities and moods, introduced for the refuges of ignorance, are banished from my commerce.

In the next place, my Lord, I shall suspect that our author hath not penetrated into the bottom of those conceptions that deep scholars have taught us of eternity; methinks he taketh it for an infinite extension of time, and a never ending revolution of continual succession: which is no more like eternity than a gross body is like to a pure spirit. Nay, such an infinity of revolutions, is demonstrable to be a contradiction and impossible. In the state of eternity there is no succession, no change, no variety. Souls or angels, in that condition, do not so much as change a thought. All things, notions and actions, that ever were, are or shall be in any creature, are actually present to such an intellect. And this,
my

my Lord, I aver, not as deriving it from theology, and having recourse to beatifick vision to make good my tenet, (for so only glorified creatures should enjoy such immense knowledge) but out of the principles of nature and reason; and from thence shall demonstrate it to belong to the lowest soul of the most ignorant wretch while he lived in this world, since damned in hell. A bold undertaking you will say; but I confidently engage myself to it. Upon this occasion occurreth also a great deal to be said of the nature of predestination, (which by the short touch our author giveth it, I doubt he quite mistakes) and how it is an unalterable series and chain of causes, producing infallible, and in respect of them, necessary) effects. But that is too large a theme to unfold here; too vast an ocean to describe, in the scant map of a letter. And therefore I will refer that to a fitter

fitter opportunity, fearing I have already too much trespassed upon your Lordship's patience; but that indeed I hope you have not had enough to read thus far.

I am sure, my Lord, that you (who never forgot any thing, which deserved a room in your memory) do remember how we are told, *abyssus abyssum invocat*: so here our author, from the abyfs of predestination, falleth into that of the Trinity of Persons, consistent with the indivisibility of the divine nature: and out of that, if I be not exceedingly deceived, into a third, of mistaking, when he goeth about to illustrate this admirable mystery by a wild discourse of a trinity in our souls. The dint of wit is not forcible enough to dissect such tough matter; wherein all the obscure glimmering we gain of that inaccessible light, cometh to us clothed in the dark Weeds of negations; and therefore

G g little.

little can we hope to meet with any positive examples to parallel it with.

I doubt, he also mistaketh, and imposeth upon the several schools, when he intimateth, that they gain-say this visible world's being but a picture or shadow of the invisible and intellectual; which manner of philosophizing, he attributeth to Hermes Trismegistus; but is every where to be met with in Plato; and is raised since to a greater height in the christian schools.

But I am sure he learned in no good school, nor sucked from any philosophy, to give an actual subsistence and being to first matter without a form. He that will allow to that a real existence in nature, is as superficially versed in metaphysics, as an other would be in mathematicks that should allow the like to a point, a line, or a superficies in figures. These, in their
strict

strict notions, are but negations of farther extension, or but exact terminations of that quantity which falleth under the consideration of the understanding, in the present purpose; no real entities in themselves: so likewise, the notions of matter, form, act, power, existence, and the like, that are with truth considered by the understanding, and have there each of them a distinct entity are nevertheless, nowhere by themselves in nature. They are terms which we must use in the negotiations of our thoughts, if we will discourse consequentially, and conclude knowingly. But then again we must be very wary of attributing to things in their own natures, such entities as we create in our understandings, when we make pictures of them there; for there, every different consideration arising out of the different impression, which the same thing maketh upon us, hath a distinct

finct being by itself. Whereas in the thing itself, there is but one single unity, that shewed (as it were in a glass, at several positions) those various faces in our understanding. In a word, all these words are but artificial terms, not real things. And the not right understanding them, is the most dangerous rock that scholars suffer shipwreck against.

I go on with our physician's contemplations. Upon every occasion he sheweth strong parts and a vigorous brain. His wishes and aims, and what he pointeth at, speak him owner of a noble and generous heart. He hath reason to wish that Aristotle had been as accurate in examining the causes, nature and affections of the great universe he busied himself about, as his patriarch Galen hath been in the like considerations upon his little world, man's body, in that admirable work of his *de usu partium*. But no great human

human thing was ever born and perfected at once. It may satisfy us, if one in our age, buildeth that magnifick structure upon the other's foundations; and especially, if where he findeth any of them unsound, he eradicateth those, and fixeth new unquestionable ones in their room: but so, as they still, in gross, keep a proportion, and bear a harmony with the other's great work: this hath now, (even now) our learned countryman done. The knowing Mr. White, whose name, I believe, your Lordship hath met withal, in his excellent book, *De mundo*, newly printed at Paris, where he now resideth, and is admired by the learned world there, as the prodigy of these later times. Indeed his three dialogues upon that subject, (if I am able to judge any thing) are full of the profoundest learning I ever yet met with. And I believe, he who hath well read and digested

digested them, will persuade himself there is no truth so abstruse, nor hitherto conceived out of our reach, but man's wit may raise engines to scale and conquer. I assure myself, when our author hath studied him thoroughly, he will not lament so loud for Aristotle's mutilated and defective philosophy, as in Boccacini, Cæsar Caporali doth for the loss of Livy's shipwrecked decads.

That logick which he quarrelleth at for calling a toad, or a serpent ugly, will in the end agree with his; for no body ever took them to be so, in respect of the universe, (in which regard he defendeth their regularity and symmetry) but only as they have relation to us.

But I cannot so easily agree with him, when he affirmeth that devils, or other spirits in the intellectual world have no exact ephemerides wherein

wherein they may read before-hand the stories of fortuitous accidents; for I believe that all causes are so immediately chained to their effects, that if a perfect knowing nature get hold but of one link, it will drive the entire series or pedigree of the whole to each utmost end; (as I think I have proved in my forenamed treatise) so that in truth, there is no fortuitousness or contingency of things, in respect of themselves, but only in respect of us, that are ignorant of their certain and necessary causes.

Now a like series or chain and complex of all outward circumstances, (whose highest link, poets say prettily, is fastened to Jupiter's chair, and the lowest is riveted to every individual on earth) steered and levelled by God Almighty at the first setting out of the first mover, I conceive, to be that divine providence and mercy, which (to
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use our author's own example) giveth a thriving genius to the Hollanders, and the like : And not any secret, invisible, mystical blessing, that falleth not under the search or cognizance of a prudent inquiry.

I must needs approve our author's equanimity, and I may as justly say his magnanimity, in being contented so cheerfully (as he saith) to shake hands with the fading goods of fortune, and be deprived of the joys of her most precious blessings ; so that he may, in recompence, possess in ample measure the true ones of the mind ; like Epictetus, that great master of moral wisdom and piety, who taxeth them of high injustice that repine at God's distribution of his blessings, when he puteth not into their share of goods, such things as they use no industry or means to purchase. For why should that man who above all things esteemeth his own freedom,
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and who to enjoy that, sequestreth himself from commerce with the vulgar of mankind, take it ill of his stars, if such preferments, honours, and applauses meet not him, as are painfully gained after long and tedious services of princes, and brittle dependencies of humorous favourites, and supple compliances with all sorts of natures? As for what he saith of astrology, I do not conceive that wise men reject it so much for being repugnant to divinity (which he reconcileth well enough) as for having no solid rules, or ground in nature. To rely too far upon that vain art, I judge to be rather folly than impiety unless in our censure, we look to the first origin of it, which favoureth of the idolatry of those heathens who worshipping the stars and heavenly bodies for deities, did in a superstitious devotion, attribute unto them the causality

fality of all effects beneath them. And for ought I know the belief of solid orbs in the heavens, and their regularly irregular motions, sprung from the same root. And a like inanity, I should suspect in chiromancy as well as in astrology, (especially, in particular contingent effects) however our author, and no less a man than aristotle, seem to attribute somewhat more to that conjectural art of lines.

I should much doubt (tho' our author sheweth himself of another mind, that Bernardus Ochinus grew at last to be a meer atheist; when, after having been first the institutor and patriarch of the capuchin order, (so violent was his zeal then, as no former religious institution, tho' never so rigorous, was strict enough for him) he from thence fell to be first an Heretick, then a Jew, and after a while became a Turk and at the last wrote

a furious invective against those whom he called the three grand impostors of the world, among whom he ranked our Saviour, Christ, as well as Moses and Mahomet.

I doubt he mistaketh in his chronology, or the printer in the name, when he maketh Ptolomy condemn the Alcoran.

He needeth not be so scrupulous, as he seemeth to be in averring down rightly, that God cannot do contradictory things, (tho' peradventure it is not amiss to sweeten the manner of the expression, and the sound of the words) for who understandeth the nature of contradiction, will find non-entity in one of the terms, which of God, were impiety not to deny peremptorily, for he being in his proper nature self-entity, all being must immediately flow from him, and all non-entity be totally excluded from that efflux. Now for the recalling of
time

time past, which the angels posed Efdras withal; there is no contradiction in that, as is evident to them that know the essence of time (for it is but putting again, all things, that had motion, into the same state they were in at that moment unto which time was to be reduced back; and from thence, letting it travel on again, by the same motions, and upon the same wheels, it rolled upon before.) And therefore God could do this admirable work, tho' neither Efdras nor all the power of creatures together could do it: and consequently it cannot in this question be said, that he posed mortality with what himself was not able to perform.

I acknowledge ingeniously our physician's experience hath the advantage of my philosophy, in knowing there are witches. Yet I am sure I have no temptation to doubt of the deity; nor have any
disatisf-

disatisfaction in believing there are spirits. I do not see much a necessary conjunction between them, as that the supposition of the one, must needs, infer the other. Neither do I deny there are witches: I only reserve my assent, till I meet with stronger motives to carry it. And I confess I doubt as much of the efficacy of those magical rules he speaketh of, as of the finding out mysteries by the courteous revelation of spirits.

I doubt, his discourse of an universal spirit, is but a wild fancy: and that in the marshalling of it, he mistaketh the hermetical philosophers. And surely, it is a weak argument from a common nature that subsisteth only in our understanding, (out of which it hath no being at all to infer by parity, an actual subsistence of the like, in reality of nature, and upon this occasion, I do not see how seasonably he falleth,

falleth, of a sudden, from natural speculations to a moral contemplation of God's spirit working in us. In which also I inquire (especially upon his sudden poetical rapture) whether the solidity of the judgment be not out weighed by the airiness of the fancy. Assuredly one cannot err in taking this author for a very fine ingenious gentleman: but for how deep a scholar, I leave unto them to judge, that are abler than I am.

If he had applied himself with earnest study, and upon right grounds, to search out the nature of bare intellects, I doubt not but his great parts would have argued more efficaciously, than he doth against those that are between men and angels, but only Porphyry's difference of mortality and immortality. And he would have dived further into the tenor of their intellectual operations, in which there is no succession,

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on, nor ratiocinative discourse; for in the very first instant of their creation, they actually knew all that they were capable of knowing, and they are acquainted even with all free thoughts, past, present, and to come; for they see them in their causes, and they see them altogether at one instant, as I have in my forementioned treatise proved at large: and I think I have already touched thus much once before in this letter.

I am tempted here to say a great deal concerning light, by his taking it to be a bare quality: For in physics no speculation is more useful, or reacheth further. But to set down such phenomenons of it, as I have observed, and from whence I evidently collect the nature of it, were too large a theme for this place; when your Lordship pleaseth I shall shew you another more orderly discourse upon that subject, wherein

wherein I have sufficiently proved it to be a solid substance and body.

In his proceeding to collect an intellectual world, and in his discoursing upon the place, and habitation of angels; as also in his consideration of the activity of glorified eyes, (which shall be in a state of rest, whereas motion is required to seeing) and in his subtle speculation upon two bodies placed in the vacuity beyond the utmost all-enclosing superficies of heaven, which implieth a contradiction in nature, methinks I hear Apelles crying out, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*: or rather it putteth me in mind of one of the titles in Pantagruel's library, (which he expresth himself conversant in) namely, *Questio subtilissima, utrum chimera in vacuo bombinans possit comedere secundas intentiones?* with which short note I will leave these considerations; in which (if time and other circumstances allowed

lowed it) matter would spring up of excellent learning.

When our author shall have read Mr. White's dialogues of the world, he will no longer be of the opinion, that the unity of the world is a conclusion of faith: For it is there demonstrated by reason.

Here the thread of the discourse inviteth me to say a great deal of the production, or creation of man's soul^a. But it is too tedious and too knotty a piece for a letter. Now it shall suffice to note, that it is not *ex traduce*, and yet hath a strange kind of near dependence on the body; which is, as it were, God's instrument to create it by. This, thus said, or rather tumbled out, may seem harsh. But had your Lorship leisure to peruse what I have written at full upon this point, I doubt not but it would appear plausible enough to you.

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^a Sect. XXXV.

I cannot agree with him when he seemeth to impute inconvenience to long life, and that length of time doth rather impair, than improve us. For surely, if we will follow the course of nature, and of reason, it is a mighty great blessing, were it but in this regard, that it giveth time leave to vent and boil away the unquietnesses and turbulencies that follow our passions, and to wean ourselves gently from carnal affections, and at the last to drop with ease and willingness, like ripe fruit from the tree; as I remember Plotinus finely discourseth in one of his *Æneads*. For when before the season it is plucked off with violent hands, or shaken-down by rude and boisterous winds, it carrieth along with it an indigested raw taste of the wood, and hath an unpleasant eagernefs in its juice that maketh it unfit for use, till long time hath mellowed it: and

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peradventure it may be so backward, as instead of ripening, it may grow rotten in the very center. In like manner, souls that go out of their bodies with affections to those objects they leave behind them, (which usually is as long as they can relish them) do retain still even in their separation, a bias, and a languishing towards them: which is the reason why such terrene souls appear oftenest in Cæmeteries and Charnel houses (and not that moral one which our author giveth) for life, which is union with the body, being that which carnal souls have the strongest affections to, and that they are loatheſt to be separated from; their unquiet ſpirit, which can never naturally loſe the impreſſions it had wrought in it at the time of its driving out, lingereth perpetually after that dear conſort of his. The impoſſibility cannot
cure

cure them of their impotent desires; they would fain be alive again,

-----Iterumque ad tarda reverti

Corpora. Que lucis miseris tam dira cupido?

And to this cause peradventure may be reduced the strange effect which is frequently seen in England, when, at the approach of the murderer, the slain body suddenly bleedeth afresh: for certainly the souls of them that are treacherously murdered by surprise, use to leave their bodies with extreme unwillingness, and with vehement indignation against them that force them to so unprovided and abhorred a passage. That soul then, to wreak its evil talent against the hated murderer, and to draw a just and desired revenge upon his head, would do all it can to manifest the author of the fact, to speak, it
can

cannot; for in itself, it wanteth organs of voice; and those it is parted from, are now grown too heavy, and are too benumbed for it, to give motion unto. Yet some change it desireth to make in the body which it hath so vehement inclinations to, and therefore is the aptest for it to work upon: it must then endeavour to cause a motion in the subtiest and most fluid parts (and consequently, the most moveable ones) of it. This can be nothing but the blood; which then being violently moved, must needs gush out at those places where it findeth issues.

Our author cannot believe that the world will perish upon the ruins of its own principles: but Mr. White hath demonstrated the end of it upon natural reason. And though the precise time for that general destruction be inscrutable; yet he learnedly sheweth an ingenious

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ous rule whereby to measure in some sort the duration of it, without being branded (as our author threatneth) with convincible and statute madness, or with impiety. And whereas he will have the work of this last great day, the summer up of all past days, to imply annihilation and thereupon interesteth God only in it; I must beg leave to contradict him, namely in this point, and to affirm that the letting loose then of the most active element to destroy this face of the world, will but beget a change in it; and that no annihilation can proceed from God Almighty: for his essence being (as I said before) self existence, it is more impossible that not-being should flow from him, then that cold should flow immediately from fire, or darkness, from the actual presence of light.

I must needs acknowledge, that where he balanceth life and death
against

against one another, and considereth that the latter is to be a kind of nothing for a moment, to become a pure spirit within one instant; and what followeth of this strong thought is very handsomely said, and argueth very gallant and generous resolutions in him.

To exemplify the immortality of of the soul, he needeth not have recourse to the philosopher's stone. His own store furnisheth him with a most pregnant one of reviving a plant (the same numerical plant) out of its own ashes. But under his favour, I believe his experiment will fail. If under the notion of the same, he comprehendeth all the accidents that first accompanied that plant; for since in the ashes there remaineth only the fixed salt, I am very confident that all the colour, and much of the odour and taste of it is flown away with the volatile salt.

What

What should I say of his making so particular a narration of personal things, and private thoughts of his own; the knowledge whereof can, not much conduce to any man's betterment, which I make account is the chief end of his writing this discourse; as where he speaketh of the soundness of his body, of the course of his diet, of the coolness of his blood at the summer solstice of his age, of his neglect of an epitaph, how long he hath lived or may live, what Popes, Emperors, Kings, Grand-Seigniors, he hath been contemporary unto, and the like, would it not be thought that he hath a special good opinion of himself, (and indeed he hath reason) when he maketh such great princes the landmarks in the chronology of himself? Surely, if he were to write by retail the particulars of his own story and life, it would be a notable

table romance, since he telleth us in one total sum, it is a continued miracle of thirty years. Tho' he creepeth gently upon us at first, yet he groweth a giant, an Atlas (to use his own expression) at the last. But I will not censure him as he that made notes upon Balsac's letters, and was angry with him for vexing his readers with stories of cholicks, and voiding of gravel. I leave this kind of his expressions, without looking further into them.

In the next place, my Lord, I shall take occasion, from our author's setting so great a difference ^a between moral honesty and virtue, or being virtuous, (to use his ownphrase) out of an inbred loyalty to virtue; and, on the other side, being virtuous for a reward's sake: To discourse a little concerning virtue in this life, and the effects of it afterwards. Truly,

K k ly,

^a Sect. XLV.

ly, my Lord, however he seemeth to prefer this latter, I cannot but value the other much before it, if we regard the nobleness and heroickness of the nature and mind from whence they both proceed: And if we consider the journey's end, to which each of them carrieth us, I am confident the first yieldeth nothing to the second, but indeed both meet in the period of beatitude. To clear this point (which is very well worth the wisest man's most serious thoughts) we must consider, what it is that bringeth us to this excellent state, to be happy in the other world of eternity and immutability. It is agreed on all hands to be God's grace and favour to us: But all do not agree by what steps his grace produceth this effect. Hercin I shall not trouble your Lordship with a long discourse, how that grace worketh in us, (which yet I will in a word touch

touch

touch anon, that you may conceive what I understand grace to be) but will suppose it to have wrought its effect in us in this life, and from thence examine what hinges they are that turn us over to beatitude and glory in the next. Some consider God as a judge, that rewardeth or punisheth men, according as they co-operated with or repugn'd the grace he gave. That according as their actions please or displease him, he is well affected towards them, or angry with them; and accordingly maketh them effectually to feel the effects of his kindness or indignation. Others that fly a higher pitch, and are so happy,

----Ut rerum poterint cognoscere causas,

do conceive that beatitude, and misery in the other life, are effects that necessarily and orderly flow
out

out of the nature of those causes that begot them in this life, without engaging God Almighty to give a sentence, and act the part of a judge, according to the state of our cause, as it shall appear upon the accusations and pleadings at his great bar. Much of this manner of expression, is metaphorical, and rather adapted to preserve vulgar minds duties (that are awed with the thought of a severe judge, sitting every minute action of theirs) than such as we must conceive their circumstance of them to pass so in reality as the literal sound of the words seems to infer in ordinary construction: and yet all that is true too, in its genuine sense. But, my Lord, these more penetrating men, and who I conceive are virtuous upon higher and stronger motives (for they truly and solidly know why they are so) do consider that what impressions are once
made

made in the spiritual substance of a soul, and what affections it hath once contradicted, do ever remain in it till a contrary and diametrically contradicting judgment and affection; do obliterate it, and expel it thence, this is the reason why contrition, sorrow and hatred for past sins, is incharged us. If then the soul goes out of the body with impressions and affections to the objects, and pleasures of this life, it continually lingereth after them, and as Virgil learnedly as well as wittily) saith,

-----Quæ gratia currum,
 Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes,
 Pascere equos eadem sequitur tellure repositos.

But that being a state wherein those objects neither are, nor can be enjoyed, it must needs follow that such a soul must be in an exceeding anguish, sorrow and affliction, for being deprived of them; and for
 want

want of those it so much prizeth, will neglect all other contentments it might have, as not having a relish or taste moulded and prepared to the favouring of them; but like feaverish tongues, that, when they are even scorched with heat, take no delight in the most pleasing liquors, but the sweetest drinks seem bitter to them, by reason of their overflowing gall; so they even hate whatsoever good is in their power, and thus pine away a long eternity. In which the sharpness and activity of their pain, anguish, and sad condition, is to be measured by the sensibleness of their natures: which being then purely spiritual, is in a manner infinitely more than any torment that in this life can be inflicted upon a dull gross body. To this add, the vexation it must be to them, to see how inestimable and infinite a good they have lost; and lost meerly by their own fault,

and

and for momentary trifles, and childrens play ; and that was so easy for them to have gained it, had they remained but in their right senses, and governed themselves according to reason. And then judge in what a tortured condition they must be, of remorse and execrating themselves for their most resupine and senseless madness. But if on the other side, a soul be released out of this prison of clay and flesh, with affections settled upon intellectual goods, as truth, knowledge, and the like ; and that it have attained to an irksome dislike of the flat pleasures of this world ; and looks upon carnal and sensual objects with a disdainful eye, as discerning the contemptible inanity in them that is set off only by their painted outside ; and above all, that it have a longing desire to be in the society of that supereminent cause of causes, in which they know

know are heaped up the treasure of all beauty, knowledge, truth, delight, and good whatsoever; and therefore are impatient at the delay, and reckon all their absence from him as a tedious banishment; and in that regard hate their life and body as the cause of this divorce: such a soul I say must necessarily, by reason of the temper it is wrought into, immediately at the instant of the body's dissolution and its liberty, more contentment, more joy, more true happiness, than it is possible for a heart of flesh to have, scarce any scantling of, much less to comprehend.

For immense knowledge is natural to it, as I have touched before. Truth, which is the adequate and satisfying object of the understanding, is there displayed in her own colours; or rather without any.

And that which is the crown of all, and in respect of which all the
rest

rest is nothing; that infinite entity which above all things this soul thirsteth to be united unto, cannot for his own goodness sake, deny his embraces to so affectionate a creature, and to such an enflamed love. If he should, then that soul, for being the best, and for loving him most, were condemned to be unhappiest. For what joy could she have in any thing, were she barred from what she so infinitely loveth? But since the nature of superior and excellent things is to shower down their propitious influences, wheresoever there is a capacity of receiving them, and no obstacle to keep them out, (like the sun that illuminateth the whole air, if no cloud, or solid opacous body intervene) it followeth clearly, that this infinite sun of justice, this immense ocean of goodness, cannot chuse but environ with his beams, and replenish even beyond

fatiety with his delightfom waters, a foul fo prepared and tempered to receive them.

Now, my Lord, to make use of this difcourfe, and apply it to what begot it, be pleased to determine which way will deliver us evenest and smootheft to this happy end of our journey: To be virtuous for hope of reward, and through fear of punishment, or to be fo out of a natural and inward affection to virtue, for virtue's and reason's fake? Surely one in this latter condition, not only doth thofe things which will bring him to beatitude; but he is fo fecured, in a manner, under an armour of proof, that he is almoft invulnerable; he can fcarce miscarry, he hath not fo much as an inclination to work contrarily, the alluring baits of this world tempt him not; he dilliketh, he hateth even his neceffary commerce with them while he liveth. On
the

the other side, the hireling that that steereth his course only by his reward and punishment, doth well I confesse; but he doth it with reluctance, he carrieth the ark, God's image, his soul, safely home, it is true, but he loweth pitifully after his calves that he leaveth behind him among the Philistines. In a word, he is virtuous, but if he might safely, he would do vitious things. And hence is the ground in nature, if so I may say, of our purgatory. Methinks two such minds may not unfitly be compared to two maids, whereof one hath a little sprinkling of the green sickness, and hath more mind to eat ashes, chalk, or leather, than meats of solid and good nourishment; but forbeareth them, knowing the languishing condition of health it will bring her to: But the other having a ruddy, vigorous and perfect constitution, and enjoying a compleat, entire eucrafy, delights

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in no food but of good nouriture, and loaths the other's delights. Her health is discovered in her looks, and she is secure from any danger of that malady, whereas the other, for all her good diet, beareth in her complexion some sickly testimony of her depraved appetite; and if she be not very wary, she is in danger of a relapse.

^a It is fit, in this place, to examine our author's apprehension of the end of such honest worthies and philosophers, (as he calleth them) that dyed before Christ's incarnation, whether any of them could be saved or no? Truly, my Lord, I make no doubt at all, but if any followed in the whole tenor of their lives, the dictates of right reason, but that their journey was secure to heaven. Out of the former discourse appeareth what temper of mind is necessary to get thither. And

^a Sect. XII.

And that reason would dictate such a temper to a perfectly judicious man, (tho' but in the state of nature) as the best and most rational for him, I make no doubt at all. But it is most true, they are exceeding few, (if any) in whom reason worketh clearly, and is not over-
 fwayed by passion and terrene affections; they are few that can discern what is reasonable to be done in every circumstance.

-----Pauci, quos æquus amavit
 Jupiter, aut ardens exexit ad æthera virtus;
 Diis geniti, potuere.-----

And fewer, that knowing what is best, can win of themselves to do accordingly; (*video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*, being most mens cases) so that, after all that can be expected at the hands of nature and reason in their best habit, since the lapse of them, we may conclude, it would have been a most difficult
 thing

thing for any man, and a most impossible one for mankind, to attain unto beatitude, if Christ had not come to teach, and by his example to shew us the way.

And this was the reason of his incarnation, teaching life, and death: for being God, we could not doubt his veracity, when he told us news of the other world; having all things in his power, and yet enjoying none of the delights of this life: no man should stick at forgoing them, since his example sheweth all men that such a course is best; whereas few are capable of the reason of it: and for this last act, dying in such an afflicted manner, he taught us how the securest way to step immediately into their perfect happiness, is to be crucified to all the desires, delights, and contentments of this world.

But to come back to our physician: truly, my Lord, I must needs
pay

pay him as his due, the acknowledging his pious discourses to be excellent and pathetical ones, containing worthy motives, to incite one to virtue and to deter one from vice: thereby to gain heaven, and to avoid hell. Assuredly he is owner of a solid head, and of a strong generous heart. Where he imployeth his thoughts upon such things as resort to no higher, or more abstruse principles than such as occur in ordinary conversation with the world; or in the common tract of study and learning, I know no man would say better. But when he meeteth with such difficulties as his next concerning the resurrection of the body, (wherein, after deep meditation, upon the most abstracted principles, and speculations of the metaphysics, one hath much ado to solve the appearing contradictions in nature) there, I do not at all wonder he should tread a little

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a-wry, and go astray in the dark; for I conceive his course of life hath not permitted him to allow much time unto the unwinding of such entangled and abstracted subtleties. But if it had, I believe his natural parts are such as he might have kept the chair from most men I know: for even where he roveh widest, it is with so much wit and sharpness, as putting me in mind of a great mans censure upon Joseph Scaliger's *Cyclometrica*. (a matter he was not well versed in) that he had rather err so ingeniously as he did, than hit upon truth in that heavy manner that the jesuit his antagonist wrote his books in. Most assuredly his wit and smartness in this discourse, is of the finest standard; and his insight into severer learning, will appear as piercing unto such as use not strictly the touchstone and the test, to examine every piece of the glittering coin,

coin, he payeth his reader with. But to come to the resurrection^a. Methinks it is but a gross conception, to think that every atom of the present individual matter of a body; every grain of ashes of a burned cadaver, scattered by the wind throughout the world, and after numerous variations changed peradventure into the body of another man, should at the sounding of the last trumpet be raked together again from all the corners of the earth, and be made up a new into the same body it was before of the first man. Yet if we will be christians, and rely upon God's promises, we must believe that we shall rise again with the same body, that walked about, did eat, drink, and live here on earth; and that we shall see our Saviour and Redeemer, with the same, the very same eyes, wherewith we now look upon the fading

M m glories

^a Sect. XLVI.

glories of this contemptible world.

How shall these seeming contrarieties be reconciled? if the latter be true why should not the former be admitted? To explain this riddle the better, give me leave to ask your Lordship if you now see the canons, the ensignes, the arms, and other martial preparations at Oxford, with the same eyes, wherewith many years ago you looked upon Porphiry's and Aristotle's learned leaves there? I doubt not but you will answer me, assuredly with the very same. Is that noble and graceful person of yours, that begetteth both delight and reverence in every one that looketh upon it? Is that body of yours, that now is grown to such comely and full dimensions, as nature can give her none more advantagious, the same person, the same body, which your virtuous and excellent mother bore nine months in her chaste and honour-

honoured womb, and that your nurse gave suck unto? Most certainly it is the same. And yet if you consider it well, it cannot be doubted, but that sublunary matter, being in a perpetual flux, and in bodies which have internal principles of heat and motion, much continually transpiring out to make room for the supply of a new aliment, at length, in long process of time, all is so changed, as that ship at Athens may as well be called the same ship that was there two hundred years before, and whereof (by reason of the continual reparations) not one foot of the timber is remaining in her of which she was built at the first: as this body now, can be called the same it was, forty years ago, unless some higher consideration keep up the identity of it. Now what that is, let us examine, and whether or no it will reach to our difficulty of the resurrection. Let

us consider then how that which giveth the numerical individuation to a body, is the substantial form. As long as that remaineth the same, tho' the matter be in a continual flux and motion, yet the thing is still the same. There is not one drop of the same water in the Thames, that ran down by Whitehall yesternight; yet no man will deny, but that it is the same river that was in Queen Elizabeth's time, as long as it is supplied from the same common stock, the sea. Tho' this example reacheth not home, it illustrateth the thing. If then the form remain absolutely the same after separation from the matter, that it was in the matter, (which can happen only to forms, that subsist by themselves as human souls) it followeth then, that whensoever it is united to matter again, (all matter coming out of the same common magazine) it maketh again the same man,

man, with the same eyes, and all the same limbs that were formerly. Nay, he is composed of the same individual matter: for it hath the same distinguisher and individuator; to wit, the same form or soul. Matter considered singly by itself, hath no distinction: all matter is in itself the same; we must fancy it, as we do the indigested chaos; it is an uniformly wild ocean. Particularize a few drops of the sea, by filling a glass full of them, then that glass-full is distinguished from all the rest of the watery bulk: But return back these few drops to from whence they were taken, and the glass-full that even now had an individuation by itself, loseth that, and groweth one and the same with the other main stock: Yet if you fill your glass again, wheresoever you take it up, so it be of the same uniform bulk of water you had before, it is the same glass-full of water that you had.

had. But, as I said before, this example fitteth intirely, no more than the other did. In such abstracted speculations, where we must consider matter without form, (which hath no actual being) we must not expect adequated examples in nature. But enough is said to make a speculative man see, that if God should join the soul of a lately dead man (even while his dead corps should lye entire in his winding sheet here) unto a body made of earth taken from some mountain in America, it were most true and certain, that the body he should then leave by, were the same identical body he lived with before his death and late resurrection. It is evident that same-ness, this-ness and that-ness, belongeth not to matter by itself, (for a general indifference runneth through it all) but only as it is distinguished and individuated by the form. Which, in

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our case, whensoever the same soul doth, it must be understood always to be the same matter and body.

This point thus passed over, I may add to it what our author saith of a magazine of subsistent forms residing first in the chaos, and hereafter (when the world shall be destroyed by fire) in the general heap of ashes; out of which God's voice did, and shall, draw them out and cloath them with matter. This language were handsome for a poet or a rhetorician to speak. But in a philosopher, that should reason strictly and rigorously, I cannot admit it; for certainly there are no subsistent forms of corporeal things: (excepting the soul of man, which besides being an informing form, hath another particular consideration belonging to it, too long to speak of here) but whensoever that compound is destroyed, the form perisheth with the whole. And for
the

the natural production of corporeal things ; I conceive it to be wrought out by the action and passion of the elements among themselves ; which introducing new tempers and dispositions into the bodies where these conflicts pass ; new forms succeed old ones, when the dispositions are raised to such a height as can no longer consist with the preceding form, and are in the immediate degree to fit the succeeding one, which they usher in. The mystery of all which I have at large unfolded in my above mentioned treatise of the immortality of the soul.

^a I shall say no more to the first of our physician's discourse, after I have observed how his consequence is no good one, where he inferreth, that if the devils foreknew who would be damned or saved, it would save them the labour, and
end

^a Sect. LV.

end their work of tempting mankind to mischief and evil. For whatsoever their moral design and success be in it, their nature impelleth them to be always doing it. For, on the one side, they are active in the highest degree, (as being pure acts, that is spirits,) so, on the other side, they are malign in as great an excess: By the one they must be always working wheresoever they may work, (like water in a vessel full of holes, that will run out of every one of them which is not stopped). By the other, their whole work must be malicious and mischievous. Joining then both these qualities together, it is evident they will always be tempting mankind, tho' they know they shall be frustrate of their moral end.

But were it not time that I made an end? Yes, it is more than time. And therefore, having once passed

the limit that confined what was becoming, the next step carried me into the ocean of error; which being infinite, and therefore more or less bearing no proportion in it, I will proceed a little further, to take a short survey of his second part; and hope for as easy pardon after this addition to my sudden and indigested remarks, as if I had inclosed them up now.

Methinks, he beginneth with some what an affected discourse, to prove his natural inclination to charity, which virtue is the intended theme of all the rest of his discourse. And I doubt he mistaketh the lowest orb or limb of that high seraphick virtue, for the top and perfection of it; and maketh a kind of human compassion to be divine charity. He will have it to be a general way of doing good: it is true, he addeth, for God's sake; but he allayeth that again, with saying,

ing, he will have that good done as by obedience, and to accomplish God's will, and looketh at the effects it worketh upon our souls but in a narrow compass; like one in the vulgar throng, that considereth God as a judge, and as a rewarder or a punisher: whereas perfect charity is that vehement love of God for his own sake, for his goodness, for his beauty, for his excellency, that carrieth all the motions of our souls directly and violently to him: and maketh a man disdain, or rather hate all obstacles that may retard his journey to him. And that face of it that looketh toward mankind with whom we live, and warmeth us to do others good, is but like the overflowing of the main stream, that swelling above its banks runneth over in a multitude of little channels.

I am not satisfied, that in the likeness which he putteth between
 God

God and man, he maketh the difference between them to be but such as between two creatures that resemble one another; for between these, there is some proportion; but between the others none at all. In the examining of which discourse, wherein the author observeth that no two faces are ever seen to be perfectly alike; nay, no two pictures of the same face were ever exactly made so; I could take occasion to insert a subtile and delightful demonstration of Mr. Whites, wherein he sheweth how it is impossible that two bodies, for example two bowls, should ever be made exactly like one another; nay, not rigorously equal in any one accident, as namely in weight, but that still there will be some little difference, and inequality between them, (the reason of which observation, our author meddleth not with) were it not that I have been

so

so long already, as digressions were now very unseasonable.

Shall I commend or censure our author, for believing so well of his acquired knowledge, as to be dejected at the thought of not being able to leave it for a legacy among his friends? Or shall I examine whether it be not a high injury to wise and gallant princes, who out of the generosity, and nobleness of their nature do patronize arts and learned men, to impute their so doing to vanity of desiring praise, or to fear of reproach?

But let these pass: I will not engage any that may befriend him in a quarrel against him. But I may safely produce Epictetus to contradict him, when he letteth his kindness engulf him in deep afflictions for a friend: For he will not allow his wise man to have an inward relenting, a troubled feeling, or compassion

tion of another's misfortunes that disordereth the one, without any good to the other. Let him afford all the assistances and relief in his power; but without intermingling himself in the other's woe. As angels that do us good, but have no passion for us. But this gentleman's kindness goeth yet further: He compareth his love of a friend to his love of God, the union of friends souls by affection, to the union of three persons in the Trinity, and to the hypostatical union of two natures in one Christ, by the Word's incarnation. Most certainly he expresseth himself to be a right good-natured man: But if St. Augustine retracted so severely his pathological expressions for the death of his friend, saying, they favoured more of the rhetorical declamations of a young-orator, than of the grave confession of a devout Christian, (or somewhat to that purpose) what
 censure

censure upon himself may we expect of our physician, if ever he make any retraction of this discourse concerning his religion?

It is no small misfortune to him, that after so much time spent, and so many places visited in curious search, by travelling after the acquisition of so many languages, after wading so deep in sciences, as appeareth by the ample inventory and particular he maketh of himself: The result of all this should be to profess ingenuously he had studied enough, only to become a Sceptick; and that having run thro' all sorts of learning, he could find rest and satisfaction in none. This, I confess, is the unlucky fate of those that light upon wrong principles. But Mr. White teacheth us how the theorems and demonstrations of physicks may be linked and chained together as strongly, and as continuedly as they are in mathe-

mathematicks; if men would but apply themselves to a right method of study. And I do not find that Solomon complained of ignorance in the height of knowledge, (as this gentleman saith) but only, that after he hath rather acknowledged himself ignorant of nothing, but that he understood the natures of all plants, from the cedar to the hyssop, and was acquainted with all the ways and paths of wisdom and knowledge, he exclaimeth that all this is but toil and vexation of spirit; and therefore adviseth men to change human studies into divine contemplations and affections.

I cannot agree to his resolution of shutting his books, and giving over the search of knowledge, and resigning himself up to ignorance, upon the reason that moveth him, as tho' it were extreme vanity to waste our days in the pursuit of that
which,

which, by attending but a little longer, till death hath closed the eyes of our body, to open those of our soul, we shall gain with ease, we shall enjoy by infusion, and is an accessory of our glorification. It is true, so soon as death hath played the midwife to our second birth, our souls shall then see all truths, more freely than our corporeal eyes at our first birth see all bodies and colours, by the natural power of them, (as I have touched already) and not barely upon the grounds our author giveth. Yet far be it from us to think that time lost, which, in the interim, we shall laboriously employ to warm ourselves with blowing a few little sparks of that glorious fire which we shall afterwards, in one instant, leap into the middle of, without danger of scorching. And that for two important reasons, (besides several others, too long to mention

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here) the one for the great advantage we have by learning in this life; the other for the huge contentment that the acquisition of it here, which implieth a strong affection to it, will be unto us in the next life. The want of knowledge in our first mother, which exposed her to be easily deceived by the serpent's cunning, was the root of all our ensuing misery and woe. It is as true, which we are taught by irrefragable authority, that *omnis peccans ignorat*: And the spring-head of all the calamities, and mischiefs in the world, consisteth of the troubled and bitter waters of ignorance, folly and rashness; to cure which, the only remedy and antidote is the salt of true learning, the bitter wood of study, painful meditation, and orderly consideration. I do not mean such study as armeth wrangling champions for clamorous schools,

where

where the ability of subtle disputing to and fro is more prized than the retrieving of truth ; but such as filleth the mind with solid and useful notions, and doth not endanger the swelling it up with windy vanities. Besides, the sweetest companion, and entertainment of a well tempered mind, is to converse familiarly with the naked and bewitching beauties of those mistresses, those truths and sciences, which, by fair courting of them, they gain and enjoy ; and every day brings new, fresh ones to their seraglio ; where the most ancient never grow old or stale. Is there any thing so pleasing, or so profitable as this ?

-----Nil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere
 Edita doctrinæ, sapientum templa serena ;
 Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre
 Errare, atque viam palanteis quærere vitæ.

But now if we consider the advantage we shall have in the other
 life

life, by our affection to sciences, and conversation with them in this, it is wonderfully great. Indeed that affection is so necessary, as without it we shall enjoy little contentment in all the knowledge we shall then be replenished with: for every ones pleasure, in the possession of a good, is to be measured by his precedent desire of that good; and by the quality of the taste and relish of him that feedeth upon it. We should therefore prepare, and make our taste before-hand, by accustoming ourselves to, and by often relishing what we shall then be nourished with. That Englishman that can drink nothing but beer, or ale, would be ill bestead, were he to go into Spain or Italy, where nothing but wine groweth: whereas a well experienced Goinfre, that can criticise upon the several tastes of liquors, would think his palate in paradise, among those delicious nectars,

nectars, to use Aretine's phrase upon his eating of a lamprey. Who was ever delighted with tobacco the first time he took it? And who could willingly be without it after he was a while habituated to the use of it? How many examples are there daily of young men, that, marrying upon their fathers command, not through precedent affections of their own, have little comfort in worthy and handsome wives, that others would passionately affect? Archimedes lost his life for being so ravished with the delight of a mathematical demonstration, that he could not of a sudden recall his enraptur'd spirits to attend the rude soldier's summons: but instead of him, whose mind had been always fed with such subtile dyet, how many plain country gentlemen doth your Lordship and I know, that rate the knowledge of their husbandry at a much higher pitch;

pitch; and are extremely delighted by conversing with that? whereas the other would be most tedious and importunate to them. We may then safely conclude, that, if we will joy in the knowledge we shall have after death, we must in our life time raise within ourselves earnest affections to it, and desires of it: which cannot be barren ones; but will press upon us to gain some knowledge by way of advance here; and the more we attain unto, the more we shall be in love with what remaineth behind. To this reason, then, add the other, how knowledge is the surest prop, and guide of our present life; and how it perfecteth a man in that which constituteth him a man, his reason; and how it enableth him to tread boldly, steadily, constantly, and knowingly in all his ways: and I am confident, all men, that shall hear the case thus debated, will join with
me

me in making it a suit to our physician, that he will keep his books open, and continue that progress he hath so happily begun.

But I believe your Lordship will scarcely join with him in his wish, that we might procreate and beget children without the help of women, or without any conjunction or commerce with that sweet, and bewitching sex. Plato taxed his fellow philosopher, (tho' otherwise a learned and brave man) for not sacrificing to the graces, those gentle female goddesses. What thinketh your Lordship of our physician's bitter censure of that action which Mahomet maketh the essence of his paradise? Indeed besides those his unkindnesses, or rather frowardnesses, to that tender-hearted sex, who must needs take it ill at his hands, methinks he setteth marriage at too low a rate, which is assuredly the highest and most divine

vine link of human society : and where he speaketh of Cupid, and of beauty, it is in such a phrase, as putteth me in mind of the learned Greek reader in Cambridge, his courting his mistress out of Stephen's Thesaurus.

My next observation upon his discourse draweth me to a logical consideration of the nature of an exact syllogism : which kind of reflexion, tho' it useth to open the door in the course of learning and study, yet will almost shut it in my discourse, which my following the thread that my author spinneeth, assigneth to this place. If he had well and thoroughly considered all that is required to that strict way of managing our reason, he would not have censured Aristotle for condemning the fourth figure, out of no other motive, but because it was not consonant to his own principles; and that it would not fit the
foun-

foundations he himself had laid; tho' (saith he) it is consonant to reason; which indeed it is not, at all times and in all circumstances. In a perfect syllogism the predicate must be identified with the subject, and each extreme with the middle term, and so consequently all three with one another. But, in Galen's fourth figure, the case may so fall out, as these rules will not be current there.

As for the good and excellency that he considereth in the worst things, and how far from solitude any man is in a wilderness; these are (in his discourse) but equivocal considerations of good, and of loneliness: nor are they anyways pertinent to the morality of that part wherein he treateth of them.

I have much ado to believe what he speaketh confidently; that he is more beholden to Morpheus for learned and rational, as well as plea-

sing dreams, than to Mercury for smart and facetious conceptions; since Saturn (it seemeth by his relation) hath looked askint upon him in his nativity.

In his concluding prayer, wherein he summeth up all he wisheth, methinks his arrow is not winged with that fire which I should have expected from him upon this occasion: for it is not the peace of conscience, nor the bridling up of one's affections, that expresseth the highest delightfulness, and happiest state of a perfect Christian. It is love only that can give us heaven upon earth, as well as in heaven, and bringeth us thither too: so that the Tuscan Virgil had reason to say,

-----In alte dolcezze

Non si puo gioio, se non amando.

And this love must be employed upon the noblest and highest object, not terminated in our friends.

But

But of this transcendent and divine part of charity, that looketh directly and immediately upon God himself; and that is the intrinsecal form, the utmost perfection, the scope and final period of true religion, (this gentleman's intended theme, as I conceive) I have no occasion to speak any thing, since my author doth but transiently mention it; and that too, in such a phrase as ordinary catechisms speak of it to vulgar capacities.

Thus, my Lord, having run thro' the book (God knows how slightly, upon so sudden a call) which your Lordship commanded me to give you an account of, there remaineth yet a weightier task upon me to perform; which is to excuse myself of presumption, for daring to consider any moles in that face which you had marked for a beauty. But whoever well considers my manner of proceeding in these remarks,

he will free me from that censure. I offer not at judging of the prudence and wisdom of this discourse: these are fit inquiries for your Lordship's court of highest appeal; in my inferior one, I meddle only with little knotty pieces of particular sciences; *Matinæ apis instar, operosa parvus carmina fingo*; in which it were peradventure a fault for your Lordship to be too well versed: your employments are of a higher and nobler strain; and such as concern the welfare of millions of men:

Tu regere imperio populos, Sackville, memento,

Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem.

Such little studies as these, belong only to those persons that are low in the rank they hold in the common wealth, low in their conceptions, and low in a languishing and rusting leisure; such an one as

Virgil

Virgil calleth *ignobile otium*, and such an one as I am now lulled withal. If Alexander or Cæsar should have commended a tract of land, as fit to fight a battle upon for the empire of the world, or to build a city upon, to be the magazine and staple of all the adjacent countries; no body could justly condemn that husbandman, who, according to his own narrow art and rules, should censure the plains of Arbela, or Pharsalia, for being in some places sterile; or the meadows about Alexandria, for being sometimes subject to be overflown: or could blame any thing he should say in that kind, as being a contradiction unto the others commendations of those places, which are built upon higher, and larger principles.

So my Lord, I am confident I shall not be reproached of unmannerliness, for putting in a demurrer unto a few little particularities in
that

that noble discourse, to which your Lordship gave a general applause; and by doing so, I have given your Lordship the best account I can of myself, as well as of your commands. You hereby see what my entertainments are, and how I play away my time,

-----Dorset dum magnus ad altum
Fulminat Oxonium bello, victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura; viamq; affectat Olympo.

May your counsels there be happy, and successful in bringing about that peace, with which if we be not quickly blessed, a general ruin threateneth the whole kingdom.

From Winchester-house the 22d (I think I may say the 23d, for I am sure it is morning, and, I think, it is day) of December, 1642.

*Your Lordships most humble
and obedient servant,*

KENELM DIGBY.

T H E
P O S T S C R I P T.

MY LORD,

L Ooking over these loose papers to point them, I perceive I have forgotten what I promised in eight sheet to touch at, *i. e.* a word concerning grace: I do not conceive it to be a quality infused by God Almighty into a soul.

Such kind of discoursing satisfieth me no more in divinity, than in philosophy. I take it to be the whole complex of such real motives, of which a solid account may be given as incline a man to virtue, and piety ; and are set on foot by God's particular grace and favour, to bring that work to pass. As for example: to a man plunged in sensuality, some great misfortune hap-

happeneth, that mouldeth his heart to a tenderneſs, and inclineth him to much thoughtfulneſs: in this temper, he meeteth with a book, or a preacher, that repreſenteth, in a lively manner, to him the danger of his own condition; and giveth him hopes of greater contentment in other objects, after he ſhall have taken leave of his former beloved ſins. This begetteth further converſation with prudent and pious men, and experienced phyſicians in curing the maladies of the ſoul; whereby he is at laſt perfectly converted, and ſettled in a courſe of ſolid virtue, and piety.

Now theſe accidents of his miſfortune, the gentleneſs and ſoftneſs of his nature, his falling upon a good book, his encountering with a pathetick preacher, the unpremeditated chance that brought him to hear his ſermon, his meeting with other worthy men, and the whole

concatenation of all the interveening accidents to work this good effect in him, and that were ranged, and disposed from all eternity, by God's particular goodness and providence for his salvation; and without which he had inevitably been damned; this chain of causes, ordered by God to produce this effect, I understand to be grace.

F I N I S.

Qq

C R I T I C

CRITICAL NOTES
UPON
RELIGIO MEDICI.

THE
FIRST PART.

PAGE I.

* **T**HE *general scandal of my profession.*] Physicians (of which profession the author was) are commonly ill spoke of in this behalf. It is a common saying, *Ubi tres medici, duo athei.* The reasons, why those of that profession are more ready to incur this censure, the author gives in *Sect. 19. Page 52.*

† *The natural course of my studies.*] The vulgar lay not the imputation of atheism upon physicians alone, but upon philosophers in general; who, because they study to understand the operations of nature, are blamed, as tho' they rested in the second causes

causes, without any respect to the first. Here-upon it was, that in the tenth age, Pope Silvester II. passed for a magician, because he understood geometry, and natural philosophy. *Baron. Annal.* 990. And Apuleius long before him laboured under the same suspicion upon no better ground; he was accused, and made a learned apology for himself, and in that hath laid down the ground of such accusations, in these words: *Hec ferme, communi quodam errore imperitorum, philosophis obiectantur, ut multos eorum qui corporum causas meras & simplices rimantur, irreligiosos putant, eoque aiunt Deos abnere, ut Anaxagoram, & Lucippum, & Democritum, & Epicurum, ceterosque rerum nature patronos.* *Apul. in apolog.* And it is possible that those who look upon the second causes scattered, may rest in them and go no further, as my Lord Bacon in one of his essays observeth; but our author tells us, there is a true philosophy, from which no man becomes an atheist. *Sect.* 48.

‡ *The indifferency of my behaviour, &c.]* The author's behaviour, and general method of reasoning, as to matters of religion, was always inclining to moderation. Upon that account he easily foresaw, and perhaps had undergone the imputation of atheism from the narrow minded bigots, who are so over-
 swayed by a preposterous zeal, that they
 hate

hate all moderation in discoursing of religion; they are the men forsooth-----*qui solos credant habendos esse Deos quos ipsi colunt.*

|| *Not that I meerly owe this title to the font]* as most do, taking up their religion according to the way of their ancestors; this is to be blamed amongst all persons: It was practised as well amongst Heathens as Christians.

Per caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante solebat, saith Alcanius in Virgil: And Apuleius notes it for an absurdity. *Utrum philosopho putas turpe scire ista, an nescire? negligere, an curare? nosse quanta sit etiam in istis providentiæ ratio, an de diis immortalibus matri & patri credere?* saith he in apolog. and so doth Minutius: *Unusquisque vestrum non cogitat prius se debere deum nosse quam colere, dum inconsulte gestiuntur parentibus obedire, dum fieri malunt alieni erroris accessio, quam sibi credere.* Minut. in octav.

Page 2. * *There being a geography of religions, &c.]* meaning the various denominations of Christians then spread thro' Europe.

Page 3. * *Wherein I dislike nothing but the name.]* The Protestant, as carrying with it an insinuation of enmity and discord, inconsistent with the peace and harmony prescribed by the gospel.

† *New*

† *Now the accidental occasion whereon, &c.]*
 The progress of the reformation, from its first beginning, is graphically described by Thuanus in his history, and by the author of the history of the council of Trent; which last gives the following account: That Pope Leo X. having, by his profusion, exhausted the treasures of the church, he was constrained to have recourse to the publishing of indulgences to raise money: some of which he had destined to his own treasury, and other part to his allies; and particularly to his sister he gave all the money that should be raised in Saxony; and she, that she might make the best profit of the donation, commits it to one Aremboldus, a Bishop, to appoint treasurers for these indulgences. Now the custom was, that whensoever these indulgences were sent into Saxony, they were to be dispersed by the friars Eremites, (of which order Luther then was) but Aremboldus's agents thinking with themselves, that the friars Eremites were so well acquainted with the trade, that if the business should be left to them, they should neither be able to give so good an account of their negotiation, nor yet get so much themselves by it, as they might do in case the business were committed to another order; they thereupon recommend it to, and the business is undertaken by, the
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Dominican friars, who performed it so ill, that the scandal arising both from thence, and from the ill lives of those that set them on work, stirred up Luther to write against the abuses of these indulgences: which was all he did at first; but then, not long after, being provoked by some sermons, and small discourses that had been published against what he had written, he rips up the business from the beginning, and publishes 95 Theses against it at Wittenberg. Against these, Tekel a Dominican writes; then Luther adds an explication to his. Eckius and Prierius, Dominicans, thereupon take the controversy against him: And now Luther begins to be hot; and because his adversaries could not found the matter of indulgences upon other foundations than the Pope's power and infallibility, this begets a dispute betwixt them concerning the Pope's power, which Luther insists upon as inferiour to that of a general council; and so by degrees he came on to oppose the popish doctrine of remission of sins, penances and purgatory; and by reason of Cardinal Cajetan's imprudent management of the conference he had with him, it came to pass, that he rejected the whole body of popish doctrine. So that by this we may see what was the accidental occasion whereon, the slender means whereby, and the ab-

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ject condition of the person by whom, the work of the reformation was set on foot.

Page 4. * *Yet have I not so shaken hands with these desperate resolutions, &c.* resolvers it ought to be.] The author here intends the papists, these adversaries whom he had mentioned in the preceeding section. And the meaning of the phrase is not, what it would seem at first view, that he had so made peace with them, but that he had not so far separated himself from them, or bid them adieu, as to stand diametrically opposite to them in every thing; for which he immediately after proceeds to give his reasons.

Page 10. * *Henry VIII. tho' he rejected the Pope, refused not the faith of Rome.*] So Buchannan in his own life, written by himself, testifieth, who, speaking of his coming into England about the latter end of that King's time, saith, *Sed ibi tum omnia adeo erant incerta, ut eodem die, ac eodem igne utriusque factionis homines cremarentur, Henrico VIII. jam seniore, sue magis securitati quam religionis puritati intento.* And for confirmation of this assertion, *vide Stat. 31. Hen. VIII. cap. 14.*

† *The state of Venice would have attempted in our days.*] This expectation was in the
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the time of Pope Paul V. who, by excommunicating that republick, gave occasion to the Senate to banish all such of the clergy as would not, on account of the Pope's prohibition, administer the sacraments; and upon that account the Jesuites were cast out, and never since received into that state.

Page 11. * *Or be angry with his judgment, &c.*] Our author's thought here is much the same with that of Monsi. Montaigne, whom he has often in his eye, *Combien diversement jugeons nous de choses? Combien de fois changeons nous nos fantasies? Ce que je tiens aujourd'hui, ce que je crois, je le tiens & le crois de toute ma crioance; mais ne m'est il pas advenu non une fois, mais cent, mais mille, & tous les jours d'avoir embrasse quelque autre chose &c.*? Montaigne lib. 2. *des essais*, cap. 12.

Page 12. * *Every man is not a proper champion for truth, &c.*] A good cause is never betrayed more than when it is prosecuted with much eagerness, and but little sufficiency; and therefore Zuinglius, tho' he were of Carolostadius's opinion, in the point of the sacrament of the eucharist, against Luther; yet he blamed him for undertaking the defence of that cause against Luther, not judging him able enough for the

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encoun-

encounter: *Non satis habet humerorum*, saith he of Caroloistade, alluding to that of Horace,

*Sapite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, equam
Viribus, & versate diu quid ferre recusent
Quid valeant, biomeri.-----*

So Minutius Fœlix; *Plerumque pro differen-
tium viribus, & eloquentiæ potestate, etiam
perspicue veritatis conditio mutetur*: Minut.
in Octav. And Lactantius saith, this truth
is verified in Minutius himself: For he
spares not to blame Him, Tertullian and
Cyprian, (all of them) as if they had not
with dexterity enough defended the Chri-
stian cause against the Heathens. *Lactant. de
justitia, cap. 1.* I could wish that those that
succeeded him had not as much cause of
complaint against him: surely he is noted to
have had many errors *contra fidem*.

Page 14. * *For indeed heresies perish not
with their authors.*] Mons. Montaigne, l. 2.
des ess. cap. 12. says, *Nature enferme, dans
les termes de son progres ordinaire, comme
toutes autres choses, aussi les creances, les
judgements & opinions des hommes; elles ont
leur resolutions.* And Cicero de nat. Deor.
l. 1. says, *Non enim hominum interitū senten-
tiæ quoque occidunt.*

† *Like the river Arethusa, &c.*] *Videbis
celebratissimum carminibus fontem Arethusam,
limpidissimum ac perlucidissimum ad invicem stagni,
gelidi.*

gelidissimas aquas profundentem, sive illas primum nascentes invenit, sive flumen integrum subter tot maria, & a confusione peioris unde servatum reddidit. Senec. de consolat. ad Mariam.

Page 15. * *Now the first of mine was that of the Arabians, &c.*] In this section, our author proceeds to enumerate the heresies wherewith he had just now said his greener studies had been polluted. The first of these is the 'heresy of the Arabians, so called, because it appeared and spread first in Arabia, and that the broacher of it was unknown. The doctor has fully shown what it was. It was thought so specious and reasonable, that Pope John XXII. came to be of that persuasion; and it is remarkable that Bellarmine, tho' he condemns the opinion, yet insists, that Pope John was nevertheless infallible: For, saith he, he maintained this opinion when he might do it without danger of heresy; as at the time when he held that opinion there was no definition of the church making it heresy.

Page 16. l. 11. *The second was that of Origen, &c.*] The opinion of Origen as related by St. Augustine, Epiphanius and St. Jerom, was, that not the souls of men only, but the devils themselves should be discharged

charged from torture, after a certain finite time. But some have endeavoured to clear Origen from holding this opinion. See a very nervous apology for this opinion, wrote in a series of letters by a late French author, intitled, “The systems of the ancients and “moderns reconciled as to the state of departed souls.”

Page 17. l. 4. *The prayer for the dead.*] This is our author's third heresy, and was gone into by severals of the primitive Christians, who, tho' they did not admit of purgatory as an article of their faith, yet offered up prayers for the dead. St. Augustine's testimony in this point is express. In his book *de cura pro mortuis*; he says, *Legitur oblatum pro mortuis - sacrificium: sed licet nunquam in scripturis veteribus omnino legeretur, non parva universe ecclesiæ, quæ in hac consuetudine claret, autoritas; ubi in precibus sacerdotis, quæ domino ad altare funduntur, locum habet etiam commendatio mortuorum.*

Ibid. * *Therefore these opinions, &c.*] To make a heretick it was held, that there must be not only *error in intellectu*, but *pertinacia in voluntate*. Like the furious zealots, who would mingle heaven and earth together to propagate their frantick opinions.

Page 23. * *I'd as soon chuse you would tell me, that, anima est angelus hominis, &c.*] Various were the definitions of the ancient philosophers of the soul. The Caldeans held it, a virtue without form; Xenocrates and the Egyptians, a moving number; Parmenides, a compound of light and darkness; Hesiod and Anaximander, a consistence of earth and water; Varro, an heated and dispersed air; Thales, a nature without repose; Asclepiades, an exercitation of sense; Heraclides supposed it to be light; Empedocles, to be blood; Zeno, the quintessence of the elements; Hippocrates, a spirit diffused through the body; Galen, a hot complexion; Plato, a self-moving substance; and, Aristotle, an entelechia, *i. e.* that which makes the body to move. But this last definition is as rigid as any of the other; for this tells us not what the essence, origin or nature of the soul is, but only marks an effect of it; and therefore signifieth no more than if he had said, as the author's phrase is, that it is *angelus hominis*, or 'an intelligence that moveth man, as he supposed those to do the heavens.

Ibid. l. 15. *Lux est umbra Dei*, as *actus perspicui*.] This definition of light, that it is *actus perspicui*, given by Aristotle, is equally obscure with the former, and conveys no idea of the thing intended to the mind.

mind. For what the wiser is any man, to tell him, that colour doth move *actu perspicuum*, when he is not told how it comes to be perspicuous, which is the thing inquired after. The burdensom explanations of these definitions by the commentators give no light to them, but have rather covered them over with a thicker obscurity. But there is no occasion to endeavour to develope these now a-days, since a clearer, and more rational philosophy has shone out in the world, not dependent on the whimsical systems of moping philosophers, but upon experiment and a faithful observation of the works of nature.

Page 24. l. 9. *For God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, Gen. ii. 5.]* St. Augustine *de genes. ad liter.* & l. 1. c. 5. 6. endeavours to solve this difficulty. But the Doctor, in his vulgar errors, l. 7. c. 1. shows that we have no reason to be confident, that this fruit was an apple.

Ibid. * *I believe that the serpent, &c.]* Yet the Doctor, in his vulgar errors, l. 7. c. 1. says, that the form or kind of this serpent is not agreed on; yet Comestor affirmed it was a dragon, Eugubinus a basilisk, Delrio a viper, and others a common snake: but of what kind soever it was, he sheweth in the same volume, l. 5. c. 4. that

that there was no inconveniency, that the temptation should be performed in his proper shape.

Page 24. l. 15. *Trial of the pucelage and virginity of women, &c. vide Deut. xxii. 15.* In order to answer any objection on this head, divines have had recourse to the peculiar dispensation given by God to the Jews, of which this was a part, and not common, or at least not holding universally among other nations.

There is something very similar to this found in profane history, and in an historian of undoubted veracity, Julius Cæsar, who in his comment. *lib. 6. c. 21.* writing of the manners of the Germans, says, *Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali vires, nervosque confirmari putant: intra annum vero vigesimum femine notitiam habuisse, in turpissimis habent rebus; cujus rei nulla est occultatio, quod, & promiscue in fluminibus perluuntur, & pellibus, aut parvis renouum tegumentis utuntur, magna corporis parte nuda.*

Ibid. † *But likewise whole nations have escaped the curse of child-birth, &c.]* For this take the authority of Mons. Montaigne. *Les douleurs de l'enfantement, par les medecines & par Dieu mesme estimees grandes, & que nous passons avec tant de ceremonies,*
il

il y a des nations entieres qui n'en font nulle compte, liv. 1. c. 40.

Page 25. l. 12. *I remember I am not alone, &c.]* “When you shut your door, and “have darkened your chamber, by no means “think you are alone: For truly you are “not alone; but God is in the chamber with “you, and your genius is with you.” *Arrian. dissert. in Epict. lib. 1. c. 14.*

*Ibid. * Who can speak of eternity without a solecism? &c.]* Eternity, tho’ incomprehensible by finite minds, has yet been attempted to be defined by philosophers, whose pride has carried them so far as to pretend to a clear comprehension, and a capacity of giving distinct definitions of every thing they treat of. *Boetius in consol. phil. lib. 5.* defines it, *Interminabilis vite tota simul ac perfecta possessio.* Cicero says, *Illam nulla circumscriptio temporum metitur; de nat. Deorum.* And Censorinus, *de die natali, c. 16.* defines it, *Tempus unum & maximum, immensum, sine origine, sine fine, quod eodem modo semper fuit, & semper futurum est.* None of which give us any clear idea of the thing defined, and may convince us, that, tho’, as the author says, we may comprehend time, yet eternity is beyond our reach.

Page 26. * *God hath not made a creature that can comprehend him, &c.]* Mr. Pope, after considering man in the abstract, and in relation to God and the world, comes to this conclusion ;

Know then thyself ; presume not God to scan.

The proper study of mankind is man.

Pope's essay on man, Ep. 2. v. 1.

Page 27. * *I wonder how Aristotle could conceive the world eternal, &c.]* Aristotle stands almost singular in this tenet among the ancient philosophers. It was indeed, many ages after, revived by Manilius in his *Astron. lib. 1.*

*Hæc æterna manet divisque simillima forma ;
Cui neque principium est usquam, neque finis
in ipso :*

*Sed similis toto remanet, perque omnia par
est.*

And afterwards he says,

*At manet incolumis mundus, suaque omnia
versat,*

*Quæ non longa dies auget, minuitque se-
nectus,*

Nec motus puncto currit, cursuque fatigat.

*Idem semper erit, quoniam semper fuit
idem ;*

*Non alium videre patres, aliumve nepotes
Aspiciunt, &c.*

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But

But to these may be opposed the names of Orpheus, Thales, Hesiod, Plato, Euripides, Sophocles, and almost every name known in the more ancient philosophy: besides, the Phenicians, Ægyptians, Indians, and other nations remarkable for improvements in philosophy. And in the later antiquity, Cicerō, Seneca, Epictetus, Iamblichus, &c. among the philosophers; and among the poets, Virgil, Ovid, and, (to instance no more) the Epicurean poet, Lucretius, whose argument is sufficiently definitive in the point.

*Præterea si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Terræ & cæli, semperque æterna fuere;
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, aut funera
Trojæ,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere poetæ.*

Lib. 5. v. 325.

Vid. etiam Hug. Grot. de verit. rel. christ.
lib. 1. c. 7. & ibi annotat.

Page 28. * *For there is in us not three, but a trinity of souls, &c.*] The Doctor here alludes to the common division of the soul, by the scholastick philosophers, into the vegetative, sensitive and rational soul. This subject has given occasion for much wrangling in the schools, and no less commotion in the church, where it has been the sub-
ject

ject of inquiry of general councils, and object of anathemas thundered out against it.

Page 34. * *There is but one first cause, and four second causes of all things.*] The first he maintains in opposition to the Manichees, who, in order to account for the existence of apparent moral and natural evil, imagined two supreme beings, independent of one another; the one, the author of all the good, the other of all the evil in the universe. The second he advances agreeable to the scholastick philosophy, which maintained four second causes, viz. the material, efficient, formal and final; and in opposition to the Platonists who added a fifth, viz. the idea or exemplar in the mind of God. As Boetius,

-----*Tu cuncta superno
Ducis ab exemplo, pulchrum pulcherrimus
ipse
Mundum mente gerens, similique in ima-
gine formans,
Perfectasque jubens perfectum absolvere par-
teis.*

De Conf. philos. lib. 3. met. 9.

Page 36. * *There are no grotesks in nature.*] *Il n'y a rien d'inutil en nature, non pas inutilites memes; rien ne s'est ingere*
en

en cet univers que n'y tiennent place opportune.

Les ess. de Montaigne, lib. 3. c. 1.

This is a necessary consequence of the world's being framed by an infinitely wise, and all powerful being, whose work must undoubtedly be the best; and as Mr. Pope says,

Where all must full, or not coherent be,
And all that rises, rise in due degree.

Page 36. l. 17. *Indeed what reason may not go to school to the wisdom of bees, ants and spiders? &c.*] This thought is very beautifully expressed and enlarged by Mr. Pope.

See him from nature rising slow to art!
To copy instinct then was reason's part;
Thus then to man the voice of nature
spake---

"Go! from the creatures thy instructions
take;

"Learn from the birds, what food the
thickets yield;

"Learn from the beasts, the physick of
the field;

"Thy arts of building from the bee re-
ceive;

"Learn of the mole to plow, the worm
to weave;

"Learn of the little Nautilus to sail,

"Spread the thin oar, and catch the
driving gale.

"Here

"Here too all forms of social union
find ;

"And hence let reason, late, instruct
mankind :

"Here subterranean works and cities see,

"There towns aerial on the waving tree.

"Learn each small people's genius, poli-
cies ;

"The ants republick, and the realm of
bees.

"How those in common all their stores
bestow,

"And anarchy without confusion know ;

"And these for ever, tho' a monarch
reign,

"Their sep'rate cells and properties
maintain.

"Mark what unvari'd laws preserve their
state ;

"Laws wise as nature, and as fix'd as
fate.

"In vain thy reason finer webs shall
draw,

"Entangle justice in her net of law,

"And right too rigid harden into wrong,

"Still for the strong too weak, the weak
too strong.

"Yet go ! and thus o'er all the creatures
sway,

"Thus let the wiser make the rest obey,

"And

"And for those arts meer instinct could afford,

"Be crown'd as monarchs, or as gods ador'd.

Essay on man, Ep. 3. v. 170, &c.

Page 37. * *Who admires not Regionmontanus's fly beyond his eagle?]* Of these Du Bartas.

-----*Que diray-je de l'aigle
Dont un docte Aliman honora nostre siecle?
Aigle, qui deslogeant de la maistresse main,
Alla loin au devant d'un Empereur Ger-
main :*

*Et l'ayant rencontre, soudain d'une aile ac-
corte*

*Se tournant le suivit jusqu' au sueil de la
porte*

*Du forte Nurembergeois, que les piliers
dorez,*

Les tapissez chemins, les arcs elabourez,

Les fourdroyans canons, ny la jeunesse Isnelle,

*Ni le cheu senat, n'honoroient tant comme
elle.*

*Un jour, que cet ouvrier, plus d'esbats que
de mets*

En prive festoyoit ses seigneurs plus aimez,

Une mouche de fer dans sa main recelee,

Prit sans aide d'autrui sa gaillarde volce,

*Fit une entier ronde, & puis d'un cerceau las.
Comme ayant jugement, se percha sur son
bras.*

Sixieme jour de la sep. ser. 845.

Besides these, there are several other pieces of surprising mechanism recorded in history, as Attila's wooden pigeon, which flew of itself; Albertus's brazen head, which spoke, and the famous statue of Memnon, which spoke and moved when touched by the rays of the sun.

Page 37. † *Or wonders not more at the operation of two souls in those little bodies, than but one in the trunk of a cedar.*] That is the sensitive and vegetative in insects, and only the vegetative in trees and plants. The Epicureans and Stoicks denied any soul at all to these last: But Empedocles and Plato allowed them not only a vegetative soul, but affirmed them to be animals. The Manichees went farther, and attributed so much of the rational soul to them, that they accounted it homicide to gather either their flowers or fruits, as St. Aug. reports.

‡ *Cosmography of myself.*] Man is called a microcosme, or little world, Hence Manilius, lib. 4.

-----*Quid mirum, noscere mundum*

Si possunt homines, quibus est & mundus in ipsis.

. Ibid.

Ibid. l. 23. *We are that bold and adventurous piece of nature, &c.*]

Plac'd on this Isthmus of a middle state,
A being darkly wise and rudely great:
With too much knowledge for the sceptic side,

With too much weakness for the Stoic's pride,

He hangs between: in doubt to act, or rest,

In doubt to deem himself a god, or beast;
In doubt, his mind or body to prefer,
Born but to die, and reas'ning but to err;
Alike in ignorance, his reason such,
Whether he thinks too little, or too much;

Chaos of thought and passion, all confus'd;

Still by himself abus'd, or dis-abus'd;
Created half to rise, and half to fall;
Great Lord of all things, yet a prey to all;

Sole judge of truth, in endless error hurl'd:

The glory, jest, and riddle of the world!

Essay on man, Ep. 2. v. 3, &c.

Page 42. † *Nature is the art of God.*] The conclusion of Mr. Pope's first epistle may serve as a commentary upon what is said by our author in this, and what follows in the
next

next section, with respect to the ways of God.

All nature is but art, unknown to thee;
All chance, direction which thou canst
not see;

All discord, harmony not understood;

All partial evil, universal good:

And spite of pride, in erring reason's
spite,

One truth is clear; "Whatever *Is*, is
"RIGHT."

Page 44. * *The meer hand of God.*] The doubts which arise in the mind of man, upon a view of the apparent inequalities in the moral world, are very well described by Claudian *in Rufinum, lib. 1.* These he says had almost quite eradicated the notions he had of the superintendency of a just God.

*Sed cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi
Adspicerem, latosque diu florere nocentes,
Vexarique pios: rursus labefacta cadebat
Religio, causæque viam non sponte sequebar
Alterius, vacuo quæ currere semina motu
Affirmat, magnumque novas per inane si-
guras*

*Fortuna, non arte, regi: quæ Numina sensu
Ambigua vel nulla putat, vel nescia nostri.
Abstulit hunc tandem Rufini pæna tumultum,
Absolvitque Deos.-----*

T t

And

And Seneca in Oedip. Act. 5.

*Quicquid patimur mortale genus,
Quicquid facimus, venit ex alto.*

Page 45. * *All cannot be happy at once, &c.]* This theme is ingeniously handled by Mr. Montaigne liv. 1. des Ess. cap. 22. the title whereof is, *Le profit de l'un est dommage de l'autre.*

Page 47. * *'Tis the common fate of men of singular gifts of mind, to be destitute of those of fortune.]* *Amor ingenii neminem unquam divitem fecit.* Petron. Arbiter. And Apuleius in apolog. *Idem mihi etiam,* (saith he) *paupertatem opprobavit acceptum philosopho crimen & ultro profitendum;* and then a little afterwards, he sheweth that it was the common fate of those that had singular gifts of mind: *Eadem enim est pauperias, apud Græcos in Aristide justa, in Phocione benigna, in Epaminonde strenua, in Socrate sapiens, in Homero diserta.*

Page 48. * *We have no just cause to quarrel with nature for leaving us naked, or to envy the horns, hoofs &c.]*

What would this man? now upward will he soar,

And little less than angel, would be more;
Now

Now looking downward, just as griev'd
appears

To want the strength of bulls, the fur of
bears.

Made for his use, all creatures if he call;
Say what their use, had he the pow'rs of all;
Nature to these, without profusion kind,
The proper organs, proper pow'rs assign'd:
Each seeming want compensated of course,
Here, with degrees of swiftness, there, of
force :

All in exact proportion to their state;
Nothing to add, and nothing abate.

Each beast, each insect, happy in its own,
Is heaven unkind to man, and man alone?
Shall he alone, whom rational we call,
Be pleas'd with nothing, if not blest'd with
all?

And afterwards,

Why has not man a microscopic eye?
For this plain reason, man is not a fly.

Ess. on man, Ep. 1. v. 165, &c.

Page 50. l. 2. *Yet is God the true and in-
fallible cause of all, &c.]*

All are but parts of one stupenduous
whole,

Whose body nature is, and God the soul;
That, chang'd thro' all, and yet in all the
same;

Great in the earth, as in th' æthereal frame,
Warm

Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glow in the stars, and blossoms in the
trees,

Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent,
Breaths in our soul, informs our mortal
part,

As full, as perfect in a hair, as heart,
As full, as perfect in vile man that mourns,
As the rapt seraph that adores and burns;
To him, no high, no low, no great, no
small:

He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.

Ess. on man, Ep. 1. v. 259.

Page 50. * *For there is in our souls a kind of triumvirate, or triple government of three competitors, &c.*] These are reason, passion or self-love, and faith or revealed religion. The poet and philosopher, so often cited above, in his second epistle of the *Essay on man*, has fully considered the two first in a natural view; he has with the greatest justness of thought, adorned with the most beautiful numbers, pointed out the various purposes of these two principles in human nature, their joint combination towards one great end of human happiness; and how that end is to be obtained, by a proper application of them, and a due subordination of the one to the other. But natural light being too weak for thoroughly

by attaining this end, a farther assistance is necessary; and that is pointed out by revealed religion, or faith. This by no means supercedes a due regulation of the two former principles, but rather enforces it; and all the three combine, when under a just regimen, to compose a triumvirate, as the Doctor calls it, perfectly calculated to promote both the temporal peace and eternal happiness of mankind.

. Page 52. * † *Bitumen, Naphta.*] Naturalists alledge it is the property of these two to be kindled at the touch of water, and that the first is extinguishable only by oil, and the second by throwing earth on it. *Vid. Plin. lib. 35. c. 15. and l. 2. c. 5.*

Page 53. * *The combustion of Sodom might be natural, &c.*] Of this opinion was Strabo, who ascribed the formation of the lake, and the burning of the city to hot bituminous waters, which burst out flaming from the earth at the time of an earthquake, *l. 16.* For which opinion he is reprehended by Genbrard: *Strabo falsus est*, says he, *dam eversionem addicit sulphuri & bitumini e terra erumpentibus, quæ erat assignanda cælo, i. e. Deo irato.* Tacitus, *l. 5. c. 6. hist.* reports it agreeable to the scripture account, *Fluminis ictu arsisse, &c.*

Page 54. * *There never was any atheists, &c.*] *Nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam inhumanis, quem non imbuerit Decrum opinio.* Cicero. Tuscul. quæst. l. 3.---- *Illos qui nullum omnino Deum esse dixerunt, non modo philosophos, sed ne homines quidem fuisse dixerim.* Lactant. l. 7. c. 9. *Religioni ergo serviendum, quam qui non suscipit ipse se prosternit in terram, & vitam pecudum secutus humanitate se abdicat.* ibid. c. 10.

Ibid. l. 9. *That doctrine of Epicurus, &c.*] This opinion of his is recorded by Diogenes Laertius, lib. 10. *Quod beatum æternumque est, id nec habet ipsum negotii quicquam, nec exhibet alteri; itaque neque ira, neque gratia tenetur, quodque talia sunt imbecillia sunt omnia;* which the Epicurean poet hath delivered almost in the same words.

*Omnis enim per se ditum natura necesse est
Immortali ævo, summa cum pace, fruatur,
Semota a nostris rebus sejunctaque longe:
Nam privata dolore omni, privata periclis,
Ipsa suis pollens opibus, nihil indiga nostri,
Nec bene pro meritis capitur, nec tangitur
ira.* Lucret. lib. 2. v. 645.

Page 55. * *That villain and secretary of hell, &c.*] This was Bernhardinus Ochinus. A few others are likewise remarkable for uttering their impious notions, as the Emperor Frederick II. *Cui sæpe in ore, tres fuisse*

faiffe insignes impostores, qui genus humanum seduxerunt, Moysen, Christum & Mahumetum. Lipl: monit. & exemp. politic. c. 4. The impious expression of Pope Leo X. is well known,

O quantum nobis profuit hæc fabula Christi! And Julius Cæsar Vanini on that account was branded as an atheist, and suffered for his doctrines at Tholouse. But none of these, Vanini excepted, denied the existence and superintendency of a supreme being.

Page 57. * *Samson.*] His history, as recorded in the book of Judges from his conception to his death, is indeed, as the Doctor says, superior in wonder to any fabulous legend, if considered only by the eye of reason. But if the caution given by the Doctor, that the divine influence was with him, be attended to, the whole resolves into a miracle, or the immediate operation of God.

Page 59. * *In autumn, summer or spring, &c.*] The ancients believed the world first began with spring. To this purpose Lucretius,

*At novitas mundi nec frigora dura ciebat,
Nec nimios æstus, nec magnis viribus auras.*
And

And again,

*Principio genus alituum, variæque volucres
Ora reliquebant exclusæ tempore verno.*

And Virgil to the same purpose,

*Non alios prima nascentis origine mundi
Illuxisse dies, aliunde habuisse tenorem
Crediderim, ver illud erat, ver magnus a-
gebat*

Orbis, & hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri.

Georgic. lib. 2.

The Church Doctors have disagreed much in this point. See the author's opinion at large in his *Vulgar Errors*, l. 6. c. 2.

Page 60. * *To drown the general flood of Noah, &c.*] There are some great particular deluges recorded by ancient historians; but even the flood of Deucalion is mentioned by several of them to have been universal. *Lucian, de Dea Syra*, says expressly, that Deucalion for his piety was preserved in an ark, with his wives and children; and that all men sprung from this Deucalion. And *Plutarch*, in his book *utrum animantia, &c.* makes particular mention of the dove sent out of the ark by Deucalion. From which, and many other instances, it appears evident, that this great deluge of the ancients was no other than that of Noah, whose memory was preserved

ved by tradition under the name of Deucalion.

Page 60. † *How all the kinds of creatures, &c.*] This has occasioned no small difficulty to the advocates for religion. Solutions of it have been attempted by Origen, St. Augustin and others, upon the supposition of the cubits mentioned in the measure of the ark being geometrical, not vulgar cubits: But even that has received an answer. 'Tis a pity the Doctor has not given us his solution of it.

Ibid. ‡ *The honest father, &c.*] St. Augustin *de civ. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 7. Quod si homines eas captas secum adduxerunt, & eo modo ubi habitabant earum genera instituerunt, venandi studio fieri potuisse incredibile non est, quamvis jussu Dei, sive permissu, vel etiam opera angelorum, negandum non sit potuisse transferri.*

Page 61. * *That the world was as well peopled in the time of Noah, &c.*] This has been demonstrated by arithmeticians, who have entered into political calculations of the numbers of mankind, and was a plain consequence of the longevity of the antediluvians. See *Vulgar Errors, l. 6. c. 6.*

Page 62. * *That Methusalem was the longest lived, &c.*] See this matter cleared up
 U u by

by the Doctor in his *Vulgar Errors*, l. 7. c. 3.

Page 62. † *That Judas perished by hanging himself, &c.*] The words of St. Matthew are, xxvii. 5. *And he went and hanged himself*, tho' the original word, ἀποκρεμασθαι, signifies *suffocation* as well as *hanging*. The words in the Acts are, *And falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst*.

Page 64. * *Ptolemy, who thought not his library compleat without it.*] This was Ptolemy Philadelphus, who founded the library of Alexandria, and, by the assistance of Demetrius Phalerius the rhetorician, furnished it with all the valuable books which could be collected from all corners of the world. He had heard the fame of the laws of the Jews, (who had been led into captivity by his predecessor Ptolemeus Lagi, from which he had released them) and thinking it worthy a place in his library, he desired and procured a copy of it from Eleazar, the high priest; which he appointed seventy-two interpreters, skilled in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, to turn into Greek. To this a fabulous legend is added, that these interpreters, being shut up into several separate cells, to finish their work, their several Translations came out to agree in every word. *Credat Judæus appella.*

Page 64. † *The alcoran of the Turks, &c.*]
 Of this as a sample take the following observations from Lipsius, *monit. & exemp. politic. cap. 3.* O nugas, O deliria! primum (saith he) commentus est, Deum unum solidamque (ὁλός τε καὶ ὅλον Græci expriment) eundemque incorporeum esse. Christum non Deum, sed magnum vatem & prophetam; seminem majorem, & proxime a Deo missum; premia qui ipsum audient paradisum, qui post aliquot annorum millia referabitur, ibi quatuor flumina lacte, vino, melle, aqua fluere; ibi palatia & ædificia gemmata atque aurata esse, carnes avium sanctissimarum, fructus omne genus quos sparsi, jacentesque sub umbra arborum edent: sed caput felicitatis, viros fœminasque majores solito, magnis gentilibus, assidua libidine & ejus usu sine tœdio aut fatigatione. These and some others that are in the Alcoran he reckons up. Sed & physica quoque miranda (saith he) nam facit Solem & Lunam in equis vehi, illum autem in aquam calidam vespere mergi, & bene lotum ascendere atque oriri; Stellas in aere e catenis aureis pendere: Terram in bovis cornu cuspide stabilitam, & agitante se bove ac succutiente fieri terræ motum; hominem autem ex hirudine aut sanguisuga nasci, &c. Just. Lips. *monit. & exempl. politic. cap. 3.*

Page 65. * *I believe, besides Zoroaster, &c.]* Zoroaster was an Indian philosopher, and reputed of very great antiquity, and to have lived no less than 5000 years before the Trojan war. The Chaldean and Ægyptian books are held to have been very ancient, and to have carried up their history, and astro-nomic calculations into an incredible length of time; some of them are held to have been considerably older than Moses. The pre-tensions of the Chinese in this respect go very far back. But it is generally allowed, that the books of Moses are older than any of the Grecian Writers, or than any book extant at this day.

Page 66. * *The combustion of the library of Alexandria.]* This is the library mention-ed in the former section, founded by Pto-lemy Philadelphus, and is said to have con-tained 700,000 volumes. It was burnt at the siege of Alexandria by Julius Cæsar; but afterwards repaired and augmented by the Emperors Claudian and Domitian.

Ibid. † *Enoch's pillars.]* As to these, the story goes, that Enoch, or his father Seth, ha-ving been informed by Adam, that the world was to perish once by water, and a second time by fire, did cause two pillars to be e-rected, the one of stone against the water, and another of brick against the fire; and that

that upon those pillars was engraven all such learning as had been delivered to, or invented by mankind; and that thence it came, that all knowledge and learning was not lost by means of the flood, by reason that one of the pillars, tho' the other perished, did remain after the flood, and Josephus witnesseth it did so till his time, *lib. 1. Antiq. judaic. cap. 3.*

P. 60. † *Of these three great inventions in Germany, &c.]* These are the art of printing, gun-powder, and the third is supposed to be the invention of clocks, which is also ascribed to a German. It is remarkable, that the two first were very opposite to the professions of their inventors, gun-powder being the discovery of a monk, and printing of a soldier: Both these were found out and practised by the Chinese about 1500 years before they were known in Europe.

Page 70. * *Glory in the number and valour of martyrs.]* Minutius Fœlix makes his Heathen say of the courage of the Christians in this particular, *Permira stultitia & incredibili audacia spernunt tormenta presentia, dum incerta metuunt & futura; & dum mori post mortem timent, interim mori non timent.* And afterwards, speaking in the person of the Christian, he saith, that Christian women and children have in this surpassed Scævola

Scævola and Regulus ; *Cum Mutio vel cum Atilio Regulo comparo : pueri & muliercule nostræ cruces & tormenta, feras & omnes suppliciorum terriculas inspirata patientia doloris illudunt.* Minut. in octav. lib. 3. Vide Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 1. cap. 23. 24.

P. 70. † *If we shall strictly examine, &c.]* Aristotle, *lib. 3. c. 6. Eth. ad Nicom.* among other requisites to true valour, requires, that it keep a mediocrity betwixt audacity and fear ; that we thrust not ourselves into danger when we need not ; that we spare not to show our valour when occasion requires. The proper object of it, he says, is death ; and to all deaths he prefers death in defence of our country ; because thereby a man profits his country and friends ; this he calls *mors honesta*, an honourable death ; and this death has been constantly celebrated by all the sages and poets of antiquity. Horace says,

Dulce & decorum est pro patria mori.

And extolls Codrus on that account,

Codrus pro patria non timidus mori.

In like manner Virgil places such heroes among his choice company in the Elysian fields.

Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi.

And Cicero in his offices. l. 1. *sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est, pro qua*

qua quis bonus dubitet mortem optetere? If we try the valour of Alexander by the test of Aristotle, we shall scarce find any one of his requilites go to make up his character, the want of fear only excepted. His behaviour at the siege of Tyre may alone serve to evince this, though the whole history of his life is a confirmation of it. Montaigne says of him, *Cettuy-cy semble rechercher & courir a force les dangers, comme un impetueux torrent, qui choque & attaque sans discretion, & sans choix, tout ce qu'il recontre des eff. l. 2 c. 34.* His unnecessary, extravagant, and unjust expeditions show his character to be devoid both of the *decorum* and *honestum*. Of these Seneca, *Epist. 94.* *Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena devastandi, & ad ignota mittebat. An tu putas sanum, qui quod cuique optimum est eripuit? Lacedemona servire jubet, Athenas tacere, &c.. Hic tamen vult ultra oceanum solemque; indignatur ab Herculis Liberique vestigiis victoriam flectere: ipsi naturæ vim parat.* And the character which the Scythian ambassadors gave of him to himself seems very just; *Si Dii habitum corporis tui acie ditati animi parem esse voluissent, orbis te non caperet, altera manu orientem, altera occidentem contingeres.* Curt. lib. 7. The character of Cæsar is much of a piece, tho' his achievements are not so generally of the same desperate

desperate kind as Alexander's, yet many of them were equally daring, and justly deserved the imputation of fool-hardiness; such as, his conquest of Egypt with an inconsiderable strength, and, immediately after, his attacking the forces of Scipio and Juba, which were ten times his number; his braving Lucius Cassius, attended with ten men of war, himself in a single ship, after the battle of Pharsalia: and lastly, his obstinate perseverance in the siege of Alexandria, tho' defended by a strong army within, and an incredible force fast marching to its assistance. These instances sufficiently support Lucan's character of him,

acer & indomitus, quo spes, quoque ira vocasset

Ferre manum, &c.

Neither were his designs a whit more honourable. He underwent the greatest fatigues, run the greatest risks, and attempted the most hazardous enterprizes, only to gratify an insatiable ambition, the end of all which was enslaving his native country, and entailing that slavery upon it for ever.

Quid C. Cæsarem in sua fata, pariter ac publica, immisit? Gloria & ambitio, & nullus supra ceteros eminendi modus. Seneca in *Epist.* 94. And thereby he plainly failed in the last requisite of true valour mentioned by Aristotle.

Were

Were a general survey made of all the heroes mentioned either in ancient or modern history, there would be found no reason to vary the judgment made of them by Mr. Pope.

Heroes are much the same, the point's agreed,

From Macedonia's madman to the Swede;
The whole strange purpose of their lives
to find,

Or make an enemy of all mankind.*

Essay on man, Ep. 4. v. 219.

Page 72. * *John Hufs.*] The religious tenets of John Hufs did not differ much from those of the Papists in the most important articles, such as, the invocation of saints, prayers and sacrifice for the dead, free will, good works, confession of sins, seven sacraments. But one article he maintained to the last, which is sufficient to remove him from the number of martyrs for the cause of pure religion, and states his death as a just sacrifice to the publick safety; that is, *Quod nullus est dominus civilis, dum est in peccato mortali*; a tenet subversive of all order and government.

Ib. † *Are not so perfect martyrs as that wise heathen Socrates, &c.*] Many of the ancient fathers scrupled not to reckon Socrates a martyr approved of God. And his principles

ciples and practice may put the best Christians at this day to the blush.

Page 72. ‡ *The bishop who suffered, &c.*] This was Virgil, Bishop of Saltzburg in the seventh century, who, because he asserted there were Antipodes, was accused of maintaining that there was another world, other men below us, another sun and another moon. Boniface Archbishop of Mentz treated these opinions as impious, and censured Virgil publicly. Virgil complained to Utilo Duke of Bavaria, whom he exasperated against Boniface; upon this Boniface wrote to the Pope in terms which rendered Virgil's faith suspected. The Pope sent deputies to Utilo, and wrote him that his intention was, that, if Virgil was a priest, he should be degraded from his priesthood, and sent to Rome to give an account of his behaviour: And this is all that we know of the affair, as we do not find the sequel of it in the annals; only it does not appear that the Pope's threats were put in execution, as the Doctor supposes. *Vid. Aventinus annal. Boiorum, lib. 3.*

Page 75. * *I hold that God can do all things, &c.*] *Il m'a tousjours semblé qu'à un homme Chrestien, cette sorte de parler est plein d'indiscretion & d'irreverence, Dieu ne se peut deidire, Dieu ne peut faire cecy ou cela;*

je ne trouve pas bon d'enfermer ainsi la puissance divine sous les loix de nostre parole. Et l'apparence qui s'offre a nous en ces propositions, il la faudroit représenter plus reverent, & religieusement.

Montaigne, lib. 2. c. 12. des Ess.

Page 76. * *And this hath ever made me suspect the efficacy of relicks, &c.]* The Papists, from the instances recorded in scripture, of Paul's napkins curing the sick, and ejecting devils, *Acts* xix. 12. of Elisha's bones enlivening the dead, *2 Kings* xiii. 21. of the hem of Christ's garment stopping the bloody issue, *Mat.* xix. 22. and others of that kind, have inferred, that the same efficacy must always remain with them, and have recorded many miracles pretended to be wrought by such relicks, or pretended relicks; for the profits arising from a blind devotion, warmed by the artifices of the priests, were too alluring not to put the inventions of the holy brotherhood to the stretch, in order to continue or encrease them; by which means they have brought an immense treasure into their spiritual coffers. Hence the store of relicks have been prodigiously encreased, and what is as wonderful as the miracles wrought by them, the self-same relicks are multiplied and preserved in different churches, all equally adored, and the honour

nour of them zealously vindicated by their several partizans. The body of St. Luke is preserved both at Venice and Padua, and his head at Rome. The body preserved at Padua wants the head; that at Venice has it. *O lepidum caput!* The teeth, the hair, and the very pairings of the nails of saints have had divine honours paid them.

Page 77. * *I excuse not Constantine, &c.*] For the history of the cross found by the Empress Helene, and the nails wore by Constantine, and others of the like sort. *Vide Nicephori Hist. Eccl. lib. 8. c. 29.*

Ibid. † *Consecrated swords and roses, &c.*] Such complements were frequent by the Popes to Kings and Emperors, or others their favourites; and such was the sword sent by Pope Leo X. to Henry VIII. with the title of *defender of the faith*, still preserved in the tower of London. Whole treatises have been wrote of the power and efficacy of consecrated roses.

Page 78. * *The cessation of oracles, &c.*] The Doctor seems here to have forgot the great disrepute the oracles had fallen into, before the period here meant by him, the birth of Christ. Cicero says, *Non solum sunt extate, sed jamdiu ante, oraculo Delphico nil fuisse contemptius*, and the cause he assigns for

for it is, *Quod homines jam tunc fuerint minus creduli*, lib. 2. *de divin.* The age was then become more enlightened, and of course shaking off the fetters of priesthood, to which, abetted by the policy of the magistrate, oracles might fairly be ascribed. Some superstitious heads, as Plutarch and others, have been at considerable pains to account for oracles, and for their total cessation; but their hypotheses are ridiculous, and have met with a just contempt from Lucian, Cicero, &c. Most of the oracles upon record are either capable of a double meaning, which the sanguine enquirer would naturally interpret in his own favours; if the event answered, the God was revered; if otherwise, the priest had a back door to save the honour of the Deity: or were mere state-tricks concerted betwixt the priest and the magistrate, whose humble servant it was his interest to be; and of this the Delphic oracle was accused by Demosthenes, who used to say the Pythian oracle philipized, actuated, no doubt, by some other secret influence than that of the God. About the time of the birth of our Saviour, their tricks were become so notorious, that their credit was quite sunk, and the trade not worth following. And on this account many have doubted of the oracle pretended to be made to Augustus, when he sent to enquire

enquire the meaning of the eclipse and earthquake, which happened at our Saviour's birth.

Me fuer Hebraeus dicos Deus ipse gubernans,

*Cedere sede jubet, tristemque redire sub or-
cum.*

Aris ergo dehinc tacitus discedito nostris.

Page 79. * *Megasthenes or Herodotus.*] The Doctor seems to find fault with supporting the truth of the scripture-history by the concurrence of Heathen evidence; very unjustly, if we consider the great light thrown upon the scripture; and many doubts that have been cleared by Prideaux and Shuckford, in their connexions of the sacred and profane histories. Indeed the authors pitched on by the Doctor are very proper for his end, the work ascribed to Megasthenes being supposititious, and the manufacture of Anio of Viterbi, famous for such frauds; and Herodotus stigmatized as the most fabulous writer of antiquity, usually styled *the father of fable*.

Ibid. † *A passage of Justin, &c.*] His words are, *Sed cum scabiem Ægyptii & triginem paterentur, responsu moniti, cum (sc. Moysen) cum agris, ne pestis ad plures serperet, terminis Ægypti pellunt, lib. 36.* But he is not singular in this; for Tacitus tells

us, lib. 5. *Plurimi authores consentiunt
orta per Ægyptum iabe quæ corpora fœdaret,
regem (Ockirum) (he means Pharoah) adito
Hammonis oraculo remedium petentem purga-
re regnum & id genus hominum-----alias in
terras avertere jussum. Et paulo inferius,
Quod ipsos scabies quondam turpaverat.*

Page 80. * *And do now know there are
witches, &c.]* This is one of our author's
singular opinions; for which he would be
ridiculed in this enlightened age, when our
whole legislature, convinced of the folly
of that belief, have repealed that ridiculous
law of King James I. inflicting death upon
witches and wizards; the many executions,
or murders rather, that happened in conse-
quence of it, upon the most slender pre-
sumptions, or rather brain-sick imaginations,
of an ignorant and superstitious rabble, be-
ing sufficient to shock humanity itself. It
had been more for his honour, to have re-
solved all supposed witchcraft into philoso-
phical magick, as he does in the next sec-
tion.

Page 84. * *It was the opinion of Plato, &c.]*
Vide Plato, in Timeo & Parmenide. This
opinion was embraced by a great many of
the ancient philosophers, particularly the
Platonists; and Virgil, according to that phi-
losophy,

losofhy, gives the following description of the *anima mundi*.

*Principio cælum & terras camposque li-
quentes,*

*Lucentemque globum lunæ, titaniaque astra,
Spiritus intus alit; totamque infusa per
artus*

*Mens agitat molem, & magnæ se corpore
miscet.* Æneid. lib. 6. v. 724.

Among the later philosophers it was known by the name of the *plastic nature*.

Page 87. * *For there is in this universe a stair, or manifest scale of creatures, &c.*] This is a very ancient opinion, and respectful of the power and goodness of the Deity. The reader will find it beautifully described by Mr. Pope, in his *Essay on Man*, Ep. 1. from lin. 200. to lin. 238.

Far as creation's ample range extends,
The scale of *sensual, mental* pow'rs a-
scends :

Mark how it mounts, to man's imperial
race,

From the green myriads in the peopl'd
grass. &c.

Page 90. * *That great father, &c.*] That is St. Chrysostom or St. Augustine; for they both mention this opinion of the light there spoke of being understood of the angels.

To

To this interpretation they were probably led, by observing, that light subsisting alone was held a spiritual substance; to which opinion the Doctor assents, and Epicurus held it many ages before him.

Page 95. * *All is solved with the new term of creation, &c.*] Aristotle having embraced certain propositions, which he held for axioms, and reasoned upon them as such, fell into many errors; among others this, *Quod ex nihilo, nihil fit*; in consequence whereof, treating of the formation of the world, he supposed an eternal or pre-existent matter, and the *processus* only, or alterations made on it fell properly under his term of generation. Take from Plato, that the world had a beginning, and from Aristotle, that it was not generated, and you have the true Christian opinion.

Page 97. * *Concerning its production, &c.*] That is, whether the soul be produced *ex traduce*, by traduction from the parents, or by infusion from God.

Page 99. * *Reduced the very Heathens to divinity, &c.*] So it did Galen, who considering the order, use, and disposition of the parts of the body, broke forth into these words: *Compono hic profecto canticum in*
Y y crea-

creaveris nostri laudem, quod ultra res suas ornare veluit melius quam ulla arte possent. Galen. l. 3. de usu partium.

Page 101. * *I cannot believe the wisdom of Pythagoras, &c.]* Grotius believed that Pythagoras held his metempsychosis literally, and accounts for it from the notions which many Philosophers had of the future state, *Quæ non magis de homine quam de bestiis procedunt*; and therefore saith he, *Mirandum non est, si transitum animarum de hominibus in bestias, de bestiis in homines alii commenti sunt*, lib. 2. de verit. relig. christ. Lucretius fully refutes Pythagoras's doctrine, in these verses;

*Præterea, si immortalis natura animæ
Constat & in corpus nascentibus insinuatur:
Cur super antæctam ætatem meminisse ne-
quimus?*

*Nec vestigia gestarum rerum ulla tenemus?
Nam si tantoper' est animi mutata potestas,
Omnis ut ætatem exciderit retinentia re-
rum:*

Non, ut opinor, id ab letho jam longiter errat. This absurdity is so evident, that the friends of Pythagoras, to salve his honour, have alledged he meant it metaphorically, to represent the immortality of the soul, which he, and the other Philosophers who had no notion of creation, could not well conceive, without

without also supposing a pre-existence. So Lactantius, *Non putaverunt aliter fieri posse ut supersint animæ post corpora, nisi videntur fuisse ante corpora*, de fals. sap. c. 18.

Page 103. * *I am become stupid, &c.*] Machiavel is of opinion, that the frequent shows of Gladiators, and of combating wild beasts in the theatres, contributed much to increase the ferocity of the Romans, and to endue them with a contempt for death.

Ibid. † *Much less a well resolved Christian.*] Innumerable are the instances of the contempt of death among the ancients. The behaviour of Socrates at his death was truly heroic. Demosthenes, when King Philip threatened him with death, made answer, that if he should kill him, yet his country would compliment him with immortality. Theodorus, the Cyrenæan Philosopher, returned such another bold answer to King Lyfimachus, who threatened him with the cross; Keep these frightful threatenings, says he, to terrify your delicate courtiers; but it makes no odds to Theodorus, whether he rot in the ground, or in the air. This contempt of death went so far, that many of them procured it to themselves; some to save their country, as Codrus and Decius; some not to survive its fall, as Cato; some to free themselves from pain,

pain, as Atticus, Corellius, Rufus, whose death is told by Pliny, *lib. 1. Ep. 12.* and Silius Italicus the poet. And others again for some trifling cause, as Seneca in his 4th Epistle says, *Non vides quam ex frivolis causis mors contemnatur; alius ante amica fores laqueo pependit; alius se precipitavit e tecto, ne dominum stomachantem diutius audiret; alius ne reduceretur e fuga ferrum adexit in viscera.* Now if the Heathens, guided by the mere light of nature and philosophy, without the knowledge of a future retribution, could go so far as to reckon death no evil, and could part with life often upon the smallest considerations, ought not Christians much more to condemn death, seeing they are taught it is but an entrance into a glorious immortality, *into an inheritance in another life, which is incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away; and in which an incorruptible crown is prepared for them?*

Page 104. * *The most miserable person extant.*] This conclusion naturally follows from a view of the miseries and vanity of this life, and was one of the strongest arguments among the Heathens for a future state. They considered life only as the porch, or *proscenium* to a happier state, which was to follow after death, when the faculties

faculties of our minds should be enlarged, our knowledge increased, the uncertainties and doubts which attend us here removed, and men rendered capable to enjoy the life of the gods.

Hope humbly then, with trembling pinions soar ;

Wait the great teacher, death, and God adore ! *Essay on Man, Ep. 1. v. 91.*

Page 106. * *Many creatures that behold the sun.*] The life of insects is of a very short duration. Aelian mentions one, which he calls the Ephemeris, because it is begot, born, and dies within the circle of a day.

Page 107. * *These strange and mystical transmutations, &c.*] See *spectacle de la nature*, vol. 1. where the transformations of silk-worms, and many other insects, are described with very great elegance and propriety.

Page 110. * *The neatest way unto corruption.*] The author here alludes to the funeral rites of the ancients, which in different nations were different ; but all of them very sumptuous and elegant. Among the Romans they burnt the dead bodies, and gathered the ashes into urns, which were sometimes of gold and silver. Virgil describes

scribes the ceremony of a funeral-pile in his *Æneid*, *lib. 6. v. 213.*

Page 110. † *Of crows and daws.*] They are supposed to be very long-lived creatures. Hesiod, speaking of the age of man, ascribes to the daws the length of nine human lives, to deers four times as much, and to crows three times as much. Hence Theophrastus is said, when dying, to have accused nature for giving to these creatures, to whom it was of so little concern, so long a life, and so short an one to man whom it much concerned. *Cic. Tusc. quæst. lib. 3.* To such complaints Seneca affords a noble answer; *Citius mori*, says he, *vel tardius ad rem non pertinet: bene autem mori aut male, ad rem pertinet.* Ep. 70.

Page 114. * *Æson's bath.*] Æson was the father of Jason, and, at his desire, was by Medea restored to youth from a very great old age, by means of a bath prepared by her. Medea's preparation, and the progress of this wonderful change, is described by Ovid in his *metam. lib. 7.*

Page 118. * *To deprive us of death.*] This is a thought of Seneca the tragedian, *Ubique mors est, optime hoc cavet Deus; Eripere vitam nemo non homini potest; At nemo mortem; mille ad hanc aditus pa-*
tent. Thebaid. act. 1. Page

Page 120. * *Of Rhadamanthus, &c.*] The expectation of a future judgment was very frequent among the ancients. It was described indeed with all the trumpery of fiction, in order to engross the attention of the herd of mankind. They had the accusers, the judges, and the executioners of mankind, all placed in their infernal regions. Virgil describes Rhadamanthus's business as judge in the following verses;

Grossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna :

Castigatque auditque dolos, subigitque fateri,

*Quæ quis apud superos, furto lætatus inani,
Distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.*
Æneid. lib. 6. v. 566.

Page 121. * *The world's destruction by fire, &c.*] This was a tenet common to many of the Philosophers, but particularly to the Stoics, and was of a very old standing, as Ovid observes.

Esse quoque in fatis reminiscitur adfore tempus,

*Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regia celi
Ardeat ; & mundi moles operosa laboret.*

Metam. lib. 1. v. 156.

Lucan was of Stoic principles, and drew his information from that philosophy.

Page 122. [*Elias's 6000 Years.*] Elias was a Jewish Rabbi; but he was not singular in this opinion. Lactantius prescribes just the same term; his reason for it is somewhat whimsical, *Quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt, per secula sex, id est, annorum sex millia manere in hoc statu mundum necesse est.* De divino præmio, c. 14. We have not wanted modern philosophers, even in this age, who have been so rash as to prescribe a period to the duration of the world.

Page 126. * [*Is but a cold principle.*] This question, whether virtue be its own reward, has been much agitated of late years, and with great strength of argument on both sides. It was a principle of the Stoics, for which see *Cic. l. 1. & l. 5. Tusc. quest.* And Seneca warmly maintained it in his book *de vita beata*.

Ibid. † [*The honest artifice of Seneca, &c.*] *Aliquis vir bonus nobis eligendus est, & semper ante oculos habendus; ut sic tanquam illo spectante vivamus, & omnia tanquam illo vidente faciamus.* And afterwards, *Elige itaque Catonem; si hic videtur tibi nimis rigidus, elige remissioris animi virum Lelium, &c.* Seneca, l. 1. Ep. 11.

Page 126. ‡ *That great resolution of his, &c.]* Seneca's words are, *Si, scirem Deos peccata ignoscituros & homines ignoraturos, adhuc, propter vilitatem peccati, peccare erubescerem.*

Page 129. * *Shall command them back in- to their proper shapes, &c.]* The heathens raised sundry objections to the resurrection of the same body, which the fathers were at much pains to answer. The Doctor gives them a general answer, that it is the object of faith, not of reason or philosophy^a. Take the following example of the argu- tations of the fathers on this head, from Cyrillus. He introduces the Heathen ob- jecting, that *interiit homo, & mortuus com- putruit, & totus in vermes resolutus est; at- que ii vermes quoque interierunt, putrefactio tanta & corruptio corpus excepit; quomodo itaque resurget? Navigatores, a piscibus de- vorati sunt & ipsi quoque pisces comesti sunt; eos qui cum bestiis pugnarunt, ursi & leo- nes una cum ossibus comminuerunt, &c.* To which Cyrillus answers, *Cogita diversa ger- minum semina misceri & tuo pugillo conti- neri: estne tibi homini facilis an magna res pugillum aperire, unumquodque semen ad su- am speciem congregare, & ad germen restau- rare?*

Z z

^a Vide Gret. de ver. relig. chr. lib. 2.

rare? Et tu quidem in tuo pugillo poteris; Deus vero quæ suo pugillo continentur discernere, congregare & restaurare non poterit? Minutius Felix in Octavio, has the following argument; Ceterum quis tam stultus est aut brutus, ut audeat repugnare, hominem a Deo, ut primum potuit fingi, ita posse deum reformari; nihil esse post obitum, & ante ortum nihil fuisse? Sicut de nihilo nasci licuit, ita de nihilo licere reparari? Porro difficilius est id quod sit incipere, quam id quod fuerat iterare. Tu perire Deo credis, si quid nostris oculis hebetibus subtrahitur? Corpus enim sive arefcit in pulverem, sive in humorem solvitur, vel in nidorem tenuatur, subtrahitur nobis; sed Deo elementorum custodi reservatur.

Page 130. * *This is made good by experience, &c.]* The instance here given of the resuscitation of plants by chymical preparations, is maintained by Kircher, and affirmed to have been done by himself; and a late writer, the Abbe Vallemont also positively affirmed it, and describes the progress by which it is performed.

Page 139. * *There are as many bells as Anaxagoras conceited worlds.]* Anaxarchus rather; for Anaxagoras held but one world. Democritus and the Epicureans held a multiplicity of worlds.

Page 141. * *That terrible term, &c.*] The Heathen poet Horace says,

*Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore ;
 Tu nihil admittes in te formidine pæne.*

Lib. 1. Ep. 16.

Page 144. * *It is hard to place these souls in hell, &c.*] The declaration in scripture, that there is salvation in no other than Christ, and by his name only men can be saved, puzzles the doctor what fate to pronounce upon those good Heathens, whose virtues and perfect morality, and even the speculative notions of some of them concerning God, in his opinion deserved a better lot than eternal damnation ; and that, as he argues, for no fault of theirs, but for being ignorant of truths which they had no opportunity of knowing. This has led many good men, in all the Christian ages, to determine more favourably concerning them; as our author does of Socrates, p. 72. and Justin Martyr, Erasmus and others do of many of the Heathen worthies. Yet the doctor, in the remaining part of this section, proves himself a good Christian, and seems to go plum into the orthodox opinion of the damnation of all unbelievers.

Page 147. * *Aristotle transgressed the rule of his own ethicks, &c.*] Lactantius has collected

lected many instances of the opposition betwixt the lives and doctrines of the Philosophers. Aristotle in particular is accused of vanity in his dress, incontinency, and treachery towards his master Alexander. Seneca, than whom no man moralizes better, and who has, at great length, delivered to us the virtuous doctrines of the Stoics, is pointed out as a flagrant instance of this inconsistency; avarice, luxury, adultery, treachery, pusillanimity, make up but a small part of his character.

P. 147. † *The Scepticks, &c.*] Their principle is expressed in the following verses;

---*Nil scire si quis putat, id quoque nescit*—

An scire possit, quod se nil scire fatetur.

The inconsistency of which appears at first sight. *Vide Aul. Gell. lib. 11. c. 5.*

Ibid. * *The duke of Venice, &c.*] The doge and senate of Venice, yearly on ascension-day, go out in a barge to the Adriatic, and there, with great solemnity, by throwing a ring into the sea, do wed it as their spouse, in commemoration of the dominion of the sea given them by Pope Alexander III. which, by this pageantry, they are incited to maintain and defend as they would their own spouses.

Page 148. † *But the Philosopher who threw his money into the sea, &c.*] This was Apollonius Tyanæus, who threw a great quantity of gold into the sea, with these words; *Pessundo diuitias, ne pessundarem ab illis.* Polycrates the tyrant of Samos cast the most valuable jewel he had into the sea, that he might thereby learn to bear adverse fortune, which he had never felt.

Page 149. * *That wise man Chiron, &c.*] The fable is, that while Saturn was embracing his mistress Phillyra, Ops his wife came upon them; and he, to avoid discovery, transformed himself into a horse: from this embrace Chiron was begot, who was half man, half horse, and became famous for his wisdom and skill in physick. This fable, as explained by the doctor, has an excellent meaning.

Page 164. * *Certain characters, &c.* The outward features and lineaments have always been held as almost infallible indications of the inward temperament and disposition of the soul. But it requires long experience, great sagacity and discretion, to draw just conclusions in this matter. The risk of making rash judgments therein is very great, and the injustice we do a stranger often irreparable; because the prejudice

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dice for or against arises at first view, and if not discouraged, and the judgment for some time suspended, takes such firm hold as not to be easily eradicated. There is the greater reason for this caution, as many a man gives the lie to his face; when either a man, instead of being angry, and exasperated at his own looks, or envying those of others, applies himself assiduously to the culture of his mind, and procuring beauties more lasting or ornamental; or when one, instead of improving the mind, and making it a proper inhabitant for a beautiful frame bestowed by nature; gives the loose to his passions, and thereby disgraces the outward beauty of his body; in either of these cases physiognomy is fallacious: of the first of these Socrates was a remarkable instance; *vide Spect.* No. 86. Of the second Alcibiades, the favourite disciple of Socrates, was a no less remarkable instance: for tho' blessed by nature with the most beautiful figure, and the best capacity, he was yet given up to the most irregular courses, notwithstanding the assistance of his friend Socrates. Martial's epigram on this subject is worth transcribing.

*Crine ruber, niger ore, brevis pede, lumine
lesus,*

Rem magnam prestas, Zeile, si bonus es.

Thy head and beard are of a diff'rent dye;
 Short of one foot, distorted in an eye:
 With all these tokens of a knave complete,
 Should'st thou be honest, thou'rt a dev'lish
 cheat.

No branch of natural knowledge has been more abused than this of physiognomy: it was taken up, and professed as a science along with astrology, by ignorant pretenders, in the first ages of the revival of learning, to make a shew of superior knowledge, and cause the rabble stare. But both are now happily exploded.

A very ingenious author on this subject, *Escipio Porta*, founds his speculations on the supposition, that as a man hath in the mould of his face a remote likeness to that of an ox, a sheep, a lion, an hog, or any other creature; he hath the same resemblance in the frame of his mind, and is subject to those passions which are predominant in the creature that appears in his countenance: Accordingly he gives the prints of several faces that are of a different mould, and, by a little overcharging the likeness, discovers the figures of these several kinds of brutal faces in human features.

Page 166. * *How there should be any, &c.*]
 The instances are indeed few, but some there are very remarkable, recorded by antiquity.

tiquity, as that betwixt King Antiochus and one Antemon a plebeian of Syria, who were so like that Laodice the King's widow, by pretending this man was the King, concealed his death, till she had settled a successor according to her mind; betwixt Cn. Pompey and Vibius the orator; betwixt C. Plancus and Rubrius the Stage-player; Cassius Severus the orator, and one Mirmello; and that betwixt M. Messala Censorius, and one Menogenes. *Vide Plin. hist. nat. lib. 7. c. 11.* But the most extraordinary instance of this similitude of faces is the case of Martin Guerre and Arnauld de Tilh, recorded in the Gallick reports: The latter taking advantage of the absence of the former, and having made himself acquainted with the most minute circumstances of his life, thro' a confidence of this surprising resemblance, so imposed himself not only on the relations of Martin Guerre, but even upon his wife, that he was not suspected for several years; and when at length, from some untoward circumstances, he fell under suspicion of being an impostor, he cheerfully submitted to a regular prosecution; in which he behaved with such address, that, of near 150 witnesses examined on the affair, between 30 and 40 deposed he was the true Martin Guerre, among whom were four sisters of Martins, and two of their

their husbands, and of the remainder of the witnesses, 60 and upwards declared the resemblance between the persons was so strong, that it was simply impossible to affirm with certainty whether the accused was the true Martin or not. In short Arnould de Tilh, for a long time, puzzled the parliament of Tholouse, even after the true Martin Guerre was returned, and they appeared together face to face.

Page 171. * *What a Βατραχομυομαχία, &c.*] In Lucian's book, *de judicio vocalium*, there is a long pleading before the vowels as judges, by Sigma complaining of the injuries done to it by Tau, which had thrust it out of many words, and taken possession of its place. This has been very happily imitated by the *Spectator*, No: 78. and 80. in the persons of Who, Which and That.

Page 172. * *But their tongues are sharper than Actius's razor.*] Actius, the Augur, admonishing Tarquinius Priscus to revere the gods, and their immediate servant, the Augur; Tarquin, to ridicule him, asked him, if what he had conceived was possible? to which the Augur answering it was, he desired him to cut a whetstone with a razor; which the Augur actually performed. *Vide Flor. lib.*
A a a.

lib. 1. cap. 5. and *Liv. lib. 1.* who tell the story differently.

P. 172. † *It is not mere zeal to learning, &c.*] Our author's observation has been verified, since his time, in the person of Louis XIV. who, at a great expence, maintained the most eminent poets, panegyrist and historians, to sound forth his praises, and hand them down to posterity; and the effect was answerable to the design. On the other hand, the pride of the *literati* has not blushed to ascribe a great part of the honour of their heroes to their own pens: *Ignotus esset Lucilius, nisi eum epistolæ Senecæ illustrarent. Laudibus Cæsareis plus Virgilius & Varus, Lucanusque adjecerunt, quam immensum illud ævarium quo urbem & orbem spoliavit. Nemo prudentiam Itacæ, aut Pelidæ vires agnosceret, nisi eas Homerus divino publicasset ingenio: unde nihil mihi videtur consultius, viri ad gloriam properanti, fidelium favore scripturum.* Joan Sarisb. Pol. Horace's ode to Censorinus is founded upon this thought, *lib. 4. od. 8.* where he expressly prefers the poet's pen to the heroical deeds themselves.

*Neque si chartæ silcant, quod bene feceris
Mercedem tuleris.*

And a few lines after,

*Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori:
Cælo musa beat.*

And

And Politian had the boldness to tell his patron, Louis a fortz, *Quod est bonorum principum cum viris eruditis tacita quædam naturalisque societas, ut alteri ab alteris illustrentur, ac dum sibi mutuo suffragantur, & gloria principibus, & doctis autoritas concilietur.* lib. 11. Ep. 1.

Page 174. * *It is as bloody a thought, &c.]* Nero's expression here mentioned, as related by Sueton, was, when some person in his hearing had said, When I am dead, let the earth be set on fire, Nero added, Yea whilst I am alive: This was more cruel than the wish of Caligula, that the people of Rome had but one neck, that he might destroy them all at one blow.

Page 184. * *The story of the Italian, &c.]* It is reported, that an Italian, having met with one who had highly provoked him, put a poniard to his breast, and threatened to kill him, unless he would blaspheme God; which the other complying with to save his life, the Italian presently killed him, to the end, that dying without repentance, he might be damned to eternity. This story of the Italian, if true, is indeed beyond comparison, and a malice only equal to the devil's. Yet the spirit of revenge which prevails so much in Italy, and the many most dreadful in-

instances of it which are related, make it almost probable.

Page 187. * *This was the temple, &c.*] This was the statue of Venus Gnideia made by Praxiteles, of which a certain young man became so enamoured, that Pliny relates, *ferunt, amore captum, cum delituisse noctu, simulacro cohesisse, ejusque cupiditatis esse indicem maculum*. Lucian mentions it in his *dial. amor*. Tiberius Nero, in his retirement at Caprea, defiled himself and his court with the most unheard of lecheries; of which Sueton, *Secessu vero Capreeni, etiam sellariam excogitavit sedem arcuarum libidinum, in quam undique conquisiti puellarum & exolitorum greges, monstrosique concubitus reperiuntur, quos spintrias appellabat; triplici serie connexi invicem incestarent se coram ipso, ut aspectu deficientes libidines excitaret*. And Tacitus, *lib. 6. annal. c. 1.* says, *Tunc primum ignota ante vocabula reperiuntur, sellariorum & spintriarum, ex feditate loci ac multiplici patientia*. Vide the Doctor's vulgar errors, *cap. ult. l. ult.*

Page 190. * *Topography of their cities, &c.*] This seems intended as a rebuke to those conceited people, who, tho' fixed all their lives to one spot of earth, pretend a more particular knowledge of the situation of distant

tant provinces, and the laws and manners of foreign nations, than those who have spent most of their time in studying the language, the laws and policy of those very countries : Of this herd are the bulk of your story-tellers.

Page 191. * *Seen a prating mariner, &c.]* Here the Doctor gives an instance of that arrogant verbosity noticed above, in a prating sailor, who, from his little practice in navigation, plumes himself in a more thorough knowledge of astronomy, than those philosophical heads who have applied themselves to the study of that science ; the result only of ignorance and pride.

Ibid. line 20. *I cannot think that Homer, &c.]* This story of Homer, as related by Plutarch, is as follows, That Homer having sailed from Thebes to the island Ion, when he landed, sat down on a rock upon the shore, when some fishermen passing by, he asked them, what they had caught ? To which they returned this enigmatical answer, That what they had caught they had left behind them ; but what they had not caught, they had with them : meaning thereby, that while they were in their boat, and could catch no fish, they employed their time in looking for, and killing lice ; and so all that they had taken they had killed, and left

left behind them ; and what they had not taken, they had with them in their cloaths. Homer not being able to explain this riddle, pined away, and died of grief. Pliny, in his elegant letter to his friend Fuscus, wherein he gives him an account of the manner of his hunting, is supposed to allude to this riddle, when he says, *Venor aliquando, sed non sine pugillaribus, ut quamvis nihil ceperim, nonnihil referam*, lib. 9. Ep. 36.

Page 191. line 23. *Or that Aristotle, &c.*] Plutarch refutes those who alledged, that Aristotle either drowned or poisoned himself, for grief that he could not explain the ebbing and flowing of the Euripus. Laertius says, he died of a disease at 63 years of age.

Page 192. * *And Aristotle doth but instruct us as Plato doth him, &c.*] Plato taught that truth was to be preferred to every thing ; those therefore act very absurdly, who chuse rather obstinately to adhere to the erroneous opinions of Aristotle and the ancients, than to adopt those which the experience of more modern philosophers has founded on the solid basis of demonstration.

Page 193. line 21. *I was never once married.*] Our author here gives a sly insinuation against marrying at all, from his own
ex-

example. But we may refer the reader to the ancient lawgivers, particularly Lycurgus and Plato, who made express laws for the punishment of such as did not marry. Cornelius Agrippa's censure of celibacy is worth transcribing; *Qui uxorem, inquit, non habet (etiam si ditissimus sit) nihil fere habet quod suum est: quia nihil habet tutum ab insidiis, nec habet, cui posset relinquere, nec cui confidere. Qui uxorem non habet, caret familia, caret propinquis, & sine posteritatis spe semper desertus & destitutus est: furantur illum servi, defraudantur socii, contemnunt vicini.*

Page 193. † *Who marry twice, &c.]* See 1 Cor. vii. 8. The Heathens likewise were of this opinion, and reckoned it their glory to abstain from a second marriage. Hence Dido in Virgil, *Æneid. lib. 4.*

*Ille meos, primus qui me sibi junxit, amores
Abstulit; ille habeat secum, servetque sepulchro.*

And Marcia, Cato's daughter, and Valeria, a noble lady in Rome, are extolled upon this account, that they could not, by any arguments, be induced to a second marriage.

Page 194. * *I could be content that we might procreate like trees, &c.]* A physician long before our Doctor, Hippocrates, was of the same

same mind. *Utile scilicet. lib. 19. cap. 2.* Paracellus, another physician, went farther than a wish, and undertook to prescribe a method for the generation of a man without coition. Mont. Montaigne's words on this subject are worth notice; *Je trouve apres tout, que l'amour n'est autre chose, que la soif de cette jouissance en un sujet desiré; ni Venus autre chose, que le plaisir a discharger ses vases: et considerant maintenant la ridicule titillation de ce plaisir, les absurdes mouvemens escervelez et esloordis, de quoy il agit Zenon et Cratippus; cette rage indiscrete, ce visage inflammé de fureur et de cruauté au plus doux effect de l'amour; et puis cette morgue grave, severe et extatique en une action si folle, qu'on loge pell-mell nos delices et nos ordures ensemble; et que la supreme volupté aye du transi et du plaintif, comme la douleur; je crois qu'il est vray que l'homme a esté fait par les Dieux pour leur jouet: et c'est par moquerie que nature nous a laissé le plus trouble de nos actions le plus communes, pour nous egaler par là, et apparier les fols et les sages, et nous et les bestes. Le plus contemplatif, et prudent homme, quand je l'imagine en cette assiette, je le tiens pour un affronteur, de faire le prudent et contemplatif. Ce sont le pieds du paon, qui abbatent son orgueil. Nous mangeons bien, et buvons comme les bestes; mais ce ne sont pas actions qui empêchent*

peschent les offices de nostre ame : en cell's-la nous harpons notre avantage sur elle ; cette-ci met toute autre pensee sous le joug ; abrutit et abestit par son imperieuse authorite toute la theologie et philosophie qui est en Platon ; et s'il ne s'en plaint pas : par tout ailleurs vous pouvez garder quelque decence ; toutes autres operations souffrent des regles d'honestete ; cette-ci ne se peut pas seulement imaginer, que vicieuse ou ridicule. Trouvez y pour voir un proceder sage et discret? Alexandre disoit, qu'il se cognoisloit principalement mortel par cette action, et par le dormir : le sommeil suffoque et supprime les facultates de nostre ame, la besoin les absorbe et dissipe de mesmes. Certes c'est une marque non seulement de nostre corruption originelle, mais aussi de nostre vanite et deformite. D'un coste nature nous y pousse, ayant attache a ce desir, la plus noble, utile et plaisante de toutes ses fonctions ; et la nous laisse, d'autre part, accuser et fuir, comme insolente et dishoneste, en rougir et recommander l'abstinence. Vide Montaigne, liv. 3. chap. 5.

Page 195. line 16. *Makes me distrust the symmetry of those heads, &c.*] The inimitable Shakespear has the following admirable reflexion in a mind unaffected with the power of musick.

B b b

The

The man that hath not musick in his soul,
 And is not mov'd with concords of sweet
 sounds,
 Is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils;
 The motions of his sp'rit are dark as
 night,
 And his affections dull as Erebus;
 Let no such man be trusted.

Merchant of Venice, Act V. Scene I.

Page 200. * *And may be inverted on the worst, &c.*] There is no axiom more certain than this. The finest characters have always some foible or blot, which are like foils to their good qualities. Even the divine Trajan was accused of drunkenness, and a propensity to unnatural lust. And the worst are not without some good. *Nam laudabilia multa etiam mali faciunt*, says Pliny in panegy. So that Horace's *Nemo sine vitiiis nascitur* is just, tho' transposed.

Page 201. * *The man without a navel, &c.*] The scholastick divines, who gave too much into useless niceties in their subtle disquisitions into the state of the first man, considering that he was not brought forth of a mother in the ordinary way of generation, therefore concluded that as he had no use for a navel, which is the channel by which the *fœtus*, while in the womb,
 draws

draws nourishment from its mother, therefore nature had not furnished him with one, as being to him a superfluous organ. Hence our author describes Adam by that singularity, intending, by a metonymie, thereby to point out original sin.

Page 201. † *Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus.*] This was an expression of Scipio Africanus, recorded by Cicero, *Off.* l. 3. Our author's commentary on it is pretty much the same with Epictetus's thought on solitude, taken down in note 1. to page 25.

Page 203. * *Limits not my mind, &c.*] *Magna & generosa res est humanus animus : nullos sibi poni, nisi communes & cum Deo terminos patitur, &c.* Seneca, Ep. 102.

P. 204. * *There is surely a piece of divinity in us, &c.*] The ancients conceived very high and exalted notions of the nature and origin of the human soul. It was the general opinion that it came directly from God, and was to return to him again. That of its own nature it was pure and perfect, free of all vice, and particularly of the common weaknesses and passions of humanity; and that these flowed only from its close alliance to this earthly frame.

Ignis

*Ignis est illis vigor & celestis origo
 Seminibus : quantum non noxia corpora lar-
 dant,
 Terrenique hebetant artus, moribundaque
 membra.
 Hinc metuant cupiuntque, dolent gaudent-
 que ; nec auras
 Respiciunt, clausæ tenebris & carcere cæci.*

Virg. l. 6. v. 730.

Horace calls the soul, *Divinæ particula aures*;
 and Lucretius gives us the opinion of the
 Epicureans, *lib. 2. v. 990.*

Denique celesti sumus omnes semine oriundi.
 And Seneca delivers the opinion of his sect,
 the Stoics, as follows, *Non est ex terreno &
 gravi concreta corpore : ex illo celesti spiri-
 tu descendit.* De consol. ad Helv. c. 6. And
 in his 92d Epist. *Quod est autem cur non ex-
 istimes in eo divini aliquid existere, qui Dei
 pars est? Totum hoc quo continemur, & unum
 est, & Deus ; & socii ejus sumus & membra.*

Page 206. * *In one dream I can compose
 a whole comedy.*] The Doctor must have
 had a very singular constitution of mind,
 who, tho' born under the leaden planet, Sa-
 turn, and of consequence of a gloomy na-
 tural disposition, could yet in his dreams
 represent the most airy conceits, and en-
 tertain himself with the most jocular hu-
 mours of a comedy. The fancies of most
 men

men are of a quite different turn, as dreams are generally but the confused repetition of those ideas which most engross our waking thoughts, according to Claudian.

*Omnia quæ sensu voluntur vota diurno,
Pectore sopito, reddit amica quies.
Venator defessa toro cum membra reponit,
Mens tamen ad sylvas & sua lustra redit.*

Page 207. * *Our grosser memories have so little hold of our abstracted understandings, &c.]* and frequently no hold at all. It has long puzzled the schoolmen, whether the not retaining the ideas that pass thro' the mind when asleep, is not a presumption that no ideas pass there at all when we don't remember any, as often we do not; and the ingenious Mr. Locke has thence inferred one of his strongest arguments, *that men think not always*: but were it so, the definition which the philosophers give us of the soul, that it is a thinking substance, if it can at any time be divested of that faculty, must be a very absurd one.

Page 208. * *I wonder the fancy of Lucan and Seneca did not discover it.]* Both of them being condemned by Nero, as a favour, had the choice of the manner of their own deaths given them; and they preferred being bled to death. *Tacit. Annal. lib. 15. cap.*

cap. 63 & 70. A kind of death which the stoical pride and vanity of Seneca might have induced him to prefer, having thereby an opportunity to display his philosophical heroism in his discourses to his friends at his death, and in some sort to imitate that great man Socrates in his dying moments.

Page 211. * *To conceive ourselves urinals, &c.*] Those who are subject to extreme melancholy and vapours, often entertain such extravagant conceits as the Doctor here mentions ; and Pope, in his rape of the lock, has exposed these unnatural fancies in the most ridiculous light.

Men prove with child as pow'rful fancy
works,
And maids, turn'd bottles, call aloud for
corks.

F I N I S.

