



# Bodleian Libraries

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

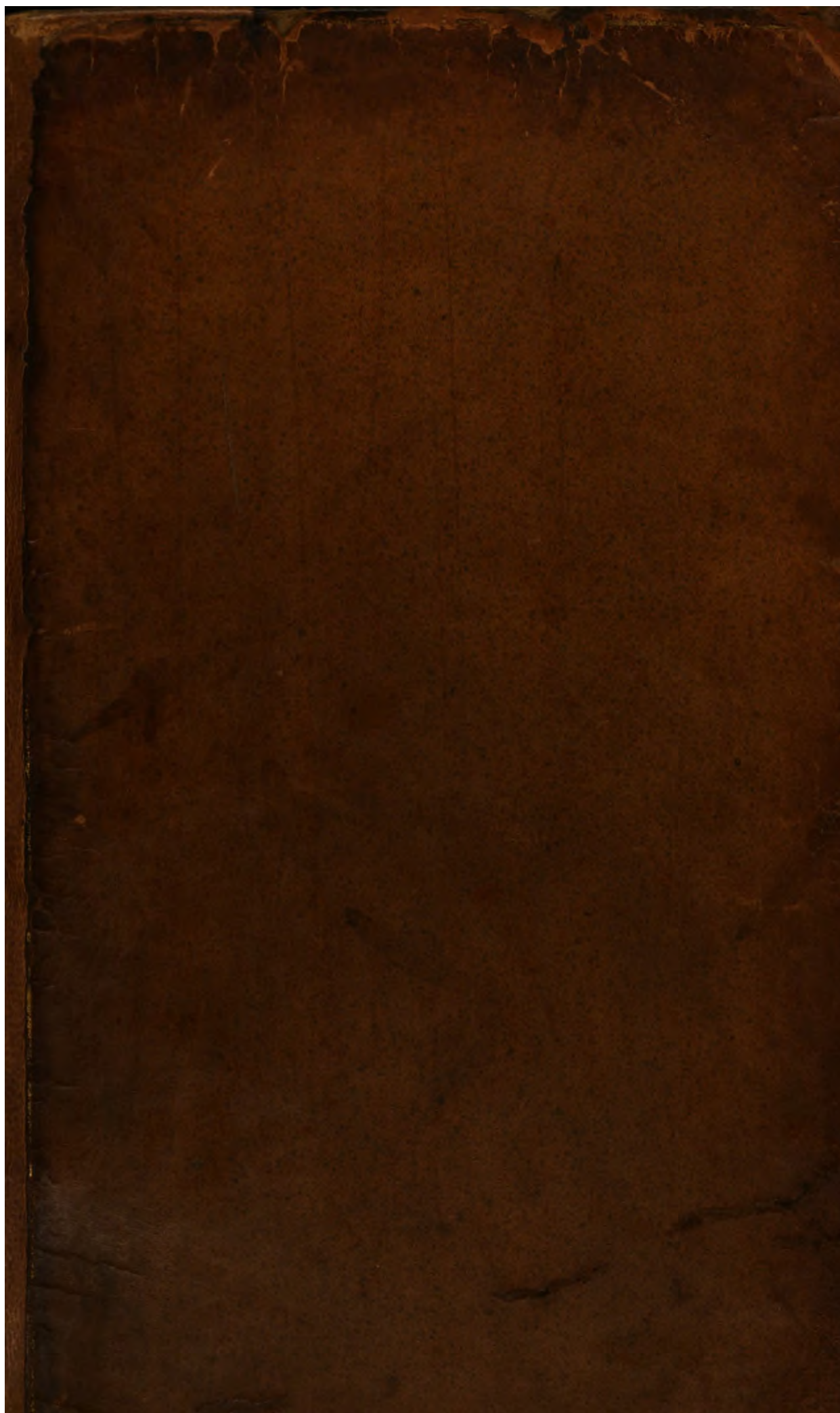
This book is part of the collection held by the Bodleian Libraries and scanned by Google, Inc. for the Google Books Library Project.

For more information see:

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dbooks>

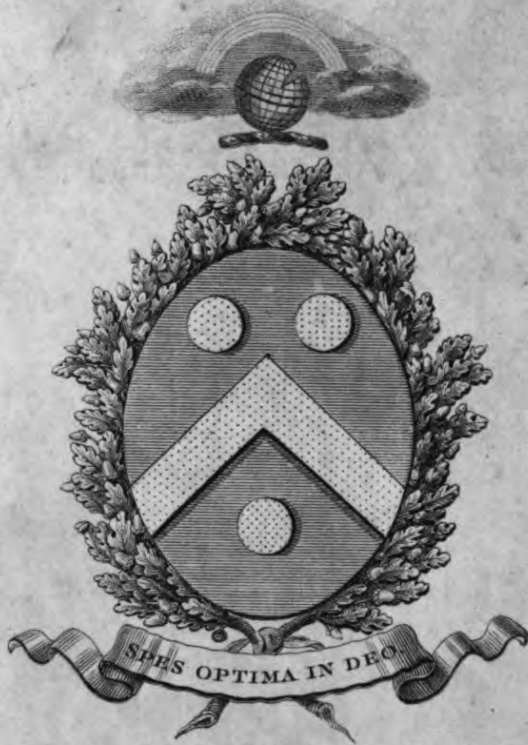


This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 UK: England & Wales (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0) licence.

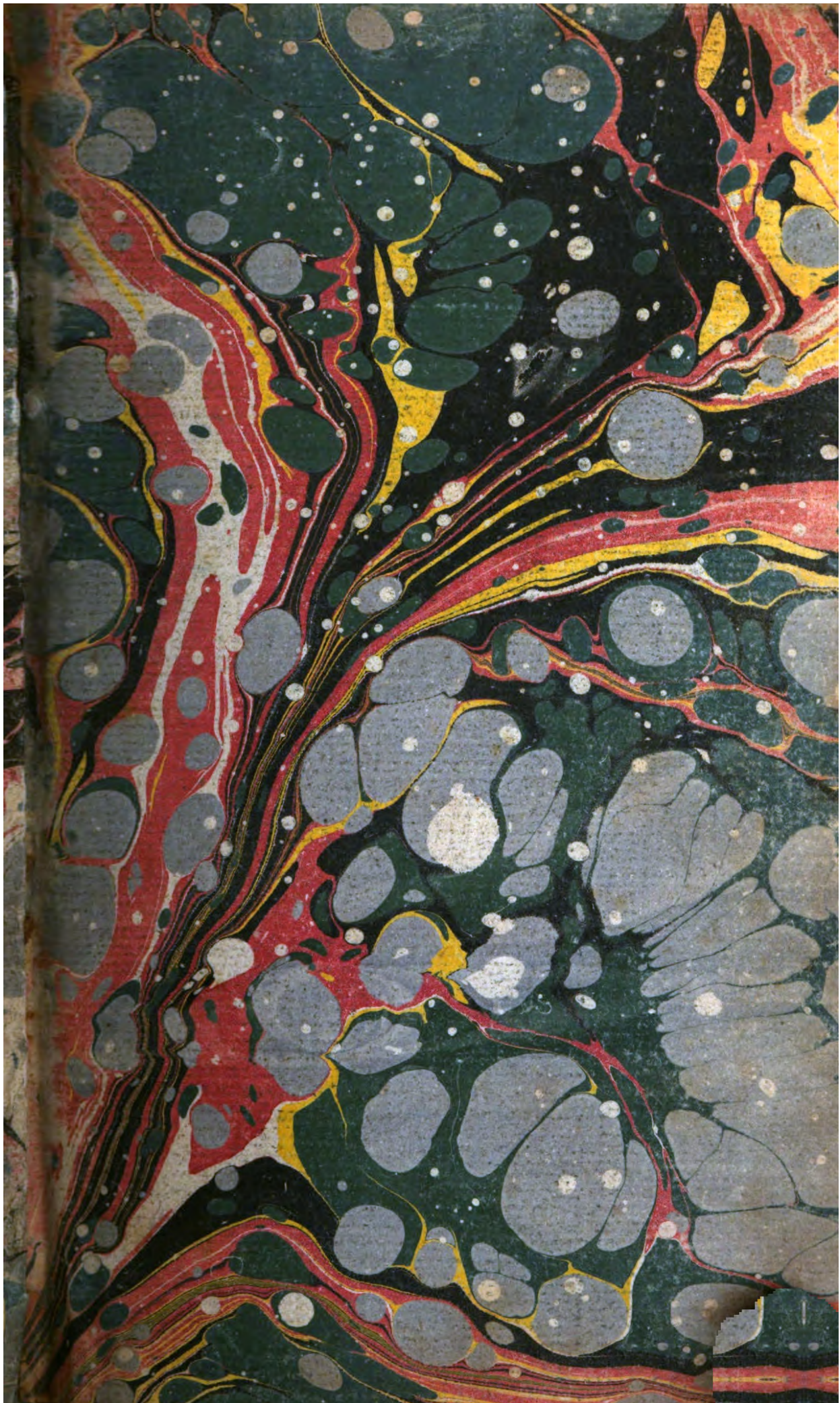


Sold by  
R. BECKLEY,  
Bookseller,  
29, Mark Lane,  
LONDON.

*Hope essays 863.*



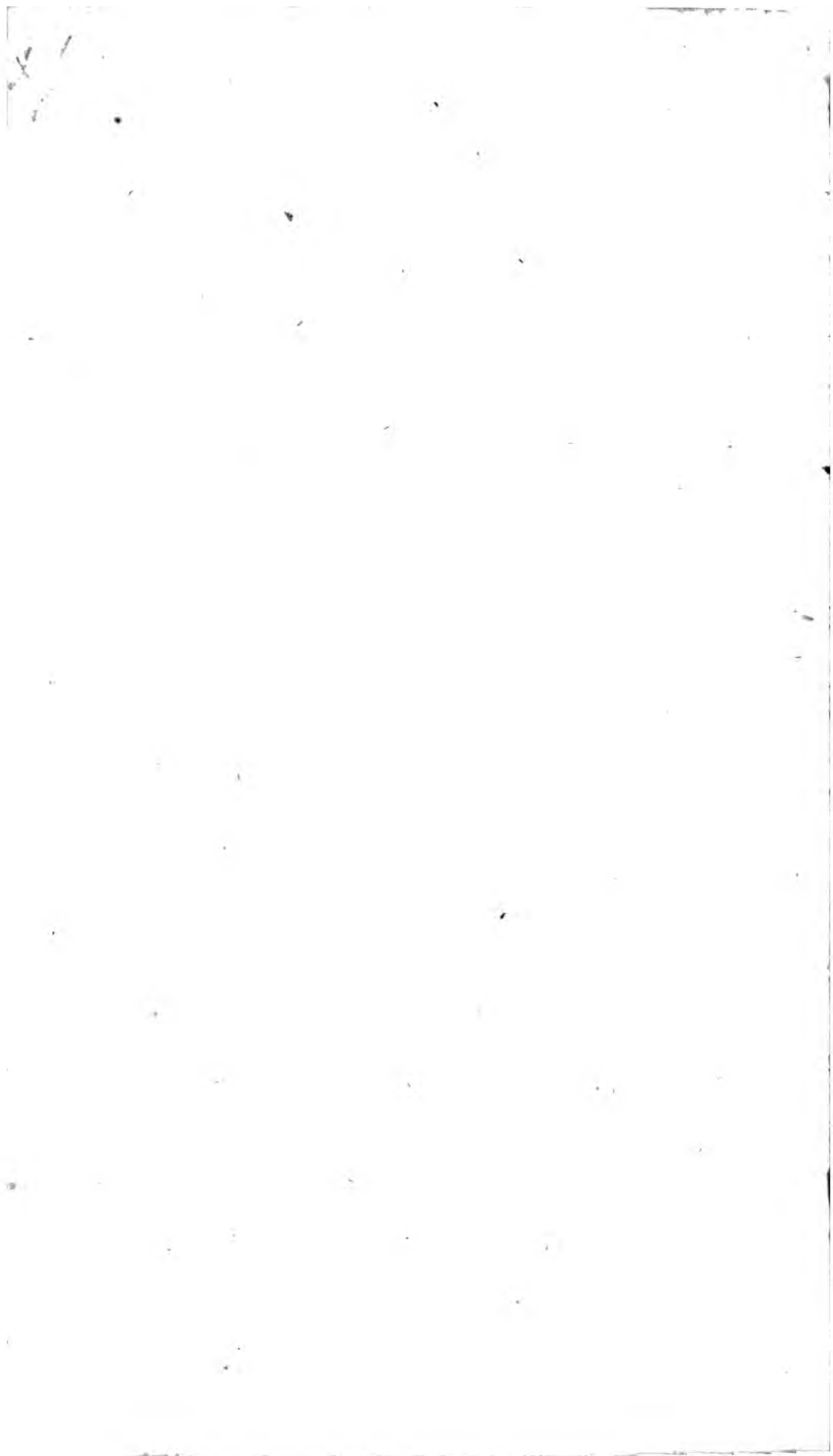
*John Thomas Hope.*



*Handwritten signature*

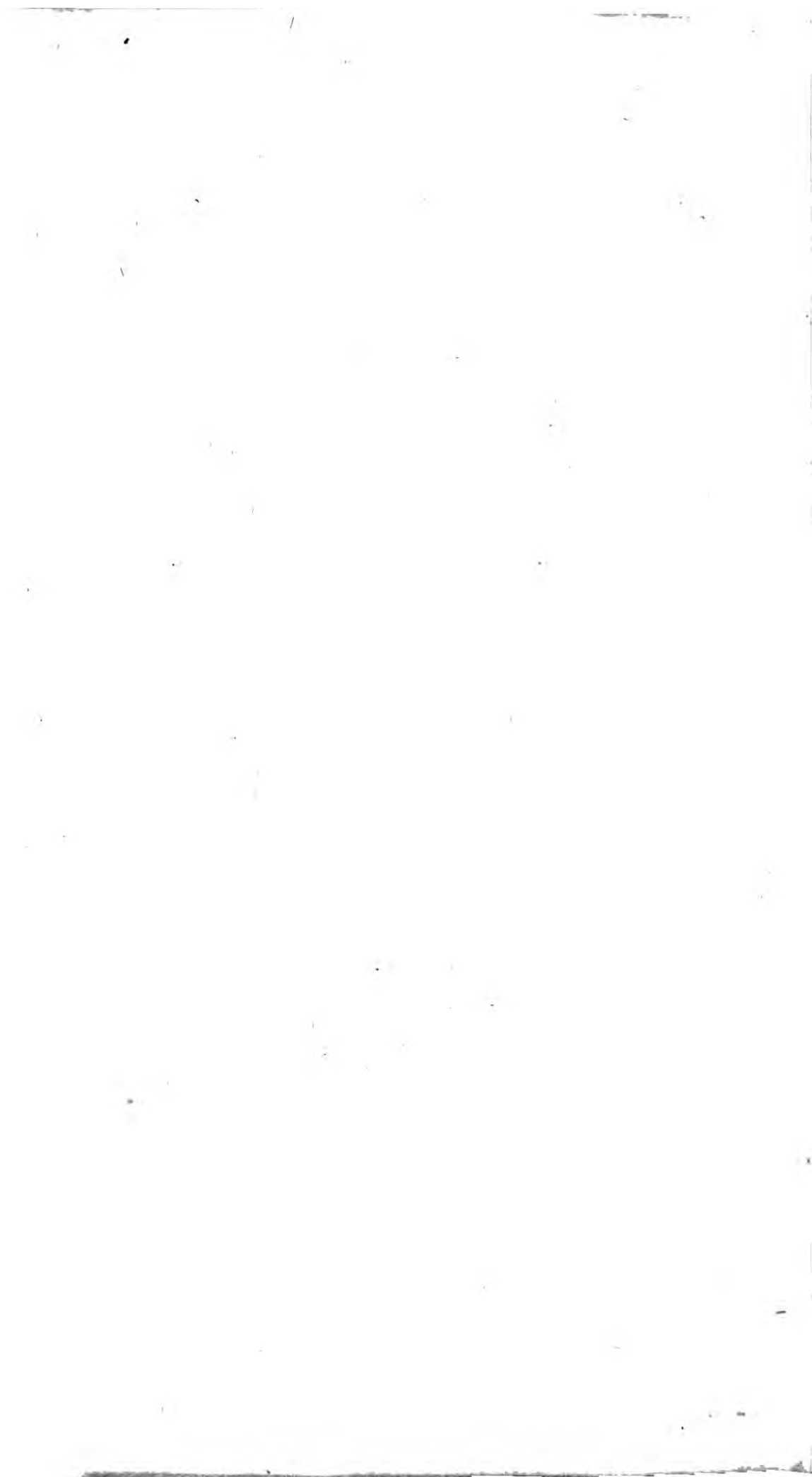
8<sup>o</sup> Hoff 86<sup>3</sup>

*E. Malone*



5/6.









# RICHARDSONIANA:

O R,

OCCASIONAL REFLECTIONS

O N T H E

MORAL NATURE of MAN;

Suggested by various Authors, ancient and modern, and  
exemplified from those Authors.

W I T H

SEVERAL ANECDOTES INTERSPERSED.

By the late JONATHAN RICHARDSON, jun. Esq;

V O L. I.



---

*Longum iter est per præcepta, breve et efficax per exempla.*

SENECA, Ep. vi.

---

*Hominem pagina nostra sapit.*

MARTIAL. X. 4.

---

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. DODSLEY, PALL-MALL.

MDCCLXXVI.

“ How many stories have I scattered up and down in this book, that I only touch upon, which, should any one more curiously search into, they would find matter enough to produce infinite essays: neither those stories, nor my allegations, do always serve, simply, for example, authority, or ornament. I do not only regard them for the use I make of them; they carry sometimes, besides what I apply them to, the seed of a more rich and bolder matter; and sometimes, collaterally, a more delicate sound, both to me myself, who will express no more in this place, and to others who shall happen to be of my ear. Like *Longinus's* sublime, a great deal more is left the reader to supply (by the path of thought it leads him into) than is expressed.”

*Montaigne, Essay I. 39. p. 354.*

The *Arabians* have a collection of this sort, which is entitled *Rabi Alabrar*, or *Printemps des justes*, as *d'Herbelot* translates it, whose words are these: “ *Cet ouvrage n'est rempli que des sentences, d'exemples, et d'histoires agreables, qui rejouissent le lecteur; et, en un mot, c'est un anthologie la plus ample et la plus recherchée qu'il se trouve dans la litterature Arabique.*”

N. B. *The following are taken from a much larger number, which are intended for publication.*

P R E-

P R E F A C E.

*Erat illi ingenium ad eliciendos ex rebus sermones.*

Diog. Laert. de Socrate.

*Adnotabat, excerpebatque; nihil enim legit quod non excerpere.*

Plin, Ep. III. 5.

CATO the Cenfor said, that “ he thought himself as accountable for his private leisure, as for his public employments.” *Cic. pro Planc. 27.*

As reading is the universal exercise and amusement of people of elegant leisure, and ingenuous minds, nothing can be of more importance, than to give this noble occupation a right bias, and direct it to more than mere amusement, which is only idling time away, or keeping us out of mischief; and so apply it, as to become useful at the same time, and make both these advantages of polite study mutually assist and advance

one another. Reading will thus be made much more delightful, by perpetually kindling, as it were, new lights in the imagination, for the judgment to work upon, and, at the same time, all its discoveries will be fixed and rooted in the memory, and turned to advantage, and ever ready as use shall call them forth. Just as my dear father used to do by his travelling; every now and then, in his yearly progress on horseback, for about a fortnight, to recruit himself from his continual application for all the rest of the year, as occasions presented themselves to his fine imagination, and nice distinguishing choice, taking elegant sketches and remembrances of the most beautiful prospects; whereas I, who, by his indulgence, saw and traversed a far greater extent and variety of country, and much finer than ever he had the opportunity of seeing, for want of his art and delicate application, like common readers, made no collections in this way, to serve for future pleasure and profit, and retain only a general and confused, though pleasing, image of so many delightful views. Even so, reading a vast deal, of the most excellent matter, however it may amuse and charm  
for

for the present, and, withal, perhaps, increase a slight and almost useless knowledge, yet will very little improve the understanding, which alone deserves the attention of a mind worth cultivating, whose capacity, however large, will be still poor and indigent in the midst of riches, and starve in plenty, if it does not appropriate to itself, and take possession of the more solid and nourishing substance of its studies, and still turn this, by a wholesome and temperate digestion, into its own proper strength and vigour. The mind demands this, just as much as the body; and will alike suffer, either from want of its natural diet, or from swallowing more than it gives itself time to digest: now, this will be the case even of the most learned, and those who have read with the most retired diligence, and anxious study, in their own several languages, *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Polybius*, *Plutarch*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, *Philip de Comines*, *Guicciardin*, and all those other noble writers who perpetually present, to a curious observer, such rich and splendid views, as it would be great loss to pass cursorily by; if they do not fix those precious materials, and turn them to their own pleasure and



advantage ; treasuring them up, as they rise, by proper reflections and applications.

For, as to the histories themselves, as histories only of facts, supposing them to be ever so certain and genuine, they are, absolutely, no more to us than romances, and have been of no more service in the reading, than if we had been diverting ourselves any other innocent and ingenious way ; and a game at chess, finely played and imagined, would have been as useful an amusement ; nay, of less use, if the other, as it generally does to them who thus read, puffed us up with wind, instead of nourishment, and with empty vanity and presumption, instead of sober sense and active worth and virtue.

The true and only use of the study of history, and of all other studies, after providing for the necessaries and conveniences of life, is to establish a set of principles for the prudent and virtuous conduct of that life ; which can no way be accomplished with so much safety and pleasure, as by observation of what others have done (still mixed with the polite and generous commerce of the great world) and applying  
this

this to like cases and occurrences, and learning, by experience and observation, how to change as circumstances change in the comparison; thus still uniting former events with present, speculation with practice, and so profiting from the right or wrong conduct of others. This is obtaining experience at a reasonable price, and ever accompanied with delight in the acquisition, without danger; withal, accustoming the mind more and more to reflection, and employing its faculties properly, so as to nourish and strengthen it to a solid and lasting health.

If fables have always been esteemed a fine and useful mode of instruction, from the pleasingness of the subject, and their suggesting matter for reflections, for the conduct of life, there cannot, surely, be less, either of pleasantness or materials for thought, in real occurrences. And why should we not make the same use, at least, of these, as of fiction? with the important advantage of our opinion of them as real facts; which will certainly add more weight to them, and consequently carry a greater energy in persuading, where they are them-

elves to be applied to, and compared with what is also passing before us in actual life, in which we are only treading over again the very same paths which they, from whose examples we are making our inferences, trod before us, with the very same passions, powers, and qualities, and liable to the very same accidents and events.

But, if these observations and reflections are of unspeakable use to conduct us in particular occurrences, they will of course greatly conduce to the obtaining this system of moral principles, thus gradually built on the true foundation of our own experience, and our observations on that of others; on which to rest, and to which direct all our actions, and all we have to desire, or to avoid; in short, a right concerted purpose of life, on which always to keep our eyes in all our particular views, as occurrences flow in with the great tide of things.

I suppose the one fixed universal bias of undisciplined mankind to be unconditional *self-love*, regarding nothing else, nor any other person whatsoever, but as these contribute, or are subservient to this one object,

ject, that this is the one ever-acting motive (even when we do not attend to it, or would even ourselves believe it often) of all in all things, which sets out from the very dawns of choice, nay, and before, by instinct, and ends only with life: and that immediate pleasure, or apparent happiness, are the sole end and constant scope of *self-love*; but which *self-love*, like all other things, with such fallible creatures, is liable to endless mistakes and errors in its judgment of this pleasure or happiness, which is, indeed, its only true good; but which, rightly understood and directed, still becomes social from the very course itself of things, and the unalterable dispositions of all-impartial providence; and equally serves the individual and the society. Because, every one of this whole, singly pursuing its own particular views of happiness, they do all of course direct, and, as it were, hitch one another into social happiness, and a general convenience, by the various schemes and interests of all, alike drawing singly to themselves, making each, necessarily, find his several account, in giving up something, to obtain or preserve the rest;  
thus

thus reducing them into a certain mean, which is the true place of continued happiness, and which equally serves individuals and the whole; thus compelling *self-love* and *social* to unite in one. Thus it brings the total amount of human happiness to that standard, which providence (whose decrees, by the apt union of the end and means, are sure to execute themselves) hath allotted it, *here* and *now*; and which is so poised and shared, that a less degree would make life irksome, and a greater, so sweet as to be intolerable to part with.

*Self-love* seems to be the very same in the moral oeconomy of providence, that attraction is in the natural, and is kept in its due bounds by the very same counter-attraction all around it; every particular body, in both alike, drawing singly to itself; by which means the whole is reduced into that due and perfect order which the Creator designed, and which created things can possess but in various degrees; absolute perfection being the incommunicable attribute of Himself alone.

*Self-*

*Self-love* then all our own experience, and all our observation and reading of that of others, will prove to be then only well-directed, for our own sakes, when it is also *social*. This is so true, that it will be found to be the very sum of the gospel system of morals; for we are commanded nothing, either to do or to forbear, but as it conduces to our own good; and all the charities towards our neighbour, into which this noble and divine plan is branched and varied, are recommended to us, only as they tend to, and ultimately terminate in, our own real advantage; and which is so connected with that of others, that we cannot break into one, without making, in consequence, a proportionable breach into the other.

And it will be found a no less pleasing speculation, than it will prove an infinitely useful one, to investigate the gospel system with this clue; for “the ways of *Wisdom* (which is virtue) are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.” And the not seeing this, and acting accordingly, is only one of those perpetual and innumerable instances

stances of mistaken *self-love*, that are continually bewildering us. Virtue is no other than *self-love* and *social* united, which is the gospel and word of God; and vice is no other than ignorance and mistaken *self-love*, which not seeing its necessary connection with *social*, runs riot into all intemperance, and so sinks and loses itself.

This test, occasionally applied to by the facts which history furnishes, (which is "philosophy teaching, by example," how to conduct ourselves in all the situations of public and private life; and, therefore, should be attended to, and investigated with a philosophical spirit) besides the ever-engaging perpetual variety, they will mutually assist one another; one still supplying materials, and the other as constantly directing in what manner we are to make use of them.

But, indeed, the gospel does itself supply, in an emphatical degree, both the examples and their application, by its manner of inculcating its own divine doctrine, by a continued historical relation of occurrences which it applies, or leaves the reader to apply,

ply, together with certain apposite and affecting parables, sprinkled here and there, occasionally to use; which, surely, is the most ready method imaginable to accommodate divine truths and important lessons to human conception. Humanly familiar, with divine dignity! The gracious Author uniting both his natures to the great all-merciful purpose of our instruction; so warming and kindling the right spirit of reading history; and making philosophy more philosophy. The gospel being indeed a collection and finished system of moral and social duties, which, alone, contains all that the most wise and renowned law-givers and philosophers had advanced, (all unknown, as seems, to most of these inspired writers) and yet far more; and their scattered hints united into one complete body, that shines with more intense glow and splendor, as from collected and united beams. All the former philosophy and moral doctrine of the ancient ages, being like *Milton's* new-created light, as it were, "sphered in a radiant cloud, for yet the sun was not." This resplendent and consummate body of the gospel, is the sun, full-  
formed



( xiv )

formed and completed ; into which all former light was transplanted from her cloudy shrine,

*Great palace now of light !*

JONATHAN RICHARDSON.

CONTENTS.

## C O N T E N T S.

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| I. <b>O</b> N customs and ceremonies - - -   | 1    |
| II. <b>O</b> n pride - - -   | 37   |
| III. Virtues are often only vices disguised -  | 45   |
| IV. Prosperity and power good friends, but bad<br>counsellors - - -  | 48   |
| V. We love the treason, but hate the traitor -   | 51   |
| VI. Every man makes his God after his own likeness   | 57   |
| VII. Running abroad after diversions is often not<br>from receiving any pleasure in them, but<br>from having none at home - -        | 58   |
| VIII. Heaven is peopled with good doers, and hell<br>with good sayers - - -  | 59   |
| IX. Anger is not to be opposed in its first fury -   | 60   |
| X. The person obliged is often less blameable for his<br>own ingratitude than his benefactor -                                       | 61   |
| XI. We do nothing for nothing - - -  | 63   |
| XII. The motive alone is the true measure of virtue  | 66   |
| XIII. Examples of the great and astonishing power<br>of eloquence - - -  | 75   |
| XIV. Several instances of the awe with which a<br>great and numerous audience strikes the wi-<br>sest and best-prepared speakers - - | 83   |
| XV. On nick-names of princes - - -   | 90   |
| XVI. Every one has his favourite passion, and the<br>force of Self in reasoning - -  | 92   |
| XVII. Use  |      |

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| XVII. <i>Use and propriety alone can give real merit to talents and their application</i> -   | 96   |
| XVIII. <i>Propriety is the only test of what is right</i>   | 101  |
| XIX. <i>It is dangerous to make free with greatness in jest</i> - - - -   | 103  |
| XX. <i>The force of custom</i> - - - -  | 108  |
| XXI. <i>It is absurd to take a satire to one self, or fit the cap to our own head</i> - -   | 110  |
| XXII. <i>We never love God so much as when we want him</i> - - - -  | 111  |
| XXIII. <i>God does not give courage and understanding, but only lends them</i> - - -  | 116  |
| XXIV. <i>We are commonly the dupes of other people's views</i> - - - -  | 119  |
| XXV. <i>We can make no very certain judgment of the happiness of others</i> - - -   | 125  |
| XXVI. <i>Nothing imposes so much as a grave and solemn demeanour</i> - - - -  | 135  |
| XXVII. <i>We can never get rid of ourselves</i> -   | 136  |
| XXVIII. <i>Few can bear the leisure that all covet</i>  | 138  |
| XXIX. <i>The neglecting or forgiving of injuries is, indeed, securing the tranquillity, and, withal, asserting the dignity of our persons</i> - | 141  |
| XXX. <i>Anecdote concerning an intercepted letter of king Charles I. to the queen</i> -   | *132 |
| XXXI. <i>People had rather not die at all</i> -   | *134 |
| XXXII. <i>Man differs more from man than man from beast</i> - - - -   | *138 |
| XXXIII. <i>We often err from supposing others to act consistently</i> - - - -   | *142 |
| XXXIV. <i>Cheats deserve to be cheated</i> -  | 148  |
| XXXV. <i>A critical enquiry into the several degrees of merit of various ladies who have sacrificed themselves for their chastity</i>           | 149  |
| XXXVI. <i>A</i>   |      |

|  | Page      |
|--|-----------|
| XXXVI. <i>A repartee of the earl of Dorset to king<br/>Cha. II. and another in the Saracen hist.</i>                                   | 158       |
| XXXVII. <i>The idle bustle of men. A true story</i>  | 160       |
| XXXVIII. <i>The honours that are paid to those who<br/>do not deserve them are affronts</i>  | 162       |
| XXXIX. <i>Superstition is the weak part of mankind</i>   | 165       |
| XL. <i>Three victims to conjugal virtue</i>  | 170       |
| XLI. <i>We are all the perpetual dupes of present con-<br/>venience</i>  | 174       |
| XLII. <i>Every one has his price</i>   | 178       |
| XLIII. <i>Vanity never quits us</i>  | 180       |
| XLIV. <i>The same continued</i>  | 181       |
| XLV. <i>Good-nature wins all</i>   | 184       |
| XLVI. <i>Know your company before you speak</i>  | 188       |
| XLVII. <i>Our enemies are a better looking-glass than<br/>our friends</i>  | 190       |
| XLVIII. <i>New and unestablished merit has the pre-<br/>judices, the timorousness, and the malignity<br/>of the world to encounter</i> | 194       |
| XLIX. <i>Vanity is the great social principle that con-<br/>nects mankind with, and makes them depen-<br/>dent on, each other</i>      | 201       |
| L. <i>We are, in general, more obliged to our insensi-<br/>bility, than to our philosophy</i>  | 209       |
| LI. <i>Lawyers differ</i>  | 216       |
| LII. <i>Wit and prudence seldom go together</i>  | 217       |
| LIII. <i>On posthumous fame</i>  | 219       |
| LIV. <i>Instances of avarice</i>   | 220       |
| LV. <i>A curious offer from a queen of Syria to Abdalla,<br/>and from an old lady to bishop Gibson</i>                                 | 221       |
| LVI. <i>Story of a cavalier physician's prescription to<br/>his puritan patient</i>  | 222       |
| b  | LVII. In- |

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| LVII. <i>Interpolations of a bible, printed by authority</i> |      |
| <i>in France</i> - - -                                       | 223  |
| LVIII. <i>Hypocrisy is sometimes a virtue</i> -              | 224  |
| LIX. <i>We often suffer more from excess than from</i>       |      |
| <i>want</i> - - -  | 227  |
| LX. <i>Every man has his string if you can find it,</i>      |      |
| <i>and know how to pull it</i> - -                           | 229  |
| LXI. <i>All virtue or vice bears the seeds of its own</i>    |      |
| <i>reward or punishment in the natural conse-</i>            |      |
| <i>quences of things</i> - -                                 | 231  |
| LXII. <i>Puffers always lay themselves open to ridicule</i>  | 234  |
| ‡LXIII. <i>Story of an elephant at Achin</i> -               | 235  |
| ‡LXIV. <i>Two anecdotes of lord Stair</i> -                  | 236  |
| ‡LXV. <i>People are often governed by those whom</i>         |      |
| <i>they despise</i> - -                                      | 237  |
| LXVI. <i>Those who hide can find</i> - -                     | 239  |
| LXVII. <i>The use of silence</i> - -                         | 240  |
| LXVIII. <i>Put water in the pump</i> -                       | 244  |
| LXIX. <i>Nature will always make its way</i> -               | 246  |
| LXX. <i>We should contrive to be always good for</i>         |      |
| <i>something</i> - . -                                       | 248  |
| LXXI. <i>Doctors differ</i> - - -                            | 249  |
| LXXII. <i>A word to the wise</i> - -                         | 251  |
| LXXIII. <i>On the superstition and malignity of the</i>      |      |
| <i>ignorant</i> - - -  | 252  |
| LXXIV. <i>We are perpetually deceived by appearances</i>     | 254  |
| LXXV. <i>When we ourselves are concerned the case</i>        |      |
| <i>is altered</i> - -  | 259  |
| LXXVI. [Omitted.]  |      |
| LXXVII. <i>Study the Graces both when you confer</i>         |      |
| <i>and receive favours</i> - -                               | 261  |
| LXXVIII. <i>On affected criticism</i> -                      | 262  |
| LXXIX. <i>De-</i>  |      |

|  | Page    |
|--|---------|
| LXXIX. <i>Decency should attend on all our qualities, to make them amiable and respected</i> - -         | 267     |
| LXXX. <i>Nature and use will discover themselves through all disguises</i> - -                           | 273     |
| LXXXI. <i>Heroic gallantry</i> - -   | 279     |
| LXXXII. <i>On the idle fondness of life</i> -  | 281     |
| LXXXIII. <i>Secrets are often dangerous both to the teller and bearer</i> - - -                          | 284     |
| LXXXIV. <i>Every one for himself</i> - -   | 286     |
| LXXXV. <i>We should keep to our own condition</i>  | 287     |
| LXXXVI. <i>Beauty the first and last concern of a woman</i> - - - -                                      | 288     |
| LXXXVII. <i>Events come upon us unexpectedly</i>   | 290     |
| LXXXVIII. <i>Mercy is often a false virtue, and a disguised vice</i> - - -                               | 291     |
| LXXXIX. <i>The shoulder is fitted to the burden</i>  | 294     |
| XC. <i>Keep your tongue between your teeth</i> -   | 296     |
| XCI. <i>Men of sense differ less than they seem to do</i>  | 300     |
| XCII. <i>We can judge only from what we see</i> -  | 302     |
| XCIII. <i>All unnecessary noises in public assemblies favour of barbarism or impiety</i> -               | 303     |
| XCIV. <i>We should be mild upon errors and faults in favour of essential and preponderating good</i>     | 307     |
| XCV. <i>A decent pride is the guarantee of virtue</i>  | 310     |
| XCVI. <i>Those who will give jests ought to take them</i> - - -  | 311     |
| XCVII. <i>Ruling passion, and lucky application of words</i> - - -                                       | 314     |
| XCVIII. <i>Good rules must give way to better</i>  | 316     |
| XCIX. <i>We atone for the vices we indulge by our severity on those for which we have no taste</i> - - - | 318     |
|  | C. Per- |

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| C. <i>Persevere and conquer</i> - -                       | 320  |
| CI. <i>We call believing what is not</i> -                | 321  |
| CII. <i>We should imitate merit instead of envying it</i> | 323  |
| CIII. <i>We are often the better for our enemies</i>      | 326  |
| CIV. <i>Privileges are sometimes affronts</i> -           | 327  |
| CV. <i>Anecdote of General Guise</i> -                    | 328  |
| CVI. <i>Once a rogue and always a rogue</i> -             | 329  |
| CVII. <i>On the rational idea of God</i> -                | 332  |
| <i>Additional notes</i> - -                               | 336  |

† LXIII. LXIV. and LXV. are marked wrong, and LXXVI. is omitted.

---

E R R A T A.

- Page 10, l. 5, for 'natur' read 'nature.'  
— 23, l. 13, for 'two' read 'too.'  
— 21, ————— 'imperio.'  
— 41, l. 15, ————— 'virtù.'  
— 59, note, ————— 'Guevara.'  
— 85, l. 1, for 'ingenious' read 'ingenuous.'  
— 136, l. 9, for 'virtue' read 'vertu.'  
— 225, l. the last, for 'remarks it' read 'remark H.'  
— 246, l. 1, for 'expellis' read 'expelles.'

RICHARD-

---

---

RICHARDSONIANA, &c.

---

I.

CUSTOMS and CEREMONIES.

*Man differs more from man than man from beast.*

ROCHESTER.

**P**ERHAPS nothing is more proper to give a summary idea of mankind, and of their general levity and inconsistency, and the prejudices of what they call their reason, than a short survey of some of their customs; because these are not the caprices of single men, but the sense of a whole people; and that too, not of one particular time, but what have been gradually embraced, approved, and acquiesced in, by whole generations and ages.

B

By



By these it will appear, that the species have agreed so little in their opinion of right and wrong, that it would almost incline us to doubt whether these have any fixed point in the nature itself of things, and do not almost depend on accidental convenience \*, and the various circumstances of time and place; or at least that we have not the proper qualifications to enable us to determine; except peradventure in extreme cases. For, what criterion can we have? and who shall be the judge? if every age and nation comes to plead its own cause, and produce its customs, which ever of the other condemns it, must withal prove why its own opinion is preferable to that of the age or nation at the bar. † They must all then severally bring their particular customs and opinions of right and wrong before the tribunal of the whole world. This is, and must be, the last resort; except in cases of immediate revelation; but then the same question will again recur, and with equal

\* — *Ipsa utilitas justi prope mater est æqui.* Hor. Sat. I. 3. 98.

† *Nil agit exemplum, litem quod lite resolvit.* Id. Sat. II. 3. 103.

force;

force; for they vary as much in their several revelations as in their customs. So then we can have no decision; but every one must go on, as they have done from the beginning, each abounding in his own sense and very sure that he is right, and all the rest wrong.

They have been pleasant in relation to the disposal of their dead. *Teixeira*, in his *Relations of the Kings of Persia*, says, “ that the *Parfis*, the remainder of the old *Ignicolæ*, still very numerous in some of the provinces, have a certain place in their mountains, near *Yard*, the chief city of their religion, about forty leagues east of *Ispahan*, where they have preserved, they pretend, their *perpetual fire*, without having once suffered it to go out, for full 3500 years; which place they also call, in their language, *the house of the fire*. Near this, in holes among the rocks, they bring their ancient people, often from very distant parts, and placing them upright in one of these, leave them in this posture, jammed up, without any nourishment, till they expire; for they think it a shame, or rather a crime, to die

in their beds\*. Here, as the air is extremely pure and dry, they remain in the same posture, entire and uncorrupted for ages ; and their families and descendants come, from time to time, in great devotion, to offer them flowers and sweet smelling herbs ; worshipping thus, as it were, present and in person, the saints and tutelar spirits of their house." *Pedro Teixeira Relaciones de los Reyes de Persia & Harmuz*, p. 4.

“ These same people have a quaint method to find whether a person who dies younger in his bed will be saved, or not. It is no matter how he lived ! They fasten his corps on a horse, which they drive before them, anointing first the head and eyes of their departed friend. The crows do not fail to light upon him presently, and at once attack his eyes. Now, if they peck his right eye first, which their wise faces are very intent to observe, they conclude him safe, and they preserve him, and honour his memory accordingly ; but if they

\* This notion was very ancient among them, for *Curtius* says (VIII. 9. 32.) “ *Nec ullus corporibus quæ senectus solvit honor redditur.*”

fasten first on the left, there is no chance for him, he is damned eternally, and his carcass flung to the dogs." *Superstition Graciosa*, p. 7.

So " *Pliny's Hyperboreans*, if they could get drunk, and leap into the sea from a rock, were sure of being saved \*." It is no wonder goodness of life has never been considered as equal to soundness of faith; since priests, who are the only arbiters of these matters, were undone by the people's infidelity, but lived very comfortably on their sins.

The *Persians* of the magiary sect, as late as the time of *Justinian*, according to his historian *Agathias*, had an *ordeal* (as one might very well call it) of this kind; and as absurd. And, to see the inconsistency of mankind, that is, in one view, a little lower than angels, and in another, hardly a little higher than brutes; after he had given an account of *Merméroz*, a *Per-*

\* " *Mors non nisi satietate vitæ epulatis delibutoque senio luxu, ex quadam rupe in mare salientibus. Hoc genus sepulturæ beatissimum.*" *H. N.* (IV.) 12. p. 212.

*lian* general, as one of the greatest men and finest geniuses in the world, which was approved by the almost constant success of his wise schemes; he goes on to say, "that on his death, his nearest relations carried his body out of the city, and exposed it, naked, to be devoured by the dogs.—Then is the time to know for certain, *how it fares with him in the other world*; for if the dogs let him alone, or devour him slowly and by halves, they take it for granted that he is condemned to suffer the most horrible tortures; and his family and friends make dreadful moan and weep bitterly for his sad case." *Agathias Justinian*, II. 10.

"In another place, near the gulph of *Bengal*, the *Gentoo Indians* take their parents, when they come to an age that their children judge proper for it, to the top of a tree, and bid them hold fast; and then, coming down, these dutiful sons take the trunk with both their hands, and shake it with all their might. If the old people stick till they are tired out with rocking it, they say they are not yet quite ripe, and help them down; but if they drop, they eat them." *Id. Ib.* The same famous author, who

who was himself a long time in the parts he describes, and affirms, “ he sets down nothing but what he was either an eye-witness of, or received from persons who had been so; and whom he thought he had as much reason to credit as if he had actually seen himself what they related to him,” says, that, “ as he passed through the city and fortrefs of *Diu*, he was present at the marriage of a bull and a cow, celebrated by a rich *Banian*, or merchant among the *Gen-too Indians*, which cost him ten or twelve thousand ducats.” Yet, if he is applied to by the greatest object of charity, he will tell him coldly, *God hath done you harm and me too*. It is no wonder, if, when a man’s zeal is misapplied, and exhausted on improper subjects, it is proportionably defective on right and worthy ones; and accordingly one commonly sees that fanatick and superstitious people are little lurking low dealers in iniquity.

These are *East Indians*. *Don Pedro Cieça de Leon*, an author who was present at the first discovery and conquest of *Peru*, writes thus :

“ Before I go any farther, I will here set down a strange thing, and that will doubtless astonish the reader. The second time that I passed through these valleys (in the north and richest part of *Peru*) when we built and peopled the city of *Antiocha*, in the mountains that surround them, I was informed that the governors, or *caciques*, of those parts were accustomed to make incursions into their enemy's territories, in order to take their women. These they used according to their pleasure, and after having brought up the children they had by them till they were twelve or thirteen years old, they fattened them with great care, and eat them; which piece of horrid luxury was indeed their chief motive to these inroads. This, I was assured, was a customary thing among them; and that which makes me not to doubt of it, is, what I myself saw of one of these *caciques*, in company with the *licentiate Juan de Vadillo*, who is now in *Spain*, and will confirm it to be fact to any that shall ask him, and it is this :

“ The first time we *Spaniards* entered into these valleys, which were myself and company,

pany, one of the *caciques*, whom they called *Nabonuco*, came to us in peace, and brought three women with him. When night came, two of these laid themselves at their length upon a mat, and the third across, by way of pillow, and then his people brought in a fourth, who was very handsome, and which he took hold of, to draw her to him. The *licentiate Juan de Vadillo* asked him, what he was going to do with that girl? (which seems an odd question; one would think he might have guessed, though he would have guessed wrong.) The *cacique* looked him in the face, and said very calmly, *To eat her.* *Vadillo*, hearing this, was amazed, as we all were, and asked him, *How he could think of eating her, being as seemed too, his wife?* The *cacique*, raising his voice, answered: *I have eat her children, and I will eat her.*" *Cieça de Leon* \* c. 12.

\* This *Cieça de Leon* is an author of credit. *Bayle* hath given this story, but in part only, in his article; but, as he could never procure any but an *Italian* translation, there is a mistake in what he hath given. This is entire, and directly from the *Spanish*.

But



But still these, whose customs we have quoted, are barbarians, *Asiatics* and *Americans*; regions where science hath never made any great progress. It is in *Europe* only that human nature hath exerted itself; and here, without doubt, by far the most eminently, among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; yet these have had customs so universal and lasting, as to prove that they were the sense of those nations, even in their highest point of glory and knowledge; and yet as repugnant to reason; at least to our sense, (which every man, for himself, calls reason) as any of the other, and infinitely more mischievous.

The combats of gladiators were a darling diversion of the *Romans*, for six hundred years; but they are so horrid and offensive to our manners, and so repugnant, one would think, to human nature, that such a practice, so long continued, would be utterly incredible, if all history did not testify the truth of it. But, as it is undeniable that it appeared otherwise to a noble and polite people, it is almost presumptuous to pronounce in our own cause, and from  
whence

whence there is now no appeal, that our sense is better than their sense.

Upon a supposition of a future state, which even the most rude and remote ancients believed; and that, with the same passions, the dead would want the same conveniences as when alive, they not only buried or burned, with their bodies, all those utensils and animals in which they had most delighted, but even sacrificed to their future service or friendship the men and women they had most loved.

It was a custom in *Spain* \*, that those who were the highest and nearest in the service of the prince, devoted themselves to die with him, whenever his death should happen. The prince found his account in this, especially in war; because it was the immediate interest of these to secure his life, at all events. *Sertorius* had some thousands who had thus devoted themselves to him; and accordingly, when he was once in a most imminent danger, they all crow-

\* *Plutarch, Sertorius, (V.) p. 208.*

ded about him, and delivered him over their heads, from one to another, till they had put him in a place of security, and then every one took care of himself, which might otherwise have been done probably before.

At first, in the universal darkness of mankind, when they were plunged in ignorance and barbarism, they sacrificed these without ceremony, by cutting their throats like other victims, on the funeral piles themselves; and placed them round the dead body; just as \* *Homer* describes the slaughter of the twelve noble *Trojan* youths on that of *Patroclus*, with his favourite horses and dogs. But afterwards, as the times polished a little, they changed this into the victims fighting and killing one another, at least, and with a chance of some of them escaping. Yet, in some cases, the first barbarity was executed to the rigour, even in the most polite and learned times of the heathen world. Even when *Virgil* and *Horace* wrote, “ *Augustus Cæsar*, after having reduced the poor

\* *Il.* xxiii. 175.

city of *Perugia*, (so near to *Rome* itself) which had been declared an enemy to the *Roman* people by the senate, (only because these wanted their lands to divide among the soldiers who had enslaved them, and who began to be mutinous,) reduced them, with all the blood and misery that human nature is capable of suffering, so that *Perugian famine* became a proverb ever after; and those few who had escaped in such a populous city, and flung themselves on the mercy of *Augustus* every where, as he passed among the starved and rotten bodies through the streets, had only this answer from him, *Ye must die*; he chose out three hundred \* of the chief and most noble youths who had surrendered to him, after the most brave defence of their own and their wives and children's lives and liberties, and cut all their throats, on an altar raised for that purpose to *Julius Cæsar*;" (because that hero had not had blood enough in his life-time!) Could any thing but the perpetual and daily use of seeing blood even in their diversions, bring a man of sense and parts, to such an

\* *Sueton, vit. c. 15. Dion says 400.*

unfeeling

unfeeling savageness of temper ! whom even the being highly instructed in the arts that polish human nature, could not soften from such a ferocity of manners ! A nation should above all things watch over its customs, as a private man over his habits. The general mind of a nation is made and moulded to its customs, as those of particular people are to the company they happen to keep ; therefore some one said very well, *Abuse the thing that is most expedient, custom will make it the most agreeable.*

The *Tuscans*, the most polished people of the country at that time, were the first who introduced this horrid custom into *Italy*; but it must be considered, that even this was a softening of a more horrid one. There are still innumerable proofs of this in the paintings on their vases, and sculptures on their sarcophagi, that I have seen in the Great Duke's collection\*, and are dug up every day about *Arezzo*, and the ruins of their ancient cities ; and these so ancient as to be most of them before the building of *Rome*, which did

\* See *Dempster's Etruria Regia*, published by Lord Leicester.

not receive it till about five hundred years after; so that it was not the effect of rude barbarism in them, but of the wealth and luxury of the times; and continued through all the most flourishing and polished empire, till Christianity abolished it, with the other cruel and savage rights that would have continued as long as their power, if this religion of reason and humanity had not, happily for mankind, intervened.

This, which was at first very rare, and only for the funerals of those of extreme rank, grew afterwards to be common for all of any consideration. The people became so fond of these cruel spectacles, that they would not suffer eminent men to be burned without them. Even the funerals of women were polluted with this savageness. *Julius Cæsar* \* was the first that did this, for his daughter *Julia*, the wife of *Pompey*. Afterwards this too became frequent. *Hadrian* † for his mother-in-law, &c.

But as the *Romans* grew still more wealthy and wanton with luxury, they were ex-

\* *Sueton. vit. c. 26. Dion. 40.* † *Spartian, vit. c. 9.*  
hibited

hibited on all occasions, of all kinds, where the people were to be highly entertained, and their favour courted. This was done in the amphitheatre, where not only the emperor, the senate, and the equestrian order had their proper places, but even the ladies. nay, and the vestal virgins, were present at these butcheries \*, where decency was no more regarded than humanity; as they fought stark naked and pampered up a long time before to the most sleek and muscular force and elegance that the masculine form was capable of attaining by art.

Not contented with the public exhibition of these cruel spectacles, they were introduced into feasts and grand suppers. They fought round the table during the repast, and the genial board was sprinkled with the blood of dying gladiators; nay the guests were invited, not so much to a luxurious entertainment, for that was trite and vulgar, as to be treated with these spectacles, and the gay debauchee sat encouraging them not to spare one another, or them-

\* *Prudentius* gives a lively description of this, with a proper indignation.

elves,

elves, and clapped as they murdered their adversaries. *Silius Ital.* XI. 41. *Nic. Damasceus.*

These conquerors of the world, these masters of the spoils of innumerable nations, that they had been civilising with their blood, seem to have put the last refinement upon luxury, by adding the contrast of others misery to their own enjoyment ; like “ the old *Tuscans*, who, as *Plutarch* tells us, used to have their slaves scourged and tortured before them at their solemn feasts, while the music was playing, to enhance their own jollity by their sufferings.” *De Irâ*, from *Aristotle*.

It was the constant opinion of the ancients, both *Greeks* and *Romans*, who acted and wrote as we see, (what inequalities in human nature !) that the Gods, in the midst of their own perfect bliss, were very envious if they saw us a little more happy than ordinary, and particularly that ill-natured goddess *Nemesis*, whose whole business was, to dash our sincerest joys ; so that they had set forms on extraordinary occasions, and particularly triumphs and other

C

inferior



inferior public rejoicings, of appeasing their jealousy, and atoning for their present happiness. See *Tit. Livius*, V, 21, and *Plut. Camillus*, p. 96, and not. *Dacier*.

No wonder if they encouraged in themselves what they conceived as inculcated to them by the example and practice of the Gods. O the most fatal sure of all errors, an unworthy idea of the divine nature !

This might probably have been one original occasion of these butcheries (though afterwards used for delight) as it was, for the consul's exhibiting gladiators before he set out against the enemy. " It is the general opinion", says one of their historians, " that our ancients practised this devotion in going out of *Rome* against an enemy ; that *Nemesis* being thus appeased by the blood of citizens, in this sort of mock-battle, might be, in some degree, satiated, and so induced to spare it the more, when the true one should happen." *Capito Lin. Maxim. & Balbin.* 8.

" These

“ These victims to the public diversions of those times, were fed with rich meats to make them sleek and plump as well as nervous, so that they might bleed the freer, and die more fiercely. If they fought with any degree of shyness or timidity, there were officers ready, on the people’s clamours, to scourge them, or burn them with torches pushed on their backs, to enrage them with the smart of the scalding pitch.”\*  
*St. Cyprian, Ep. 2. ad Donat.*

At last after having behaved themselves gallantly, and when they were covered with wounds and gashes, and soaked in their own and adversaries blood, and now just fainting, they stretched out their hands and suppliant faces, to the innumerable assembly of all ranks of both sexes, begging their lives, † and hoping, for a plea, that they had contented them with their behaviour ;

\* — *Hominum, inclyte Theben,*  
*Sanguis erant, homines, eademque in sidera, eosdem*  
*Sortitus animarum, alimenta que vestra creati.*  
 Stat. Theb. XII. 555.

† See this painted from the life, as himself had often seen it, by *Seneca Ep. VII.* and *Cicero Orat. pro A. Milone 34.*

if not, they declared themselves ready to undergo their sentence. If the people were in good humour with them, they were sent away for that time; if not, they cried out *receive the sword, recipe ferrum*: on which, without hesitation, they held their side for their adversary to plunge his sword into, or if they could stand no longer, their throat. Yet even here, in this uttermost distress and contempt, there was room for vanity (for where will not vanity find a place, or into what dirty hole will it not wriggle itself!) These butts of the public pride, and wanton scorn of their cruelty, still exulted in the critical niceness of their postures for the wound of their opponent; and when all over blood and gashes, far from being seen to suffer, if refused their petition, and bade to die, held their side or throat in a graceful posture, to satisfy the expectation of the amphitheatre, and gain the posthumous applause of those that considered them in no other light, than as they diverted them with their death. Nay, sometimes the people were so eager when they thought they had not behaved with sufficient animosity against one another, that they would make them be cut to pieces before

fore them,\* for fear of foul play, or that their adversary favoured them, and they might come to life again, these wretches who had been diverting them all this while with their blood and misery! and it was not uncommon for them to come out of their places, and thrust their hands into the wound and rummage it about, to see if it were deep enough and fairly mortal.

“ The emperor *Commodus* himself did this; but, as it was common, it is not taken notice of by the historian upon this account, but for his wiping his bloody hand on his hair; nor even for the savageness of this filthy circumstance, but because it was considered as an omen, (being but a little before he was murdered) and the moving his hand from a dead body to his head was, that he had thus devoted himself to death; as if he had used the form of imprecation, and said, *let it be on my own head.*” *Lampri- dius*, vit. c. 16.

What a strict and perpetual alliance between ignorance, superstition, and cruelty;

\* *Lactantius.*

which are a leash of hell-hounds that constantly hunt together !

They would fight thus for sixty or seventy pairs at one show ; when exhibited to gain the people's suffrages for the greater magistracies. *Julius Cæsar* gave three hundred and twenty pairs in his ædileship,

As soon as dispatched, the dead bodies were dragged out of the *Arena* with a hook, and flung one after another into a great hole for that purpose ; the place new fanded, and a fresh pair brought in.

At length the religion of humanity and mercy abolished all this, but not till three hundred years after *Christ*, in the reign of *Constantine the Great*. *Sub cujus humano imperio immanitatem olim exuit orbis Romanus*, \* says *Petiscus*, on his restraining the savageness of masters to their slaves. *Christianity* may well be said to have brought life and immortality to light † ; since it hath en-

\* *Petisc. Lex. Antiq.* T. II. p. 776.

† II *Tim.* 1, 10.

lightened

lightened this life, as much as it hath secured to us another. Before, *qualibus in tenebris vitæ !* \*

One would think human nature could hardly find out, or fall into a custom more barbarous, irrational, and more abhorrent to itself. But I am afraid we make our nature too great a compliment, in supposing vice and folly so abhorrent to it. If we examine the civil and religious conduct of the species through ages and countries, which is the fairest test, it will surely appear, that it sympathises but too much with these qualities. An abridgment of the history of that one, and all passions in one, self-love, would abundantly account for all; and at the same time give sentence against us. But it would also appear perhaps, that this universal quality hath not done more harm to others, than it hath done to itself. “ *Alieno imperior felicior quam suo !*” Tacit. H. I. 49.

Mankind have actually fallen into a custom more barbarous, far more irrational,

\* *Lucret. II. 15.*

and more extensive. For gladiators were only among the *Romans*; the *Greeks* (a number of small common-wealths) not being able to afford the expence; and besides, these ruffians were the scum and offal of human nature, and the sink and very common sewer of all vice and brutality; but parents exposing their own children, their new-born infants, to death, to starve with hunger and cold in a lone place, the blossom and beauty of simple innocent nature! because they would not be at the expence of nourishing them, and this often of people who lived in ease and plenty,\* was not more horrid and unnatural than it was frequent, and for ages, both with *Greeks* and *Romans*.†

\* *Ingenuos si exponantur in servilem transire conditionem. Seneca V. Controv. 33.*

† *Expositio infantum omnium fere gentium fuit, sed & Græcorum plerorumque, exceptis Thebanis, apud quos lege vetitum infantes exponere. Lacedæmonii, disciplinæ cæteris rigidiores, ab hac exponendi consuetudine non abhorruerunt. Petiscus Lex. Antiq.*

————— *Damnavit parens,*  
*Et in alta nemora pabulum misit feris*  
*Avidis, avibusque quas Cythæron noxius*  
*Alit. Seneca in OEdipo.*

As

As soon as the babe was born, it was brought to the father by the midwife, and laid on the ground before him; and the father either took it up, and put it a moment in his bosom, and then it was to be nourished; or else ordered it to be exposed. They seldom murdered it themselves, though this they did sometimes; and *Chremes*, in *Terence's Heautontimorumenos*\*, gravely reproaches his wife for having delivered his infant daughter to another to be exposed, instead of killing her herself, as he had ordered before she was brought to bed, in case it should prove a girl.

*Tot peccata in hac re ostendis; nam jamprimum, si meum Imperium exequi voluisses, interemptam oportuit; Non simulare mortem verbis, reipsâ spem vitæ dare;*

and accordingly she owns her fault,

*Mi Chreme, peccavi, fateor; vincor.* Nor does he at all appear to act any way extra-

\* VI. I. 21. This play of *Terence* is taken from the *Greek* one of *Menander*, who wrote at the very time of the utmost flower of the *Greek* politeness and grandeur; and every one knows that comedies are the authentic representations of the times, and their manners.

ordinarily



ordinarily in this, but rather persists in abusing her for not knowing what was good, and right, and just,

*Quid cum illis agas qui neque Jus, neque bonum, atque æquom sciunt\*.* *Ib. V. 29.*

Different nations have not only different languages, that are not understood by one another; and different provinces or countries of the same, different dialects and phrases, that appear absurd and ridiculous, or harsh and dissonant to those of another; but vary as much in their ideas and notions of religious and civil truth and justice.

When it was determined that the infant should be exposed, a slave, or other person employed, carried it, and laid it in a desert place, to die unseen and unheard, with hunger and cold; while the parents could go calmly to their own meals; or what was

\* The fixed and settled custom of exposing their children, even in families of condition, is proved, beyond all controversy, by the very laws themselves, both of the *Greek* and the *Roman* emperors, now extant, that were made to decide upon what is to be done with those that happened to be afterwards known again when grown up. See *Paullus I. C. L. IV. De agnoscendis liberis.*

more common, the poor little innocent babe was placed in a road where there was concourse\* ; that if any passenger should think fit to take care of it, he might ; though the use these children were, for the most part, made of in these cases, was thought among them to be a misfortune to them ; and that it had been better for them to have perished at first, as their parents had designed. This use will be mentioned by and by.

On sending them to be exposed, the mother commonly put a ring or piece of money † into the basket with them, because, forsooth, they had a scruple of de-

\* The old scholiast of *Juvenal*, who, speaking of this custom, which, he says, was so common that he shall not expatiate upon it, acquaints us, that they were frequently laid on the side of the great common sewer. *Juvenal*, VI. 602.

*Aristophanes* speaks of a mother who exposed her child the moment it was born, in an open vessel of earthen ware, in the midst of winter. *Aristoph.* Βαρναχ.

† *Heliodorus*, in his *Æthiopics*,—" Now shew me, says a lady, the rich mantle, and the other jewels, which you tell me you found with my poor daughter, which I ordered to be exposed."

So far were they from being ashamed of this, that they often engraved the names of the father and mother on a rich buckle that fastened the child's mantle,  
that

frauding them of their natural right to a share of their parents goods :

*Cum exponendam do illi, de digito annulum  
Detraho, & eum dico ut una cum puellâ exponeret,  
Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.*

*Ib. V. 37.*

This wise precaution was of a piece with another custom they had. On burying a criminal alive, they were very careful to leave him a loaf of bread, and a cup of water, that they might not seem to be so cruel as to design to starve him to death. So too with us; such is the corruption of the mildest and most humane of all dispensations ! The inquisitors, when they deliver a heretic into the secular hands, adjure them, by the bowels of Jesus, *not to do him any harm*. It is thus that these rascals avoid having to do with blood. What farce and blasphemy ! to enhance the most unfeeling and savage inhumanity, with the hypocritical mask of compassion !

that if any took it up, they might find some sort of reward for their trouble ; and if it died, there should be wherewithal to bury it. *Heliodorus*.

These

These sort of tokens, as they happened to turn out, were often the occasion of parents discovering their children again that had been thus exposed; and were a frequent subject of their comedies; as of this of *Terence*, and some others that are still left. But would not these valuable gifts, often, to children that were to be heard no more of, be liable to be stolen away, and the infant left, by the servant to whom it was delivered, or by passengers, who had no more compassion for it than the parents themselves?

Let us place ourselves for a moment in *Athens*, in those times that we so much admire, and almost adore, *La belle Grece!* and see these innocent and pretty human creatures lying helpless in by-places, or on highways, starving by degrees, and perishing; while innumerable pitiless men and women passed by, and took no notice of them; and the parents themselves patiently bearing the reflection of what they were suffering, or quite forgetting them! And (most astonishing!) the public laws of this great nation allowing it.

*Seneca*

*Seneca* the father, in one of his *Controversies*, hath reckoned up innumerable miseries to which these unfortunate out-casts were liable. The subject of the *Controversy* is, "A person who made it his business, whose trade it was, to maim exposed children." In the course of which it appears, how frequent it was for them to have their eyes put out, or limbs dislocated, or broken, in order to fit them the better for objects of compassion to beg with. If boys, they were castrated, sold for slaves, or exercised for gladiators: If girls, brought up by bawds for prostitutes. *Seneca, Controv. 33.*

*Fuscus Arellius* said, "We compassionate these wretched out-casts for their being exposed to wild beasts, to serpents, as well as cold and famine; we forget to dread what is more horrible for them, their being in danger of being preserved." *Ib.*

Yet these were often the children of people in good circumstances; always of free and generous blood; for slaves were not permitted to expose theirs, as being a part of their master's estate.

*Quod*

*Quod genus hoc hominum, quæve hunc tam barbara morem  
Permittit patria! Virg. Æn. 1.*

“ The emperor *Claudius*, after having received and nourished his daughter *Claudia*, of which his wife *Urgulanilla* was brought to bed but five months after her divorce, on a sudden caused it to be hung naked at its mother’s door.” *Suetonius Claud. 27.*

“ *Epiçtetus*’s only attendant was a woman, whom he took in his advanced years, to nurse a child, which otherwise one of his friends would have exposed to perish. An amiable proof of the poor old man’s goodness and disapprobation, it is to be hoped, of that shocking, yet common instance of heathen blindness and barbarity.” *Mrs. Eliz. Carter’s Introduction to the works of Epiçtetus, p. xxix.*

Yet *Aristotle* approves this custom, in his *Politics*; and some of the greatest *Greek* and *Roman* writers, in describing the manners of some nations, remark on their not exposing their children, as a piece of singularity and a sort of barbarism. And “ *Chilo*, the *Lacedæmonian* philosopher, very gravely advises

wives *Hippocrates*, who had met with what they took for a prodigy in sacrificing, never to marry ; or, if he married, to divorce his wife immediately ; or at least to destroy whatever children he should have of her." *Arist. Polit.* VII. c. 16.—*Strabo* XVII. of the *Egyptians*.—*Tacitus*, of the *Jews*, H. V. *Dion. Hal.* of the *Aborigines* I. init. *Diog. Laert.*

Does it not seem as if mankind differed even in the first principles of reasoning ; and that what is a self-evident truth in one nation, and one age, is the very reverse, diametrically contrary in another !

Perhaps, if more strictly examined than hath yet been done, (taking always experience and historical facts along with us) it will appear, that what we call our reason, is little else than the customs we have always been used to, and the strong but unheeded bias that the first impressions from the arbitrary appearances of things on our first and earliest perceptions have given to our faculties, and by degrees rooted and incorporated into our minds, before we were in any condition to search into their truth and  
right-

rightness. *Magni est ingenii revocare mentem a sensibus, & cogitationem a consuetudine. Cic. Tus. Q.*

Certainly, in cases of religion, those things with whose truth we are in the highest degree satisfied and most highly venerate, happening to be born in *Italy*, for instance, we should as implicitly be satisfied were utterly false, absurd, and criminal, if we had happened to have been dropped in *Constantinople*; and why should it not be the same, in degree, in other speculative points?

The *Romans* continued this monstrous practice during all that great consular time we so much admire, and admire with reason in many cases; but it is with nations as with particular persons, that the nearer you look into them often, the less you like them: "Nobody hath so little an opinion of a great man," says *Rochefaucauld*, "as his valet de chambre." "A prophet, in fine, is not honoured in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house." The domestic life is a very different thing from the public and open scene. The *Carthaginians*



*thaginians* sacrificed their children to *Moloch*, now and then, on extraordinary occasions of public calamity; the thing was done pompously; and they are infamous for it to this day. The *Romans* put theirs to a more cruel death, because more lingering, daily; and the commonness of it, without ceremony, made it disregarded for above a thousand years, quite down to the reign of *Valentinian*. At length the mildness and benevolence of the *Christian* religion put a final end to, and utterly abolished this dire practice; and took away from parents the power of murdering their own children.— Good God! that this power should ever have been given them, or that it should ever have needed to be taken away from them!

Perhaps we see nothing as it is, and all our ideas of truth depend on custom; what we happen to have been used to. Certainly the same things are seen very differently, by people in the highest life, those in the middling, and by the dregs of the populace; as, though they speak the same language, they hardly use any of one another's words and phrases. Whole nations see things  
much

much in the same gross light with one another, and quite different from that in which other whole nations see them; not only in religion and politics, (into which they are in a manner compelled) but in the common occurrences and fashions in the general commerce of the world. When our ears are familiarised to a certain repetition of verses or words, we cannot abide to change them often, though found to be wrong. Use makes that appear to be reason, at which, on the first hearing, in our mature years, we should have scoffed, but now will dispute and wrangle for; and if very absurd, or altogether unintelligible, we will suffer persecution, and even death, in the support of it. We may say, that every national religion is a factitious one, and all are sure of the rightness of it in its own little or large district, though contradicted, abhorred, or despised every where else, all around it, with like assurance. That then, one should think, seems to bid the fairest for being the first best, which every other agrees to be the next best to itself; and this is that of nature and reason, whose only articles are all the social virtues.

“ The author of the *Religion of Nature Delineated* asked a bigot, “ How many religions and sects he thought there might be in the world ? ” “ Why, says he, I can make no judgment ; I never considered that question. ” “ Do you think, said *Wollaston*, there may be an hundred ? ” “ Oh, yes sure, replied he, at least. ” “ Why then, said he, it is ninety-nine to one you are in the wrong. ”

“ As to that spirit of toleration in religion, for which the *Gentoos* are so singularly distinguished, it is doubtless owing to that fundamental tenet of it, of which the purport is, that the diversity of modes of worship is apparently agreeable to the God of the universe ; that all prayers put up to him from man are equally acceptable ; and sanctified to him by the sincerity of the intention ; that the true universal religion is no other than the religion of the heart ; that the various outward forms of it are only accessories, indifferent in themselves, and merely accidents of time, place, education, or birth. ” *Grofe, Voyage to the East Indies*, 291.

Whether

Whether these are the notions of this simple, good, and altogether harmless set of people, I know not; or whether the author hath rather given us his own; they are wise, humane, and worthy of the parent of the universe, and of all those infinite varieties of all kinds that this all beneficent father hath ordained for the delights, as well as necessities, of his children. And the compulsion to an uniformity of faith and articles, is the interested roguery of every shop striving to keep all the trade to itself, and bring in as much more as possible.

II.

P R I D E.

*The proper business of mankind is man.*

POPE'S ESSAY.

**M**AN is an animal that hath two legs only, without wings, and is proud. I believe this last may be justly added to *Plato's* definition, as being peculiar to man. Other animals have mettle, which is no

other than high spirits, well fed. And many men have this, who have no great degree of pride, as others that are very proud, have absolutely no mettle. They are two very distinct qualities, one of which is pure natural spirit, kept up or improved by accident; and the other is upon principle. Pride arises from comparing ourselves with others, while we plead the cause of both before the tribunal of our own self-love. This sort of comparison, I believe, no other animal makes, in any degree whatsoever\*. Man proceeds, like the rest, from an egg, a worm, an embryo, to a thing that feels, to a thing that reflects; and then it is *proud*. It looks about, and sees how every other thing is inferior to it; and then it *laughs*; which is only a quality given it to express its other quality, *Pride*; and as other animals have not the one, they have no occasion for the other.

Now this animal that hath got thus far, it knows not at all how, comes in a little

\* *Nec miserius quidquam homine aut superbius. Plin. H. N. II. 7. Heu dementiam ab his initiis existimantium ad superbiam se genitos! Id. VII. 1.*

time, to know all about God, and how he acts; and finds even that he himself hath a power of controuling him, making that providence which hath placed him here and thus, suspend his decrees, till he finds what this new self-creature purposes. Now, the operations of both are blended together; and, though he does not quite come to be angry with God, (of that he is afraid) yet he is so far on a level, that God is angry with him; and enters into such friendships and enmities as take up the whole attention of his providence.

And why not? If all things were made for him, and the sole point also of the evil principle was to win him, and of the good to regain him? And yet, (what a mortifying circumstance!) upon this all-important creature, in speculation—*non fuit indignum superis!* his maker hath thought proper, in fact, to quarter fleas, lice, and bugs,

Well, but then we are a great prince, an emperor! We are his substitute here, and perhaps himself.

“ *Philip* of *Macedon*, after having defeated the *Athenians* at *Chæronea*, was yet so moderate as to own that he was not a God; and, for fear he should not be able to contain himself in this modest mood, or that his people should not believe him, (and in all likelihood he found it a little difficult to persuade his courtiers of it) he had one to call aloud to him every morning, *Philip, thou art a man.*” *Quintilian*, VIII. 15.

Here the ridicule was in the proud humility of the puny being; and yet, as absurd as was the vanity of this affected modesty, it was more than his son, some time after, could keep within the bounds of.

“ The *Scythian* ambassadors replied not like barbarians to this; when after having subdued *Darius* he would have invaded their country: ‘ We are informed that you are a God; if you are a God, give us of your good things, and do not take away ours, which you cannot want; but if you are a man, remember that you are so, and that we also are men.’” *Curt.* VII. 8, 26.

But

But afterwards the *Roman* emperors made no scruple of professing their rank; and had altars and temples raised to them.—*Augustus* himself, so wise and moderate! snuffed up the incense with wide nostrils, and could gravely hear *Virgil* invoking his inspiration for his *Georgics*,\* with that of *Ceres*, *Neptune*, *Pan*, and the rest of them; and perhaps loved him for this more than for the divine work.

Yet even this was decent to what was commonly practised afterwards; and *Lucan*, *Statius*, *Martial*, *Claudian*, stifled, every one of them, his God with the grossest and greasiest vapours; and *Nero* and *Domitian*, whom no crime could shame, were no more ashamed of such praises; so steady and tenacious is human pride!

Yet still these were poets: *Val. Maximus*, a moral historian, invokes the divinity of *Tiberius*, and tells him, that “He hath the advantage of other writers who have im-

\* So *Horace*,—

*Præfenti tibi maturos largimur honores,  
Jurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras.*

In the epistle to *Augustus* himself.

plored



plored the assistance of *Jupiter*, and the other gods; for, their godhead, says he, we only believe, and take upon trust; thine we behold, present, and know; the other gods we have received; thee, thy father and grandfather (*Augustus* and *Julius*) we have given to heaven."

I have never met with any mortals who have been more than divine, except in one single instance; and that was, for our glory, king *James* the I.'s queen, *Anne of Denmark*, who is regaled with this title in *Florio's* sonnet, (he was one of the gentlemen of her bedchamber) prefixed to his translation of *Montaigne's Essays*. *Di magnanimita, virù, beltade; incomparabile, sopra divina!*

The *Persian* kings were anciently adored in form, and some of the naked or ragged kings of *Africa* have been gods. As for the honest *Hottentots* they have not as yet found out that they were gods, but only the top of mankind.

But, it is not the most eminent alone; all other orders are proud in proportion; there is no subject so mean and contemptible

tible into which pride will not find some pretence or other to sneak, and nestle itself. And *à propos* to sneaking; those who have it are generally most ashamed of it, and endeavour to mask it under any other appearance they can. It is indeed a contradiction to itself; for, pursue it but into its haunts, and you will find, that nothing is so humble as pride.

Yet, with all this, man hath some charming qualities, that make him a truly amiable creature. Nay, this very pride, when properly exerted, is the best guarantee of a generous and worthy behaviour; as it inspires him with an honest bravery of spirit, a noble jealousy of his conduct, and an abhorrence of any thing that may hurt and contradict his due self-esteem. Nay, vanity, that other universal quality in him, (so like pride, and so unlike it) is a most social virtue, as it courts mankind, whereas pride disdains them. But these will appear in their natural colours, as occasion shall present them hereafter in the course of these essays; as also the *how* and *why*, from examples themselves; which, I think, will introduce human nature to some advantage; their

their good qualities far preponderating their bad; neither of them extreme, in any one instance; nor ever can be, in our present state; for nothing is so wholly good, but that it hath, in itself or consequences, some bad; and nothing so wholly bad, but that it hath some good. All is in a certain, fixed, and fore-determined degree of imperfection with us, here and now, according to the great universal œconomy of order and subordination; and this very imperfection so justly balanced by laws that execute themselves, as to be all of a piece. And this just degree of imperfection, precisely what is allotted this our place in the gradation of beings, so as to fill up that universal harmony which constitutes the all-perfect order of the whole; every degree fitted for its rank, and consistent with itself, and all the several degrees around it, so as to be each and every one the happiest for the several allotments, as distributed by their all-wise, all-powerful, and all-good provider; which three divine attributes seem to contain all that can concern us.

But the greatest of these, in regard to man, is his goodness, as in men, charity.

rity. Yet it hath been the constant and invariable endeavour of the interested and artful, in order to govern and plunder the rest, to represent the universal Father as a severe master ; a tyrant, who is to be feared and dreaded ; and, as such, he hath been ever an instrument in their hands to apply, they found occasion, to the terrified passions of those of whom they were to make a property. This hath varied in form and fashion, according to times and places, but the scheme itself hath been still the same ; and accordingly hath always governed mankind, and ever will ; for superstition is the weak place of human nature.

### III.

*Virtues are often only vices disguis'd.*

ROCHEFAUCAULD.

**T**HERE cannot be a greater mark of true magnanimity of heart, certainly rightness of head, than that of honouring virtue even in an enemy ; but princes are so rarely found to sacrifice any part of their safety,

safety, or ambition, to their reverence for this quality, that we must be upon our guard, if we would not be the dupes of appearances.

“ After the great emperor *Henry* the IV, who had the courage first to oppose the insolence and encroachments of the *Roman* see, had at length subdued the usurper *Rodolph* duke of *Suabia*, whom the pope had set up, on excommunicating him; he suffered him to be buried magnificently, and even with all the imperial honours and ensigns; and said, ‘ He should be glad to see all his enemies interred with the like pomp.’ ”

This generosity could not hurt him then; but it added to his courage and fortune, by way of gleaning; a new subject of glory!

As when the duke of *Lorraine*, after the battle of *Nancy*, wherein he killed *Charles the Bold*, duke of *Burgundy*, went in procession to visit the body, clothed in deep mourning, with a golden beard fixed on, that reached down to his waist, (after the manner of the old heroes that were knighted for their prowess, who, on a signal victory over  
an

an enemy, were honoured with such a beard) and taking him by the hand, said to him: ‘Thou hast done us much mischief during thy life, but thou wast brave, and now thou art dead may the good and great God take thy soul to himself!’ Besides, this enhanced his own bravery; for as *Scipio* said to *Hannibal*, who was boasting to him of his exploits: ‘What would you have been if you had conquered me?’

So *Cæsar* wept over the head of *Pompey*, from whom he was now secure.

————— “ *tutumque putavit*  
“ *Jam bonus esse socer.*”

*Lucan IX. 1037.*

“ *Stephen Battori*, king of *Poland*, as soon as he was chosen, gave one of the richest palatinates of the kingdom to *Stanislaus Pekoſlawski*, who had withstood him the most violently of all at the diet, and constantly to the last voted against his election; saying, ‘he was a very bad elector, but a very good foldier.’ *Piaſeci Cronic Pol.*”

The case was, he could no longer hurt him as an elector, but he could do him  
great

great service, now that he was a subject, as a soldier.

## IV.

*Prosperity and power are excellent friends, but they are bad counsellors.*

**A**NTONIO PEREZ, the famous secretary and favourite of *Philip* the *IId* of *Spain*, has published the most wise and prudent maxims, not only in politics, but for common life too, perhaps, that are extant; yet after he had caused the secretary *Don Juan de Escovedo* to be assassinated, whilst the wife and children of the deceased were actually claiming justice of the king, and the public seconded their demands, he was so imprudent as to brave them and the world, with his still more than usual splendour and magnificence; *frequentis. initium calamitatis securitas*; so that his master (by whose order he had committed the murder) was forced to yield to the torrent, and abandon him; he fled to *France*, where he lived a few years, a pensioned exile. In one of his letters from *Paris* to a friend in *Spain*,

*Spain*, he makes the same pathetic complaint that cardinal *Wolsey* does in *Shakespeare* :

“ Had I but serv'd my God with half the zeal  
I serv'd my king, he would not in mine age  
Have left me naked to mine enemies.\* ”

*Henry VIII, Act III, ad fin.*

But indeed *Perez* had no just pretence to complain of the king for betraying him, since he was only guilty of a base action against him, as he himself had been for the king. One of the hardest circumstances of guilt is, that a bad man cannot complain of the injuries that are done him! or, if he does, it is the severest kind of rebuke on himself, as it comes with his own confession and authority. He had already declared, by his own example, that he played all the game; so that no imposition was foul play.

A rascal who hath done an essential service to his prince, by a villainous action, owes him another essential service, of which

\* Mon zele etoit si grand envers ces benignes puissances (la cour de *Turin*) que si j'en eusse eû autant pour Dieu, je ne doute point qu'il ne m'eut déjà recompensé de son paradis. *D'Assouci, Bayle, Not. Margin. 43.*



he is commonly compelled to short payment, which is the just chastisement of his crime; in order to vindicate his prince's honour, and reconcile the world to him.— A prince finds his account every way in getting rid of the rogue. All obligations are paid; himself hath performed an useful act of justice, and hath the advantage, clear gain, besides.

However *Perez* said one very just thing of princes, (in regard to his own misfortune) “that they established a council of state, only that they might have where to cast the blame of any ill successes.” I believe he might have extended his remark to private persons, who generally ask your advice, either to have your approbation of what they had already determined, so to divide the fault with you, if it does not succeed; or, in case of your being of another opinion, flinging themselves wholly upon you for the miscarriage. At least, this is oftener the case than where the sole honest end is pure and modest information.

V.

*Vicit tamen gratiam meriti sceleris atrocitas.*

*Curt. VIII. 3. 15.*

*He that loveth iniquity, shall reap vanity.*

*Prov. XXII. 8.*

**H**OWEVER well pleased *David* might be with the deaths of *Saul*, and *Abner*, and *Ish-boseth*, he thought fit to remove the suspicion from him, of having had any hand in them, by putting to death the messengers, or those that had executed the facts; by which he lost none of the essential advantages the events brought him, but gleaned many others, and made the rascals pay for them. 2 *Sam.* I. 15. III. 33. IV. 12.

The governor of *Giula*, a fortress of *Hungary*, betrayed it to *Solyman the Magnificent*, in 1566. He, for his pains, ordered him to be thrust into a hoghead, stuck full of nails, and bade him receive the just reward of his avarice and treason: "If thou hast

not been faithful to *Maximilian*, thy natural master, neither wilt thou be so to me."

The *Spaniards* executed *Jennaro Anese*, who had excited the revolt in *Naples*, 1648, though he had afterwards saved them that kingdom from the *French*, by calling them in again, and had made the most solemn conditions with them for his own safety and preferment; according to that maxim of *Mariana* on a like occasion: *La traycion te pagan bien, ser traydor te pagan mal.* *Motteville Mem. Anne d'Autriche*, tom II. p. 288.

This was a sort of repeating the treachery of the *Sabines*, who buried *Tarpeia* under their shields, so pretending to keep their promise with her, for the *Tarpeian* citadel she betrayed; having stipulated with them for what they wore on their left arms; she meaning their bracelets.

When *Graveston*, who had betrayed the *Spaniards*, in the affair of *Bergen op Zoom*, to queen *Elizabeth*, came over to *England* to give her an account of his success, she gave him a thousand crowns, but said to him at the same time: "Get you gone home, that  
I may

I may know where to send when I shall have occasion again for a thorough-paced villain.”\*

King *William* went farther on another occasion, with a like reprimand; for in one of his battles, which he was on the point of losing, a trooper flying by him, he cut him cross the face with his sword, and said, “There, you rascal, now I shall know where to find a coward.”

When *Lasthenes*, who had betrayed *Olynthus*, which fort the *Athenians* had trusted him with, to *Philip* of *Macedon*, complained to him that one of his courtiers had called him a traitor, he answered him coldly: “My *Macedonians* are rude and unbred, and want that address and polite way of expressing themselves that you *Athenians* have; they call a boat a boat.” *Plutarch’s Apotheosis.*

This was handsome in *Elizabeth*, and decent in *Philip*, though ready enough to

\* See how the emperor *Charles IV.* served the three traitors he had employed against *Philip* of *Burgundy.* *Theatrical History*, p. 990.

come into useful measures ; but when such  
 “ a wretch as *Lewis* the XIth presumes to  
 act like *Fabricius*, and send an account to  
 his enemy of the traitor that offered to kill  
 him, or deliver him up alive, under pre-  
 tence of not being able to bear the wicked-  
 ness of the action,”\* [*Philip de Comines*, ch.  
 IV. ult. and V. 6.] one has an indignation to  
 see virtue in such hands. *Quem bis terve  
 bonum cum risu miror ! Hor. A. P. 358.*—  
 However we may be easy, for it comes out  
 some time after, that the good king did not  
 well know what to make of three ways he  
 had proposed, and suspected some trick. †

The duke of *Burgundy* as much suspected  
 a trick in the king's generosity, and that it  
 was only to ruin the credit of one that he  
 took for a most faithful and useful minister,  
 and so went on trusting him, till he really

\* *Quoties aliquid de moribus audent  
 Qui Curios simulant, & Bacchanalia vivunt.*  
*Juv. Sat. II. 2.*

† *Le Roi eut la mauvaiſſie de cett homme en grand  
 mepris, et qu'il ne ſçavoit point de trois poincts a quelle fin  
 il faiſoit ces ouvertures.*

betrayed

betrayed him to his death. Infomuch that these two arch rogues both lost the most essential opportunities, by being too cunning for themselves.

At the best, where princes have actually employed those they afterwards hate (*Quippe proditores, etiam iis quos anteponunt, invisum sunt. Tacit. An. I. 58.*) or pretend to hate, certainly despise; they do but as other men, who love and honour the virtue they have not, and hate and despise the vice they have; and in so doing become self-accused and self-convicted in the person of another. For however they may palliate actions in themselves, they are drawn in to deal fairly at second hand. And, if the traitors are the *thieves*, they are the *receivers*. Besides, they have a double advantage in thus behaving: they give themselves a false air of generosity and detestation of the crime they are actually enjoying the fruits of; and they at the same time make some amends (that costs them nothing) to the injured, in sacrificing,\* in some manner, the immediate

\* See the conduct of *Tiberius* in regard to the ministers of his tyranny. *Tacit. An. IV. 71.*

author of the injury to their revenge. Like the eastern monarchs (and some of our own) who squeeze the governors of provinces, not to return their extortions to the wretched people, but to appropriate them to themselves. *Punit furta sacrilegus.* Senec. de Ira, II. 28.

But what rascals must they be, whose friends that do them the most service, deserve most to be hanged by their own judgment! Oftentimes too, traitors are not only hated or despised, by those they have served, (as *Heraclammon*, who betrayed *Tyana* to *Aurelian*, *vid. Vopisc. vit. c. 23.*) but become dangerous to them from that quality; as the scoundrel of a sausage-feller, *Bargus*, who, at the instigation of *Eutropius*, who governed all in the court of *Arcadius*, by calumnies and perjury got *Timasius* banished into an uninhabitable desert, (it is a pretty long story, and a fine one) was rewarded with a considerable post, and kept in hand, with the hopes of greater; not knowing that his treason against *Timasius*, who had done him kindnesses, was but too sure a warrant of what he was capable of doing in regard of his new benefactor:  
There-

Therefore *Eutropius* soon found pretexts to get rid of him, and all apprehensions from him.

## VI.

*Every man makes his God after his own likeness.*

A Fool of *Lewis* the XIth, to whom he did not attend, as not thinking him capable of making observations, overheard him making this pleasant proposal to our lady of *Cleri*, at the great altar, when nobody else was in the church: "Ah! my dear lady! my little mistress! my best friend! my only comforter! I beg you to be my advocate, and to importune God to pardon me the death of my brother, whom I poisoned by the hands of that rascal, the abbot of *St. John*. I confess this to you, as to my good patroness and mistress; I know it is hard, but it will be the more glorious for you if you obtain it, and I know what present I will make you beside." *Brantome's Life of Charles VIII.* The king judged right, that the fool would not make any observations, but he judged wrong, in  
not



not considering that children and fools are like looking-glasses, that reflect objects from their vacant and empty imaginations, without knowing it. The fool repeated all, word for word, when the king was at dinner, before the whole court. Now the same vileness of heart that made this wretch demean his greatness to the schemes of a pick pocket and a murderer, made him deal with the *Virgin Mary* as with a little court-favourite, who sold her interest, and chaffered her bribe; and with God as a weak prince, who was to be cajoled and tricked out of his justice. Every man, indeed, forms to himself a god, according to his own talents, temper, and views; so that if we are made after the image of God in one sense, we are made according to our own in another.

## VII.

*Tetum habita.*      *PER. IV. ult.*

**V**ERY often the taste of running perpetually after diversions is not a mark of any pleasure taken in them, but of none taken in ourselves. This fallying abroad is  
only

only from uneasiness at home, which is in every one's self. " Like a gentleman who overlooking them at *White's* at *piquet* 'till three or four in the morning; on a dispute, they referred to him; when he protested, " he knew nothing of the game."— " Z——s" say they, " and sit here till this time!" " Gentlemen, I am married." " Oh! Sir, we beg pardon."

The Duke of *Buckingham*, in his character of *Charles II.* says, that " his amusements with women were not for any great pleasure he took in them, but from pure idleness, and not knowing what to do with himself."

### VIII.

*Nequam illud verbum est, bene vult, nisi qui bene fecit.*

*Plant. Trinum. II. 4.*

**T**HE bishop of *Mondonedo* says, that " heaven is filled with those that have done good works, and hell with those that have designed to do them\*."

\* Don *Antonio de Guerara*, bishop of *Cadix*, and afterwards of *Mondonedo*, household preacher and historio-

## IX.

*Vidi ego jaetatas motâ face crescere flammæ,  
Et vidi nullo concutiente mori.*

**I**T is dangerous for a man to present himself before an injured person (especially if he is above giving an account of his actions) in the first heat and tumult of his passion. It is purposely coming within the impetuous and sudden path of an hurricane, which will the sooner spend itself, the more it is now lavish, if you give it way.

*Ventus ut amittit vires, nisi robora densæ  
Occurrant sylvæ, spatio diffusus inani.*

*Lucan, III. 362.*

Don *Garcia*, son of *Cosimo I.* duke of *Florence*, killed his brother, the cardinal, *Don Giovanni de Medici*, in a quarrel that happened between them, as they were hunting together. The dutchess *Eleonora* their mother, as soon as she heard of it, impatient for the safety of *Garcia*, (who

toriographer to the emperor *Charles V.* in his *M. Aurelius* and *Clock of Princes*.

was

was her favourite) advised him to fling himself instantly at his father's feet, and ask his pardon. *Cosimo* killed him on the spot; and *Eleonora*, besides her fondness, considering that her precipitate counsel had been the occasion of his death, died herself of grief the same day. The mother and her two sons were carried together to their funeral \*."

## X.

*Miraris* ———

*Si nemo præstet, quem non mercaris amorem?*

HOR. SAT. I. 86.

**T**HE mortal enmity between the prince of *Condé* and cardinal *Mazarine*, who had such great obligations to him, arose and swelled from a cause which is frequent, among the great especially. For he that hath laid obligations on another, begins to consider himself in a certain state of supe-

\* See this related in lord *Corke's Letters from Italy*, 2d. edit. p. 184.

riority over him, and to act, or at least appear, accordingly; which becomes so burdensome to the person obliged, that at length, weary of dependence (which, self-love easily thinks, overpays all on his side, and a tyranny on the other) he is glad to catch at any opportunity to shake off the yoke, so as in some sort to save his honour.

Ingratitude is often owing to the indiscreet manner of conferring benefits. Either they are too general, or you are so lavish of them, that they seem, to the person obliged, to cost you nothing; or, what is very frequent, you do them with so ill a grace, that they rather become affronts :

*Hæc seges ingratos tulit & feret omnibus annis.*

The *French* say, “such a one flings his service in your face.” In fine, delaying too long loses the grace of a favour. “He that gives soon, gives twice, and that favour is without grace that sticks to the hands of the giver.” *Bis dat qui cito dat. Ingratum est beneficium quod diu inter manus dantis hæsit.*

Besides, you risk the losing the opportunity of serving a friend who you think  
has

has a right to your service, which very risk is injustice. *Pyrrhus* was unmeasurably afflicted for the loss of a friend; not (said he) so much that he is dead, he has paid nature her debt, but that my dilatoriness has let him die before I have paid him the debt I owed his merit.

## XI.

— *Siquid ego* — *Ecquid erit præmii ?*

ENNIUS.

**P**EOPLE are always ready to condemn what shocks their own common use and customs, without giving themselves the trouble to enquire into the cause, when perhaps a word, or a hint, would clear up all, and the blame would cease with the wonder.

“ When *Busbequius* was ambassador from *Ferdinand I.* then king of the *Romans*, to the *Porte*, among other things abhorrent from the *German* and *Flemish* manners, he observed every where bits and scraps of paper stuck into crevices of the walls; of which when he enquired into the meaning, since they

they appeared to be of no sort of use, he was answered only with a *Mussulman* gravity, and silent respect. At last, when he seemed to have some honour himself for these mysterious collections, he was informed, that they might possibly have the name of God written upon them, or at least were capable of having it writ." *Busbeq. Ep. I. p. 49.* What an exalted spirit of just awe! What noble veneration for the All-venerable! In fine, what a disinterested love of God! This, indeed, gives us an idea of human nature that charms. But is it, indeed, disinterested? Why should you question it? Uncharitable! At last came out the truth.

“ When, at the day of judgment, the prophet shall receive the true believers into bliss; to which, however, they can by no means come to him, otherwise than standing, as they mount, on a red-hot iron grate, these papers will all come, and press themselves under their feet, and keep them cool, in proportion as they have, during their lives, vindicated them from the insult of being trampled upon.” *Id. ib.*

These

These philosophers have made so good a bargain with God, and are so convinced that nothing is to be done for nothing, but that he is to reward the most trifling of our regards for him, *en grand prince*, that they say, “ a cat, having had the good fortune to please the prophet, without any design of her’s, (and which, by the way, he was so fond of, that once when the hour of prayer came, and he must rise from his seat, he ordered his sleeve to be cut off, on which she sat asleep, rather than disturb her) God had granted to all cats to come, the privilege to know the *Alcoran* by heart; and that, when they purred, they were repeating some verses of it.” *Id. Ep. III.* p. 178.

*Mabomet* was doubtless a man of parts, and great sense, and, as *Longinus* says of *Moses*, “ no ordinary person;” he was to “ go out, and to come in, before a great people;” and considered, that a veneration for God was a first principle, without which his message would make no impression upon them. But how to give it to such brutes? who rather stared at an idea of God, than were capable of having any! He was for-



ced to attack the senseless multitude where only they had feeling. He terrified them first with his gridiron; a fair foundation to build any thing upon, this of terror, and consequently has been that of all religions! *Primos in orbe Deos fecit timor.* Then tells them, that God took great delight in being praised and honoured by them, which was charming for their pride; and moreover, that he would pay them for it generously. This was seizing them by the two surest holds, *vanity* and *interest*. Then came what trumpery he pleased, and all went down together.

## XII.

*Non est quod existimes magnis tantum viris hoc robur fuisse.*

— *Non est quod judices hoc fieri nisi a Catone non posse.*

SEN. Ep. 70.

*Plus enim a se quisque exiget, si viderit hanc rem etiam  
a contemptissimis posse contemni.* Ib.

**B**USBEQUIUS, in his return into Germany from his Turkish embassy, was received out of the gates of Buda, from the bashaw, by an odd cavalcade of young  
Turks,

*Turks*, with their heads shaved, and the flesh new-cut in a line to the scull, into which were stuck a great number of quills of various-coloured feathers, whilst they all-running down with blood, came gaily prancing on, appearing quite unconcerned, to receive him. There were others on foot, one of whom walked gravely with his arms naked, and a kembo, like two handles, in the fleshy parts of which, above the elbow, were stuck, through and through, two great butcher's knives. Another, naked from the navel upwards, came on, with his skin gashed above and below the loins, and a thong inserted, by which hung a club as from a girdle. A third had a horse-shoe fastened on the top of his scull, with many nails. This had been done long before, the horse-nails being so overgrown and united with the flesh, that the whole was as if grown there.

What will not the desire of praise induce men to do? No matter how ridiculous and absurd the subject! or rather, this will push it to more violent effects, because the more wrong-headed, the more positive and enthusiastic. It is twenty to one if these fellows

were not the veriest scoundrels in the world; because, those that could value themselves on a quality that had no true merit in it, nor connection with it, and that, with such fallies of excess, would, most probably, be negligent in proportion, and untouched with what was real and worthy: as the *Banians* who are compassion-mad to animals, but utterly insensible to the sufferings of men.\*

*Agésilas*, seeing a malefactor endure the greatest torments with prodigious constancy, cried out with indignation, “ what an audacious villain is this, that dares employ patience, courage, and magnanimity in such an impious and dishonest cause !”

But what would not such extraordinary qualities, such stubborn courage and constancy, be capable of, if they had a right bias given them? as rank ground, that is

\* “ The inhabitants of *Zant* (says *Sandys*, p. 6.) make more conscience to break a fast, than to commit murder. He is weary of his life that hath a difference with any of them, and will walk abroad after daylight. But cowardice is joined with their cruelty.”

clogged

clogged and perplexed with thorns and thistles, would be proportionably rich and excellent with careful and judicious culture. *Quod ergo ? quod animi perditæ noxia habent, non habebunt illi quos adversus hos casus instruxit longa meditatio, & magistræ rerum omnium ratio ?* Sen. Ep. 70. *ut sup.*

In like manner, the dread of blame, which in itself is a noble and useful principle, is, in respect of us, just as it is turned and directed ; and as it will deter men from doing ill actions, it will equally deter them from executing the most reasonable and praise-worthy, if it is over ruled by a certain false modesty and want of constancy, that turns aside its regular and steady current. Therefore the most part of mankind are perpetually doing what themselves disapprove, or kept from doing what they judge to be right, for fear of the opinions and tongues of those whom they neither love nor esteem. If they do esteem and honour them, they are still the more embarrassed.

“ You desire to know if I have seen an *Indian* wife burn with her husband ; in answer to which, I say not : I could not pre-

vail with myself to see such a sight, or I might have seen some twenties since I came. The story is too true to make a jest on, and but about six days since, a servant of my own who died, his wife burned with him. They are not allowed to do it within our bounds, or we should never be free from one or other. This is among the *Gentoos*, the ancient masters of the country; before the *Moors* took it from them. The *Moors* all bury, and the *Gentoos* all burn, their dead; but it is not every cast whose wives burn with them, but those who do, are greatly revered by the rest. It is very frequent to see a pretty young creature of fifteen or sixteen, jump voluntarily into the pile of an old ill-natured husband; and very few hours are allowed, or one would think they must be intoxicated; but the man who dies in the morning, must burn before night; sometimes they have not two hours allowed; but it is all priest-craft; and the woman whose cast it is to burn with her husband, cannot live but as an out-law; she is not suffered to wash, or eat the same meat as the rest, nor allowed any one to dress her rice for her, and besides lives in perpetual shame among her kin. Some years ago,

ago, one of our chiefs at *Vizagapatam*, took a young creature by force from the fire; when he touched her she could not burn, but was held unworthy of it. He carried her home to the fort, and had several children by her, from whence has sprung a numerous issue; half the families in *Madras* and this place have sprung from her; governor *Benyon's* first and second wife were great grandchildren from this *Gentoo* girl. Not three months since, lady *Russel*, whose husband is chief of *Cossimbuzar*, in going up thither, saw a beautiful young creature washing in the river, in order to burn with the dead body of her husband, who was laid upon the banks. My lady went out of her boat to talk to her, and persuade her to live; and offered her protection to her, and that she would carry her home and maintain her. She could easily have carried her off, as she had with her several gentlemen, and twenty soldiers; but the girl rejected her offer with all the scorn and resentment imaginable, and before their faces herself set fire to the pile she was laid on, clasping the dead body in her arms. I could give you fifty instances of the like nature, but these will suffice; not that I

would trust this account with any one who I believed had not so good opinion of my veracity ; as I might pass for one of those fashionable tatlers of the present age, so addicted to falsehood ; or, as travellers have gone far for their accounts, have a large latitude given them.

“ Every 29th day of *March* you may see hundreds with a large flesh hook run thro’ their back, and swinging by it a vast height in the air for some minutes ; others with a spit run through their tongue ; some are stuck full of needles ; as many more fling themselves from stages, built for the purpose, a great height from the ground down upon naked swords and plow-shares ; others you see with their hands grown close shut up, and the nails made their way through to the back ; and some with their two arms bolt upright above their head, and grown to that posture ; with a hundred others too tedious to name. And these are all among a set of religious who are kept by the public, and are perhaps in themselves a set of the greatest villains in the world, and commit all kinds of outrages, for which none dare

dare punish them." Mrs. *Williamson's Letter* to Mrs. *Sheppard*, from *Calcutta*, Jan. 25, 1742-3.

*Extract of a letter of Mr. Matthew Collet, dated at Cossimbuzar, Nov. 25, 1744.*

“ I must now relate to you an affair I was an eye witness of, which was the burning of a woman with her husband's corpse. Close by the river's side was erected a little hut, composed of dry wood and combustible stuff, which was left open only to the river, yet the sides were not so close but one might see through them very well ; myself and two or three gentlemen stood to the windward of the hut, so that we could see very plain into it, as the wind sent the fire and smoke from us. The woman, after washing in the river, and several superstitious ceremonies, took a lighted torch in each hand, and then asking her friends very calmly, (while they were bathed in tears) if they had any tokens for their relations in the next world, went into the hut, seated herself by her husband's corpse, and then set fire to the hut herself, which was presently in a blaze. I saw her all the time till  
she



she was dead; she sat upright, with her back against some of the stakes which composed the hut, and never once screamed or stirred a limb, but sat till the stakes she leaned her body against broke down, by which time she was dead. After the thing was over, it appeared like a dream to me, I could scarce believe what I had but a minute before been an eye-witness of. I am surpris'd she never once shrunk when the devouring flames were round her, or cried oh! but you may be assured the thing is fact."

*Extract from another letter of the same date.*

" I have wrote my father an account of the burning of a woman with her dead husband, which I think a very extraordinary affair. Pray let me know if you think your rigid *European* ladies would bear the fire with as much resolution as this *Indian* did; perhaps you will say, she had been so much used to the sun's burning rays in this torrid zone, that the fire had no effect upon her senses."

## XIII.

*Vel quis non sitiens sermonis mella politi,  
Deferat Orpheos blandâ testudine cantus?*

Claud. Conf. Mal. Theod. 251.

“ **W**E have more poets than judges and interpreters of poetry (says a writer of quick and elegant taste.) It is easier to write an indifferent poem, than to understand a good one. There is indeed a certain low and moderate sort of poetry that a man may well enough judge of by certain rules of art; but the true, supreme, and divine poesy, is equally above all rules and reason. And whoever discerns the beauty of it with the most assured and most steady sight, sees no more than the quick reflection of a flash of lightning. This is a sort of poesy that does not exercise, but ravishes and overwhelms our judgment. The fury that possesses him who is able to penetrate into it, wounds yet a third man, by hearing him repeat it. Like a loadstone, that not only attracts the needle, but also infuses

fuses into it the virtue to attract others."—  
*Montaigne*, I. 36. p. 325.

This is an idea of poetry from poetry itself, and a true genuine feeling of that divine extravagance which fools ridicule, and men of parts adore.

*Virgil* pronounced his own verses with such an enticing sweetness, and enchanting grace, that, according to *Seneca*, (*Ep.* 122) *Virgil*, quotes *Julius Montanus*, a poet (famous for the friendship of *Tiberius*, and afterwards for his flight) who had often heard him, used to say, that "he could steal *Virgil's* verses, if he could steal his voice, expression, and gesture; for the same verses that sounded to rapture when he read them, were in a manner harsh and mute in the mouth of another."

*Donatus in his life of Virgil, quotes Julius Montanus, as saying, that Julius Montanus used to say, that he could steal Virgil's verses, if he could steal his voice, expression, and gesture; but no such passage is found in Seneca, who in his 122d Epist. quotes some verses of his.*

"*Mr. Hooke* read some speeches of his *Roman History* to the Speaker, (*Onslow*, who piqued himself too upon reading) and begged him to give his opinion of the work; the Speaker answered, as in a passion, "he could not tell what to think of it; it might be nonsense, for ought he knew; for that his manner of reading had bewitched him;" which

which was literally the case of those that heard the orations which the philosopher *Favorinus* made at *Rome*, in the time of *Hadrian*; of those that understood not *Greek*; who yet were delighted and charmed with the tone of his voice, the various modulation of his periods, and the efficacy of his look and gesture. *Philostratus*, in his *Life*, p. 491. This was the case of *Senesino*, with those who neither understood *Italian*, nor even had a taste for music, of which I myself saw proofs on many occasions.

*Affectus impone legens. Distinctio sensum  
 Auget, & ignavis dant intervalla vigorem.  
 Auson. Eidyl. IV. 49.*

Mrs. *Oldfield* used to say, "the best school she had ever known, was only hearing *Rowe* read her part in his tragedies." Mr. *Hawkins Browne* had never felt *Milton*, before hearing *Sheridan* pronounce his exordium; and, I am persuaded, such readers as the above, are by far the best commentators on a great poet, such as *Montaigne* described just now.

A friend of mine assured me, that *Booth* had told him, that he had acted the *Ghost* when

when *Betterton* played the part of *Hamlet*; and that the first time he attempted it, *Betterton's* look at him struck him with a dread and horror, which disconcerted him to that degree, that he could not speak his part: Droll enough, however, that he should frighten the *Ghost*!

“ When the orator *Æschines*, who had been banished *Athens*, pronounced, before the general assembly of the *Rhodians*, the oration that he had before pronounced at *Athens*, to accuse *Ctesiphon* of seditious designs; and the next day that of *Demosthenes* in his defence, which had occasioned his own exile; seeing how greatly they were moved, chiefly by this last; ‘ What, said he, if you had heard the lion himself roar!’\* What an idea of oratory! since *Æschines*, who read this of *Demosthenes*, says in his own, that his antagonist used to compare the nervous flexibility, and the liquid splendour of his voice, to the songs of the *Sirens*; but as *Valerius Maximus* goes on, ‘ his wounds were yet fresh, and he but too

\* Τὸ δὲ εἰ ἀκούσῃ τῆς θηρίας ἀνακρίσει. *Plin. Epist. II. 3.*  
*Quid si audissetis belluam illam.* *St. Jerom, Epist. select.*  
 II. 2.

severely

severely felt the fierce vigour of his eyes; the terrible weight of his look, the sound of his voice still echoing in his ears accommodated to every word and period, and that efficacy which accompanied every motion and gesture.' Therefore, though nothing could be added to the perfect elegance of the oration itself, yet when it was rather read than heard (tho' *Æschines* read it!) a great part of *Demosthenes* was wanting in *Demosthenes*."

It must be considered, that *Æschines*'s reading was all art, and wanted the sovereign energy of being in earnest, as *Demosthenes* was, who, therefore, truly

*Addidit & vultum verbis. Ovid. Fast. V.*

Enforced his words with looks.

*Pyrrhus* said of *Cyneas*, a disciple of *Demosthenes*, whom he employed as his ambassador to the different people of *Greece*; that "he had gained more cities by his minister's eloquence than by his own arms;" and yet *Plutarch* only says of him, that "he was the single one of all the orators that were left, who could recall in the minds of his hearers, as it were, an image  
and

and shadow of the power and eloquence of *Demosthenes*." *Plutarch's Pyrrhus*.

“ When this same great prince of speaking was once asked what he thought the first quality of an orator ? he answered, *pronunciation*, (*υποκρισις*) ; and which the second ? *pronunciation* ; and the third ? he still answered, *pronunciation* ; by which he gave to understand, that he did not so much judge it to be the chief quality, as the only one.” *Quintil. XI. 3. init.* By *pronunciation*, he meant the whole appearance and sound of an orator, as above in the passage of *Valerius Maximus*, and which *Pliny* the orator calls the *pronunciation* of the countenance, habit, and gesture. In short, all that the speaker himself can add of weight to the intrinsic force of the argument, or what the oration would be in simple reading.

And, indeed, this is but a speaker's seeming what he says ! which is sprinkling, as it were, the persuasive quality of sincerity over all the rest of the discourse, which only can give arguments weight,

————— *Si vis me flere, dolendum est*  
*Primum ipsi tibi* ————— *Hor. A. P. 102.*

and the more this is thrown with full hands, the more moving.

When *Alexander* was in despair at the desire his army had to return home, all his friends begged him to take courage, that they would assist him. They besought him to impose all difficulties on them, and promised to bring back the soldiers, if he would but himself sooth their apprehensions with a mild but spirited oration; that they had never gone away terrified and abject, whatever the danger, when they could drink large draughts of comfort from his own alacrity, and the inexhaustible spirits of that vast self-dependent soul. 2. *Curt. VI. 2.*

*Hortensius*, the famous *Roman* orator, whom *Cicero* so highly commends, was so convinced of this, that he laid himself almost all out here, and took little pains in the arguments themselves; so that *Quintilian*, in whose time they were extant, says, “ that you find nothing in reading  
G his



his orations that answers to his great fame ;\* and the crowded *Forum* was rather to see *Hortensius* than to hear him." *Val. Maximus*, VIII. 10. The same thing *Tacitus* (*An.* IV. 61.) says of the orator *Q. Haterius*, and *Gregorio Leti* of the sermons of *Sixtus V.*— (See his life, part I. L. 2.)

" The orator *Lysias* gave a criminal an oration he had made for him to read. He read it several times over, and when *Lysias* came, he returned it, very much dejected, and told him, that ' at his first reading it, he was transported with hopes of being acquitted ; but that the oftener he read it, the less he found the argument was like to bring him off.' ' And how many times do you think, (replied *Lysias*) I am to pronounce it before the judges ?'" *Plutarch de garrulitate.*

" The famous *Boisrobert*, who had so happy a talent in telling a story, and used to divert cardinal *Richelieu* from his public fatigues, when his friends advised him to

\* *Neque enim tam refert qualia sint, quæ intra nosmetipsos composuimus, quam quo modo efferantur ; nam ita quisque, ut audit, movetur. Quintil. XI. 3. init.*

publish,

publish, assured them they would find nothing of that engaging agreeableness on paper, that he had the happy skill to spread over his living chat; and that it was a mere cheat put upon their ears.

*En recitant, devrai, se fais merveilles,  
Je suis, Conrart, un grand dupeur d'oreilles."*  
*L'Abbé d'Olivet, Hist. de l'Acad. Fran. p. 65.*

Such a *Siren* is pronunciation; or the tone, expression, and gesture. *Pliny* the younger, writing to a friend who intreated him carefully to examine his poem, if it was worthy to be published, says, "before he opens it, that he can decide already that it is beautiful, and not to be suppressed, by what he had heard him read; if your pronunciation hath not imposed upon me, (he goes on,) for you do indeed read with exquisite sweetness and art; yet I trust I am not so far led aside by my ears, that the wanton flattery hath entirely blunted the edge of my judgment." *Pliny, Ep. III. 15. to Proculus.*

## XIV.

*An quidquam stultius quam, quos singulos contemnes, eos  
aliquid putare esse universos ?*

VARRO.

**T**HE famous orator *L. Crassus*, the greatest of his time, says of himself in *Cicero de Oratore*, that “ he frequently turned pale, and was in the utmost confusion, trembling every limb at the beginning of his oration ; and that in his youth and earlier appearance at the bar, he was often so terrified as to be utterly lost, and unable to proceed ; and that he remembered still, with the utmost gratitude, the patience and humanity of *Q. Fabius Maximus* on those dreadful occasions of his dismay and broken spirit.” c. 28. And *Cicero*, in his oration for *Cluentius*, says of himself : *Semper equidem magno cum metu incipio dicere.* And in his *Divination*, against *Verres* : *Ita Deos mihi velim propitios, ut cum illius temporis mihi venit in mentem, quo die, citato reo, mihi dicendum sit, non solum commoveor animo, sed etiam toto corpore perhorresco, &c. c. 13.*

This

This ingenious concern and anxiety for a reputation that was not yet formed in one, or completed in the other, was the effect of a genuine and authentic consciousness (that was vindicated by the effects afterwards) of something within, certain latent or flowering seeds of glory, that were well worth their jealousy; and *Crassus's* thus, in such a manner, deprecating, was in some sort extorting the protection of his judges, and audience. How must it have affected them who were present, and parties, when this general respect for the esteem and opinion of mankind, makes us love and embrace them at this day, and rouses our inmost fondness to wish them success! and makes us enjoy the knowledge, to what a degree, beyond our and their own warmest hopes, they obtained it!

How fine, (but dangerous) how engaging a compliment to *Alexander*, that of "the celebrated *Indian* archer, whom he had taken prisoner, and who, he was told, was so expert at his bow, that he could shoot through a small ring without touching it: This his conqueror ordered him to perform before him, which he refused; and that so

peremptorily, and with such obstinate perseverance, that he ordered him to be immediately put to death for contumacy, and accordingly he was led out to execution; but being asked by those who were conducting him, ‘ what he could mean, to die rather than comply with so reasonable a request?’ ‘ Why, I’ll tell you,’ said he; ‘ I have been out of practice since my confinement, and should be under such a concern withal, in such a presence and expectation, that I had rather die than run the risk of *Alexander’s* finding me less than he hath been informed’; which being told to *Alexander*, he took it as it deserved; and not only forgave him, but rewarded him like a prince, for that generous esteem of him, and jealousy of his own reputation.” *Plutarch. Apoth.*

Fear and concern for another’s judgment, and the opinion of the world, has a surprising effect, if it is accompanied with dignity (which is only a reasonable and just regard for a man’s self) otherwise, if we go into the other extreme, and give up too much, we shall make ourselves slighted and overlooked.—Modesty flatters our friend’s self-love, and a certain generous de-  
fire

fire themselves have of appearing well, and being something; whereas, impudence can succeed only with dastard minds, that have no pretensions of their own. Then, such a modest man, a man so willing to associate others in his merit, will find others ready to support his pretensions, of which themselves are sharers; whereas they will as naturally fall into an alliance to pull down overbearing selfishness. *Dicendi artem aptâ trepidatione occultans, atque eo validior, militis animum mitigavit. Tac. II. I.*

“The famous duke of *Rochefaucault* could never be a member of the royal academy, though greatly desired both by them and himself, from the necessity of making a speech of thanks on the day of admission: with all the courage he had shewn on so many eminent occasions, and with all the superiority, that birth, and such prodigious parts as all the world allowed, gave him, he was not able to bear the look of an audience, nor could pronounce four lines in public without fainting.” *Abbé d'Olivet, Hist. de l'Acad. p. 118.*

† *Senefino* has told me, that he never came forward upon the stage to sing, the first time of a season, but he was seized with such an anxiety at the appearance of the pit, (so different from what it is in *Italy*, where all the best company is shut up in their curtained boxes) though he knew them to be partial to him, and had not the least apprehension of any one single critic amongst them, that he trembled, and his voice faltered, so as to be hardly sufficient to express the beginning of the air; which made him always endeavour to study that part more particularly, and make himself so thoroughly master of it, that he could hardly be disconcerted; and which had, withal, put him often upon observations on the genius of an air, which probably he would not otherwise have thought on.

“Respect, shame, and fear, are judicious counsellors,” says *Pliny* the orator, in a letter to a great and learned friend, himself too an orator. “I only ask you, (he goes on) if you are to speak the same things before any one person, whatever opinion you may have of his judgment and learn-

† My late uncle, Anthony Malone, who was in parliament 49 years, and practised at the Bar during all that time, told me, not long before his death, that on the first day of the session of parl<sup>t</sup> if he spoke, he felt an unusual tremor, I was never

ing, are you not in less anxiety than when you speak before a number, though unlearned? Do not you find a certain concern and diffidence in yourself when you first rise to speak? Do not you then wish many things altered in what you have prepared? nay, are you quite easy about any? Is not this diffidence the greater, in proportion as the assembly is larger? I am sure I find it so, and have a dread even of the common rout, and cannot help being affected, as if the number itself became judicious, and that all together had that in a great degree, which any one of them had in none at all." *Plin. Ep. VII. 17. to Nonius Celer.*

King Charles II. asked *Stillingfleet*, "How it came about, that he always read his sermons before him, when, he was informed, he always preached without book elsewhere?" He told the king, that "the awe of so noble an audience, where he saw nothing that was not greatly superior to him; but chiefly, the seeing before him so great and wise a prince, made him afraid to trust himself." With which answer the king was very well contented. "But pray," says *Stillingfleet*,

"will your majesty give me leave completely master of himself on the opening of the Irish Parliamentary Campaign. In Ireland the Parl. meets but once in two years - which might be the occasion of his embarrassment, for at the Bar where he was constantly employed, never felt in the same way. &c. &c."



to ask you a question too? Why you read your speeches, when you can have none of the same reasons?" "Why truly, doctor," says the king, "your question is a very pertinent one, and so will be my answer. I have asked them so often, and for so much money, that I am ashamed to look them in the face."

## XV.

### *Vox populi.*

PRINCES, and great men, have had nick-names sometimes given them, of which posterity lost all traces of the meaning or the occasion; as king *Charles II.* being called *Rowley*, and the famous *Ferdinand of Arragon*, *Jean Gipon*, as *Brantome* says, in his little memoir of that king, the *French* called him in derision, but he could never learn why; and *Lewis X. of France*, *Hutin*. I have been told, by an old gentleman of that time, the true occasion of king *Charles's*; "That there was an old goat that used to run about the privy-garden, that

that they had given this name to, a rank lecherous devil, that every body knew and used to stroke, because he was good-humoured and familiar; and so they applied this name to the other." This gentleman, who was grandson to a secretary of state, (Mr. *Nicholas*) affirmed this, as having known all the persons concerned, king, garden and goat. †

So probably, that *John Gipon* was some shrewd rascal of an attorney, very oppressive to his neighbours, without the least regard to his word, who loved God and man alike, except one, whom he preferred to both, and who was ready to turn his hand to any thing; for just such was the character of *Ferdinand* only in high life.

These sort of short sarcasms or encomiums on the great, in their life-times, like proverbial expressions, commonly give the sense of the people; and are juster representations than all the laboured characters of their friends or historians.

† I believe the Loyalists gave this name to Charles, in opposition to Cromwell - "A *Rowley* [or *Roland*] for an *Oliver*." M  
XVI. In

## XVI.

*In this thing the Lord pardon thy servant, that when my master cometh into the house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on my hand, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon; when I bow myself in the house of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing. 2 Kings, V. 18.*

EVERY one has a certain favourite passion, which is properly and always his own, the great boy's hobby-horse for life! like Sir *W. Bateman's* country-house at —, that when making his will, he had given away all the other articles, and his lawyer told him he had forgot, he answered with warmth,

*“ Not that, I cannot part with that, and died.”*

*Pope.*

It was a pleasant mummery of a devout lady, in the civil wars of *Castile*, against the emperor *Charles V.* in the beginning of his reign, as *Brantome* tells it. “ *Donna Maria de Padilla*, one of the most noble and virtuous ladies in *Spain*, and of the most zealous in the rebellion, to which she also instigated her noble husband, being at the end of her great wealth in this enterprize, and not having wherewith to keep

keep the soldiers from deserting, took all the gold and silver of the relics of the great church of *Toledo*; but it was with a holy and devout ceremony, and which favoured nothing of profaneness. Entering the church on her knees, with her hands joined, and covered with a black veil; with a sad and whining accent, beating her breast, and sighing piteously and weeping, with two great flambeaus carried slowly before her; and when she had decently pillaged the shrine, and ancient sacred repository, returned with the same solemn procession and ceremony.”\*—*Brantome Vie d'Ant. de Ceva.*—What saint would not have been bit with this devout sacrilege? or could have been upon his guard, and imagined all this apparatus (in his own way) was to pick his pocket and plunder him!

This is a person of great quality and sense, who braves heaven and earth, while her fond superstition ridiculously thinks to reconcile them with her private interest and passions; but a poor curate, on the same occasion, shewed what human nature is,

\* Compare *Livy's* description of the removing the sacred riches of the temples of *Veii* to *Rome*, by *Camillus*, V. 22.

without designing it. “ He had taken it into his head to espouse this cause to that degree, that he never failed on the *Sunday* to recommend to his parishioners, from his pulpit, a *Pater-noster* and an *Ave-Maria* for Don *John de Padilla*, and his noble wife, and another of each for the *holy sedition* and *revolt*; ’till after some weeks, fortune would have it that the troops of *Padilla*, passing through his village, eat up all his whole family of poultry, with all his provision of bacon; and, worst of all! carried off his favourite house-keeper. The *Sunday* after he made his complaint from the pulpit, and related at length all the damage his old friends had done him, and, above all, that they had inveigled away poor *Catherine*, whom he named without ceremony, giving to the Devil, and desiring his parishioners to do so too, all these seditious rebels against their lawful sovereign, whom God himself had put over them.” *Brantome* and *Guevara’s Golden Epistles*, L. I. p. 173.

At the time that *Hannibal* was in the height of his success and conquests in *Italy*, an express came to him from *Carthage*, that the lot had fallen on his only son to be sacrificed

crificed to *Moloch*: his wife, *Himilcé*, had sent it, with the consent of the senate, that she had flown to, with her face torn, and distracted with her fright, and threatened them if they put it in execution. They were divided between the fear of so horrid a god, and of *Hannibal*, [— *Expensâ superorum & Cæsaris irâ. Lucan III. 439.*] and determined to wait his answer; who immediately insisted on his not being offered, but saved for the service of his country, and promised to make *Moloch* ample amends, with more and more blood of the *Romans*." *Sil. Ital. IV. 765.* Probably neither *Hannibal* nor *Himilcé* had ever reflected on the horrible enormity of this custom, 'till it came to be their own case, though it was so frequent, that doubtless there were none in the senate that had not seen their own, or family's children, thus burnt, in those numerous annual offerings, in which all alike took their chance. But self-love, as it is inflexible itself, so, if it is once put upon its mettle, it makes every thing else supple and bend to it, always finding out some little plausible reason or other, that, in some  
 fort,

fort, satisfies, or at least stuns, the clamours of conscience.

“ *Heu primæ scelerum causæ mortalibus ægris  
Naturam non scire Deûm ! justa ite precati  
Ture pio, cædumque feros avertite ritus :  
Mite & cognatum est homini Deus —*”

*Sil. Ital. IV. 794.*

## XVII.

*That it is use and propriety only that can give real merit  
to talents, and their application.*

“ **P**LATO seeing one drive a chariot so exactly, that, in a great number of circles, he still kept the wheels precisely in the same track, when every one applauded his wondrous art and excellence, made himself no account of the matter, saying, that he who laid out all his talents and industry in the acquiring so insignificant a skill, however wonderful, must be altogether wanting in all great and useful perfection, and deserved far more blame, for having neglected those things that were really worthy of admiration.” *Ælian. II. 27.*

“ I have

“ I have seen (says *Montaigne*) a man ride with both his feet upon the saddle, then take it off the horse, riding full speed all the while, and fling it on the ground; wheel round, and take it up again, place it on the back, fit it, and fasten it, still keeping his full speed. Having galloped over a cap that was flung down, he would make very good shoots at it backward with his bow; take up any thing from the ground, setting one foot down, and the other on the stirrup; with twenty other ape's tricks, which he got his living by.” *Essays*, B. I. c. 48.

How little are the greatest difficulties esteemed, when they are not accompanied with something useful, and of real merit! Such is what he says immediately after of “one at *Constantinople*, who bridled and saddled his horse with nothing but his teeth.” Like that virtuoso, who painted a picture with his fingers. “Why, said *Michael Angelo*, did not the fool take pencils\*?”

\* See a like story of *Luca Giordano's* painting a *St. Benedic*, half length, with his fingers, not having patience till his pencils were brought.



*Posthumius Albinus*, having written his history in *Greek*, asked pardon of his readers for any want of accuracy in the style, or even solecisms, that not being his native language. “Doubtless, he ought to be pardoned, (said *Cato* the censor) if he was compelled, by the *Amphictions*, to write it in that language.” *Plutar. vit. Caton. Cens.* 439. (III.) *Aulus Gellius* tells the story better. “Truly, (said *Cato*, when he read it) *Albinus*, you are a great trifler, who had rather ask pardon for a fault, than not commit it; for we excuse ourselves to others when we have done a wrong thing, either by mistake or compulsion: but pray who obliged you to do what you knew you were to make an apology for before you did it.?” *Aul. Gel. XI.* 8.

This is something like what *Lucan* accuses the gods of; “that they take more pleasure to punish crimes, than to hinder them from being committed, which they could as easily have done.” *Lucan IV.* 807.

“Another, who, between two horses, one foot upon one saddle, and another on the other, would ride full career, carrying, at the

the same time, another man on his shoulders, who, standing bolt upright, would shoot all the while at different marks as they passed, with excellent aim, was more to be blamed for the wrong application of extraordinary talents, than to be commended for the possession of them! Therefore, that person did wisely, who, having a man brought before him, that had learned to throw a grain of millet with such dexterity and assurance, as never to miss the eye of a needle; and being afterwards intreated to give something for the reward of so rare a performance, ordered a certain number of bushels of the same grain to be delivered to him, that “ he might not want, he said, wherewith to exercise so famous an art.”—I think I have read this somewhere of *Augustus*. Our *Charles II.* did something of the same sort, when he saw a fellow climb to the top of the flag-staff on the very pinnacle of *Salisbury* steeple; “ Odds fish, says *Rowley*,\* this man shall have a patent, that nobody shall go up there but himself.”

\* See page 90.

What degree of fame and esteem is owing to him, that *Montaigne* tells us, *Ef.* I. 20. (from *Vives* on *St. Austin*) could modulate his farts? or to him that, I have heard, could “smoke out of his nose, ears, and even his eyes; and, withal, vary the forms of his cloud at pleasure?” These are excellencies that carry with them sure indications of singular worthlessness, and a plentiful want of merit.

*Philip* asked his son *Alexander*, (for why should not heroes come in with these gentlemen? they are all alike candidates for fame; but that one is only ridiculous, and the other mischievous!) “if he was not ashamed to play on music so well?” Because this supposed, even by its merit, that he must have mis-spent his time, by neglecting more important studies, and more worthy of his character.

*Burnet*, in his character of *Charles II*, says, “He knew the architecture of ships so perfectly, that, in that respect, he was exact rather more than became a prince.”  
Vol. I. p. 94.

Yet

Yet it would have been happy for thousands, and ten thousands, if *Alexander* had squandered away his mighty qualities in the same manner, and that his high place and fortunes had not put him upon a much worse misapplication of them, and sent him about, depopulating one half of the world, that the other half might speak well of him.

## XVIII.

*Personæ convenientia cuique.*

HORAT.

**P**ROPRIETY is the test of all virtue and excellence. “*Darius*, after repeated losses, and being much weakened, sent *Alexander* a pompous embassy, with large and splendid proposals of peace and alliance; offering him, among other vast advantages, ten thousand talents, and his daughter in marriage, with all the countries between the *Euphrates* and the *Hellepont* for her portion. *Alexander* called a great council, and proposed to them these conditions. *Parmenio* was so dazzled with them, that he cried

H 3

our

out, ' I would accept them, if I were *Alexander*;' ' and so would I,' answered *Alexander* warmly, ' if I were *Parmenio* :?' Shewing the immense distance between the servile views of a minister, however exalted by his prince's favour, still a minister and servant, and, of consequence, a genius unused to, and incapable of high and sublime ideas of independent power, and those of a great king, born to majesty, who comprehended the empire of the universe in his boundless reach!" *Plut. Alex.* p. 67.

" *There is a mystery, with which relation*

" *Durst never meddle, in the soul of state.*"

*Shake. Tr. & Cres. act III.*

" When *Epaminondas* had confined a young man for certain debauches, and *Pelopidas* begged his liberty of him as a friend, he flatly refused him, notwithstanding their cordial friendship; but when afterwards a courtezan asked him the same favour, he granted it immediately; ' aye,' says he, ' this is a compliment fit to make you, but not to *Pelopidas*.'

Another

Another instance, less heroic! "When king *Charles* the II<sup>d</sup> came to see the hunting palace which Sir *Christopher Wren* had built him at *Newmarket*; he told him, 'he thought the rooms too low.' Sir *Christopher*, who was a little man, walked round them, and looking up, and about him, said, 'I think, and it please your majesty, they are high enough.' The king squatted down to his height, and creeping about in this whimsical posture, cried, 'Aye, Sir *Christopher*, I think they are high enough.'

## XIX.

*Periculosa plenum opus aleæ.*

HORAT.

IT is very necessary to observe time and place in making free with greatness. "Alexander, who killed his old and beloved friend *Clitus*, for ridiculing him on the title that he assumed of *son of Jupiter*;" (2. *Curt.* VIII. 1.) when, before that time, "the philosopher *Anaxarchus*, on occasion of a thundering and lightning that astonished and terrified the whole army, said to

H 3

him:

him : ‘ Well, son of *Jupiter*, and can you do as much ?’ only answered, with a smile, ‘ Yes, sure, but that I will not frighten my friends, as you would have me do, in serving up at my table the heads of princes and governors instead of those of fish.” *Plut. Alex.* p. 64.

“ Some domestics of the cardinal of *Ar- ragon*, whose sister the great *Matthias Corvi- nus*, king of *Hungary*, had married, having had a jest put upon them, of cutting off the skirts of their garments behind, without their perceiving it, the king asked his barber, (a person in great favour with him for a man in his post) if he had ever heard who had done it? The barber, thinking the king asked it in order to divert himself, said, it was himself that had done it, and, with a great deal of laughter, told all the manner from the beginning to the end.— The king heard the story, and ordered the barber’s nose and lips to be cut off, for a warning to all others, how they diverted themselves with their betters.” *Don Juan Vitrian Comment on Ph. de Comines*, c. 36.

“ The

“ The poet *Philemon* was better off with *Magas*, king of *Cyrene*, whom he had ridiculed upon the stage, by name; for being afterwards thrown on his coasts by a storm, the king learning whom he had got, sent a foldier with orders that he should draw his sword, as to strike off his head for his insolence, but only touch his neck lightly, and go off without saying a word.—And then sending him a parcel of children’s play-things, as to an empty trifle, let him depart.” *Plut.*

I do not find this fright had the same effect upon the poet, (who by no means wanted for imagination) as it had upon “ a *Swedish* gentleman, (I think) who having committed a vile murder, the king, though great intercessions were made for him, as being the last of a noble family, could not be induced to pardon him; yet at last he was over-ruled; but still insisted, he should undergo the shame and terror of a public execution, and the headsman had orders only to strike him, blindfolded, with a switch, yet he was dead with the conceit.”

“ I do



“ I do not know which is most to be admired, the (present) candour of the prince, or the courage of the minister, when *Mæcenas* seeing *Augustus* condemning criminal after criminal, cried out to him from the court, ‘ come down executioner ;’ and the emperor came down.” *Dion. Aug.* “ So when the philosopher *Athenodorus*, having observed the danger *Augustus* ran, by admitting ladies in private (for he was extremely amorous, but very decent, which was indeed having taste) he caused himself to be brought into the emperor’s chamber in a close chair, as if a lady, and when the emperor expected quite another visit, rushed out upon him with a drawn dagger, and said to him, ‘ oh ! my dear emperor, if this had been a traitor !’ The good prince acknowledged his friend’s warm zeal ;”— (*Ibid.*) but it might have admitted another interpretation, if he had happened to have been in another humour, or had less friendship for *Athenodorus*.

“ Our *Charles II.* was once told by his over-officious trifler of a barber, as he was shaving him, ‘ he thought that none of his majesty’s officers had a greater trust than he.’

he.' 'Ay,' said *Rowley*, 'how so, friend?'  
'Why,' said he, 'I could cut your majesty's  
throat when I would. The king started up,  
and said, 'odd's fish, that very thought is  
treason; thou shalt shave me no more.'\*—  
*My father.*

*Alexander* suffered *Apelles* to tell him very  
freely, that 'he had better not talk of  
painting, for that the very boy who ground  
his colours would laugh at him;' and ano-  
ther time, *Bucephalus* neighing at a horse  
he had painted, when *Alexander* seemed not  
at all affected with the picture itself, he told  
him that 'his horse understood painting  
better than he.'

There are certain moments when the great  
will bear severe jokes, and even insults; but  
then it is mere humour, and you can hardly  
ever tell how to judge when they will do  
it, and if you miss, you put your hand into  
a lion's mouth.

\* *Plutarch* tells a story just like this, of *Dionysius's*  
barber, who hearing some talk of the tyranny of this  
prince being so established and secure, that he had no-  
thing to fear from any man: 'You say this,' said he,  
'before a man who can put an end to it every day of  
his life, as he has his razor daily at his throat.' He  
was not so well off with his untimely jest, as honest  
*Rowley's*;

Perhaps, take all together, the best way would be to have as little to do with them as you can. The *Turks* say, ‘no grafs can grow on the spot where the grand signor’s horfe has once trod.’

## XX.

**T**Hough custom hath an insinuating, unheeded influence on almost all men, in some degree, from its humouring our natural laziness with “her glib and easy method, in some manner like to that vision of *Ezekiel*, rolling up her sudden book of implicit knowledge;” (*Milton to the parliament of England, with his doct. and discipl. of divorce.*) yet it acts most on the most empty and insignificant minds, exercising on these a sort of irresistible tyranny.

A friend of mine who had lived long in *Muscovy* gave this instance. “The butchers there carry their meat to people’s houses in panniers on each side their horse. He observed one of these, who had sold a joint at a house where he happened to be, flinging

*Rowley’s*; for *Dionysius* being informed of it, ordered him to be crucified. *Plut. on garrulity* (IV.) p. 232.

a par-

a parcel of stones out of the other pannier. So he asked the fellow, why he did that? He told him, with a little sort of triumph over his ignorance, that if he did not lighten that side, it would pull over the other where the meat was; for that they filled one pannier with meat, and the other with stones, to poise it. ‘Why,’ said the gentleman, ‘had not you better put half the meat on one side, and half on the other, and then the horse will carry double the quantity?’ ‘Oy,’ says he, ‘Sir, that is true, I never thought of it;—but my father and grandfather did so before me, and every body else does as I do, so I won’t go and change.’”

Lord Bacon says, “he remembers, that, in the beginning of queen *Elizabeth*’s time, an *Irish* rebel condemned earnestly besought the deputy, that he might be hanged in a wythe, and not in a halter, because it had been so used with former rebels.” *Essay on Cust. and Educ.* This was probably for the same reason that the *Roman* soldiers, having a right of being scourged with vines only, added a sort of dignity to their punishment, which made them bear it cheerfully.

“ The

“ The *Hottentots*, the most lazy of all people, have the same answer for every thing you tell them. They will agree with you, that what you say is right, and that it would be better to change it, but it is *Hottentot* custom. That is an answer for, and solution of all, and you shall never get them any farther than *Hottentot* custom.” *Kolben's Present state of the Cape of Good Hope*, p 124.

In matters of religion, all the world hath ever been the same; nay, it has been every particular religion's fundamental to believe as their fathers had believed, without pretending to examine.

## XXI.

*We poets salesmen are of wit,  
And make our cloaths for whom they fit.*

HUDIB.

SECRETARY Craggs brought *Dick Estcourt* once to Sir *Godfrey Kneller's*; where he mimicked several persons whom  
he

he knew; as lords *Godolphin, Somers, Halifax, &c.* Sir *Godfrey* was highly delighted, took the joke, and laughed heartily: then, they gave him the wink, and he mimicked Sir *Godfrey* himself; who cried, ‘Nay, now you are out, man; by G—d that is not me;” and thus proved it was he. *Est-court* produced the cap; but it was he himself that put it on.

XXII.

*The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be;  
The devil was well, the devil a monk was he.*

*We love him, because he first loved us.*

1 JOHN IV. 19

WE are very humble and assiduous with God, when we want to obtain or avoid any thing; as lord *Carteret*, (when he was lieutenant of *Ireland*) said to *Swift*:

*My very good dean, none ever comes here,  
But who hath something to hope, or something to fear\*.*

\* My lord wrote this on a window in the Castle, under two other lines of *Swift*, in which his pride affected an absolute independence.

The

The *Persian Magi* besought the assistance of the Gods in private, with various rites and ceremonies, among themselves, or each alone, but denied their power of interposition publicly, that they might not share with themselves the credit of what wonders they performed before the people ; or, indeed, have the whole, and themselves seem but their ministers in cures and miracles ; for, as they concluded rightly, the gods would certainly run away with all the glory, if the people thought they had any hand in their operations at all ;” (*Philostrotus Soph. vit. Apo. Tya. VIII. 7.*) “ as lady *Mary Wortley Montagu*, when she shewed *Pope* a paper of verses of hers, and he would make some little alterations, ‘ No, said she, *Pope*, no touching, for then whatever is good for any thing will pass for yours, and the rest for mine.” We good christians, on the contrary, very candidly give all the merit of what we do to God ; but so as to insinuate, by those very means, that our works deserve applause, only that our religion and modesty wave the claim of it ; but that our great talents, (which the reader is to be very sensible of,) are made the instrument  
of

of such extraordinary productions for the benefit or instruction of mankind.

I wonder how these rascals of *Magi* managed to draw the Gods in to be such dupes ; for, to be sure, they made them believe they were to have all the glory, or, at least, this was understood ; for all religions have agreed, that their Gods were extremely greedy of our praises, and very jealous of one another's encroaching upon their rights to our good opinions and services. Poor impotent human pride !

The *Persians* have not left off their old tricks of making their Gods believe what they please ; but as those ancient ones cheated them, by concealing their wit, the modern do so, by making theirs believe they are poorer than they are ; “ for the rich and noble *Persians*, when they have any particular favour to ask, on which occasions they are remarkably devout, (for “ we never love God so well as when we want him\*”) first take off their rings, and other jewels, and are sure to have no sort of

\* *Marianne.*



gold about them, that God may have the more compassion on them for being so poor." *Chardin Voy. de Perse.*

No prince was ever more devout than *Alexander*, before his astonishing prosperity; but as soon as he thought he could do without the Gods, he had nothing more to do with them; and finding that he was as good as they, neglected sacrificing to them for many years, and at last would be one himself. But upon the first fright, on the general revolt of the *Scythians*, he turned again to his old superstition, (*Rursus ad superstitionem, humanarum gentium ludibria, revolutus*) the mock and very seamy wrong side of human nature! *Q. Curt. VII. 7. 8.*

“ The *Carthaginians* had been accustomed, for many ages after their foundation, to send the tithe of their revenues to the temple of *Hercules* at *Tyre*, the mother-city. But after they were grown very wealthy and powerful, they began to slacken in their devotion, and sent every year but a trifle, as keeping up an appearance of the old form. In short, they found the Gods easy, and were for buying them as  
cheap

cheap as they could ; but upon the ruinous defeat of their army by *Agathocles*, tyrant of *Syracuse*, and his laying siege to *Carthage* itself, they not only paid *Hercules* their old debts with interest, but sent presents to all the other Gods of *Tyre*. And, in their fright, considering how ill they had used their own God, *Saturn*, too, in having defrauded him of the principal and choice of their children ; the nobility, for a long while, having bought poor people's, to sacrifice instead of their own ; they at once offered a public sacrifice of two hundred noble infants ; and three hundred more families voluntarily brought theirs, to be laid on the hands of the God's brazen statue, that were stretched out for that purpose, sloping downwards, so that the boy rolled off into a furnace that was just under." With such a pang of superstition were they seized ! *Diodor. Sic. XX. 1.—*  
*Humanitatem dira superstitio vicit. Curt. IV.*  
 3. 23.

## XXIII.

*Nam quod labor contraxit, quies tollit. Aliquando enim experimentum animi sumpsi subitum; hoc enim est simplicius & verius; nam, ubi se præparavit, & indixit sibi patientiam, non æque apparet, quantum habeat veræ firmitatis. Illa sunt certissima argumenta, quæ ex tempore dedit, si non tantum æquus molesta, sed & placidus, adspexit; si non excanduit, non litigavit; si, quod dari deberet, ipse sibi, non desiderando supplevit, & cogitavit, aliquid consuetudini suæ, sibi nihil deesse. Seneca, Ep. 123.*

“**D**ON GARCÍAS III, king of Navarre, was surnamed the *Trembler*, from a certain ardour (his friends said) in going into battle. Some new courtier, who understood it simply for a temporary fear and apprehension (for he gave in his life sufficient proofs of a genuine courage) took pains to represent the danger as less than he might imagine it. The king said, ‘ Sir, my limbs tremble at the danger they know by experience, my courage will carry them into.’”

I have heard of a colonel that was taken with a panick just as he was going to charge

at

at the head of his regiment; he made his utmost efforts to recover, and possess himself, but all in vain, he was subdued by a mortal and senseless horror; he took out one of his pistols, and shot it through his head. Like *Fannius*, who had conspired against *Augustus*, and, finding his executioners in close pursuit of him, killed himself.

*Hostem cum fugeret, se Fannius ipse peremit,  
Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriare, mori?  
Martial, Epig. II. 30.*

And a great prince in *France* of undoubted courage and resolution, yet never joined battle, which he did many, and successfully, but an odious accident made it as offensive for his friends to follow him, as it was dangerous for his enemies to face him.

This gentleman's constitution was cowardice, but which he corrected, as *Socrates* did the natural malignity of his, by the true bravery of his reason. The sudden attack of his natural temper he was not prepared for, but instantly rallied and put his fears to flight.

“ *Theodore Agrippa d’ Aubigné*, than whom no man was less acquainted with fear, and who, as he says, ‘ found nothing too hot, nor too cold for him,’ relates, in his memoirs, that two or three days after the news of the massacre of *St. Bartholomew*, (he was a *Huguenot*) as he was walking out with fourscore dragoons of his company, determined fellows, thinking of nothing; on hearing somebody call out, not to them, nor any thing relating to them, all on a sudden they set a running like a flock of sheep, and never stopped ’till they were out of breath; when, taking one another by the hand, three or four together, and staring,

— each in other’s countenance beheld  
 His own dismay astonish’d —

then, blushing, concluded that ‘ God did not give courage and understanding, but only lent it.’” *Memoirs*, p. 38.

XXIV. *That*

## XXIV.

*That we are commonly the dupes of other people's views.*

*Suam quisque fortunam in consilio habet, quum de alienâ deliberat.*

*Curt. V. 5. 12.*

THE *Athenians* often put their successful generals to death, out of jealousy of their power. The *Carthaginians* carried this timorous and ungrateful policy so far, that *Swift* observes, "It was at last grown into an established custom among them;" [which he has from *Diodorus*.] "They advance," says this historian, "the most eminent persons to be generals in their wars, because they conclude they will fight with more resolution than others, when all lies at stake: but after the wars are ended, and peace concluded, they bring false accusations against them, and most unjustly, through envy, put them to death; and therefore some generals, out of fear of those unjust sentences, have either given up their command, or have laid schemes to make themselves masters of the common-wealth, as the only means to screen themselves from  
I 4                      faction."

faction." *Diod. Sic. XX. 1.* This is what *Bo-milcar* did in that famous battle against *Agathocles*, the tyrant of *Syracuse*, in *Africa*; for when *Hanno*, the other general, was killed, and he might probably have gained the victory, he considered that in that case his citizens would be too strong for him; but if they were beat, he would become necessary to them, and by that means might possess himself of the sovereignty; he so managed, that *Agathocles* gained so complete a victory, that *Carthage* did not recover itself from it for a very long time. *Id. ib.*—I wonder nobody has ever thought of thus accounting for *Hannibal's* not going directly to *Rome* after the battle of *Cannæ*, and finishing the war at once.

It has often been observed, that soldiers are never so little regarded, as when by their bravery they have procured their masters some signal advantages; because their own victories serve to render them useless, or even dangerous, or at least suspected to be so, so they must take their measures accordingly.

“ The famous marshal *Biron*, when his son pushed on a certain siege (I forget what) with

with vigour, and was near taking the city, which would probably have put an end to the war, reprimanded him for it, and sent him orders, to manage matters so, that by all means the enemy should raise the siege; the son acted accordingly, but when he came to his father, asked him, what he could mean by a conduct that appeared to him so unaccountable? ‘Would you have us,’ said the marshal, ‘be sent to *Biron* to sow cabbages?’ See the story in *Mezerai*, H. IV. *an.* 1592. p. 72. Doubtless the court, *Paris*, and the country, had other reasons given them. And whatever might have been the plausible ones *Hannibal* gave at that time, (though they did not seem very convincing, to judge by what *Barca* said to him \*) this was in all likelihood the true one. *Si vis mihi equitatum dare, die quinti Romæ in Capitolium curabo tibi cæna sit coëta.* *M. Cato in Originib. ap. Aul. Gell. X. 24. vel pot. Cælius, ex illo.* See *Plut. Fab. Max.* p. 339. (V. II.) and *Florus* II. 6.

\* *Vincere scis, Hannibal, victoriâ uti nescis.* *Livy* XXII. 51. who says, it was *Maherbal*, master of the horse.—See *Dacier* at *Plutarch Fab. Max.* note 75, who unites both.

“ When



“ When *Gabinius*, on his arrival in *Egypt*, had taken *Archelaus*, who had married *Ptolemy*'s eldest daughter, prisoner, he could have placed *Ptolemy* on the throne again, (which he had been compelled to abdicate) at once, but that would have put an end to the war too soon, and of consequence to his importance, and would have given *Ptolemy* a pretext not to pay him the remainder of the sum that was stipulated : so he gave *Archelaus* an opportunity to make his escape, for a vast ransom (so much clear gain) and then beat him again in another battle, and killed him. This nicety cost thousands of lives, but that was nothing to heroes and statesmen !

*Stilicho*, the son-in-law of *Honorius*, and his general, did the same by *Alaric* the *Goth*, whom he had so completely overcome in a decisive battle, that he might have easily prevented his escape ; but by still keeping the war on foot, he continued and increased his own power from the occasion the state had for him ; which had in its consequences the same fatal effect on the *Roman* affairs, that *Hannibal*'s selfish policy had on the *Carthaginians*.

The

The duke of *Marlborough* (I have heard) contended with all his power, in the council of war, to fight the *French* at *Hockstedt*, but could not persuade prince *Eugene*, who argued as strongly against it, 'till the duke, calling him aside, shewed him a letter from lord *Godolphin*, in which the treasurer assured him, that if he did not fight, he would lose his head when he came home. No wonder the prince was not satisfied with his arguments; he did not know the secret of the duke's declamation.

“ When *Tit. Quint. Flamininus* endeavoured to persuade the *Grecian* allies against besieging *Lacedæmon*, and to make peace with the tyrant *Nabis*, they were all averse to it, and gave strong reasons for their opinion, so that he was obliged to come over to them; yet, even in so doing, brought them all over to his. For he so well represented, how much, what they were satisfied was the public good, was their own private harm, that without ceremony they came round about again. They understood that the war was to be carried on, and their own piques and animosities revenged by the *Romans*; but when they found they were to bear

bear the expence, and mostly out of their own private purses, all was changed," [T. Livius, XXXIV. 33, 34.] and

*The worse appear'd the better reason.*

*Milton.*

Their general's advice had been on account of his fear "left another proconsul should be sent to relieve him, and should have the honour of putting an end to the war, which he had successfully begun."— This he kept to himself; and gave them reasons for his purpose, but however they would not serve; common sense, unbiassed, generally sees well enough what is right; and so they did, 'till he let them into another secret, in which themselves were concerned. When we see a wise man do what we take to be very absurd, we are astonished; the case is oftentimes, only, that we see the public reason of the thing, and he sees the private one.

The public are the spectators in a theatre; they see just so much of the actors as these think fit to shew them; glitter and tinsel all, and false, aided by an artful glare

glare of candles ; all the dirty work is behind the scenes. And yet they talk as learnedly, and reason as seriously and gravely, upon what these statesmen are pleased to present them, as if they were actually the ministering devils, that

*Ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm.*

*Addison.*

XXV.

*That we can make no very assured judgment of other people's happiness, but that social good seems to be the true source of the purest and most lasting enjoyment.*

—— *Brevior duxi securius ævum.*

*Ipsa nocet moles, utinam remeare liceret*

*Ad veteres fines, & mœnia pauperis Anci.*

*Claudian. Gildonic. ver. 108.*

“ **M**ONTAIGNE knew a dean of St. Hilary of Poitiers, who had been two and twenty years in one room, without stirring a foot out of it ; suffering a servant only to bring him food once a day, and retire immediately ; and about once a week would admit a friend to come and see him. All this while in perfect health.” *Essays,*  
L. II.

L. II. c. 6. “ As extraordinary as *Claudian's Old Man of Verona*, if he could be called even that, properly, who never went out of the suburbs of that city, even into the city itself.” *Claud. Epig.* II.

“ An old malster is our politician, and that at second or third hand, for I never saw him. Another, indeed, we have in the house, who has lived up in the garret these fifty years; I cannot get to the speech of him neither; he is as earnest after the newspapers—He was a little rake, about four feet high; and when he had raked away all his little money upon the ladies, his father made him stay above, for punishment, and because he would not see him; and so, at last, he never would come down again, but now and then to fetch a little beer, or so; spends his time reading *Rapin*, and looking out at window with a spying-glass, to see people go along the street. His bed is made every other night, for he chuses it should serve two, one night for each side; eats very heartily, and, they say, is always chearful, and is always well, though fourscore. What need has any one of money, or exercise, or any of the other things

things which people think so necessary and essential?" *Letter from Reading, 1745.*

Were not these contented? or had they no passions to gratify? One of the allegorical drawings *Holbein* made for the duke of *Norfolk*, is a man lying along upon a rock, with a calm, but cheerless countenance, and bound hand and foot, written under, *CONTENTE*. What then! shall we say the *Old Man of Verona*, or *Montaigne's Dean*, or the *Reading Politician*, were happier than *Cæsar* or *Gengbizkhan*? By no means. Or that *Gengbizkhan* or *Cæsar* were happier than those? By no means neither. How do we know if a shark is happier than an oyster?

“ When *Gyges*, king of *Lydia*, in the height of that famous kingdom's wealth and splendor, enquired of the oracle of *Delphi*, in the vanity of his heart, ‘ Who was the happiest man on earth?’ Secure of having his pride complimented by the God; he had the mortification of being answered, ‘ that it was one *Aglaüs*, a poor *Arcadian* cottager, who had ploughed a little field, during all his long life, and had never had a  
wish

wish that had once called him from it.”  
*Valerius Max.* VII. 1.

*Dioclesian* and *Maximian* both retired at once from empire into a private station, and rural retreat, but both were soon sick of it, and would gladly have returned to their power, (as the emperor *Charles V.* in after times, and *Victor Amadeus*, king of *Sardinia*) though the first affected to like it; and when *Maximian* pressed him to resume the government, he, a wise and prudent prince, who had already tried to do so underhand, and found he could not, only answered his letters, ‘ that he wished he could come to him at *Salonæ*, and see his kitchen-garden, planted and watered with his own hands, and then he would know how little likely he was to succeed in such a proposal.” *Aurel. Victor. in vit. Philip V. of Spain*, in our days, is the only prince that ever resigned the crown, and afterwards received it again.

Well—but certainly that man who is entirely his own master, to do whatever shall come into his heart, with all the powers and means of gratifying all his desires, is happier than a slave, or one who is in a perpetual dependent

dependent state. We do not know. Be sure there is a great anxiety in a state of uncertainty and balancing, which is often, and very frequently, the case of those who can do whatever they will. The sort of disappointment is only changed; and instead of not being allowed to have what you will, you are not allowed to know what you will have, from the variety of choice that is continually presenting itself; one pleasure still endeavouring to supplant another. Add, that such an one is the butt, and very mark, of all the passions; which if he is not ever parrying, in a perpetual state of war with himself, he becomes the place, the receptacle, the hospital, of all sorts of diseases, crammed and glutted with tasteless satiety! and whether is preferable, to be controuled by another, and free from all dispute and wavering, and from temptation; or by one's self, whose granting or denial is often equally uneasy or pernicious? If we want inclination or taste to enjoy our offered blifs, it is a load; if we have too much, a snare.

Of a *St. Francis* wallowing in snow, or a *St. Jerome* thumping himself naked in a cave with stones, one said, "if such should

K

be



be mistaken, they were finely bit"—Perhaps not. Who knows what satisfaction, what transport they may feel in the assured opinion of a certain inwardness with God! and that they are laying out their stock of pleasure to more than *Jewish* interest! For there is no sort of virtue exercised by mankind so far for virtue's sake only, that the virtuous do not expect, some way or other, to be the better for it; and whoever abstains from, and denies himself the enjoyment of a present pleasure, does not this because he pretends never to enjoy any pleasure, but because he judges, that the continence he enjoins himself now, will be, some time after, amply recompensed. And this is understood on both sides.

Such enthusiastic self-deniers generally give themselves credit with heaven for much more than they lent it; imagining they have sacrificed much more than they really have, in quitting the world. Like *Cn. Lentulus*, a man of a poor and barren genius, who owing all his vast fortune to *Augustus*, to whom he had brought nothing but poverty, and nobility, which made that poverty more grievous, yet used often to  
com-

complain to him, that “ he had allured him from his studies, and that all he had given him was nothing to what he had taken from him, by making him abandon the pursuit of eloquence.” Yet, in truth, *Augustus* had the additional merit with him, of having saved him from a fruitless labour, and the public derision. *Seneca, Benef. II.*  
27.

But if we can make no judgment of our own, surely we can make none of another's happiness. We do not know, and we need not; if we had needed, we should have known. Our business is at home; what have we to do to compare ourselves with others? Only, as for the oracle (if we may venture to criticise *Apollo*, as I believe we may now) he went too far, in saying that *Aglaüs*, being the most contented man, was, therefore, the most happy; I believe one can only say, with certainty, from thence, that he was the least unhappy!

*Seneca* passing by the sumptuous villa of a man, famous for nothing but his rich idleness, and, for this only, thought (by the thoughtless!) to have found out the true secret of living, and to be alone happy;

said, " Here lies *Servilius Vatia*. His science, says *Seneca*, was how to skulk, not how to live ; for there is a wide difference between living an idle, slothful life, and a life of leisure. The vulgar think that man wise and happy, who, in safe obscurity, lives contented, and for himself. Yet such, often, flies business and men, because he is tired of enjoyment, or envy or disappointment having banished him from society, hiding himself like a fearful and sluggish animal, [lives, as *Swift* says, a poisoned rat in a hole] or plunged in gluttony, lust, and sleep. In fine, it does not immediately follow, that he who lives for nobody else, lives for himself." *Seneca, Ep. 55.*

Who then shall make a judgment of other men's happiness ? only, in general, it seems most rational to suppose, that as we can know the most happy of all beings, and the only truly and ever happy, no otherwise than by the effects we surely see, and share, of perpetual and unbounded beneficence ; so those men must approach the nearest to happiness, whose divine qualities the nearest resemble this glad attribute, in whose most beloved and grateful effects we live, and  
 move,

move, and have our being; and hence owe to those in our power and dependence the exerting of the like quality, which he hath furnished us all with the means of doing, in our several spheres, to the assistance of others, and so procuring our own purest happiness. This is social love, our best self-love, *Charity!*

---

*Whose ways are ways  
Of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.*  
Proverbs III. 17.

*Cato* the censor acted not like those who perform great exploits for glory, and not for virtue; who after they have obtained, and gone through the first dignities, are above all other social concerns, and pass the rest of their lives in sloth and pleasure.—He, whose sole view was the good of mankind, after having been consul and triumphed, did not disdain to serve his citizens; to plead the cause of the oppressed; and to fight the battles of his country, a simple tribune, under another consul the very next year! with more true glory degrading himself, than he could be exalted by others! *Plutarch in his life*, p. 437.

The great *Scipio Africanus* did the same ; after having destroyed *Carthage*, he went as lieutenant to his brother, who was consul, against *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*, and assisted him to obtain the surname of *Asiaticus*.—*Florus*, L. II. c. 8.

“ He only truly lives,” says *Sallust*, “ and may be said, indeed, to enjoy his soul ; who, still employing his faculties, endeavours to recommend himself by some useful action, or noble art.” *Bell. Jugurth. in init.* This is *otium cum dignitate*.

*Tu das ingenuæ jus mihi pigritiæ.*

*Martial, Epig. XII. 4.*

“ Such was the busy leisure of the great *Dioclesian* in a glorious retreat, which his new and unheard of virtue had inspired to him, who alone, of all the *Roman* emperors, had voluntarily exchanged the pinnacle of human grandeur, for a private life ; and, in return, he was alone the one example of a private man, who on his death was made a god.” *Præclaro otio senuit. Eutropius, IX, ad fin.*

XXVI. *Nothing*

## XXVI.

*Nothing imposes so much as a grave and solemn demeanour.*

THE virtue of *Portius*, the son of *Cato*, almost appears something more admirable than that of his father. They both disdained to survive the enslaving of their country: one killed himself when driven from the last retreat of *Roman* liberty; the other, in the honest endeavour to re-ignite the hardly glowing embers, was killed on heaps of slain, at the battle of *Philippi*, against *Octavius* and *M. Antony*. But the son was a man of pleasure;\* and virtue with him was without ceremony, and truly ge-

\* I do not find him reproached for any one vice, but that, (like Sir *John Falstaff*) "the devil would have him about women." *Plutarch* says, "that when he was in *Cappadocia* he lodged with *Maphradates*, a prince of the blood, whose wife and *Portius* lived so well together, that it was said, 'Portius and *Maphradates* were such good friends, they had but one soul between them.' (The lady's name was *PSYCHE*, which is *SOUL* in *Greek*.) *Portius* and she were better friends, for there was no soul between them."—*The life of Cato, ad fin.*

nerous ; it was in some sort the *Stoic* father's business.

As once queen *Elizabeth* seeing one dance finely, praised his skill and judgment, and enquired who he was ? when she was told he was a dancing-master, she turned away, and said, he was a pedant.

Yet I am far from understanding *Cato* to be one of *Balzac's Fanftrons de virtue* ; his great qualities and sincere worth deserve all praise and respect.

## XXVII.

*Ita suam quisque fortunam in consilio habet, cum de alienâ deliberat.*

CURT. V. 5, 12,

**I**T is next to impossible to get rid of ourselves in our imagination. Self will still intrude at all times, and all places ; and however we have occasion to consider other people's circumstances, ourselves and our concerns will be ever uppermost, and insinuate insensibly, till all becomes Self :  
which

which is the perpetual source of error in our own judgments of the virtues and vices, the happiness and miseries, of others. Nay, we often catch our imagination at mixing our living selves with our dead selves, and feeling for our unfeeling coarse; as may be frequently observed from criminals, who are often more afraid of being cut up and mangled by the surgeons, than being hanged.

That was good sense of *Diogenes*, and fine humour, who said to those that asked him, "how he would be buried?" "He did not desire them to bury him at all, but throw him out into the fields." "That," they told him, "was the way to be devoured by the birds and beasts." "No," says he, "you may put a cudgel by my side." "A cudgel! how should you make use of it, when you have no sense nor feeling?" "'Tis there," said he, "that I wanted you: what need I to care what is done with me, when I have neither sense nor feeling?"

When *Buchanan* was dying in a poor lodging, they came up, and asked him "what money he had?" He told them "he had  
had



had none." "None!" say they, "why how do you think to be buried?" "Ife lik to lig here," says honest *Buchanan*.

XXVIII.

*Mibi nempe valere, & vivere doctus.*

**S**IMILIS, præfect of the *Prætorian* cohorts, a man of great virtue and probity, having at length obtained his dismissal, lived the rest of his days, which were seven years, retired in the country, and ordered this inscription to be put on his monument :

*Here lies Similis, who died at a great age, having yet lived but seven years. In secessu quam in fronte beatior. Val. Max. VII. 2.*

As *Strada* says of *Charles V*, "He died at the age of fifty-eight years, of which he lived two. *Annorum octo & quinquaginta, ex quibus duos ipse vixerat.*" Meaning those he had lived in the monastery of *St. Justus* after his abdication [In judgment of others we commonly give them our own sentiments! *Strada* spoke like a monk, as he was] tho' it

it seems he soon grew public-spirited again, repenting of his abdication the very day; at least, “ so his son thought; for some years after, cardinal *Granville*, complimenting *Philip* II. on the anniversary of his father’s abdication; yes, says *Philip*, and of his repentance of it. *Strada B. Belgic. L. I. pp. 9. & 13.* And yet no man knew better than *Charles*, what plagues belonged to royal life; and he was sometimes sensible of it. Passing once by a village of *Arragon*, on *Easter-day*, a person met him, who, according to the custom of the country, was crowned *Pascal king*, and said gravely, to him, “ Sir, it is I that am king.” “ Much good may do you! friend, (says the emperor, as gravely) you have chosen a troublesome employment.”—*D. Juan Vitrian, on Ph. de Com. c. 53. let. C.*

That honest gentleman \* seems to have been in earnest in his love of ease, and probably had not the good fortune to enjoy it much, who lies buried in one of our abbey church-yards, under a simple tomb altar-wise, which (all covered over with trees,

\* Mr. *Fellows*: I think he lived somewhere in *Huntingdonshire*, where he was chosen knight of the shire.

shrubs,

shrubs, and weeds, and not to be got at but by a little blind path, nor seen but with a torch) has no name or circumstance engraved, but only this one word, *SNUG*.

“ Lord *Craven*, in the time of king *Charles* the Second, was a constant man at a fire; for which purpose he always had a horse ready saddled in the stable, and rewarded the first that gave him notice of such an accident. It was a good-natured fancy, and he did a great deal of service; but in that reign every thing was turned to a joke. The king being told of a terrible fire that was broke out, asked, if lord *Craven* was there yet? ‘ Oh!’ says somebody by; ‘ an’t please your majesty, he was there before it began, waiting for it; he has had two horses burnt under him already.” *Rev. Mr. Hawkins.*

## XXIX.

*Magni animi est injurias despicere. Ultionis contumeliosissimum genus est, non esse visum dignum ex quo peteretur ultio.*

Seneca de Irâ, II. 32.

“**I**Ntemperate and passionate reproaches, although they are just, yet affect even those that make them with a certain degree of ignominy; and those sophists who called the philosopher *Phavorinus*, in derision, a sophist, proved their assertion, says *Philostratus*, by bringing him down, thus provoked, to quarrel and wrangle with them.” *Philostratus in vitâ Phavorini*, p. 491.

————— *Rheni mihi Cæsar in undis*  
*Dux erat, hic socius; facinus quos inquinat æquat.*  
*Lucan. V. 28.*

The observation is curious, but just; for we do indeed, in part, degrade ourselves to their pitch, and, in part, raise them to ours, by making them considerable, with whom we thus condescend, as it were, to match ourselves, to use the ancient *Roman* term,

term, for their pairs of gladiators. “ Be-  
coming, for the time, their like and fellow,  
with whom we think fit to exchange ill  
words or ill deeds.” See *Aul. Gellius* VI. c.  
11. *Vincere inglorium, atteri sordidum. Tac.*  
*vit. Agric. 9.*

The duke of *Marlborough* riding out once  
with commiffary *Marriot*, near the commif-  
fary’s houfe in the country, it began to rain,  
and the duke called for his cloak; *Marriot*  
having his put on by his fervant immedi-  
ately. The duke’s fervant not bringing the  
cloak, he called for it again, but he was  
ftill puzzling about the straps and buckles;  
at laft, it raining now very hard, the duke  
called again, and asked him “ what he was  
about, that he did not bring his cloak ?”—  
“ You muft ftay,” grumbles, the fellow,  
if it rains cats and dogs, ’till I. can get  
at it.” The duke only turned to *Marriot*,  
and faid, “ I would not be of that fellow’s  
temper.”\* The duke of *Marlborough* did,  
by nature and conftitution, what *Seneca*  
judged, by philofophy, ought to be done.  
*Quid eft quare ego fervi mei hilarius refponfum,*

\* This I had from counfellor *Marriot*, his fon.

*Et contumaciorem vultum, flagellis Et compedibus expiem?* Senec. de Irâ III. 24.

“ *Antigonus*, king of *Syria*, heard some of his soldiers making free with his conduct. He put by the curtain of his tent, and looking out, said, ‘ Friends, go a little farther off; else *Antigonus* will hear you.’ *Plut. de Irâ.* ”

People of this rank cannot affront princes, as there is no degree nor sort of competition between them; their words and actions cannot affect them, and if they do, these degrade themselves by suffering them to do so. They are like the noxious vapour of the *Lago de’Cani*, at *Pozzuoli*, that never rises high enough to affect a man who stands upright; if he will stoop to it, it is his own fault.

“ A stranger that was at *Rome*, seeing *Caligula* sitting in state on his throne, dressed like *Jupiter*, and with that God’s insignia, and personated attributes, receiving the adoration of the senate, and answering their petitions, burst out a laughing; which the emperor noting, caused the man to be brought

brought before him, and asked him ‘ what he meant, and what he took him for?’ The man answered at once, (probably smitten with religious zeal) that ‘ he took him for a madman.’ The fellow, on enquiry, appeared to be a taylor, and the emperor let him alone.” *Xiphilin. in Cajo*, L. LIX. p. 254.

“ *Catherine of Medicis*, (though she was of a country where they say, *Dieu s’est réservée la vengeance pour soi, parceque c’est le morceau friand*,) looking one evening from a ground window, with the king of *Navarre*, they heard some common foldiers, who were roasting a goose on a wooden spit, say all the vileness imaginable, and in the most offensive terms, of the queen-mother; the king of *Navarre* was for going away immediately, and ordering them to be hanged up. ‘ Well,’ says *Catherine*, calling out to them, ‘ and what has the queen-mother done to you? she lets you go on, and roast your goose!’ And turning to the king, laughed, and said, ‘ Let them alone, cousin, these poor devils are not our game.” *D’Aubig. Hist. Universf.* tom I. l. 3. c. 5. p. 198.

The

The same greatness of mind, and justness of thinking, had *Oliver Cromwell*, but which he expressed in a ruder manner, fit for the subject, and for himself.

“ A zealous officer of his came to him, and told him he had fallen into bad company, where he had had the mortification to hear his highness spoken of in a very scandalous manner. ‘ Oy, says he, ‘ man, what did they say ?’ ‘ I am ashamed, an’t please your highness, to repeat it.’ ‘ Tell, tell,’ says *Oliver*. ‘ Why, an’t please your highness, a rascal had the impudence to say *your highness might kiss his a—*.’ ‘ How, how ! what was he for a man ?’ Oh,’ says the officer, ‘ he was but a poor beggarly fellow.’ ‘ Oho !’ says the protector, ‘ when you see him again, tell him *he may kiss mine*.’”

“ Cardinal *Richelieu*, when an officious informer came to tell his eminence of certain free expressions (and very free ones they were) that some considerable persons he named had used in speaking of him, in his hearing ; ‘ Why how now, you rascal,’ says he, ‘ do you dare to come and call me all these names to my face, under pretence of their having been said by honest gentlemen,

L



men, whom I know to have a due respect for me?" and ringing his bell, said to the page in waiting, "kick that fellow down stairs."

It was an extraordinary, and almost unheard of, piece of moderation in *Augustus Cæsar*, not only to pardon the historian *Timagenes* his invectives, that he had both written and spoken abundantly against himself and all his family; and, on his still persisting after repeated admonitions, only forbidding him the palace; but living in the same friendship with *Pollio*, and others who received and honoured him; for I think a man can hardly have a very sincere friendship for another, when he cherishes his declared enemy. But then this moderation gave a greater dignity to his person and character, from this exalted quality of his mind (which was alone intrinsic) and a greater and more just superiority over the rest of mankind, than his sublime fortunes. See *Seneca de Irâ* L. III. c. 23.

For indeed, what was this, but, in a manner, possessing himself of an attribute of the Gods, by placing his person thus out  
of

of the reach of human insolence, or injury ?  
 And, if any thing could excite their envy  
 (which these times so much apprehended)  
 I think so divine a quality would do it.—  
 [This was the peculiar and characteristic  
 quality of *Socrates*.] *Ælian. V. H. IX. 7.*

“ *Non piace a sommi Dei, L’haver compagni in terra ;  
 Ne piace lor, nella virtute ancora, Tanta alterezza.*”  
*Past. Fido. A. IV. Sc. 9.*

How different that of our tyrant and  
 usurper, *Richard III*, who hung a poor man  
 that kept the *Crown* ale-house, for saying  
 “ he would make his son heir to the  
*Crown!*” To shew his dastard villainy was  
 afraid of such scoundrels !

Yet this is only good where it comes  
 from a natural greatness of mind and su-  
 periority of temper that scorns to be aped.  
 For where it is forced and affected, it only  
 broils inwardly, and becomes the more  
 grievous to the person, and often more dan-  
 gerous to the object. For a man as it were  
 incorporates his anger by concealing it ; as  
*Diogenes* told *Demosthenes*, who for fear of  
 his seeing him come out of a tavern, re-

tired back; “ Oho, *Demosthenes*, the more you retire, the more you enter in.” Only when the peevish fallies are constrained, without costing too much, it is well worth while for a man to endeavour to settle himself by custom into a temper that may conduce alike to his ease and honour.

## XXX.

**L**ORD *Bolingbroke* told us (*June 12, 1742*) that lord *Oxford* had often told him, that he had seen, and had in his hand, an original letter that *K. Charles I.* wrote to the queen, in answer to one of her's that had been intercepted, and then forwarded to him; wherein she reproached him for “ having made those villains too great concessions,” (viz. that *Cromwell* should be lord lieutenant of *Ireland* for life without account, that that kingdom should be in the hands of the party, with an army there kept, which should know no head but the lieutenant; that *Cromwell* should have a garter, &c.) that in this letter of the king's,  
it

it was said, " That she should leave him to manage, who was better informed of all circumstances than she could be ; but that she might be entirely easy as to whatever concessions he should make them, for that he should know in due time how to deal with the rogues, who, instead of a filken garter, should be fitted with an hempen cord." So the letter ended ; which answer, as they waited for, so they intercepted accordingly, and it determined his fate. This letter lord *Oxford* said he had offered 500l. for. Lord *Bolingbroke*, lord *Marchmont*, and Mr. *P——e*, all believed that the story I had heard or read to this purpose, (and which occasioned lord *Bolingbroke's* telling the above) had its origin no higher than this story of lord *Oxford*.

## XXXI.

VESPASIAN said, “ a prince ought to die standing, and died as he was making an effort to rise and dress ;” and *Hadrian* said, that “ a prince should die in perfect health, and not languish.” (*Sueton. in vit. c. ult.*) *Sanum principem mori debere, non debilem.* “ The great *Condé* could not bear the thoughts of dying in his bed, and was quite in a passion that he should not be killed in the field.” *Spartian, in Ælio Vero, c. 6.* I believe the case was, when it came to the point, he was vexed that he was to die at all ; as *Sir Godfrey Kneller* said to *Mr. Pope*, who was sitting by his bed-side, and seeing him so impatient at the thoughts of going, had told him “ he had been a very good man, and no doubt would go to a much better place :” “ Ah, my good friend *Mr. Pope*, I wish God would let me stay at *Whitton*,” which was his country seat that he was very fond of. He was not for making the same error as the gentleman in *Misson*, who died of taking physic, and had put  
on

on his monument, *Stavo ben, m'ã, per star meglio, sto qu'.* Sir Godfrey was for keeping well when he was so: and so are most people, I find, however assured of the other's being better.

“ Some *German* prince \*, I think, *Brantome* says, when he was just expiring, caused himself to be taken up, and placed at the upper end of his hall, with all his arms on, and accoutrements about him, with a truncheon in his hand, and so died.”

I am not sure I have read this in *Brantome*, or elsewhere; but *Milton* tells a like story of *Siward*, earl of *Northumberland*, (the same who conquered and slew *Macbeth*, the tyrant-king of *Scotland*, who died at *York* the year after) “ reported by *Huntingdon*, of a giant-like stature; and, by his own demeanour at point of death manifested, of a rough and mere soldierly mind. For much disdain to die in bed by a disease, not in the field fighting with his enemies; he caused himself, completely armed, and

\* This was the count de *Buren*. See *Brantome Capitaines Etrangers*, tom I. p. 275.

weaponed with battle-axe and shield, to be fet in a chair, to meet death in a martial bravery." *Milton Hist. Eng.* VI. p. 291.

There is another sort of courage required for a man to die, deliberately, by degrees, in cold blood, and alone, or surrounded with the solemn apparatus of those that are to "see him out;" thinking, at leisure, of what he must lose, and what he may find; than such as is necessary to make a man push at all adventures, in a flutter of spirits, with high hopes to counterbalance his fears, and accompanied by fifty or a hundred thousand, who do the same that he does. There is a great deal even in this: you will see a timorous girl, who will suffer herself to be blooded, or have a tooth drawn, if somebody else will undergo the same operation with her.

"The great *Henry IV.* of *France*, brave as he was in the field, having been foretold by an astrologer, that 'he should die in his coach,' would scream out at the least shock, as if he saw the grave open to swallow him up." *Mezerai, Vie à la fin.* Add also

—*The neighing steed, and the shrill trump,  
The spirit stirring drum, th' ear-piercing fife,  
The royal banner, and all quality,  
Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war.*  
*Shakesp. Othello, act III.*

Perhaps no one ever died more truly calm and unconcerned than Dr. *Pellet*, a good and worthy man, and beloved by all men! who, expecting every moment would be his last, sat himself in his easy chair to read *Terence*, 'till this moment came, and died with the book in his hand.

If any did, it was another physician, Dr. *Harvey*, who waking one morning, called his servant, and asked him, 'what it was o'clock,' and 'how long it would be before it was light?' When his servant told him 'it was broad day,' he only ordered him to fetch a little vial on such a shelf, and drank it off, and, lying down again, went to rest, from which he was never to rise. He found, what he had long apprehended, that he had lost his sight, and had determined to have done with living whenever that happened.



## XXXII.

*Man differs more from man than man from beast.*

ROCHESTER.

**I**T fares with the mind often as with the body; the first assaults of grief make but little impression, to rebound often with more violence; as the wounds of the body are generally more silent at first, the ruder and more violent they are, but afterwards make themselves the more severely attended to. Not always; for I knew an instance of “captain *Borret*, a candid, worthy friend! [from himself] who at the battle of *Ramil-lies* lost his leg by a cannon ball, yet he was so little struck with the blow, that he wondered what made him fall down, nor ever felt the wound till he was brought to his tent to be dressed, and then but very tolerably during the amputation, and all the dressings, nor ever after.” Such are some constitutions! either an insensibility, to a great degree, in the flesh, or a prodigious vigour to repell or bear pain.—When the mind feels the first attack strongly, it generally

herally gets over it more easily, if let alone, and not irritated with crude and importunate comfort, to recover itself by its own weariness, and self-suggested reason, and come back to its true tone.

“ When the *Lacedæmonians* had news brought of their defeat and final overthrow at *Leuctra*, they were celebrating public games, which the *Ephori* would not put a stop to, though they knew this calamity ruined their affairs.” *Plutar. Agesil.* p. 357. (V.)—“ King *Charles I.* did the same, when he had word brought him, while at prayers, of the murder of the duke of *Buckingham.*” *Clarendon.*—And “ *La Cerda*, the husband of the famous *Mary de la Cerda*, when he had word brought him, that his castle of *Agui-lar* was taken by the royalists, the consequence of which he knew was his own death, yet stayed without any apparent alteration 'till mass was over.” *Mariana Hist. of Spain*, XVI. 17.

How these behaved afterwards, I do not know, and how they bore their misfortunes; but “ when *Sir Thomas More* went to be beheaded, his favourite daughter, *Roper*, took  
her

her leave of him with great constancy, and bore up with a courage that would have seemed insensibility of such a loss, if her filial virtue had not been too well known to her father and friends.\* Yet the moment she parted from him, she fell into such transports of grief, that it was long doubtful whether they should be able to keep life in her." *My father. Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent. Sen. Hip. II. 2.*

" *Sophocles*, who knew human nature so as to have seen, as one may say, the passions behind the scenes, hath wonderfully represented this motion of the inward mind, in *Dejanira*, who being told by *Hyllus*, the son of *Hercules*, in a most affecting description, in what grievous and terrible manner his father died, by means of the poisoned robe she herself had sent him, (unknowing) hears him throughout, silent and motionless; and then, without answering a single word, retires; † with the indignation and

\* See the story of *Raisac* in *Montaigne* 1. 2.

† See a fine image of this inward collected passion of *Aristomenes* in *Pausanias Messinic.* c. 22.

curfes of *Hyllus*, and all the affiftants, at her calmnefs ; but foon after comes fuch a fcene of her behaviour !” *Sophocles Trachiniæ* from v. 759. *Virgil* has imitated it in his exquisite description of the death of *Dido*, but very fhort of it furely !

I am perfuaded men differ more from one another than is generally thought, in their fenfe both of bodily and mental pain ; in one, from the mere conftitution of the nerves and fibres, and mechanical frame of the body itfelf ; and the other from, who knows what, or can conceive ? doubtlefs, a great deal ; and this too from that fame variety of conftitution ! We more evidently fee this in the powers of imagination, judgment, memory, &c. and fo of all other faculties, which the more we confider and compare, the more we fhall find to differ between man and man ; and yet in our judgments of the actions and paffions, enjoyments and fufferings, virtues and vices of others, we make no allowance for, nor the leaft attend to, this variety. But this is the lefs to be wondered at, fince we fo little do it even for the differences of circumftance

cumstance and accident, which much more immediately fall under the cognizance of our senses.

## XXXIII.

*Aderat fortuna, ubi artes defuissent.*

TACIT. H. V.

**H**UMAN prudence builds, at best, upon a quick-sand, in great and complicated affairs especially, as it is necessitated to proceed on a supposition that men act consistently; if they do not, in the main, take this for granted, they build on no foundation at all.

Don *Carlos Coloma*, a great soldier and statesman, and a noble writer of the wars in *Flanders* for twelve years, in which he himself was present, says, “The ill success of the *Spanish Armada* was, in a great measure, owing to the duke of *Parma*’s not having his transports ready for the forces he had in *Flanders*, occasioned by his judging, but too rightly, of what ought to have been the conduct of the admiral, duke of *Medina,*

*dina*, and the *Spanish* fleet; who, certainly, should not have precipitated the execution of so weighty and hazardous an attempt, before he had secured a port to retire to, in case of accident; and what he knew they ought not to have done, he could not believe, though from the eye-witness of captain *Morosino*, his own messenger, that they had done; that they set sail from *Lisbon*. We err often in the judgment we make of others actions, by not believing they will do, or have done, what we judge to be against their interest. Prudence itself may be mischievous in unfortunate events, and virtue, when unsuccessful, appears vice and error." *Coloma Guerras de Flanders*, L. I. fol. 6.

We doubly err; first in supposing that we must needs judge rightly of what is for another's interest, or that they themselves must needs judge rightly of it; and, secondly, in laying it down as a principle, that we both see things exactly in the same light. Now this, we may be very sure, never happens, entirely, for the most part, very widely different; which difference arises from that of the men's information,  
their

their talents, and the things themselves. —This is the state of the question in all the judgments we make of others, at the best; so far precarious they must be, besides other circumstances that very often come into the account. Yet we are not at all less secure of our judgments for that, nor act the less securely accordingly; whence, what wonder if manifold injustice to others, and error in our own affairs! “However,” says *Coloma*, “time, and the duke’s great reputation afterwards, made this no more thought of.”

On the other side, rash actions have often succeeded, because the enemy had a better opinion of the prudence of their authors, (judging, in like manner, by themselves) than they deserved.

The duke of *Monmouth*, drinking late one night at the siege of *Maestricht*, where he commanded, with some other general-officers, they took it into their heads to go directly, as they were, and storm the *Devil’s Tower*, a fort so called, of the utmost consequence, as being the main strength of the place, and thought almost impregnable:  
but

but that was not a time to doubt of themselves in any thing; away they went, with what attendance of their people they thought fit to take in a hurry, or that happened to be ready. However, having some little way to go, the duke bethought himself, and, stopping short, said, ‘ Look ye, gentlemen, we have undertaken an inconsiderate thing, and we cannot do better than go back while we are well:’ they cried, ‘ he had brought them out, and he should carry them through, or they would run their swords into his body.’ They came before the place, and began to make their attack, at the same time crying, ‘ Military execution, and no quarter!’ The governor, finding the general was there in person, made no doubt but he must be well attended, and have a greater force with him than he was aware of, and surrendered.” So rashness had the effect of stratagem, put good sense out of its play, and fairly jockeyed prudence and right counsel.

Of the same kind was the “ adventure of the *Inniskilling* men, a famous headlong party of volunteers in duke *Schomberg’s* army for king *William*, in *Ireland*. They

M

were



were at that time before *Newry*, a fort of vast strength and importance. These men had been out on a scour all the night, and at morning, when the *Reveille* was beat, none of them appeared; at last, at two or three o'clock in the afternoon, comes one galloping, and never stopped 'till at the general's tent, and told him, they had met with the *French*; and (instead of retiring, and only giving an account of the enemy's motions, as they should have done) had driven them into *Newry*, and had summoned the garrison to surrender; and he came to fetch more force. *Schomberg* laughed out aloud; but presently recollecting himself, considered something might be made, after all, of their wrong-headedness, and the *French* panic, so sent, and at once took the fort, and all within prisoners of war."\*

This recollection of *Schomberg* reminds me of a story I have heard my father tell (I do not know whence he had it) of cardinal *Richelieu*; "There was a saucy pushing fellow, a decayed gentleman, who would be ever putting himself in the

\* *Cato Frecke* told this to my father.

cardinal's way, at his levee and other times of public admittance, so that he was quite tired of the sight of him, notwithstanding he had shewn him all the flight possible; so, at last, he ordered him never to be admitted; yet still he would meet and pursue his coach; the cardinal ordered his attendants to drive him away, and keep him from his sight. One day as his coach came out of the *Louvre*, he saw him start from behind a pillar, whose pedestal he had climbed, and waited there. 'Jesu,' said the cardinal, 'what impudence!' but recollecting, 'this fellow has a talent that may be useful, he will go through,' sent for him and employed him. He served the cardinal usefully, and made his own fortune." "Those who conquer have always honour," says *Philip de Comines*, V. 9. *Victoria rationem non addit. Tacit. H. IV. Chi dura vince.*

## XXXIV.

— *Nec lex est justior ulla  
Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ.*

A French gentleman told me that a relation of his had died at *Paris*, and left all his estate from an only son he had, then abroad, to the *Jesuits*; on condition that they should give his son “whatever they should chuse, *La partie qui leur plairoit.*” When the son came home, he went to the convent, and they gave him a very small share indeed.—He was ruined, and consulted his friends: All agreed there could be no help; at last a counsellor to whom he happened to mention his case, bade him sue the convent, and that he would gain him his cause; which he did, upon this plea: the testator had left his son the share of his estate which the fathers should chuse: “*La partie qui leur plairoit.*”—It is plain which they chose, by that which they had kept for themselves. A pretty piece of *law-jesuitism* this, by which they were lunched at their own game!

Much

Much such another *equivoque* was that of “ Charles V, when he left *France*, and was reminded by a minister who attended him from *Francis I.* of the investiture of *Milan*, which he had promised for the *Dauphin*. *Je veux ce que mon frere le roi veut. I like as my brother the king likes*; and forthwith invested his son, afterwards *Philip II.* of *Spain*, with that duchy.” By the way, they were for cheating one another of what neither of them had any right to,

## XXXV.

*Me pater sævis oneret catenis—  
Memorem sepulcro scalpe querelam.*

HOR. ODE III. II. 45.

**T**O what small and trivial accidents are owing oftentimes the greatest events! “ A quarrel between a messenger and his wife, about a bridle that was out of the way, narrowly saved from defeating one of the noblest enterprizes of all ancient patriotism; *Pelopidas’s* freeing his country from her tyrants.” *Plutarch* tells the story in his life, p. 184. (III.) The thoughtlessness and

want of caution of a slave in bringing home Pompey's robe, that had by some chance got blood upon it at the election of an *Ædile*, being seen on a sudden by *Julia*, the daughter of *Cæsar*, and wife of *Pompey*, she took such a fright that she instantly miscarried, and died ; and so broke the union that kept the world together ; which upon this fatal breach fell into fierce perturbation, and civil war. This probably had never happened, if so wise a woman, and so beloved both by her father and husband, had continued between them,"\* *Plutarch, Pompey*, p. 493. (V.)

For the rest, one may venture to affirm that this was a great and unaffected instance of conjugal love, and could be owing to no other motive, whereas that of *Portia* is ambiguous. The daughter of *Cato*, and wife of *Brutus*, with a head turned, as her's was, with *stoic* enthusiasm, is very capable of a less amiable interpretation, without want of

\* See a like fatal instance of conjugal love in the wife of the marquis *de Ceneſe*, governor of *Valentia*, for the emperor *Charles V.* in *Sandoval's* life of this emperor, L. 6. *ver. fin.* *Engl.* p. 94.

charity ;

charity ; and may very well be one of those numerous instances of people's " not being virtuous for the sake of virtue", according to *Rocheffaucault*. See *Maxim I*.

There is something very singular in the conduct of the wife of *Cavadés*, king of *Persia*, who was taken prisoner by his subjects, deposed, and shut up for life in the castle of *Forgetfulness*, so called for a reason that is evident, (as the dungeon of the *Bastile*, and some other prisons in *France*, are called the *Oubliette*.) " His wife was very attentive and assiduous to serve him ; and, in the course of so doing, the governor of the castle fell in love with her. She immediately told her husband, who bade her grant him all he asked. She did so, and by this means made her passage to and fro so easy, and herself, by such a proof of her affection for her lover, and disregard for her husband, so entirely depended on, that she gained an opportunity of saving the king by changing cloaths with him, and staying in his stead to suffer all that cruelty and revenge could suggest to a faction that was in the utmost danger of ruin and destruc-

tive chastisement by their king's escape." *Procopius*, in the first book of *Persian Wars*,

It is plain, I think, that in both cases she equally devoted herself for her husband, as the *Decii* did for their country ; and one cannot doubt, but that, considering the use she made of her first action, in acquiescing to his commands, which was the saving of her husband, by the destruction of her lover ; so she really made him in that a greater sacrifice than in the last ; abandoning that chastity for his sake, which, for his sake, must evidently have been, from the event, so dear to her. O charming crime ! O splendid adultery ! O glorious prostitution !

What still enhances the action of *Cavadés's* queen, is that the rebellion of his subjects, and all his misfortunes, were owing to a crime, that was more a crime in him with respect to her, than to the generality ; which was his attempting to make all women common throughout his kingdom.

*Diana of Poitiers*, dutchess of *Valentinois*, is said to have made a like sacrifice, to save  
her

her father's life, whom *Francis I.* of *France*, had condemned to death, for conspiring with the constable of *Bourbon* against him.

The fine story *St. Austin* tells, in his "discourse on the sermon on the *Mount*," of "a man whom *Acindynus*, governor of *Antioch*, imprisoned for not having paid his tax, threatening, moreover, death, if he did not find the money at a certain time," is much of this kind: "His wife, who was extremely beautiful, was solicited by a very rich man, who promised her the sum for one night with her. This woman, instructed by scripture, (says *St. Austin*) that her body was not her own, but her husband's, informed the prisoner of the offer that had been made her; saying, at the same time, that she was ready to consent, provided he ordered it, who was the only lawful possessor of her chastity. He thanked her, and ordered her to comply; she did so, and received her money, as had been promised, but was basely defrauded of it, before she got out of his house; for, when she came home, she found that, instead of the gold she had told, they had changed the purse upon her, and given her one that  
had



had nothing but some earth in it. The good woman went directly to the governor, and told the whole matter. The governor was so ingenuous as to declare, that he was the only one who was guilty of the adultery, by the rigour he had used to force an honest man to such extremes, condemned himself to pay the emperor's tax, and adjudged to the injured woman that estate of the rich man, out of which the earth was taken which had been put into her purse for the gold." See also *Bayle Acindynus* (Sept.)

The good St. *Austin* by no means blames this action, but rather seems to think it may be righteous.—*Quanquam nonnullæ causæ possint existere, ubi & uxor, mariti consensu, pro ipso marito hoc facere debere videatur.* This is, however, doing evil, that good may come of it.

Besides, in so brilliant a virtue, there seems to be a flaw \*, since it can never be put in

\* The story of the lady that *Oliver*, the barber of *Lewis XI.* defrauded of her honour, under pretence of saving her husband, has not this flaw. See *Preuves on Phil. de Com.* tom V. p. 55.

execution

execution but with some impropriety ; for a husband who could make such a use of a wife's affection and constancy, can by no means deserve it. What a poltroon was *Admetus* to suffer *Alcestes* to die in his stead ! yet he had not put her upon prostituting herself to save his life. So far as the great and brave *Mary Reigersbergen*, the wife of the famous *Grotius*, did, was in every view sensible and praise-worthy ; since she neither abandoned her honour for a man who would not have deserved it, even by making the request ; nor hazarded her life at his desire for his own, but at most was to remain for life in the castle of *Louvestein*, herself useless to the commonwealth, for a man who was essentially necessary to his and her country, and whose conjugal worth deserved every return from her. *Du Maurier Memoires de Hollande*, p. 404.

*Valerius Maximus* mentions “ certain wives who came as to take their last leave of their husbands, brave men, who were to be executed that night in prison for rebellion, and chainging cloaths with them, thus favoured their escape, which they the more easily effected, by covering their heads with a  
veil,

veil, as was the custom in excessive grief; and, thus remaining, were all executed for their husbands. What," adds *Valerius Maximus*, "can one say of these but that they were worthy to be the wives of such men!" He might still have added, "But were such men worthy to be the husbands of such women?"

But it may be said, they could not have imagined they would have suffered; and, indeed, these were very unlucky; for the wife of *Grotius*, who did the same, came to no harm.

"I do not know which behaved most nobly, the husband or the wife, a count and countess, in the court of *Otho* III. (called *Carrots* and the *World's Wonder*; a good jumble of epithets!) emperor of *Germany*, in the tenth century. The empress, *Mary* of *Arragon*, fell in love with the count, a young and handsome nobleman, who withstood her solicitations; at which she was so enraged, that (the old way) she accused him to the emperor of attempting on her what she had attempted on him. *Otho* (according to custom in these cases) believed all;

all; and, without hearing him, (or rather he himself refusing to plead his innocence, in order to save the honour of the empress, as some say) ordered him to be beheaded. Yet he assured his countess, as he was stretching out his neck to the executioner, that he was innocent, and withal told her the whole truth. She went straight to the emperor, who was hearing causes in public, as was the way of those times, in the open plain of *Placentia*, and aloud called for 'justice on the murderer of her husband.' *Otho* was drawn in; he promised it in the face of the world; when she, taking her husband's head from a servant who brought it concealed, held it up, and cried, 'it is you yourself who have murdered the good count my husband, by rashly taking the word of an infamous wife; and, proving it to his satisfaction and that of all present, boldly demanded his own head, according to his solemn and public promise. The emperor confessed the guilt and forfeit, but demurred as to the payment; at length, after many and long contests, the countess contented herself with the death of the empress, whom the emperor generously gave her up, (husband or wife, it was

was the same thing to justice) and to make her some amends for the loss of her husband, ordered his empress, instead of being only beheaded, to be burnt alive. This was executed at *Modena*, ann. 998." *Maimbourg Hist. de la Décadence de l' Empire*. See also *Moreri art. Marie d' Arragon*.

XXXVI.

*Le desir de meriter les louanges qu'on nous donne fortifie  
notre virtue.*

ROCHEFAUCAULT.

“THE very desire of a good name is a genuine child of virtue,” says *Gracian*; and *Cato*, the censor, said, that “no one would be virtuous, if glory was once separated from virtue.”

The earl of *Dorset* coming to court one queen *Elizabeth's* birth-day, the king (*Charles II.*) asked him, ‘ what the bells rung for ?’ which having answered, the king farther asked him, ‘ how it came to pass, that her holiday was still kept, whilst those of his father and grand-father were no more thought

thought of than *William the Conqueror's*?' 'Because,' said the frank peer to the frank king, 'she, being a woman, chose men for her counsellors; and men, when they reign, usually chuse women.'" What a severe sarcasm on the lewd king himself! whose father, though otherwise a virtuous prince, was governed by an imperious and bigotted *French-woman* of a wife; and his grandfather, though he had no mistresses, had little masters who governed him, and them he chose for no other merit but being as like women as men could be!

It was "a repartee of this sort that *Ali* made to some of his turbulent officers, who asked him, 'how it happened that the reigns of his predecessors, *Abubeer* and *Omar*, were so calm and peaceable, and his immediate predecessor, *Othman's*, and his own, so full of troubles and divisions?' 'The reason,' answered the good *Caliph*, 'is plain: *Othman* and I served *Abubeer* and *Omar*; *Othman* was served, and I am served, by you and your fellows.'" *Ockley, History of the Saracens*, V. II. p. 85.

XXXVII.

*Vis inertiae!*

*Speravit magnæ laudi fore.*

HOR. SAT. II. 3. 98.

**T**HERE is no one so low and contemptible, but who (by the courtesy of self-love) finds some one still more low for him to triumph over, or to triumph over him, for it is all one.

“ The duke of *Montagu* and *Jack Spencer* knocked one night at the next door (in *St. Martin's lane*) to *Dr. Misfaubin's* (a standing butt of this kind of wit, and of this kind of wits) and the maid opening, desired to come in, and at the same time pushed forward; nobody happening to be at home, she was frightened out of her senses, but they assured her, that they only wanted to go into the garden to look over *Misfaubin's* wall; in the mean time she observed the star. Presently afterwards one of their footmen came  
with

with a couple of great earthen pots they had sent him to buy, with which they themselves emptied the house of office, and flung it over the wall on a seat in the Dr.'s garden, on which he used frequently to sit and read: Their scheme was that he should come and sit down there as usual; he smelt the joke, and never came there, and they had their trouble for their pains."—The idle bustle of poor human creatures! but these were the choice spirits, the very salt and seasoning of the times.

What a compliment these great people made the doctor, whom they were playing upon in the mere insolence of their superiority of quality and fortune, to suppose, as a first principle, that the *chance of stinking him* was worth the *real stinking themselves!* These ingenious men did this, because he was a very wrong-headed fellow. *Uter est insanior horum?*



XXXVIII.

*Falsus honor juvat.*

HOR.

——— *Medio de fonte leporum*  
*Surgit amari aliquid, quod in ipsis floribus angat.*

LUCRET. IV. 1127.

“ **S**OME young gentlemen of *Clazomene*,  
(*Bucks*, as we should call them now)  
coming to *Sparta*, took it into their heads  
for a frolic, to smear the square stones  
that the *Ephori* sat on, with grease and foot,  
which had the effect that those people of  
bodily wit and humour desired, and smut-  
ted the robes of these magistrates; the thing  
was enquired into, and the authors detected;  
on which this grave and wise nation treated  
them as the nature of their fault deserved,  
without condescending to make a serious af-  
fair of it; and ordered the public herald to  
proclaim, that ‘the *Spartans* gave the *Clazo-*  
*menians* leave to play the fool when, and  
how, they thought fit.” *Plut.*

Perhaps

Perhaps our *scandalum magnatum* may be something of a like sort of courtesy of the public, in respect of a noble order.

As there may be, and often are, some circumstances, in the goods of fortune, and even the abundance itself, that are inconvenient, nay pernicious; so, in regard to the point of honour, there are certain privileges that degrade, and others which are only marks of subjection, and a sort of annual, or other periodical concession of another's superiority, and but a plausible renewal of homage. Such were in ancient times the *Saturnalian* feasts; a yearly vacation to mirth and jollity, like our *Christmas*, and at the same season, to divert cold and darkness; where they had several of our customs, and, amongst the others, that of chusing a mock king of the revels. In this festival the masters waited at table on their slaves. " There was one certain day every year, in which, on occasion of an extraordinary exploit the sex had performed in an imminent danger of their country, the women of *Argos* wore the  
 N 2                    breeches ;

breeches; that is, they dressed themselves in men's cloaths, and the men were obliged to dress themselves in theirs;" [*Plut. Virtues of Women, Ex. 4.*] which law, doubtless, must have occasioned infinite diversion on this burlesque holiday, and would now make a very fruitful subject for a mask or entertainment. I suppose those *Argives* had an odd turn to whim; for they had another law, "that the bride should always go to bed to her husband, the first night, with a beard on." *Plut. ib.* It would be curious to know the occasion of this droll custom!

If this was a prerogative that these *Argive* ladies asserted as a mark of their superiority for the time, they seem to have consulted very ill for themselves, on so critical an occasion. "An ancient painter was desired to paint a subject, that was left to himself to chuse, only that it should have nothing that could excite lewd ideas, to which he had naturally a great propensity; so he drew a most lovely woman naked, and in the most luxurious attitude, but with a beard on."

For

For the rest, these most ancient people seem to have been (like the *Bæotians*) a sort of *Gothic Greeks*, being never famous for any of those fine qualities of the mind for which we admire that nation; but, instead, had those sort of merry conceits that our ancestors have left us several quaint samples of, and made good *Pope's* observation, that

*Gentle dulness ever loves a joke.*

*Dunciad.*

### XXXIX.

*Sed ego insipientior quam illi ipsi qui ista credunt, qui quidem contra ipsos tam diu disputem.*

*CIC. de DIV. II.*

“ANSWER not a fool according to his folly, lest thou also be like unto him,” says *Wisdom* itself. A man who disputes with one who is incapable of reasoning, or on a subject which, in its nature, admits not of reasoning, puts himself upon a level with him; as “the victor at the *Olympic* games, who, being accidentally kicked by an ass, kicked him again, on which the judges who had just allotted him the crown, took it away from him again. *Ælian, H. V.*

*Diogenes*, I think it was, seeing two eagerly disputing on a trifling subject, and that neither of them knew any thing of, said, "one of those fellows is milking a he-goat, and the other is holding the pail." Most of the great controversies on religious subjects, both those which have happily gone no farther than idle wrangling, and those truly false ones, that have engaged whole nations in the most furious and inhuman animosities, and drenched the world in blood, have been altogether of this kind, in which neither side understood, or ever could understand, any thing of the matter; and have been merely one shop contending with another for custom: both sides agreeing in this only; to substitute something else, I know not what, nor they neither, in the room of morality, and the social virtues; which bring the trade nothing; but, on the contrary, it subsists on the compounding for the want of them, and whose credit and interests are always sure to sink, in just proportion as the others rise. And how can it be otherwise, when we build on false principles? "Can we serve God and Mammon?"

Mr.

Mr. Pope, who loved to talk of *Titcum*, (one who used to be of the party with him, *Gay*, *Swift*, *Craggs*, and *Addison*, and that set, in his youth) told us, that *Gay* went to see him as he was dying, and asked him, "if he would have a priest?" (for he was a papist) "No," said he, "what should I do with them? But I would rather have one of them, than one of yours, of the two. Our fools," continued he, "write great books to prove that *Bread* is *God*; but your booby (he meant *Tillotson*,) has wrote a long argument to prove that *Bread* is *Bread*."

"As *George Villiers*, duke of *Buckingham*, was dying, which he did at an inn, the duke of *Queensbury*, going down to *Scotland*, heard of it when he was within a few miles of the place, and went to make him a visit. Seeing him in this condition, he asked him 'if he would not have a clergyman?' 'I look upon them,' said the duke, 'to be a parcel of very silly fellows, who don't trouble themselves about what they teach.' So *Queensbury* asked him, 'if he would have his chaplain?' for he was a dissenter. 'No,' says *Bucks*, 'those fellows always made me sick

with their whine and cant.' The duke of *Queensbury*, taking it for granted he must be of some religion or other, then supposed undoubtedly it must be the catholic, and told him, 'there was a popish lord in the neighbourhood,' named him, and asked, 'if he should not send for his priest?' 'No,' says he, 'those rascals eat God; but if you know of any set of fellows that eat the devil, I should be obliged to you if you would send for one of them.'" *Dr. Tancred Robinson*. All of a piece! so ended

*That life of pleasure, and that soul of whim.*

*Pope, Ep. III. 306.*

Which reminds me of another story I heard professor *Halley* tell Mr. *Trenchard*, at the *Grecian* coffee house, when I was a boy, of "a protestant gentleman, who, being in company with several zealous *Roman-catholics*, and quite tired with their faints miracles, and other stuff they had got upon, was fallen fast asleep; when one of them, giving an account 'how *Christ* came in at a window, where some of their people were at mass, in the form of a dove, and was seen apparently to flutter about the room for some time, and then flew out again;'

again;’ the dozing protestant, raising up his head, said, ‘ he knew what he did.’ ‘ What do you mean by that, sir ?’ said they. ‘ Because he knew, if he had stayed, they would have eaten him.’”

Mankind have, at all times, and in all places, as it were, shewn away in this affair of religion. Here they have been pompous in their talent of nonsense, and made a parade of their whole powers of folly. This has been their weak side, but still boasted with state and splendor, as generally all weak sides are. This is their one point of so far the greatest importance, that it is, indeed, in comparison of all others, of the only importance; the rest being merely temporary, this eternal! The others but as the clouds that pass without the least footsteps remaining; and this the firmament itself, built upon its everlasting pillars! Yet, in all the rest, they are curious and inquisitive. This they are ever ready to take on trust, at the first word, from every one who will but give themselves the trouble to deceive them. Cautious in this only, not to believe them directly from themselves in  
the



the thing itself, but they will honestly take their own words, however interested, that what they tell them is from heaven.

XL.

*Who shall decide when doctors disagree?*

Pope, Essay on Man.

————— *Sub judice lis est.* Hor.

“**N**ICOLA CALAVRESE, an *Italian* painter and architect, considerable in his profession, and a worthy man, had married a young lady of *Ascoli*, where he always dwelt, of great beauty, with whom he lived in extreme concord and happiness; but troubles rising in that city, (which was split into parties in the time of pope *Paul III*) he was forced to fly, and his beloved wife with him. They were pursued by their enemies, who, it appeared, were more so for love of her, than any consideration of party; which when she perceived, and there seemed no likelihood of escaping, she took a generous resolution, (perhaps more generous than *Lucretia's* after-game, which  
was

was rather like shutting the stable door after the steed was stolen.) This beautiful creature, finding the play was for her honour, and her husband's life, consulted both, by throwing herself headlong from a steep bank into a river that was in their way, and would have stopped them till the persecutor came up, and was there drowned, to the endless regret of her husband, who lived the rest of his days in sorrow, and the disappointment of her ruffian, who no longer troubled himself with the pursuit, but returned with his followers." *Sandraart Academus*, p. 133, 4. *Vasari, vit. di M. Calabrese*

For the rest, however, as to *Lucretia* and this modern victim of conjugal chastity, the degree of their merit is perhaps the same, the kind is very different. This sacrificed her life to her chastity; that, her chastity to her fame. She could have saved her honour, if, with her life, she had given up her reputation; but then the virtuous wife of *Ascoli* was not reduced to the horrid dilemma of *Lucretia*; so that one went down a pure victim to virtue alone; the other a polluted one to calumny; like  
the

the children of the *Amorites*, through fire and smoke, to *Moloch*.

*Livy* tells the following story of a barbarian woman, whose virtue had no drawback, and was another *Judith*, so far as it depended on her.

“ When the consul *Cn. Manlius* made war against the posterity of those *Gauls* who had invaded *Greece* under *Brennus*, *Chiomara*, the wife of *Ortiagon*, king of the *Tectosagæ*, a beautiful young princess, was taken prisoner. The officer into whose care she, with other captives, was committed, sought, by all arts, to corrupt her virtue; but not being able to succeed, he forced her; and then, to pacify her, proposed to give her her liberty, for a certain sum of money she was privately to obtain of her husband, who was to send the sum stipulated by two persons only, to prevent suspicion, and he himself was to meet them at a place appointed to deliver her up. All this was performed accordingly; but as he was taking his leave of her, she had given them a private intimation to murder him, which they did; and cutting off his head, gave it

it to her; who, wrapping it in her robe, carried it to her husband; and, presenting it to him, said, 'that there was now no man living but himself who had possessed her person.' *Livy* 38, 24. *Plutarch* says, that " *Polybius*, a long time after this, conversed with her at *Sardis*, and found her sense and behaviour entirely answerable to her virtue.\*"

" There is a place in *Spain*, in the kingdom of *Granada*, which has its name from an occasion like that of the beautiful and virtuous wife of *Ascoli*. The king of *Granada*, in his wars with the *Christians*, had taken, among other prisoners, a young gentleman of so amiable an air and behaviour, and such entertaining wit, that he not only gave him his liberty, but made a friend and companion of him; but the consequence of this was, that an accident happened which was very natural. The king's daughter fell in love with him, agreed to be baptized, and married him at the first *Christian* place of security they should come to, and went off with him. But they were pursued, and overtaken; on which, wrapping themselves in

\* See the same story told by *Plutarch*, *Virtues of Women*, ex. 22.

one another's arms, they flung themselves down together from a precipice, and, at least, died together. The place is still called *Penna de los Enamorados*, *the Lovers Rock*, and a cross set on the very spot on which they last stood." *Udal ap Rhys Tour through Spain and Portugal*, p. 164.

## XLI.

*Nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata.*

OVID,

————— *Vix credere possis*  
*Quam sibi non sit amicus.*—————

HOR. SAT. I. ii, 19.

“FRANCIS I. of *France* once having fate a good while in a thoughtful posture, with his elbow on the table, and leaning his head on his wrist, somebody asked what it was made his majesty so pensive? He took no notice for some time, but at last, starting up, he cried, ‘We kings are a parcel of rascals,’ and so walked off.”

“ The

“ The kings of *Arem* in the *East-Indies* seem to be of the same mind ; for as, according to *Tavernier*, these idolaters are persuaded, that, after their death here, they shall revive in another world, where the good shall enjoy all sorts of bliss, without any care of their own, from the mere free bounty of God, who will provide all things for their pleasure, in recompence of their well-spent lives ; but that the bad shall suffer great wants and miseries ; which shall however be, in some measure, relieved by what they can get to carry out of this world with them ; in consequence of this doctrine, the great business of their lives is, to build themselves large chapels in their royal pagod, and therein a monument ; all which, and great cellars underground, they are perpetually cramming with gold and silver, and all sorts of fine household furniture, with those gold and silver idols, that they had had the most veneration for in their lives, besides an elephant, twelve camels, six horses, and a pack of hounds, that are buried alive at their funeral, for the same purpose.”

—Not to mention the friends and mistresses they had been particularly fond of, who were obliged to poison themselves, that they  
might

might directly go, and know, ' what commands they had for them.' *Tavernier.*

I suppose it was on the same foot, that, among the *Huns*, " the people of quality picked out a certain number, 20 or more, of their chief favourites, with whom they made all things in common ; but, whenever they should happen to die, all these were to be buried alive with them." *Procopius, Persian War, 1. 3.*

These people do, as the world generally does in their whole conduct ; employ ten times more pains and talents to do wrong, with great inconvenience and bad consequences to themselves, than it would cost them to do the thing that is right, and by far the most obvious and natural, and with evident convenience and advantage ; nay, and these too, secure and unenvied ; yet all this is done on a sincere motive of self-love ! The case is, they are cheated by every present appearance, and are the ever-ready dupes of the next hour. One would think it would be the most likely (but that experience shews, that nothing is so unlikely to happen as the thing we think most likely) that

that these kings, instead of the mortal pains they take all their lives to secure a mean and precarious subsistence, and, at the best, that could not last long, though designed for all eternity, would alone have taken the plain and simplest way of securing an inexhaustible fund of all they could desire, to enjoy for the whole endless course of their existence. This choice seemed to meet them full in their path, and to cover and take up the whole way, so that it was almost impossible to slip by it, into any little narrow dark dirty alley; yet they all did it; and we all do it perpetually, most of us all our lives, but all in various occurrences of them. All “selling our birthright for a mess of pottage.”

Perhaps *Rochefaucault* is right, that “self-love, as well, or ill, understood, produces all the virtues or vices,” and with them the happiness and misfortunes of life. How many fellows, that end their lives at *Tyburn*, might have lived plentifully and with reputation, on half the industry and talents that they have employed to bring them to the gallows!



Men have been for the most part perverse and wicked, in proportion to their powers; and when Don *Quevedo* wondered he saw no kings in hell; the Devil bade him ‘look down a stinking well,’ that he brought him to; ‘why,’ said he, holding his nose, ‘I think here are but few.’ ‘I don’t know what you call few,’ said the Devil, ‘I am sure there are all.’”

## XLII.

*Dedecorum pretiosus emptor.*

HOR. ODE III. 6. 32.

*Nemo adeo ferus est, ut non mitescere possit.*

HOR. EPIST. I. i. 39.

“**A** Certain great minister said of the people he had to do with, that ‘there was not one, how patriot soever he might seem, of whom he did not know the price.’ I suppose the same may be said of mankind in general, and that Sir *Robert* did not just happen upon the only relenting set of men in the world. The true upright man is he who has not had a load great enough laid upon  
upon

upon him to make him stoop. “ A duke of *Orleans*, who was a little mad, in one of his freaks came in to the queen (as they were taking to pieces a few reputations of the court, for want of other discourse) and asked her seriously, ‘ whether she thought there was nothing in the world could be found out that would induce her herself to do the same trick ? ’ ‘ Lord, your highness, what do you mean ? ’ ‘ What not your own image at full length—at full length! madam, in solid gold ? ’ ‘ No, nor yours together.’— ‘ What not the finest dress that ever woman wore; not that, for instance, in which *Cleopatra* first met *Antony* ? ’ ‘ Pugh, I have as fine myself as that could be.’ ‘ What not for a diamond as big as a coach-wheel ? ’ ‘ Why, my lord, there is no such in the world.’ ‘ Zounds,’ cried the duke, ‘ what a whore have I lost for want of a diamond as big as a coach-wheel!’” *My father.*

“ In a part of the *East-Indies*,” *Montaigne* says, “ where however chastity is of singular reputation, yet custom permitted a married woman to prostitute herself to any one who presented her with an elephant, and  
 O 2 that

that with glory too, to have been valued at so high a rate." *Montaigne* III. 5.

"*Penelope*" herself, says *Horace*, "was chaste, because her lovers did not offer enough, nor went the right way to work."

*Venit enim magnum donandi parca juventus,  
Nec tantum Veneris, quantum studiosa culinæ.*

*Hor. Sat. II. 5. 79, 80.*

### XLIII.

————— *Pœnamque levavit honore.*

*OVID. MET. III. 4.*

*Honest vanity never deserts us, either in our prosperity  
or adversity.*

"**I**T was with great difficulty, and much management, that Mr. *Nelson*, and the others in friendship with those in the assassination-plot, kept Sir *J. Fenwick* from squeaking, and making discoveries; but at length they bethought themselves of making interest to get him beheaded instead of hanged; and that did it; secured him and them;

them, (but very differently) It was so unlike a gentleman to swing, that he could not bear the thoughts of it; but he was quite proud of being beheaded." Much the same thing was said of Mr. *Ratcliff* in the last rebellion.

## XLIV.

**V**Anity, like a *Proteus*, appears in a thousand different forms, but is still very vanity. The emperor *Maximinus*, the father, would eat 60 pounds of meat in a day, and drink 24 quarts of wine; and the great booby (for he was eight feet and an half high, and had, proportionably with all the rest, a thumb so large, that his wife's bracelet just served him for a ring, as courageous a woman as her husband was a man!) would sweat three pints a day, which he would cause to be collected into vessels, and shew with ostentation." *Jul. Capitol. vit. 4.*  
 " However, he was outdone by the caliph *Soliman ben Abdalmaleck*, who, after having breakfasted on three roasted lambs, fairly eaten for his own share, would sit down to dinner, in public, with credit to his stomach,

mach, so as to make out in the whole day a round hundred pounds of flesh." *D'Herbelot*. p. 822.

" A \* friend of mine knew a gentleman who would drink on, as long as one company after another would, without ever being affected with the liquor; he would only retire for a minute every quarter of an hour. It passed through him, as through a pipe. He is sure he has known him dispose of 20 quarts while he has been in company."— When *Christopher* duke of *Albemarle* went governor to *Jamaica*, in 1687, as he was a monstrous drinker himself, he carried over with him a couple of gentlemen, only for their singular talent in that quality.— *Sir Hans Sloane* told this || friend of mine, that these two had challenged one another one night to drink half-pint glasses by turns, as fast as they could well be given them; they had done so for some considerable time, when he retired, (for he went over with the duke) but after about two hours he was called up: one was on the ground, dead to appearance, and as *Sir Hans* himself thought;

\* *Mr. Palmer*, July 24, 1748.    || The same.

but

but by bleeding, and an oil vomit, he came to himself, and next day was able to rise and walk about, but talked like a drunken man for three weeks, though otherwise perfectly recovered in appearance, and then died, almost suddenly. The other, who was a prodigious fat man, and of vast perspiration, recovered, and lived till 1715, when he had a commission against the rebels in *Scotland*, and on some advantage gained by a party of theirs, when the rest of the king's troops ran away, he lost his life from his excessive fatness; for his horse being killed, or falling, he could not stir, like Sir *John Falstaff*, 'three foot of uneven ground a foot,' and was killed when all the rest escaped."

One can hardly conceive how it should ever come to be a thing to boast of, that of being able to bear great quantities of drink, except that vanity, (which is never at a loss) when it finds no other food, will, like lust, feed on garbage.

## XLV.

*Nil est tam popolare quam bonitas.*

CIC. *pro LIGAR.*

**N**OUSCHIRVAN, or *Chosroes* I. king of *Persia*, (in whose reign *Mahomet* was born) was so good-natured a prince, that his people, by varying his name a very little, called him a *soul preserved in honey*.—  
 “ One of his officers having offended him he took away his post, and banished him, the court; nevertheless on a certain annual solemnity and feast, he came again, and waited as usual on the great men whom the king treated on that occasion, who all of course supposed that he was reinstated, and received him accordingly: during the entertainment, he took an opportunity to make off with a gold plate; the king observed it, but took no notice, and when afterwards it was missed by the proper officer, and great enquiry made after it, said, ‘ It was very well, and that the person who had taken it would probably never restore it, nor he who saw it taken discover the thief.’ The next  
 year

year the same officer returned to his post in the same manner (it looks as if their annual feast was a sort of *Saturnal*, where there was universal freedom, and all were in a manner on a level) and as he passed near the king, his majesty reached over to his late officer, and whispering, asked 'if the money he had sold his gold plate for was quite gone?' and gave him joy of his new cloaths, which he supposed were the last of it.' 'No,' says he, lifting up his robe, 'I had this fine vest besides.' The good king laughed at his assurance, and said, 'people that will live, must live,' and gave him his place again." *D'Herbelot*, p. 682. A jest, luckily timed, according to the humour in which the great then happen to be, by which they are governed far more than by reason, which is too troublesome for them, is generally a much better security to a poor man than the justice of his cause; the same king, in another mood, would have ordered him to be bastinadoed, or impaled alive.

"*Edward the Confessor* one day being laid down on his bed, one of his domestics, who did not know he was in the room, stole some money out of a chest he found open,  
which



which the king let him carry off without saying a word. Quickly after the boy returning to make a second attempt, the king called to him, without the least passion, 'Sirrah, you had best be satisfied with what you have got, for if my chamberlain comes and catches you, he'll not only take away all you have stolen, but whip you severely.' The chamberlain coming in after the boy was gone, and missing the money, fell into a great rage, but the king calmly said to him, 'Be contented, perhaps, the poor rogue who has it, wants it more than we do; there is enough left for us.' *Rapin T. I. p. 137.* A humane and reasonable reflection!

"Cardinal *Mazarine* had a glimpse of a gentleman's taking out a bag of gold from a drawer, when he thought himself unobserved, and after some time was going off; when his eminence called him back, and told him, 'he had something to say to him;' and carrying him into another room, turned to him, and calmly letting him know he noted his theft, told him, that 'as he supposed he might have some present occasion for money, he was welcome to what he had  
got

got, and that he would even double it,' which he immediately did, but bade him ' never come into his presence again. I can pardon a friend,' said the cardinal, ' who has abused me, but I cannot trust him.'—*Turkish Spy*, V. III. L. 23.

“ Honest *Rowley* saw a rascal of a pick-pocket, who had got into the drawing-room dressed like a gentleman, on his birth-day, take a gold snuff-box out of a man of quality's pocket; the rogue, catching the king's eye upon him, had the impudence to put his finger up to his nose, and make him a sign, with a wink, to say nothing: the king, with a like presence of mind, took the hint, and enjoyed the earl's feeling about soon after in one pocket and another, and looking at all round him; and then calling to him, said, ' You need not give yourself any more trouble about it, my lord, your box is gone, and I own myself an accomplice; I could not help it, I was made a confident.'”  
*My father.*

*i. e. Charles the Second.*

*This story is, I think, told of Cardinal Mazarin.— There are a number of floating stories in the world, XLVI. It that are applied to different persons, with some slight change of circumstances, just according to the fancy of the relater.*

XLVI.

*Quid de quoque viro, et cui dicas, sæpe videto.*

HOR. EP. I. 18. 68.

————— *Ne mox*  
*Incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem.*

HOR. EP. I. 18. 77.

“**M**R. P—— had killed a man very basely, and judge *Dormer* (whose daughter or sister, I think, he had married) went to king *George I.* to petition for him; owning however that there was nothing to be urged in alleviation of his crime; but that he hoped his majesty would save him and his family from the infamy his execution would bring upon them. ‘So, Mr. Justice,’ said the king, ‘what you propose to me is, that I should transfer the infamy from you, and your family, to me and my family.’” *Mr. Carter.*

What occasioned this story to be told, was a gentleman’s having just before mentioned something of it, when the son of this  
man

man was present, without knowing him; but the conversation was happily changed by the presence of mind of this same, who, on Mr. P——'s going away, told him the reason of his having thus stopped him short; for which the gentleman heartily thanked him, and said withal, 'it was very proper a man should know which of his friend's fathers had been hanged.'

The want of being attentive to some such maxim as this, has often occasioned good-natured and well-bred men to put some one person of the company, and with him all the rest in consequence, and himself, into the utmost confusion.

As to any particular family accidents, people can never be upon their guard, and they can happen but very rarely; but national reflections, or personal deformities, as they may almost always affect some one of a large company, so they are always unjust and absurd.

## XLVII.

*Less wise I am not if they censure me,  
 'Tis my own fault if I not wiser be ;  
 Or that correct which they, in malice, tell ;  
 Or, innocent, rejoice in bearing well.*

*Fath. Morn. Thoughts, 236.*

**C**RITICISM on our writings, and scandal on our actions, are of great use, however unjust ; we should sink into indolence, and both our genius and virtue would at length stagnate, if not excited and ruffled by opposition : It is true, this has discouraged middling capacities, and ordinary worth ; and has made one cease from producing, and the other has been deterred from the action his heart approved, by censure and calumny ; but this has never been the case of extraordinary merit in either way ; it strengthens by the struggle that others force it upon, and has nothing to fear but from too much repose ; this it always wishes, but either the noble emulation of equals, or the dastard envy of impotent self-love, will ever be pouring down the nauseous, but salutary, draught.

draught. See *Boileau, Ep. VII. 45, &c.* and *Sat. IX. 230.*

“ We should have both friends and enemies,” says *Plutarch*, “ one to advise us what is our duty, and the other to force us to do it.” *Plutarch, How to improve by our enemies.* But I believe, if we must have but one, we had better have only enemies, because these will serve for both.

“ *Yu, king of China, had a Calao who never failed to tell him his faults with the freedom of a friend, whenever he committed them, and in whatever company ; which in time gave the king such a disgust to him, that he determined to rid himself of such an importunate counsellor at once, and gave orders to take off his head.—The queen-mother, being informed of it, instantly presented herself to him in the habit of a gaudy day, and gave him joy. ‘ Joy !’ said the king, ‘ of what ?’ ‘ Why,’ said she, ‘ my son, of an event that has hardly ever happened to any monarch upon earth ; it is being in possession of a subject who has the courage to admonish you of your faults ; and who, in that very quality, is the finest courtier,*

courtier, and most artful flatterer ; since he, by this boldness, insinuates, that he serves a prince who has the virtue and greatness of soul to bear it." *Alvarez Hist. China, P. I. c. 24, p. 120.*

The *Spanish* proverb says ; " There is no better looking-glass than an old friend ;"\* but, I believe, an old enemy, or a new one, is still a better ; because such has neither prejudice, nor complaisance, and does not even so much as pretend to our gratitude for the important services he does us, if we have but ourselves the address to receive them, by a little sacrifice of our self-love ; nay offers an ample amends for this sacrifice, in the most noble of all triumphs over himself, by giving us a power of compelling him to the slavish drudgery of doing still more and more good to the man he more and more hates.

" Arch-deacon *Reeves*, of *Norwich*, told Mr. *Pitt*, that making a visit once to archbishop *Tillotson*, he observed in his library one shelf of books of various forms

\* *No ay mejor espejo,  
Que el amigo viejo.*

and sizes, all richly bound, and finely gilt and lettered; so he asked, ‘ what extraordinary authors they were who were so remarkably distinguished by his grace?’— ‘ Those, said the archbishop, ‘ are my own personal friends; and, which is more, whom I have myself made such (for they meant to be my enemies) by the use I have made of those hints which their malice hath suggested to me, and from which I have received more profit than from the advice of my best and most cordial friends; and therefore you see I have rewarded them accordingly.\*’ *Mr. Pitt.*

\* “ Upon a bundle of libels found among his papers after his death, he put no other inscription than this, ‘ These are libels, I pray God forgive the authors, I do.’” *Dean Sherlock’s sermon at the Temple, Dec. 30, 1694.*



XLVIII.

*Urit enim fulgore suo qui prægravat artes  
Infra se positas.*—————

Hor. Ep. II. 1. 13.

**A** Celebrated work, that every one reads, is a terrible obstacle to the reception of a new one, that is at all of the same kind, or has any thing common with it. People are used to the manner, and even sound, of *Paradise Lost*, and the *Tatlers* and *Spectators*, for instance; and every attempt at dangerous blank-verse, or off-hand moral essays, sets out with a scornful prejudice against the author's self-sufficiency and servility, two qualities, which, together, make a ridiculous composition; and has a hard and almost insuperable task, to make its way uphill, in the very mouth and level of the established reputation of such formidable works, which yet have probably passed the same severe probation before us.

Besides

Besides the real merit, (which few perceive, and those few are sensible of the difficulties, and are therefore candid) the vanity of affecting to taste these, a lazy indolence in acquiescing with what we have been used to, and the envy and malignity of unsocial self-love, oppose themselves, and far more violently than the former just reason; and withal, people's prejudices and tastes are in reality formed to relish, and have made themselves a certain habitude of the very faults and weaknesses of over-bearing worth. Those who have been all their lives accustomed to even the absurd sound of *mumpsimus*, cannot bring their tongues to *sumpsimus*. Nay, a work that has had a great vogue, and which is afterwards altered by the author himself, is generally thought, at first, to be altered for the worse; as was the case with *Garth's Dispensary*. People had been so accustomed to read it over and over, and even to repeat whole passages by heart of the first edition, that their ear could not bear the change, and they thought it was their judgment. - We now see fairly, that every edition was for the better\*. Old

\* Mr. *Pope* told me himself, that 'there was hardly an alteration of the innumerable ones through every  
P 2 edition,

people who have lived long in a set of thinking expressions, have acquired a certain extemporary animosity against all new writers, as against new fashions,

Not but that authors themselves are frequently tired and jaded with overmuch thought and application to a first work, and prefer a second that they have hurried up,

*This is not as Milton did his Paradise Regained, and the fact see Tasso his second Jerusalem.*

*Johnson's Lives*

*of the Poets, Ar-*

*ticle Milton; and*

*my note there.*

M.

We judge by imagination, prejudice, vogue, accidental temper, any thing, rather than by judgment itself; though all agree for their own selves in their judging by this; it is for others to take all the rest.

A reader of parts and a lively imagination, will often discover, in other men's writings, beauties of sense and expression, that the authors never dreamed of; and these that have merit enough to have once established a reputation, will have as much fame crowd in upon them more than they

edition, that was not for the better; and that he took Dr. Garth to be one of the few truly judicious authors,

deserve,

deserve, as a quite new one, or who is under standard, though with good qualities, will have less.

The reason why most authors of merit are a long time before they get an established reputation, is people's timorousness in declaring their opinions, which is a sure proof of their want of an authentic test in themselves of what is good and bad; but the very same people will speak with all the positiveness in the world of an author, whose character is determined; and are as proud of their senseless judgments, now that they have the world to stand by them, as they were before afraid to speak out. Yet they have acquired no new lights; and, if they were brought to explain the motives of this approbation, they would appear to have no other than the general one, and none from the work itself.

When two or more commend some great author with admiration and transport, do not imagine presently, that they both, or all, praise and see the same beauties. No such thing: they must have in them something very like his genius, that see his

thoughts in the same light he saw and meant them; they must have themselves a sample of that sacred instinct, that *divina particulam auræ*, which inspired the author himself; else they admire often trifling beauties, or real defects, which if the author meant as they understand, he would be an obscure or a contemptible writer. We wonder to see so many good judges, and so few good writers; if we were to see upon what they found their judgment, as we do their writings, we should see there were as few of one as the other; and, indeed, the very same number, if all that judge were to write; for, be sure, whoever conceives well, will express himself so, and in exact proportion to his conceptions; *ipsæ res verba rapiant*. And when a man says he has a clear idea of something, but cannot give you a clear idea of what he means, depend upon it, he is confused.

If these were to come to a free conference, and explain themselves on the beauties for which they admire the author, how they would stare at one another, and despise each other's wrong-headedness, and disagree about their several tastes, even people  
of

of sense and reading. For instance, that one book which is every body's business, how many different views and lights does every particular part of it appear in, to different people !

*Hic liber est in quo quærit sua dogmata quisque,  
Et in quo reperit dogmata quisque sua.*

Written on the spare leaf of a MS. bible.

Let any one compare *Voltaire's* translation of *Hamlet's* soliloquy, (*Voltaire, Let. XVIII. p. 173.*) and see if that excellent writer admired precisely the same beauties that he admires. *Voltaire* also quotes with applause the archness of an epigram that he found in high reputation when he was in *England*, but he understood the thing otherwise ; and, as he gives it, I see no cause to admire it. He quotes it thus : (it was made on *Sir John Vanbrugh*, as an architect as thick and clumsy, as he was sprightly in his writings.)

*Earth lie light on him, for he  
Laid many a heavy load on thee.*

*Voltaire, Let. XIX. p. 187.*

Was this a reason why earth should lie light on him? The epigram is, indeed, thus :

*Lie heavy on him earth, for he  
Laid many a heavy load on thee.*

Here the *for* comes in with some sense ; but I cannot imagine what *Voltaire* admired in the other.

As a reader of spirit and taste will often discover new and unintended beauties in a celebrated author, and of what he himself thinks plagiarism he is really the fair author, and is only copying his own idea ; so indifferent and affected writers will imitate the defects :

*Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile,*  
*Hor. Ep. I. 19. 17.*

The reputation of the work is a trap for them. “ How many bad painters will this *last judgment* of mine make !” said *Michael Angelo*. There is a pretty story of this in the *Menagiana*. “ The famous *Racan* went one day to visit *Mademoiselle de Gournai*, who lived to fourscore, without chusing any other husband than her honour, enriched

riched with the reading of books of wit. As they were intimate, she shewed him some epigrams she had made, and asked his opinion. Monsieur *de Racan* told her, 'they were good for nothing, as having no point.' 'Oh,' says Mademoiselle *de Gournai*, 'you are not to look for a point in these; they are made after the manner of the *Greek* epigrams.' They went afterwards to dine together at a friend's. A very bad soup was served up; Mademoiselle *de Gournai* turned to *Racan*, and whispered, 'a very insipid soup this!' *Racan* whispered again, 'a *Greek* soup, Mademoiselle.'" *Menagiana*, p. 138. *Bayle*, art. *Gournai*, *G. Pasquier*, *Lett.* V. II. 18.

## XLIX.

———— *Whatever is right.*

POPE.

———— *Largiare plusculum.*

CIC. EP. FAM. V. 12.

“**D**EMOSTHENES owned that hearing a poor woman who was carrying a pail of water, turn to another, as he passed, and tell her, 'that is the famous *Demosthenes*,'



*Demosthenes,* gave him a very sensible pleasure. ‘Can any thing (says *Cicero*) be vainer and more pitiful than this? and, yet, what a truly great man! but (he continues to observe) the case was, he had applied himself wholly to speak to others, and not with himself.” *Cic. Tusc. V.* And *Cicero*, who makes this reflection, would have been (with all his philosophical self-conversations) as likely as any man ever was, to be delighted with overhearing such a whisper, and hugging himself, cry softly:

—*Pulchrum est digito monstrari, & dici,*  
*Hic est.* —————

*Perf. I. 28.*

In all other things we are satisfied with enough, or cloyed with too much; only of praise there is never too much, never enough; vanity has stomach and digestion for all you can give, and more. Here we are all beggars, and receive all, from all; and whatever they bestow upon us, we still cry, ‘for the love of God, a little more!’

“When *Pericles* was on his death-bed, and just going to expire, his friends, who were in his chamber recapitulating all his great actions amongst themselves, supposing  
him

him to be past all attention to what they said, which wanted not the utmost effusion of praises; yet he had not enough even in the mortifying state he then was, for he had listened to the whole, and surpris'd them, when rising on his elbow, as he could, in that weak condition, he told them, ‘ all they had said was very well, but he wonder'd they had forgot one thing, that during his long administration of the public, never any one citizen had put on mourning on his account.’ It is true, the very vanity in this case was an enhancement of his glory. *Plut. Pericles*, p. 279. (II.)

“ And so when *Cimon*, at a banquet he gave his friends, heard them commend with the highest applauses, (the applauses of guests!) so many great actions that he had performed, and let them go through the long list of his achievements, finding they had done, he said, that ‘ for his part he owned there was nothing he more valued himself upon than for one thing, which was the stratagem by which he had outwitted his allies in the *Persian war*.’ *Plutarch, Cimon*, p. 407. (IV.)

It

It was not that *Cimon* or *Pericles* (whose boast was otherwise truly noble) did indeed think these were the most praise-worthy of all they had done, or could come in competition with most of those which their friends had praised, but they were something more.

The above are great and serious; the following is a ridiculous instance of the same kind:

“ *Gay* read a copy of verses he had made on *Sir Godfrey Kneller*, to him, in which, as he said (for, I do not know how it happened, I never saw the verses) he had pushed his flattery so far, that he was all the while in great apprehension that *Sir Godfrey* would think himself bantered. When he had heard it through, he said, in his foreign style and accent, ‘ Aye, *Mr. Gay*, all what you have said is very fine, and very true; but you have forgot one thing, my good friend, by G—, I should have been a general of an army; for when I was at *Venice*, there was a *Girandole*, and all the *Place St. Mark* was in a smoke of gunpowder, and I did like the smell, *Mr. Gay*; I should have been a great general, *Mr. Gay!*”

The

The love of praise being our one great social principle, as it makes us, in proportion, dependent on the good will of others, which we can only obtain by our behaviour, providence has furnished us with an almost boundless share of a quality that is so highly useful to us in every state and condition, and in every occasion of life.— And I believe, it will always hold, that whatever quality or passions are universal, are also proportionably useful, whatever the first appearance. It is plain we are so in regard to our powers of knowledge.

—— *An erit, qui velle recuset*  
*Os populi meruisse?* ——

*Perf. I. 41.*

And so, vanity, which we ridicule and despise in one another, becomes in the hands of providence, as accommodated to our sphere, a general instrument of good to ourselves, and all about us.

Who knows whether our weaknesses, nay our vices, and our very misfortunes are not purely for our service, as here and now; and whether, upon nice and impartial examination, (the noblest and usefulest of all enquiries!)

enquiries !) we should not even be able to penetrate, in some competent degree, the wisdom and goodness of providence, even in these; and by degrees, still comparing them with one another, and their events, find out the secret purposes of heaven, (so far as they regard us, and which is all we truly want) and trace some glimpse of the ways and paths of its goodness and paternal dealings with us, in the things which we most lament, both in ourselves and others, in our own misfortunes, and other's perverseness !

To make a little essay on the oppositions, and disappointments of life,

“ The chief argument that *Cimon* used in his famous speech to the *Athenians*, to persuade them to support the *Lacedæmonians* in their uttermost distress, when they were invaded all round by their enemies, immediately on an earthquake that had destroyed their whole city, and put all things into the last confusion (a just and reasonable cause to attack a country, says *Swift* in *Gulliver*) was, that ‘ they might have a rival in *Greece*, who might still keep them in awe, and be as

a bridle to keep their own mutinous insolence and luxury, from their present successes and grandeur, within some bounds, so as not to do themselves mischief." *Plut. Cimon* p. 427. (IV.) And this argument weighed with that wise state, and carried the question for keeping *Sparta* on foot.

"When *Cato the Censor* most urged the destruction of *Carthage*, ever ending all his debates in the senate, however foreign, with this advice, as with the burden of a song, the great *Scipio Nasica* as constantly opposed it, declaring he was of opinion, that '*Carthage* should stand,' for the same reasons (as *Plutarch* supposes)" *Plut. Cato Cens.* p. 473. (III.) and accordingly when they had no longer this curb, they drove on headlong to all manner of excesses, and became too much for themselves.

Certainly the disappointments that from time to time put some stop to, and check our career, however grievous they seem to us at present, are often found, on farther opening our prospect afterwards, and when we are in a condition to think them over agreeably and impartially, to have been for  
our

our advantage, and clear benefit in the end; as having hindered us from running ourselves out of breath; so providence acts kindly by us, where we most complain; and still more kindly, in neglecting our senseless murmurs, and going on to serve us, whether we will or no. *Tantum honorum atque opum in me cumulasti, ut nihil felicitati meæ desit nisi moderatio ejus*, said Seneca to Nero; and so the great may often, and perhaps commonly, say to providence.

I have learned (to speak in *M. Antoninus's* style) to be entirely resigned, or at least that I should be so, from a constant reflection on this maxim (as I hold it for sure) that these three attributes, infinite goodness, infinite wisdom, and infinite power, united, must have so contrived, that what is best for the whole, is also best for every individual, (in the several places and degrees they were to be, to complete the infinitely perfect order of the universe) that is to say, that every thing is, in all senses, best, as being contrived by infinite perfection; and not, as in man's bounded faculties, by one part's convenience to make amends for another's defects, so as to be forced to chuse the least of two evils.

Si

*Si vitam inspicias hominum, si denique mores ;  
 Artem, vim, fraudem cuncta putes agere.  
 Si propius species, Fortuna est arbitra rerum ;  
 Nescis quam dicas, & tamen esse vides.  
 At penitus si introspicias, atque ultima primis  
 Connectas, tantum est rector in orbe Deus.*

## L.

*Multi ex variis causis idem facturi.*

SENEC. de IRA. III. 3.

**A**N ancestor of lord *Oxford* was executed for treason, and died not only with intrepidity, but chearfulness. “Do not imagine,” said my lord, “it was the good cause he died for, or his own religious or philosophical reflections, or even his natural constancy. No, he was a merry fellow, and a man of wit and humour of that time, so had good spirits;” [no small matter, this same constitution, in what seems often force of reason!] “but then he had a thing to say, which, at that time, (king *James I*’s.) was exquisite; and which, I make no doubt, (continued my lord) but the thoughts of, made death not only easy to him, but it is not improbable that he was

Q

impatient



impatient for the time he was to come on the scaffold, to let off his conceit, and tell the people, ‘ My friends and countrymen, I come here to suffer for a plot plotted, but not acted ; and an act acted, but not plotted.’ *Lord Treasurer Oxford to my father.*

*This was said by Suffolk Secretary to Lord Essex, who was executed in the time of Queen Elizabeth, 1601. Another proof of what I have observed in p. 187.*

Do you think Mrs. Oldfield’s cares and management, in her last hours, concerning the dress of her corpse, and having the laced head, and fine filks, pass in review before her at her bed’s feet, to chuse the most becoming, did not ease and remove the horrors of the circumstance itself, and of her particular case in respect to futurity, more than all that philosophy or religious consolations could have done for her turn and temper, or, perhaps, are used to do for the heroes themselves of constancy and piety ?

We are little people, and made for little things. Philosophy rather loads and encumbers us often in our small concerns ; instead of curing our afflictions, as it pretends, generally serves only to shew them in a stronger light ; and, instead of *thinking them through*, (my dear father’s expression, who

who had virtue and abilities for it) and probing them, we had better, for the most part, follow *Alcibiades's* advice to *Pericles*, concerning the public accounts, of which he was puzzled to make out the state, for the people's passing, "only think as little of them as we can, and endeavour to avoid stating them at all." *Plutarch, Pericles, ad fin.*

Believe me, and if you will not believe me, examine yourself impartially, at least, look all about you, and you will be convinced, that \* vanity, trifling, and nonsense suit human nature, are more fitted to it, and are more its true affair, than those shining qualities that we assume, for gaudy days and ceremony, but that we are generally glad to unrobe and lay aside, when we do not see company, and enjoy our little amusements (which we love at the bottom, but do not care to own) with snugness.

Mrs. *Oldfield's* expedient was simple and natural; most of theirs are only bustling refuges for their fears, and coaxing the ter-

\* See *Fontenelle's Dialogues of the Dead, Æsop and Homer.*

rors that shame their former professions; *Plura de extremis loqui pars ignavia est*; (Tac. *Hist.* II.) or often, just like Mrs. *Oldfield's*, vanity of another kind, but more disguised, and therefore less generous!

Now, is it to be wondered at, or grieved, or any other way repented, that Mrs. *Oldfield*, St. *Francis*, and *Seneca*, do not make the same end of a life, which constitution, accident, and circumstances have contributed to the spending in so different a manner? Could such possibly see the same thing in the same light? and could her prodigious spirits and wanton gaiety, and, as it were, overflow of temper, act in the same manner as the surly vanity and proud perseverance of the one, and the calm resignation of the other? It is not the thing itself, (that is almost the least to be considered, or, at most, but half) but as it is received, and it is received according to the vessel.

———— *Vitium vas efficere ipsum,  
Omniaque illius vitio corrumpier intus.*

*Lucret. VI. 16.*

What we have to do then is, to take care to keep, or put, this vessel in order. Let  
us

us begin; this is half; let us have resolution to search and scour, and not be ashamed to own it wants it. But what shall we say of those, who perhaps do not, or cannot, see that their vessel is not in order? And if they think it is, and you think it is not, who shall be the judge and decider which is in the right? You, certainly, are not likely to see so far into it as the owner; but then, on the other side, it is the owner's own, and he is partial. We can only judge by appearances, and seeming; and, therefore, ought to judge with candour and diffidence. We are perpetually considering things as in their properties, (which, by the way, is no other than the view in which they appear to us; the same have quite other properties in another view, such as another sees them in,) whereas, indeed, they, with all their bustle of properties, qualities, and accidents, are merely relative, and as we ourselves make them, by our reception. Whatever their own qualities, the impression they make on us, is in proportion to ours; or is rather a mechanical combination of their own, and those they meet with in us. See only what work those, whose profession has been to determine the properties of

things, have made of it. In what one single property of what one thing have they agreed? Have they come yet to an issue, what is happiness, and what virtue? Points in which we are most of all, and in fine, totally concerned! *Plato* sees these propositions in one light, *Zeno* in another, *Epicurus* in another. These, and more, differ from centre to circumference; all in part, and subdivide their several degrees of reception; but all alike sure to be in the right; in this only agreeing, where almost all must necessarily err. Except we will say, that providence hath been all-bounteous, and hath given every one, for himself, (with due relation to society) his proper share; and that, however wrong they may be, in respect to the essential and constitutive properties of things, (if these have, indeed, any fixed and positive qualities independent of the immediate happiness of, and relation to, the beings they concern) they are equally right in respect of themselves, and their own proper satisfaction, which is all they want; and a more acute and keen insight, a more accurate knowledge, would only hurt their powers of enjoyment, and be too much for them. And thus, it will appear

appear probable, that all sorts of human creatures, however differently endowed with talents, fortune, or any other way circumstanced, whatever the appearances at first sight, or even after the strictest examination we are capable of, meet pretty nearly in the one essential point, that of *happiness*, (which can hardly be said to have any absolute property in its own nature, so variously it offers itself, in some degree, to all) though by infinitely different ways, those in one, thinking those they see in another, going quite wrong, and to have missed the road; yet they come into it, and wonder how they meet; and when they think or find themselves out of it, are as fairly on their journey, as those whom they think in the straightest path; judging equally wrong of themselves and others, but all do so, much alike, of one another; so they meet in this too. *Uterque ad gloriam, pari cupiditate, diverso itinere contendit; alter dum expetit debitos titulos, alter dum mavult videri contempsisse,* says *Pliny* of two of his friends. *Ep. 9. 19.*

## LI.

“ **A**NTOINE *de RUFFI* was a lawyer of a very particular stamp ; he apprehended he had contributed to the loss of a poor woman’s cause, in which he was concerned, by some inattention and neglect of his, and returned her the whole estate out of his own.” *Moreri.*

“ My father once sat on the bench, when Sir *Bartholomew Shore* pleaded in the cause that was tried, and came home with him in his chariot. As soon as they got in, my father said, ‘ Sure,’ Sir *Bartholomew*, ‘ if you had made such a plea, that poor woman must have gained her cause.’ ‘ Why, it is very true, Mr. *Richardson*,’ replied he, ‘ I never thought of it.’ ‘ I expected,’ said my father, ‘ every minute you would lay your finger there.’ ‘ Why, I’ll tell you, Mr. *Richardson*, when a cause is not of consequence, and only between obscure people, we never much trouble our heads, but say just what comes uppermost.’ Oy,’ said my father,

father, ' but this was that poor creature's *all*, perhaps, who may starve, or break her heart.' ' Ah! my good friend, you are not used to these courts.'

## LII.

*Injuriam facile patior, contumeliam nefas.*

WHEN I first heard that famous joke which was said to be lord *Chesterfield's*, and even in a debate in the house, turning to the lord next to him, that " he could put them in a way to be never more in fear of the Pretender's succeeding to the crown, viz. by making him elector of *Hanover*, for that we should be sure never to send for any body over from thence again ;" I said, that " though I thought it had as much wit as any *bon mot* I had ever heard, yet, I believed, that nobleman had more wit than to say it."

A piece of mere wit is dearly paid for, when it is paid for at all; and it is very common for the laugh to change sides.

Wit



Wit is a sort of a two-edged sword, which has withal so short a handle, that it must be taken hold of with more caution than generally falls to the share of that quality, to hinder it from cutting and mangling the hand, and often with such a gash, as will leave a scar after it is healed, if it ever is.

## LIII.

*Est & fidei tuta silentio  
Merces.*

HOR. O. III. 2. 25.

**S**T. *John Nepomucene* is deservedly ranked among the greatest heroes of faintship, by his countrymen, (and probably his countrywomen, who never yield to us in piety and holy credulity, are not ungrateful for his constancy and fortitude in their cause.) This martyr for female secrets persisted in his generous resolution to suffer death, rather than reveal to the king of *Bohemia* the confession that the queen had made to him, as her ghostly father; (one may pretty well guess at the subject in which the king suspected himself to be so nearly concerned) and accordingly he was thrown headlong from  
the

the great stone bridge over the *Moldaw*; that divides the old and new *Prague*\* ; and, doubtless, the good queen was very glad to see her champion's last heels well covered with the tide. This new saint's statue is set up on this bridge, as it is in every public place and square all over the kingdom, and throughout *Germany*, particularly on every bridge in *Vienna* ; a glorious reward and grateful return for a merit so important to the ladies ! *Chishull*, p. 137.

The inscription on the bridge at *Prague*, is as follows : *Divo Joanni Nepomuceno an. 1383, ab hac ponte dejecto, erexit Matthias L. B. de Wunefwitz, an. 1683.*

“ Such a posthumous fame is what the great prince of *Orange* thought it well worth even the animal's parting with this empty life for, since he kindly killed seven pigeons, who had been of most important service to him, as carriers, in the famous siege of *Leyden*, in order to embalm and preserve them, in the town-house, as a per-

\* He does not seem to have been provided with *Papyrus*'s specific for keeping a secret.

petual memorial to posterity of their useful services." *Strada*. And accordingly they have had the pleasure of being seen by me, and many more there.

Probably the poor pigeons, (whose material souls had less sublimity and delicacy of sentiment) if they had been left to their own choice, would have even lived out their time, and left posterity to admire them or not, as they should find convenient.

## LIV.

*Illi morbo qui permanat in venas, & inhæret in visceribus, nec inveteratus evelli potest, nomen est avaritia.*

CIC. Tusc. IV. 2.

————— *One master-passion in the breast,  
Like Aaron's serpent, swallows up the rest.*

“ LARKHAM, the apothecary, of *Richmond*, told Mr. *Henry Floyd*, that his patient, Mr. *Watson*, a man of a very large fortune, and uncle to lord *Rockingham*, just before he died, desired him to give him a shirt out of a drawer he pointed to.

‘ Lord,

‘ Lord, Sir,’ said *Larkham*, ‘ what do you mean, to think of putting on another shirt now ?’ ‘ Why,’ said *Watson*, ‘ I understand it is the custom for the shirt I have on to be the perquisite of those who shall lay me out, and that is an old ragged one, and good enough for them.’”

I remember Mr. *Pope*’s repeating to my father and me, in his library at *Twickenham*, four verses, designed for his epistle *on Riches*, which were an exquisite “ description of an old lady dying, and just raising herself up, and blowing out a little end of a candle that stood by her bed side, with her last breath.” [These verses are not in the printed edition.] *They are at the end of the first Epistle on the Characters of Men.*  
v. 242.

## LV.

“ **A** Queen of *Syria*, having learned from her astrologers, that a son should be born to *Abdalla*, (*Mahomet*’s father afterwards) who should conquer the greatest part of the world, wrote to him, to desire she might be her part.” *D’Herbelot*.

“ There

“ There was a good old lady here, a few years ago, who had a vision, that a son should come of her body, who should put a final end to the power of *Satan* upon earth; and she sent to the bishop of *London*, (*Gibson*) to offer him the refusal of a half share; but he would not club his part.”  
*My father.*

## LVI.

**M**OSES having obliged the children of *Israel* to swallow the idol they had worshipped, reduced to powder, and thrown into the water, brings to my remembrance a cavalier physician, who made his puritan patient, who had been forced to send for him in a stubborn bloody flux, drink up the *Common-Prayer-Book*, boiled to a pulp, which he had found torn to pieces, and scattered about the hall, as he came in; swearing he would not prescribe for him, 'till he had done so; when, indeed, he would otherwise have prescribed him boiled paper.” *My father.*

## LVII. 13

## LVII.

**I**S it to be wondered at, that authors of all times should be interpolated, and otherwise corrupted; when the *Bible* itself, published at *Paris*, 1538, (a *French* translation) by authority and the express order of the king, (*Charles VIII.*) should have two such strange texts as these, without the least colour from the original, foisted into one chapter (*xxxii Exod.*) in relation to the golden calf! One of them that “the dust of the golden calf, which *Moses* burnt, and ground, and strewed upon the water, of which he obliged the children of *Israel* to drink, soaked into the beards of those of them who had really worshipped it, and gilded them, which remained upon them a special mark of their idolatry.” The other, that “the children of *Israel* spate upon *Hur*, who had refused to make them Gods, in such abundance, that they stifled him with their slaver.”

If the first of these texts were genuine, it would account for the horrible apostacy of  
*Judas*

*Judas Iscariot*, as being descended from a family that promised no better; since it is probable, that the same reproachful mark would continue to stigmatise the race downwards, as a sign hung out to avoid the bearer; *Cave canem*. It was some such Jew, probably, turned heathen, of and to whom *Martial* speaks, in his time :

*Left-handed, beetle brow'd, and head on fire !  
Sir, if you're honest, you're a cursed liar.*

## LVIII.

*Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit vivere.*

**H**YPOCRISY may sometimes become a virtue, but is certainly an ugly one, for it is always of vice's making; a vicious man owes the good and virtuous the respect of not becoming an example of vice to them, if he no longer esteems himself worthy of keeping up the shadow, at least, of character, upon his own account. There is a certain decency in regard to the world, that the world expects; and, if refused, will always know how to chastise the delinquent, who shall have the bad courage to dare its resentment. Let not a jakes overflow.

“ When

“ When parson *Ford*, an infamous fellow, but of much off-hand and conversation wit, besought lord *Chesterfield* to carry him over with him as his chaplain, when he went ambaffador to *Holland*; he said to him, ‘ I would certainly take you, if you had one vice more than you already have.’ ‘ My lord,’ said *Ford*, ‘ I thought I should never be reproached for my deficiency that way.’ ‘ True,’ replied the earl, ‘ but if you had still one more, almost worse than all the rest put together, it would hinder these from giving scandal.’\* ”

“ The author of the life of Don *John* of *Austria*, printed at *Amsterdam* 1690, says, “ This good prince would never avow his amour with *Donna Mendoza*, nor own the daughter he had by her, because he was persuaded, that the openly professing one crime, was committing another.” *Bayle*, in his article, remarks it.

[\* In perfect conformity to this opinion, his lordship, in his letters, has taken the utmost care to arm his son with this adamantine shield of all the other vices.]



## LIX.

*Mittis vina mihi ; mihi, Pamphile, vina supersunt ;  
Vis mage quod placeat mittere ? mitte fitim.*

ANG. POLITIAN.

*You send me meat and drink ; with these I'm burst ;  
When next you send, Ob ! hunger send, and thirst.*

**N**UMBERS of people have more of the gifts of fortune than they know what to do with ; and I do not know whether there are not more, in proportion, who suffer from abundance than from want ; there requires a degree of rightness of mind, a certain kind of genius, suited to the enjoying an ample fortune,\* which is, as it were, clogged with superfluity ; that is, to the real enjoying it, with propriety and a due disposal of its parts, so as to taste it all, and not be at all oppressed by it ; which perhaps is as rare as that which I heard earl *Stanhope* say of the duke of *Marlborough* ; that “ he fought an army of an hundred thousand men, against an equal number of the *French*, and so disposed the whole, as to

\* Such a gentleman seems to have been *L. Thorius Balbus*, in *Cic. de Finib. II.* and *Petronius*.

employ

employ every company." Accordingly we perpetually see, by experience, that either the passions, having a constant satisfaction, overset the constitution; or, for want of such to gratify, the fortune becomes a load and reproach. And yet most people, especially the last, are their whole lives considering how to get more of what they have already too much, like princes, who are ever intent on new conquests, but never once think of governing well what they have. *Ad regni administrationem cum accessisset, statim non de regendo, sed de augendo regno cogitavit. Justin, XXXVII. 3. de Mitbridate.*

“ *Alexander* wept because there was not another world for him to conquer: *Augustus* wondered, he could want to know ‘ what to do with his time, when he had this to administer, and make good laws for, and order with prudence and humanity, for the happiness of mankind; and when he had still left on his hands, to endeavour to double the number of these by the arts of peace, the only way to make amends and atone for the devastations he had made in conquering them, instead of thinning ano-

ther race in order to conquer that." *Plut. Apoth.* Double your people, you blind brute! instead of doubling your country.

So, in private life, there have been a thousand who have known how to get a great estate, to one who has known how to spend it!

*Give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me. Prov. XXX. 8.*

It is not only fit that every man should have a check on him, and his actions, for the sake of others, but as much for his own. "Tiberius was not only a reasonable prince, but a much more happy man, before the death of *Germanicus*, which took off all restraint from him." *Dion*, LVII. The same is the case of numbers; and occurs perpetually in private life, as well as in power (which is almost constantly found to be too much for mankind.) Few men are strong enough for their own passions, which not only advise, but force; they want assistance, though they hate to be assisted; the best and surest assistance is generally want itself.

## LX.

Πάρφασις, ἣ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονούντων.

IL. E. 217.

“**T**HERE is some one string in most men’s passions, more apt to jar than the others may be,” says the learned doctor *Slare*, my godfather, a right honest man, in a letter to my father. [July 27, 1700.]

“*Solon*’s strict and rigid virtue made him oppose himself to the usurpation of *Pisistratus* with vigour, and to the utmost danger of his life, insomuch that his friends asked him, ‘What he could mean by such downright rashness; or what it was he could trust to?’ ‘To my old age,’ said he; meaning, that such dregs of life were not worth taking much caution about.—Finer far was that of the prince of *Orange* (*William III.*) when almost a boy-stadtholder, he withstood the dreadful *French* irruption in 1672; and the opposite faction, and even his friends asked, ‘what he pretended to?’ ‘To defend my country,’ said he, ‘to the last ditch, and

die there.'—Yet this very old man (*Solon*) of fourscore, the young *Pisistratus* (who knew his popularity, and the opinion the whole city had of his virtue, and was therefore too wise to take him off) found the way to appease and cajole (as young *Octavius* afterwards did *Cicero*, and the duke of *Wharton* lord *C——*, and Sir *Robert Walpole* Sir *Joseph Jekyl*) by his extreme respect, and shewing him all sorts of benevolence and honour; upon all important occasions asking his advice and counsel; so that instead of the odium and indignation his death would have loaded him with, he brought him by degrees to approve, and give his sanction to all his actions; for *Pisistratus* affected a religious observance of the laws of *Solon*, and obliged others to submit to them, and that too, by his own example; for when a person had the old republican courage to accuse him of a crime, and cite him before the rigid court of the *Areopagus*, he came (though he was absolute master of all) and, with the modest reverence of a private man, presented himself to his country's determination: but the accuser did not appear."—*Plutarch, Solon*, p. 483. As probably he had  
had

had before taken care to be pretty sure he would not.

*Augustus Cæsar* did much the same thing when he was emperor. These little strokes of policy serve the purpose with the multitude; the others, they know, see through it; and they laugh on both sides, like *Cato's* augurs.\*

## LXI.

*Yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself.*

GEN. I. II,

**E**Very virtue and every vice, however circumstanced in regard to us and our apprehensions, will, in the end, prove its own rewarder, or punisher, in its sure and necessary consequences, to vindicate the perfection of all things (in their degrees) as the author is perfect. We plainly can see it is so in innumerable instances of common life, as well as in history; and shall find it more and more so, in proportion as we examine

\* *Vetus illud Catonis admodum scitum est, qui mirari se aiebat, quod non rideret haruspex, haruspicem cum vidisset.* Cic. Div. 2.

and look a little deeper, and more inward into things, with the common justice, in their regard, of divesting ourselves of the prejudices of their first appearances of happiness or misery; and taking in the whole circle of what even we can penetrate, here and now; at least enough to give us good grounds to infer more and more, and all.—The sovereign justice of those eternal laws, that execute themselves, seems to demand this.

In reading the history of the great, how frequently does one find by the event, that it was a misfortune to them to have obtained the things they wished, and which were the object of their strugglings, and utmost contention; for as this was generally more and more power, it only let them into new occasions of scheming what ended in their disadvantage, or destruction.—Their own power sometimes became too strong for themselves, and turned their heads or raised an opposition of jealousy that was too strong for them; and the same happens in proportion, just the same, in private life; since, considering mankind's very short views forward, and their utter want of the means  
of

of judging with any tolerable degree of certainty of future contingences (to them, for there are none such) and the constant wrong bias of poor self-love ; their power, riches, relations, interest, their very health, become most frequently a snare to them.

What an unhappy success was that to the *Borgia* family, the choosing *Alexander VI.* for pope ! which became sun, water, and air to the horrible qualities within him, that would have died, or but just sprung up, if they had wanted nourishment.

Who would have thought, in *Augustus's* time, that the 'eternal empire'\* was in 300 years to become christian, from an obscure infant then born in a despised and hated corner of the world ! and in 600 to be put to a final end, by a little *Arabian* slave ! Yet nature and providence were working at the root for this, from the very first planting of this great politico-moral vegetable ; and the seeds were gradually ripening, 'till the fulness of time, when, while the emperor *Heraclius* was sitting contentedly amongst priests and monks disputing seriously about

\* *Imperium sine fine dedi.* ————— *Virg.*



trifling punctilios of doctrine and faith, *Mahomet*, at the head of a victorious army, was making vast strides towards annihilating the *Roman* empire and power, and tearing the better half of the world from Christianity itself.

This was, with a vengeance, ‘catching at the shadow, and dropping the substance.’

## LXII.

*Si mihi pergit quæ volt dicere, ea quæ non volt audiet.*

TER. AND. V. 4, 17.

“SOME *French* gentlemen, at fort St. George, were one day after dinner talking away very uppish, and, as usual, puffing themselves and their king; which they had gone on with for an hour or two, without controul of our *English*, to whom they were guests, when *Pinky*, a rich black merchant, very well known and knowing amongst us, only asked them, ‘You savvy *John* duke of *Marlborcugh*? Surely he havy beaty for you very well.” *Mr. Hugh Campbell*.

This

This is something like “the conversation between *Hannibal* and *Scipio* at *Ephesus*, when the last asking him, ‘Whom he judged to be the greatest general that had ever been?’ He said, ‘*Alexander*.’ ‘Who the next?’ ‘Why,’ said he, ‘*Pyrrhus*, doubtless.’—— ‘Well,’ said *Scipio*, (probably thinking it was almost time for himself to come in) ‘who may be the third, in your opinion?’ ‘Myself,’ said *Hannibal*. ‘But what if I had not *beaty for you*?’ ‘Oh, then, *Scipio*,’ said *Hannibal*, ‘I had named myself the first of all.’ *Plutarch, Flamin. ad fin. (III.)*

### XLIII.

“**A**T ACHIN an elephant, carrying some burthen, passed by the market-place, and seeing some plantain fruit, of which they are very fond, took up a bunch with his trunk; the seller catching him at it, gave him some severe blows, and made him drop his prize.—As the elephant came back, observing a great vessel full of water, he sucked it all up with his trunk, and squirted it out into the seller’s face; and so  
having

having embarrassed him for a while, carried off the plantains in triumph, with the loud laughter and exclamation of all the bystanders, of whom my author was one.”—  
*Mr. Hugh Campbell.*

#### XLIV.

“**L**ORD *Stair* had uncontrouled access to the duke of *Orleans*, at all times ; on some important occasion, probably, he came into his chamber when the duke was drunk, and in bed with *Mademoiselle de Lisle*, and the cardinal *Dubois* sitting by the bed-side. ‘ You see, my lord,’ said the regent, to him, ‘ how *France* is governed, by a *bougre d’ivrogne, un maquereau, & une putaine.*’ *Ditto.*

“ In the time of the rebellion, 1715, he demanded an audience of *Lewis XIV.* and told him, ‘ he had certain intelligence of such a number of forces that were then ready at *St. Malo’s* to be embarked for *England.*’ The king told him ‘ it was false, and he was abused.’ *Stair* persisted, and took a paper out of his pocket, in which was a list of the different regiments and companies  
that

that composed this embarkation; and all the officers names. The king, so urged, put on his hat, and was turning away; *Stair* clapped on his hat. The king immediately uncovered himself again, and said, *Milord, vous sçavez mieux vôtre devoir que moi.*" *Ditto.*

## XLV.

**E**ITHER for want of resolution to resist solicitations, or dread of reproach, or desire of being spoken well of, or idleness in persisting against sturdy beggars, every man is governed, on a thousand occasions in his life, by those he despises: But, 'do well,' says the *Spanish* proverb, 'and you shall be hated and derided; go on to do well, and you shall be loved and admired.'

" Lord *Orford* (the minister) declared, a little before his death, that he had never in all his life broken through the rule, of *trusting to himself* in the last resort, and being influenced by no importunities or authorities whatever, against the voice of his own deliberate

berate and mature reason, 'till now, for which he was paying so severely ; and at last paid all. He was himself convinced that he was not of a time of life to try practices (for his disorder, which was the gravel in the kidneys) and solicit and shock a constitution that was yet tolerable ; but he was so beset on every side to take the lees, (prescribed by doctor *Jurin*) that he had not resolution enough, in that late time of day, to stand against the multitude."

" *Pericles*, who, during a long, active, life had been *master of himself*, and by that means, of all others ; and, above all, emancipated from that slavery, superstition ; now weak and dying, shewed a friend who came in, a *charm* that he had on his breast : ' The women,' said he, ' have made me put on this ; see what I am come to !' " *Plutarch, Pericles*, p. 278. (II.)

## LXVI.

*Those who hide can find.*

“CATO proposed the making *Pompey* general of the senate’s army for restoring the commonwealth, and opposed him to the inundation of *Cæsar*’s ambition ; ‘ because,’ said he, ‘ his own hath been the occasion of all their present calamities ; he, therefore,’ continued *Cato*, ‘ will the best know how to remedy them ;’ and accordingly, all the hopes and fortunes of the commonwealth were trusted to his management.” *Plutarch, Pompey, p. 510. (V.)*

A very precarious way of judging, in my opinion, of so great and grave a person ; or rather jesting in earnest on so important an occasion !

He that has run out his own patrimony, is, surely, a very improper person to be relied on for the saving or retrieving that of the public. It was said of the emperor *Charles IV.* that “ as he ruined his own house to obtain

obtain the empire ; so, in return, he afterwards ruined the empire, to re-establish his own house." *Moreri, Emp. Cha. IV.*

As he bought it, he thought he had a right to sell it again ; as a certain \* member of the house of commons said to his constituents, who sent instructions to him, to act in conformity to what they thought was for their interest : " I bought you, ye scoundrels, and, by G—, I'll sell you."

## LXVII.

— *Tace modo.* TER. ADELPH. II. 4. 16.

**T**HE next to being wise, is to keep our folly a secret. He plays a good saving game, who has just sense enough to keep his nonsense to himself.

" When I was a boy, the good old † bishop of *Peterborough*, a particular friend of my father, used to set me between his

\* *Anthony Henley, esq;* of the *Grange*, father of the late earl of *Northington*.

† *Dr. Cumberland*, who died in 1718, aged 86.

knees,

knees, and tell me stories ; and, as I grew up a little, made me write them down, as I could, from his dictating, in a paper-book he gave me for that purpose, and bade me repeat them the next time I saw him ; asking me what I thought of them ? and what remarks I had made on them ?

“ I remember, among others, he bade me always hold my tongue, ’till I had considered whether what I had to say would do me credit ; and told me this story :

“ A lady of his acquaintance had the misfortune to have a son, who was a natural fool. She was to carry him one day to a relation’s, where there was to be a great deal of company, at a particular entertainment. So she bade him be sure not to talk, but listen to others, and then perhaps they would not find him out. He did so, and passed very well ; ’till, at last, somebody who did not know him, observing his drivelling looks, like *Cymon* in the fable, whispered, ‘ surely, is not that young fellow a fool ?’ ‘ Mother, mother,’ said the son,  
S
‘ may



‘ may not I talk now ? They have found me out.’

But men of sense, in other respects, will often be the trumpeters of their own folly, either from a blind self-love, or mere gaiety of heart.

*Gratian* says, “ that cardinal *Madruccio* did not call him a fool who committed a folly, but him who told of it afterwards ; not one who miscarried of a folly, but who did not strangle it as soon as born.” *Gratian, Hero, c. 2.* I think, for a very good reason ; at first a person may be surpris’d into a weakness ; there are moments when a wise man may be off his guard ; but, for the other, he had time to think, and recall sense, if there was any. The *Lacedæmonians* did not consider the theft itself as the crime, but the want of address or courage to conceal it.

Yet this second folly of telling a first, at the same time confessing it to be such, and to be so understood by the company, is very frequently committed voluntarily ; and that too, in order to introduce a third, still greater, some silly prerogative of fortune

tune

tune or quality, which you are to infer from these silly round-about ways; and which, at the same time that they are to appear modest and open confessions of weaknesses in themselves, are really insults on the persons present, and generally taken as such, (for their self-love is at work as well as your's) being indeed no more nor less than sweetly intimating, that their superior birth or estate let them into those *handsome ills*,\* and allowable follies, in them, so circumstanced, which would be inexcusable in the rest of the company.

————— *Mææ*

*Stultitiam patiuntur opes.* —————

*Hor. Ep. I. 18. 29.*

This is like borrowing money at four *per cent.* to pay off a mortgage at three. A trim-reckoning this! A man commits a first folly, and sells that into a second, in order to introduce a third.

\* *Rochester.*

LXVIII.

*Manus manum fricat.* ERASM. ADAG.

*Put water in the pump.*

**I**F you want to gain something of another, first of all think of something you can make him want to gain of you ; if you would be tickled, tickle first.

“ By G—, I love you, Mr. *Cock*, (said Sir *Godfrey Kneller* to *Cock* the auctioneer) and I will do you good ; but you must do something for me too, Mr. *Cock* ; one hand can wash the face, but two hands wash one another.” *Pope.*

“ Old *Jacob Tonson* got a great many fine pictures, and two of himself, from Sir *Godfrey Kneller*, by this means. Sir *Godfrey* was very covetous, but then he was very vain, and a great glutton ; so he played these passions against the other ; besides telling him he was the greatest master that ever was, sending him, every now and then,  
a haunch

a haunch of venison, and dozens of excellent claret. ‘O my G—, man,’ said he once to *Vander Gucht*, ‘this old *Jacob* loves me; he is a very good man; you see he loves me, he sends me good things; the venison was fat.” *Ditto.*

“Old *Geekie*, the surgeon, got several fine pictures of him too, and an excellent one of himself; but he had them cheaper, for he gave nothing but praises; but then, his praises were as *fat* as *Jacob’s* venison; neither could be too *fat* for Sir *Godfrey*\*.”  
*Ditto.*

[\* One of the sons of this Mr. *Geekie*, the late amiable Dr. *William Geekie*, (first an officer in general *Pepper’s* regiment of dragoons, when fellow of *Queen’s College, Cambridge*, and afterwards, taking orders, chaplain to archbishop *Wake*, and prebendary of *Canterbury*) had some share in these praises, by the following epigram; which, however, far from being fat and fulsome, is equally delicate and just:

*While meaner artists labour hard to trace  
The outward lines and features of a face,  
Your magic pencil, Kneller, takes the soul,  
And when you paint the man, you paint him whole.*

On reading it, “Send the young man to me,” said Sir *Godfrey*, “I’ll give him his picture.” The pictures above-mentioned are now at lady *Head’s*, at *Canterbury*, the doctor’s sister.]

## LXIX.

*Naturam expellis furcâ, tamèn usque recurret.*

HOR. EP. I. 10. 24.

“ **W**HEN *Lewis XIII.* was at the eve of his end, and had passed through all the ceremonies, and finished his accounts with God and the world, he cast his eye on the duke of *Beaufort*, whom he had not observed before, at the feet of his bed; he knew he saw his present state with joy, and was impatient till he saw him dead; which so provoked him, that he forgot all his resignation and charity, and cried, ‘ These fellows come to see when I shall die; ah! if I can but recover, I’ll make them pay dear for their longing for my death.’” *Motteville, Mem. d’ Anne d’ Autriche, T. I. p. 121.*

Which reminds me of what I heard a *French* officer, when I was abroad, tell of a common soldier of his regiment, who was mortally wounded, to whom the good capuchin,

puchin, who performed those offices, administered the sacrament ; but first he told him, “ he must forgive all the world.” “ Yes,” says the poor fellow, “ I do forgive all the world, but such a rascal,” whom he named. “ Ah !” says the capuchin, “ but you must make no exceptions, and the more he hath injured you, the more meritorious it will be, to pardon him.” The fellow could not relish this doctrine ; but, at last, being pressed by the good father, and told he might die before he had made his peace, he said, “ *Ha ! mon reverend pere, je lui pardonne donc de tout mon cœur, si je dois mourir ; mais si le bon Dieu me fait la grace de revenir, je jure de par tous les saints, que je lui couperai la gorge.*”

“ *Handel* spoke out, when the prince of *Wales* told him ‘ he must insist on his forgiving *Goupée* ; he begged his royal highness would say no more on that subject ; for that ‘ he was a rascal, who had abused his friendship, and, above all, had endeavoured to give his royal highness an ill impression of him ; and that he would never forgive him, even on his death-bed.’ ‘ Come, Mr. *Handel*,’ said the princess, ‘ I must interpose ;

I ask it, as a favour, that you would forgive him.' 'Madam,' says the honest *Saxon*, 'since you command it, I will do it, but, by G—, it is impossible.'

Human nature is always the same, and differs not, in essentials, between the greatest and the meanest, the learned and the ignorant, the wise and fools.

LXX.

*Why should Rome fall an hour before its time?*

ADDISON, CATO.

“ ONE of the ancient philosophers ordered, by his will, that his body should be given to wild beasts to devour, that he might still be good for something to the beasts, as he had endeavoured in his life to be to men.”

“ A bishop of this age, in a disease from which he did not expect to recover, at *Padua*, ordered his body to be delivered to the surgeons of that famous university, to dissect, for the same reason, that he might be good  
good

good for something as long as he could.  
*St. Real, Critiq. c. 2.* This is still better, but the ancients did not allow of human dissections.

LXXI.

*Doctors differ.*

“ JOHN V, duke of *Britany*, marrying his son to *Isabella* of *Scotland*, and enquiring concerning her qualities, was assured that she did not want for beauty, and was well made, so as to be likely to have children, but that she had not much learning, nor even knowledge of the world.— ‘ So much the better,’ said the duke, ‘ I do not desire more sense in a wife, than just to know the difference between her husband’s waistcoat and shirt.’” *Bouchet, Annal. d’Aquitaine.*

“ The duke of *Newcastle*, whose wife was that famous learned dutchess, was much of the duke of *Britany*’s mind; for when a friend complimented him on the ‘ great wisdom of his wife;’ ‘ Sir,’ said the duke, ‘ a very



“a very wise woman is a very foolish thing.”  
Mr. *Fellozvs.*

Learning, and parts, and all fine qualities whatsoever, are only instruments, and according as they are applied by prudence and the common sense of the possessor, become useful or mischievous to himself or others.

“The marchioness of *Sevigné*, writing to the count *de Buffi Rabutin*, praises him for giving his daughters learning, and not educating them in that gross ignorance to which others are accustomed; for, in fine, ‘say what they will of the great book of the world, we must read others, to know how to read that.’ *Let.* 98.

LXXII.

*A word in season.*      ISAI. 50. 4.

*Venerunt capiti cornua fera meo.*

OVID. AMOR. III. II. 6.

“ **A** Gentleman pretty much advanced in years had been in to *Doctors Commons* for a licence, and coming out full of the joys this magical scrawl, this philactery, was to procure him; and with “his brains” (as the *Easterns* say) “embalmed” with the soothing idea, an unlucky parrot, that hung out at one of the windows of those chambers, cried, as he passed; ‘Go, you cuckold!’ The omen so confounded these gay contemplations, and so humbled them at once to a calm but dusky thoughtfulness, that he determined, in the end, to make no farther use of his new acquisition.”  
*Mrs. Pinfold.*

What indiscretion! to teach parrots such foul-mouthed language in *Doctors Commons* of all the places in the world!

LXXIII. *Keep*

## LXXIII.

*Keep them secretly in a pavilion from the strife of tongues.*

Pf. 31. 20.

“ ONE *Lord*, a farmer of *Bletso*, had his eldest son taken violently ill of a fever, which he had got by lying along to weed on the wet ground; unluckily for the poor young fellow, there came, as in rainy weather too, a great number of crows and ravens about their farm-yard, which all the family took for so sure a sign that he was to die, by their crying, ‘pork! pork!’ (which these country people have a notion is the most like human flesh of any animal’s) that they said, ‘it was to no manner of purpose to send for the apothecary (to *Bedford*, seven miles off) to a dead man;’ and so let the poor wretch lie ‘till it should please God to take him,’ as they piously waited, without any manner of help or assistance. At last a neighbouring clergyman riding by called in: and seeing how things were, made them instantly send away; the apothecary came; ‘Good God,’ said he, ‘the lad is delirious!’

delirious ! how long has he been taken ?"—They very innocently informed him. ' Why,' said he, ' did not you have him bled ? he would have done well enough.'—He died. This was talked of ; that *Lord of Bletso's* eldest son was dead, and that he had had no care taken of him, from so absurd a notion. ' *Lord of Bletso !* why that must be *Lord St. John of Bletso* ; there is no other *Lord* of that title.' So it ran all over the country that *Mr. St. John* was dead, and how.—' Aye,' said one, ' the gentry will believe such foolish stories often more than the scripture.'—The next said, ' What a reprobate *Lord St. John* was, he did not believe in God, and had been so barbarous as to let his eldest son die of a raging fever, for want of help, he that was so rich !' And so, the best father, and the best-natured man living, and who never once had the least doubt but that every thing he had ever heard of *Christ* and the gospel was most infallible truth, was traduced without his so much as ever hearing of it, as a brute of unnatural cruelty, and a hardened atheist." *Mr. Walker, at Bletso, July 9, 1752.*

The

The moral of this ridiculous (but true) story is, that as absurd and unjust as it appears, it is the very case of every scandal, that a whole room hears with attention and complacency, and then propagates, propagates irrevocably! the very case both as to blunder and malice; all the various kinds and instances have their elements; and only differ in the degrees and proportions of these precious ingredients, with which this dark stiletto (in the hands often of not ill-meaning people, but only unreflecting and thoughtless) is poisoned.

## LXXIV.

*Decipimur specie.* HOR.

“IT is a fact (says *St. Real*) well known in history, that the Grand Signor offered his assistance to *Henry IV. of France*, at the time he was most pressed by the league. Politicians have not been wanting to themselves, in assigning their good reasons for this voluntary proposal. Some have attributed it to the ancient alliance of *France* with the *Ottoman* empire; others to the *Turks* resentment, then fresh against  
the

the *Spaniards*, for their late defeat at *Le-panto*; others, again, that the king being at that time a *Huguenot*, he was an enemy to the Pope as well as they. There was no truth in all this plausible reasoning. The minister himself, who sent this offer to his court from *Constantinople*, declares the motive to have been no other, than ‘that prince’s particular aversion to the word *league*.’ *St. Real, Disc. 1.*

These are the ambassador’s own words. He had an idea, probably, of a certain kind of combination of the great against their prince, which is what the *Turkish* government has most to fear.

We see men act inconsistently every day, and even the wise and good do a thousand things from mere idleness or caprice; and yet we constantly reason on their actions, as if we were sure they always acted consistently.

“ I do not know what prince that was, who, seeing a priest fast asleep in a church, through which he was accidentally passing, gave him a canonry, which happened to  
be

be then vacant, one of the most considerable of that church for dignity and revenue; ‘that it may be said,’ (said the king) ‘that fortune came to him in his sleep.’ *St. Real, ib.* It would have been full as well if he had done it, “that he might, for the future, have a warm stall to sleep in.” This would also have been a joke upon the clergy, which is, *ipso facto*, wit by prescription. However, either of these was a shorter way than examining into merit.

“As a friend of mine who was in *Russia* in the time of czar *Peter the Great*, and who knew him very well, and was, with other *English* merchants, frequently in his parties of diversion, was accompanying him through the apartments, after a debauch of drinking, a poor wretch happening to lie asleep in one of the lobbies, the czar, in gaiety of heart, drew his sabre, and, cutting off his head, turned to them, and, laughing, said, ‘I cannot but think how that fellow will stare when he wakes, and finds his head gone.’”

Merit is a good pretext for approbation and encouragement, but these are generally bestowed on other qualities, that happen to  
tally

tally with our humours, or interest, or some present accidental view, better. And so too; what appears to us to be virtue or vice in another, (nay, and often in ourselves) and, perhaps, is so; it is not in the manner, nor in the degree, that it appears. We are perpetually liable to mistake in these; and what seem great virtues, if traced back to their sources, are often only plausible; and great vices would admit of strange and very great alleviations, to any that could possibly put themselves in the very same situation with those who committed them, and be themselves the criminal\*.

“ Can any thing be more plausible than the magnanimity of *Fulvia*, the wife of *Marc Antony*, who, forgetting all her husband's injuries and insults with *Cleopatra*, in *Egypt*, espoused his cause so vigorously against *Augustus*? only that we learn, from some other circumstances, very authentically, and from an undoubted epigram of

\* The secret history of *Zosimus* is a perpetual lampoon on the plausible appearances of great actions.



*Augustus* himself,\* which happens unluckily to be preserved by *Martial*, that the whole of this heroic zeal was not conjugal affection, constancy, and duty, but revenge for *Augustus's* having slighted her advances some time before, and declined paying, with his person, in assisting her to revenge those insults in kind.

[\* Instead of the *Latin*, take it much more decently expressed in *English*.

*While from his consort false Antonius flies,  
And doats on<sup>a</sup> Glaphyra's far brighter eyes,  
Fulvia provok'd her female arts prepares,  
Reprisals seeks, and spreads for me her snares.  
"The husband's false!" But why must I endure  
This nauseous plague, or her revenge procure?  
What tho' she ask! How happy were my doom,  
Should all the discontented wives of Rome  
Repair to me in crowds, when scorn'd at home!  
"'Tis war," she says, "if I refuse her charms:"  
Let's think—she's ugly—trumpets, sound to arms.*  
Hughes.]

<sup>a</sup> The poetical name for *Citharis*, an actress, of whom *Antony* was enamoured. *Virgil* consoles *Gallus* for her infidelity, in the IXth eclogue, under the name of *Lycoris*.

## LXXV.

— *Fas atque nefas exiguo sine libidinum  
Discernunt.* —

HOR. ODE I. 18. 10.

**T**HE poor never fairly forgive the rich their conveniences and superiority, but are sure, on every occasion where accident, or the present want these may have of their more important service, gives them an opportunity, to seize on the advantage, and exert their own pride and little temporary boast of power. ‘ Lord *Carpenter*, at a *Westminster* election, where both parties pushed and were pushed vehemently, could not prevail on four sturdy butchers to poll as he would have them, but by letting them ride in his coach, and himself walk at the horses heads and lead them.’ Our resentments do not arise from the faults themselves, but from the manner in which they affect us. We conceive the most bitter and irreconcilable hatred against a man who hath only put a contemptuous slight upon us, though attended with no sort of crime, and yet can see a friend, whom we

shall at the same time call our second-self, abused in a most essential manner by a villain, with great coolness and indifference, and perhaps compliment ourselves over and above with our christian charity and forgiveness. There is a vast difference between our second-selves and our first: *Proximus, longo sed proximus intervallo.*

“ I remember going by one evening, as a gentleman was disputing with a saucy fellow of a hackney coachman who demanded evidently more than his fare; people crowded about, and as they were presently convinced that the gentleman was wronged, called the coachman a rascal, and bade him ‘take what the gentleman offered him.’— ‘Look you there,’ said the gentleman to the coachman, ‘the very mob take my part.’ ‘Mob!’ cried the people, ‘d——n you!’ and gave him a great blow on the head, and bade the coachman ‘not bate him a farthing of his demand, for that it was no more than his due.’” Mr. *Ralph*,

## LXXVII.

— *Vitium causa decoris erat.*

OVID. AMOR. III. I. 10,

**A**S some people have the happy art of repairing a fault, so as to be more beloved than if they had never committed it; so others have as ungracious a manner even of conferring or receiving civilities.

“ King *Charles I.*'s queen had a great fancy for a fine diamond, but too much money being asked, she refused it. The king, some time after, hearing of her liking it, bought it, and coming into her dressing-room, with the fondness of a good-natured husband, put it down her bosom: it felt cold, which made her shrink; on which it fell down lower, and so hurt her; the king seeing her out of humour, told her what it was. ‘ You have done it like a fool,’ said she, ‘ as you do every thing else.’ *Rev. Mr. Maunder.*

## LXXVIII.

*Proprio quodam intelligendi, ut mea fert opinio, ambitu.*

QUINT. XII. 10.

“ **I**Nstead of investigating the poet’s own reflections (says *Hurd* on *Horace’s Art of Poetry*) the method which common sense and common criticism would prescribe, the world hath been nauseated with insipid lectures on *Aristotle* and *Phalareus*, whose solid sense hath (in their remarks on *Horace*) been so attenuated and subtilised by the delicate operation of *French critique*, as hath even gone some way towards bringing the art itself into disrepute.”—*Hurd, introd. Ep. ad Pisones.*

This is the very thing which *Warburton*, and this imitator of him, are doing. They have introduced a new kind of criticism, in which they discover views and purposes the authors never had, and they themselves never believed they had, nay that they do not desire you should believe they had; but consider them as the refinements of their  
 own

own delicate conceptions ; only taking hints from these authors, to shew how much higher they themselves would have carried the same ideas, which those had struck out indeed, but did not know how to make the most use of.

*Bentley* began this in *Milton*, and, like what is said of some of the great writers among the ancients, both began and perfected the art. *Warburton's* discovering "the regularity" of *Pope's Essay on Criticism*, and "the whole scheme" of his *Essay on Man*, I happen to know to be mere absurd refinement in creating conformities, and that, from *Pope* himself, though he thought fit to adopt them afterwards.

By this method of overlooking the plain and simple meaning, which presents itself at first sight (as that of good authors always does, and is the end of writing, and of words themselves, only that there is no credit to be gained in discovering what any one else could discover) with proper talents, a good deal of imagination, and more vanity, it might clearly be shewn that *Pope's Art of Criticism* is, indeed, an *Essay on Man*,

and his *Essay on Man* was, really, designed, by the deep author, for an *Art of Criticism*. I know that these would not be more false than the assertion and sophistry in proving "the regularity" of his *Art of Criticism*, since he, when often speaking of it, (before he so much as knew *Warburton*) spoke of it always, as an "irregular collection of thoughts, thrown together as they offered themselves, as *Horace's Art of Poetry* was," he said, "and written in imitation of that irregularity," which he even admired, and said was beautiful.

As for his *Essay on Man*, as I was witness to the whole conduct of it in writing, and actually have his original MSS. for it, from the first scratches of the four books, to the several finished copies, (of his own neat and elegant writing these last) all which, with the MS. of his *Essay on Criticism*, and several of his other works, he gave me himself, for the pains I took in collating the whole with the printed editions, at his request, on my having proposed to him the "making an edition of his works in the manner of *Boileau's*;" as to this noblest of his works, I know that he never dreamed  
of

of the scheme he afterwards adopted, perhaps for good reasons, for he had taken terror about the clergy, and *Warburton* himself, at the general alarm of its fatalism, and deistical tendency, of which however we talked with him (my father and I) frequently at *Twickenham*, without his appearing to understand it otherwise, or ever thinking to alter those passages, which we suggested as what might seem the most exceptionable.

*Hurd's* introducing his conjecture, (far-fetched surely, and without all grounds), on the opening of the *Third Georgic*, and the *Temple of the Muses*, which he transports from *Greece* to *Mantua*, and his criticism of the three verses, are a mere mimicry of *Warburton* and *Bentley*.

What must these great writers have been in point of clearness, the first virtue of writing, and its only end! if they have not been understood, with the attention of all the men of taste and learning, for seventeen hundred years!

Yet these new critics only do by profane authors, what the *Romish* clergy began to do  
do



do very early by the sacred ; introducing forced and far-fetched interpretations to serve their schemes of bigotry and power, and establish an hierarchy, gradually founded on these doctrines that they afterwards did not so much as pretend were there, but boldly asserted the church's own authority and arbitrary right to impose, 'till it hath at length grafted, or rather entirely new-founded, the most ambitious and persecuting system of public worship that ever existed, on the most simple and humane of all religions, whose corner-stones are humility and charity ; and that with the text itself staring them in the face !

LXXIX.

*Fair Decency, celestial maid,  
Descend from heav'n to beauty's aid;  
Tho' beauty may beget desire,  
'Tis thou must fan the lover's fire;  
For beauty, like supreme dominion,  
Is best supported by opinion;  
If Decency brings no supplies,  
Opinion fails, and beauty dies.*

SWIFT, Strephon and Chloe.

**D**ECENCY should ever attend on all our other qualities, however excellent, to make them amiable and respected, as the decent Graces always waited on *Venus*.  
*Hor. O. I. 4. 6.*

There is in every thing (or ought to be, for every thing is capable of it) a certain elegance, a delicacy, a neatness, a polish, that can alone make it agreeable; and cannot subsist, or be preserved, without a certain degree of attention; which, far from a constraint, for this would defeat its own purpose, to those whose lucky form of mind  
and

and person is meant by nature to engage, will be unfought and easy.

The same is above all in love, and most in decent married love, in friendship, in relations, from master to servant, in all connections between man and man.

But we are liable, from the very laziness and indolence of our nature, to fall into a certain carelessness, and habitual inattention, which, by degrees, degenerates into a familiarity, and treating those we are perpetually with as ourselves, which never fails of producing a disregard that borders very nearly on contempt; not that we despise ourselves for what we are so over-well acquainted with, but we shall infallibly lose our respect for others for the same, and shall as surely lose that of others for us.

Do not we see, that a muzzy fellow, who has nothing in him, shall constantly gain a sort of respect, and an opinion of wisdom, only from his mistaking himself first to be wise; and then, in consequence of that opinion of his, by affecting a grave and solemn deportment

deportment and mien, (which is the more imposing, as it comes from the heart, and is the effect of his own conviction first) seduce others to suppose there is something more than they see, and, in time, begin to see something more than there is, that warrants his own, and the opinion he hath, by this slow and sure method, cajoled others into.

“ Just such a one was *Hugh Howard*, who, by means of his name, and affecting to be of the *Norfolk* family, a small estate of a gentleman, a solemn air, and slow discourse, with a very moderate smattering of polite knowledge, covered so well an extreme ignorance and illiteracy, that he easily passed for a leading virtuoso with the nobility, and was even enough considered as a scholar by *Bentley* himself, to make use of his negotiation with *Tonson*, which produced that precious edition of his of *Milton*.”

“ But was not *Bentley* himself a glaring instance of the effect of a steady supercilious air of learning, that, assuming all to itself, received all from others? which could never

ver have been effectually brought about, but from being first himself persuaded of what he would persuade them; and would have carried it all his life, if he had kept to his *Greek* and *Latin*; but, unhappily, his emptiness, wantonly becoming familiar, in *English*, courted the contempt it met with; and even though many of those who had been so long seduced, sheltered themselves under the still-imposing mask of learned dulness, and grave foppery, the most nauseous of all foppery! as Dr. M. told me, ‘ he must needs confess, his old friend had failed in *Milton*, but was an excellent critic in the learned languages. ‘ Such,’ said I, ‘ doctor, as I always told you I thought him *there*, and you now find him *here*; and, depend upon it, doctor, a man that is a fool in *English*, will never be a wit in *Greek* and *Latin*.’ But

*Dulness is sacred in a grave divine*—

*Pope.*

and, in proportion, in all other grave characters. To gain respect, be grave. A merry fellow, let him have what qualities he will, may be loved, but never respected; whereas a grave fellow, without one valuable quality,  
and

and who even possesses the least what he most pretends to, provided he is in earnest himself, (for

*Si vis me flere, dolendum est  
Primum ipsi tibi—— Hor.)*

will certainly pick up fools enough that will respect him, and his good sober empty sense; and those who see through him will be borne down by numbers, and their protest appear envy. Be grave, if your point be respect. Do not we see, that even the men of the greatest real abilities, and employed in the most important affairs, nay, and who are the most straitened for time, are yet obliged to the farce of gravity, and to be conveyed to *Westminster* as slowly as their horses can drag them? Consider how few people dare trust themselves, or are capable of thinking for themselves; and, of those few, how very few have resolution to oppose or contradict the torrent of opinion, or are not really lulled by that most epidemical distemper, even to human nature itself, *laziness*.

Appearance bribes the imagination, which hath a strange influence on, and violently prepos-

prepossesses the judgment. Gravity is wisdom's appearance, and very stage-dress; and if it has just sense enough to keep its own counsel, and not become wanton with success, will maintain its first hold a long time; and, without much merit, will muster with what it represents; whereas the most learned and upright judge would obtain no respect to his person and qualities, if he was to sit on the bench in his waistcoat and night-cap. But if gravity alone, which is a bastard decency, can acquire, and for some time support, respect, what will the *true*, when the genuine effect of sense and virtue!

And if this is found in the person and real and unblemished worth of a sincere christian, on principle and self-established conviction, void of superstition; with the *mitis sapientia* of that charming character; such is the height of what human nature can at present attain; and such can no more fail of respect, nay, a shadow of the only authentic respect we feel for God himself, than the real body can do of its shadow; as such would be a godlike man.

## LXXX.

*Detrahere & pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora  
Cederet.*————

HOR. SAT. II. I. 64.

**G**REAT achievements and rich robes cover the man, but do not lose him, either to himself, or his own natural qualities.

They are not always the most important, and the most useful services, that are the most acceptable, and the best rewarded; those which humour the little but intimate passions, which are indeed the man, are more grateful often than those which honour and aggrandise the king; for let a king be as much king as he will, he is still more a man. Besides that these are accompanied with, and are encumbered by, no jealousies, either in point of glory or safety. Those great and conspicuous actions shew fair and glaring on the great stage, the lesser commonly move the strings behind the scenes.

U

In



In like manner, we are not to judge of the man by the most considerable actions\*; in these he is in his stage-dress, and considers the world as observing every word and gesture; but they are those words and actions he thinks none see or hear, and when he is gone behind the scene; and for the same reason they are no more the most important people who are the judges of the man, but his servants, and those who note him when he supposes none observe, and therefore is quite off his guard;

*Who see, when he is seen least wise.*

*Milton, P. L. VIII. 578.*

These, if they have skill and observation, see the greatest personages, and those whom the world most considers, undressed and 'making ducks and drakes.' *Hor. S. II. 1. 71.* *Roche-faucault* says, somewhere, that a 'great man has nobody to fear so much, for his character, as his valet-de-chambre.' The more he winds himself up and strains the chords for the public, the more he lets himself down; as I have been assured that "*Prior*, after

\* *Unthought of frailties cheat us in the wise.*

*Pope, Ep. to lord Cobham, 128.*

having

having spent the evening with *Oxford*, *Bolingbroke*, *Pope*, and *Swift*, would go and smoke a pipe, and drink a bottle of ale, with a common soldier and his wife in *Long-Acre*, before he went to bed ;” not from any remains of the lowness of his original, as one said ; but, I suppose, that his faculties

————— *Strain'd to the height*  
*In that celestial colloquy sublime,*  
*Dazzled and spent, sunk down and sought repair,*  
*Milton, P. L. VIII. 454.*

for men cannot hold always on the stretch ; and I have heard that “ *Turenne*, after his great fatigues and hurry of spirits in those vast affairs he had the conduct of, would settle himself to rest by the interposition of the trifling and empty amusement of a silly novel before he got into bed, or else he could not sleep.”

“ I have often heard my father *Scævola* tell, (says the orator *Crassus* in *Cicero*) that his father-in-law *Lælius* used commonly to go into the country with *Scipio* ; and that there these great men would become as it were children again, in those recesses to which they had made their escape from the

U 2

city

city as from a prison. I dare not say it of such men, but yet *Scævola* affirmed, that they would ramble on the *Baian* shore, and gathering slates and oyster-shells, would unbend in plays that credulity itself would hardly believe." *Cicero de Oratore*, II.

“ I have heard the like of *Oliver Cromwell*, who, when protector of the commonwealth of *England*, would play at romps with his guests, and, that in the sallies of their bodily wit, they would fling cushions and carpets at one another.” *Sir Thomas Frankland, and Mrs. Bendyshe*, his grand-daughter\*.

Men love to be idle, or to have it in their power to be so when they will, without reproaching themselves, or being reproached by others. Idleness is a first principle in our very nature; we never quit it but by some force or other, and are contented to submit to some uneasiness to avoid a greater. These great characters, and those people whom we honour, and are even obliged to, are a sort of business to us, and the heavier, as they degrade us with ourselves. We ne-

[\* See her character, by Mr. Say, in *Hughes's Correspondence*, vol. II.]

ver can quite like those who do so, though we are ashamed to own it, often even to ourselves, because this still degrades us more in our own opinion, which self-love will either keep up, or be out of humour with that merit which will not suffer it. Whatever we may think ourselves, we never sincerely forgive others their superiority over us, in any kind; and occasion will always shew it to those who can see.

Other people's virtues or accomplishments may make us admire and even esteem and honour them; but our good will and affection will be more likely obtained by some weak action or misfortune of such.—We are charmed with those little involuntary compliments our friends make our vanity or envy; for we have great resolution in bearing our friends follies and sufferings, and we are not sorry to see those we most value come down to us a little now and then. The general opinion of *Aristides's* probity hurt those very people who most admired it, and most enjoyed the good effects of it. Whatever other conveniences, the pride, which we never desert, or its rights, suffered more in proportion.

When a great man, who hath been long envied, and thence hated, though admired, happens to suffer some severe affliction, it at once reconciles his very enemies, by moving their compassion, which is a sort of respectful contempt. “*Pericles*, whose greatness the *Athenians* hated, only because it put in evidence the littleness of every one of them, though it was all applied to their benefit, became their darling on the death of his last son; at whose funeral he lost all his former superiority of soul, and appeared to them with the same weakness and passions as themselves.” *Plutarch, Pericles.*

Our mutual wants and misfortunes, to which all conditions are liable, keep us in humour pretty tolerably with one another.

*Nisi mutuo essemus miseri, olim aliis alii potuissemus esse fastidio. Q. Curt. V. 5. 12.*

## I XXXI.

— *Vix credere possis**Quam, sibi non sit amicus.*—

HOR. S. I. 2. 29.

**H**ENRY *de la Tour d'Oliergues*, viscount *Turenne*, marshal of *France*, married, by *Henry IV.*'s procurement, *Charlotte de la Mark*, dutchess of *Bouillon*, and soveraign princess of *Sedan*, in whose right these titles and soveraignties entered into his family, though he had no children by her ; and, indeed, he seems, by the story, to have been more concerned for glory than posterity, since he chose to celebrate his wedding-night, by taking the fortrefs of *Stenai* by storm, having before made his dispositions, and prepared every thing for this purpose, he privily, quitted the bride and all the company, who, with great anxiety, waited his return, astonished at so strange an accident, and absolutely at a loss to know what was become of him ; 'till they were informed, by the success of a most furious assault and fire,

that he had been where they would least have thought to have looked for him.”—  
*Voltaire, not. Henriad. cant. VIII. v. 99.*

Heroes act in a superior sphere to the rest of the world; their reason is not like the reason of others, and their conceptions are above the flight of ordinary men. Such also was that of the *Brandenburg* worthy, recorded by the king of *Prussia*, in his “Memoirs of his own family;” who, being famous for his military achievements, scorned the soft and over-effeminate custom of the generality of mankind, who are wont to plod on in the common track, and do just as their fathers had done; but he, having married the most beautiful princess of the age, went to bed to her, on his wedding-night, armed completely in steel.  
*Memoirs of Brandenburg.*

Sir *Thomas Hanmer*’s wearing a pair of white gloves, on the like occasion, was but a faint copy of this heroic politeness. See “*Hervey’s Letter.*”

LXXXII.

— For who would lose,  
Though full of pain, this intellectual being,  
Those thoughts that wander through eternity,  
To perish rather, swallow'd up and lost  
In the wide womb of uncreated night,  
Devoid of sense and motion?

MILT. P. L. II. 146.

**S**elf-love, and idle fondness of life, (with whose enjoyments, however, we are perpetually quarrelling, and all along hurrying away, and shuffling off, as fast as possible, and by all the means we can invent, in order to get at the next impatient moment) has not only suggested a future state, in those whose darkness, for want of revelation, made it not only entirely precarious, but absolutely void of all proof; but has accordingly put those of them, who had power, upon schemes of lengthening out their date of tyranny, and seizing upon goods and servants for this pretended posthumous world, and making provision, in their own manner, for a life of their own creating.

As



As they took it for granted that they should have the same passions and enjoyments in this new world to which they had been used in the old, they took care betimes to prepare wherewithall not only to satisfy these; and at their burial had all sorts of provisions and household furniture, that they had been the most fond of, flung into their grave, or on their funeral pile, after them; but even their wives, servants, and friends. *Virg. Æn. VI. 653.*

*Julius Cæsar* says, “The *Gauls*, their kings and chiefs, had a chosen number of those whom they, from the occasion, called their *devoted friends*, to whom they communicated all their own advantages and superiority in life, so as that they enjoyed all in common with themselves, on the condition of defending them from all misfortunes, or suffering them together; and at their deaths to accompany them on the same terms into the other world.” *Cæsar, B. Gal. III. 22.*

*Val. Maximus* says the same of the *Celtiberians*, and *Plutarch* of “the *Spaniards*, among whom this posthumous fidelity was called ‘making themselves a libation,’ which they

they thus poured on the sacrifice, of which their royal friend was the victim." *Plutarch, Sertorius*, (V.) p. 208.

" *Sextus Pacuvius* devoted himself, in this manner, to *Augustus* in full senate, and called upon all the rest to do the same; which piece of fervile flattery actually took with so great a man as *Augustus*." *Dion. L. LIII*. This custom is practised at this day in many parts of the *East* and *West Indies*.

" *St. Paul*, by a fine allusion, calls himself such, in regard of his great master, when he zealously exhorts *Timothy*, and the rest of the teachers, to pursue what he had hitherto so ardently persisted in: 'For my part,' says the apostle, 'I am become a libation, and am actually pouring out on the sacrifice, of which my master was the victim.' Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπίνδομαι, that is to say, his ministry was drawing near an end with his life." II *Tim.* 4. 6. This is the beautiful meaning of that fine text of which the supreme elegance and justness are utterly lost to those who cannot see the image and beautiful allusion, for want of knowing this ancient custom, which, at the time *St. Paul* wrote, was familiar to every one.

LXXXIII. *Dulcis*

## LXXXIII.

*Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici ;  
Expertus metuit.* —————

HOR., EP. I. 18. 86.

“**L**YSIMACHUS being in high good humour with the comedian *Philippides*, asked him, ‘What present he should make him? What, of all that was in his power, he should bestow on him?’ ‘Any thing your majesty pleases,’ said *Philippides*, ‘but your secret.’ *Plut. Apoth.*”

It is a dreadful thing for a little man to have a great one in his power, because it is a dreadful thing for a great man to be in the power of a little one. “Cardinal *Richelieu* having remarked, after *Boisrobert* (a gentleman of wit, who used to divert him after his fatigues) was gone from his cabinet, that there had lain open on the table a certain treaty of great importance, sent immediately after him, had him arrested, and clapped up in the *Bastile* for several months, without seeing a human creature,

ture, 'till this affair was concluded, and then sent for him, and made him his excuses: *Boisrobert* protested ' he had never seen the paper.' ' I believed so,' said the minister, ' and was even pretty sure of it, but I was not quite sure.'" *My father.*

" *Hiero*, king of *Syracuse*, said, ' It was doing a friend an injury, to reveal his secret to him, for he put him in great danger of being, some time or other, either hated, or feared, or both, for it.'" *Plut. Apoth.* A person lets himself into this secret, who officiously acquaints us of a calumny he has heard of us. We naturally dislike those who tell us bad news, but besides we consider such for the future as conscious of this reproach, and perhaps believing and so spreading it, especially if we do not take care to keep well with them.

## LXXXIV.

*Quisque sibi.*

“THEODORIC, king of the *Ostro-goths*, in *Italy*, cut off a poor fellow’s head, for coming over to his own persuasion, which was *Arian*; ‘for,’ said he, ‘if you do not keep your faith with God, how can I expect you should keep it with me?’ Perhaps he was only *Arian* as king, as *Henry IV.* of *France* was a papist, who, when one of his party turned papist too, asked him, ‘what made him turn?’ ‘I could not follow a better example,’ said the courtier, ‘than your majesty.’ ‘Fool!’ said the king, ‘have you a crown for it?’”  
*Moreri.*

*William Rufus* forced some *Jews*, who had been converted, to turn *Jews* again; but he did this to keep his word, like an honest man, with the rest of the *Jews*, whom he had promised to make their brethren return to them, for a sum of money.”  
*Rapin, from Eadmer, a contemporary author.*

By

By the way, *Henry* reasoned well enough for a king, perhaps, in what he said to his lord; but, in effect, this lord might have as ample a reward for his conversion as his king, in proportion to his sphere; and so too of those in whatever rank, who venture their lives in the quarrels of kings; in reality, they no more sacrifice themselves to the ambition of these, than the kings sacrifice themselves to the liberties, or glory, of their subjects. Both alike serve themselves; they equally and mutually stand in need of the other's assistance; they each find their own account, and have no other view,

LXXXV.

Τὸν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα.

CALLIMACH, Epig. I.

*Disputing with greatly inferiors is like suing a beggar.*

“ **T**HE great earl of *Peterborough*, who had much sense, much wit, and much whim, leaped out of his chariot one day, on seeing a dancing-master, with pearl-coloured silk stockings, lightly stepping

ping over the broad stones, and picking his way in extreme dirty weather, and ran after him, (who soon took to his heels) with his drawn sword, in order to drive him into the mud; but into which he, of course, followed him himself." The dancing-master (whose stage-dress was this spruceness) had, indeed, shewn as much good judgment in his station, in avoiding the mud, as my lord did a bad one in his, in running into it. On the contrary, disputing with a vastly superior, is as imprudent in another light; as "he well saw, who gave up his *rightness* in the argument to *Augustus's wrongness*, 'because,' says he, 'I will not contend with a man who can call forty legions to prove him in the right.'"

## LXXXVI.

*One would not, sure, be frightful when one's dead.*

POPE,

"A Lady's beauty is dear to her in whatever situation,' says *St. Evremond*, 'even in sickness; and if her sickness is such as to occasion her death, her last groan

groan will not be so much for the losing her life as her beauty."

"Mrs. *Burnet*, daughter of dean *Stanhope*,\* was a lovely woman : when she died, worn out with a long and painful sickness, in her last faintings, as they rubbed her temples with *Hungary water*, she begged them not, for ' that it would make her hair grey.'" *Lady Lucy*.

\* Miss *Stanhope*, equally distinguished for her beauty, wit, good-humour, singing, &c. used to be frequently at lady *Lucy's*, when my father supped, for many years, every *Friday* with Sir *Berkeley*, at which time he paid her a transitory poetical compliment, entitled *By a married man*. She afterwards married bishop *Burnet's* eldest son, who fell in love with her. It was a very advantageous match for her, and he a most agreeable and worthy man ; but she, having a prior attachment, which could by no means take place, pined in thought, and died.



## LXXXVII.

*If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have received a burnt offering and a meat-offering at our hands.*

JUDGES, 13. 23.

**A**S did that foolish tyrant, *James II*, who had the unfeeling cruelty to receive his nephew, the poor duke of *Monmouth*, at his feet, when condemned to death; and then, after hearing his submission and supplications, to send him away to be beheaded: which barbarous absurdity, perhaps, cost him his crown; for if *Monmouth* had been living, there would have been a party, which could never have been strong enough to have hurt *James*, but would have so divided the interest of *William*, that he could not have made any considerable figure, nor would probably have attempted an invasion.

## LXXXVIII.

LXXXVIII.

— *Prob sævior ense*  
*Parcendi rabies!* —

CLAUD. in RUFIN. I. 236.

“ **W**HEN felons, in queen *Anne's* war, were pardoned for transportation, and sent to *Flanders* for recruits, the duke of *Marlborough* used to say, ‘ Why did they not hang them at home? They only give me the trouble to do it here.’ ”

I do not know whether lord chief justice *Raymond's* maxim (and he was a very good-natured man) was not the best, ‘ Never to pardon a first offence at all,’ for rogues certainly never correct themselves; partly because it is their natural bent; and because indeed when they are once in this course, they cannot get out, as having now no other employment, nor being able to get into any, as they have lost their character, and what is, if possible, still more irrecoverable, be-

ing out of the train of industry, and the set of people who could bring them into it again. But then mercy, as it is called, hath this cruel effect, that the almost certain hope of being pardoned the first crime, draws in numbers of the unwary to commit such, as promising themselves security for that; whereas, without this decoy they might have been terrified from the approach to a wretched crooked-lane, a *cul de sac*, that has a tempting entrance, but no exit at all.

Perhaps this most plausible quality, that we call mercy, might, upon a strict and accurate scrutiny, come out a splendid vice; and would be found to be only the turning loose a parcel of rascals to prey a little longer on the innocent and industrious.— All that can be indeed reasonable in this dazzling notion of mercy, which is the pardoning a criminal, and giving him an opportunity to repent and become an useful member of the society, instead of cutting him off at once, is, and can be, only built on some favourable circumstances that make such his future conduct likely; but this is not mercy, it is justice, it is what he has a right to; if there are no such, what we  
are

are pleased to give out for mercy, is a mere ungrounded and arbitrary partiality, and an unwarrantable indulgence of our own childish compassion; or else of our vanity, to obtain a character of good-nature and humanity, at the expence of the public, whom we expose to a sort of decimation, and to take their chance wherever the criminal's next malignity or want may happen to light; such mercy is on the same footing and principle as the sparing a mad dog, which it is the interest, and right, of a whole village or town to have knocked on the head.

“ King *Charles II.* pardoned a man of quality, who had killed his antagonist in a duel, basely; this was the action of a mild and merciful prince, and he was praised accordingly for this ‘most shining jewel in his crown.’ Some time after, this same person having murdered another, lord *Rochester* said to him; ‘It was not my lord —, but your majesty, that killed this man.’ *My father.*”

## LXXXIX.

— *Vitæ me redde priori.*

HOR. EP. I. 7. 95.

“**M**R. *Tempest* passing by one day, a porter resting himself, with his load by him, groaned aloud, and ‘wished he had five hundred pounds.’ ‘Why,’ says *Tempest*, ‘I will give you five hundred pounds, and now what will you do with it?’ ‘Oh,’ says the porter, ‘I will soon tell you what I will do with it: First, I will have a pint of ale, and a toast and nutmeg, every morning for my breakfast.’ ‘Well, and what time will you get up?’ ‘Oh, I have been used to be up at five or six o’clock, so I will do that now.’ ‘Well, what will you do after breakfast?’ ‘Why, I will fetch a walk till dinner.’ ‘And what will you have for dinner?’ ‘Why, I will have a good dinner; I will have good roast and boiled beef, and some carrots and greens—and I will have a full pot every day—and then I will smoke a pipe.’ ‘Well, and then, perhaps you will take a nap.’ ‘May be I may

may—no, I will not take a nap ; I will fetch another walk 'till supper.' ' Well, and what will you have for supper ?' ' Why, I do not know—I will have more beef, if I am a hungry ; or else I will have a *Welsh* rabbit, and another full pot of beer.'—' Well, and then ?' ' Why then I will go to bed, to be sure.' ' Well, but will not you have a wife too ?' ' Oh, d——n it, master, I have got one.' ' Pray how much now may you earn a week by your business ?' ' Why, master, I can make you eighteen shillings a week.'—' Why, will not you be tired now, do you think, after a little while, in doing nothing every day ?' ' Why, I do not know, master, I have been thinking so.' ' Well then, let me propose a scheme to you.' ' With all my heart, master.'—' Why, you can do all this every day, as you are, and employ your time into the bargain. ' Why, really so I can, master, I think, and so take your fool. again, and thank you.'"

This honest fellow (who was much wiser than *Pyrrhus* on a like occasion) determined, as I believe would for the most part be done, if people were carefully and unbi-

assed to weigh on both sides. They would find that providence was their best friend, in not cursing their short-sighted schemes with compliance; as *Jupiter*, in that fine fable, did *Semele*, who saw her wish in one view only, but did not consider that the 'bright inflamed embrace' which was only the 'glow of divine passion' for a goddess, (which her fond lover tempered as much as possible to her bearing) would scorch up a mortal to a cinder. *Ovid. Met.*

## XC.

*Quid de quoque viro, et cui dicas, sæpe videto.*

HOR. EP. I. 18. 68.

**S**OLOMON advises us, 'Not to curse the king in the hearing of the fowls of the air;' (*Eccles. X. 20.*) and *Marcus Antoninus* says, 'We should not blame the actions of the great, even in our own hearing.' (*Reflect. VIII.*) These to be sure; but it is ridiculous to make an enemy, at any rate, wantonly, and in gaiety of heart, because there is no man so insignificant at present, but may come, by the frequent rotation,

tion, and tofs of things, to be a most useful friend, or pernicious enemy; none ever repented the not having made a severe joke on another, but thousands and thousands have, and bitterly, the having made such, where they little dreamed, at the time, of ever hearing of it again. They often happen unluckily too in a private party, as one may call it, of raillery; for want of knowing the whole of the company, especially if a large one, and what connections may happen to be among them.

“ When the famous *Grotius* was ambassador in *France*, from *Christina* queen of *Sweden*, his lady, who was a woman of infinite merit,\* happening to be very large of person, a young fellow of quality seeing her in the circle, and not knowing her, turned to another young gentleman who stood next him, and asked him, ‘ If he knew who that great *Flanders* mare was?’ ‘ Yes, Sir,’ said he, ‘ it is madame the ambassadrefs of *Sweden*, and my mother.” *My father*.—The story of Sir *Samuel Garth*’s blunder upon blunder of this kind is well known. — †

\* See p. 155.

† I suppose he alludes to the well known A story — “ Pray Sir, who is that very ugly woman in the opposite Box?” — Sir, it is my wife. “ I beg ten thousand pardons — I did not mean her: I meant the lady next to her.” — To Sir, that is my sister. M.



“ A famous *Spanish* preacher, making the elogy of *St. Roch* on his festival, at this faint’s great church at *Cadiz*, in presence of a great number of *French* officers, as well as the consul and merchants of that nation, after having laid himself out in the most extravagant and romantic praises of his subject, to a crowded audience of the first distinction, as well natives as foreigners, and quite exhausted all his eloquence, closed the whole with this apostrophe to his hearers ;  
 ‘ Yes, gentlemen, all that I have been saying to you in honour of this great faint, and whatever I could still add, is so infinitely beneath his merits, that I could not hesitate a moment to place him at the left hand (the place of honour in *Spain*) of the incomparable *St. Jago*, our glorious apostle and patron (that is to say, above all the other faints in paradise) but that, by a misfortune that is altogether irreparable, he was born a *gavacho*\* (that is, a scoundrel) of a *Frenchman*. Let us humbly thank God, that he hath vouchsafed us the honour to be born *Spaniards*.” *L’Abbat. Voy. T. I. p. 378.*

\* Of the contemptuous import of this word, see *Stevens’s Spanish Dictionary*, and *L’Abbat. Voy. T. I. p. 233.*

*St. Roch* was only son of the lord of *Montpellier* and many other ample sovereignties, all which, on his father's death, he sold, and gave to the poor.

This learned orator was of the opinion of “a great lady, who told the bishop of *Oxford* (*Secker*) in a visit he made her as his parishioner, how much she had been scandalised at an expression in his last sermon, by which he seemed to intimate, as if ‘the poorest wretches would be admitted to as high and exalted a place in paradise as people of quality; nay, and even on certain conditions, might rank above them;’ which he insisting still upon, her grace told him, ‘he might e’en keep his places to himself and his friends, for her.”

By the way, this “*St. Roch* was born by a particular grace and favour of heaven; for his noble parents, not having been so happy as to obtain an heir, after many prayers and pilgrimages; his good mother came one day to his father, who, it seems, had given over all thoughts of this kind, though she had not, (as men are often impatient if things do not answer just to their  
their

their mind, and as soon as they expect) and told him ‘ She had herde the vois of an angell, sayeng, O *Libera* (that was her name) God hath herde thy prayers, and thou shalt receive of him grace of thy petytion; and anone she went to her husbände, and told him as she had herde of the angell, and thene they hereof joyfully accomplyshid th’ act of matrymony, and she conceyvid.” *Saints Lives, Caxton, folio, 135.*

## XCI.

*Doctors differ.*

TWO great critics, *Plutarch* and *Cicero*, differ diametrically in their judgments of that celebrated thought of *Hegesias* according to one, and *Timæus* according to the other, on the accident of *Diana’s* famous temple at *Ephesus* being burnt the same night in which *Alexander* was born; “ that it was no wonder, since this Goddess was absent from home at the labour of *Olympias*.” *Cicero* says, that “ this thought is extremely genteel and delicate,” and *Plutarch*, that “ it is cold enough to have extinguished

tinguished the fire; *Alex.* p. 6. (VI.) which reflection of *Plutarch* himself is, in my opinion, as cold as the other could possibly be. However, men of sense do not so much differ from one another often, as they at first seem to do, and rather take their view of the same object from a different stand. The thought is pretty, and rather quaint, as *Cicero* says, *Concinnè, ut multa, Timæus, qui cum in historiâ dixisset, &c.* and would have been very agreeable and proper, if said off-hand in company, and so made no more of.

*Sed nunc non erat his locus.*

*Hor. A. P. 19.*

It was certainly altogether out of its place, and, as *Plutarch*, I suppose, meant, very judiciously, unworthy of a writer of history; surely he betrayed and degraded the grave and severe majesty of his subject. "Scipio and *Lælius*, making ducks and drakes alone in the country, once in their lives, was delightful; it would have been ridiculous and odious in the senate-house." *Cic. de Orat. II.*

## XCII.

‘ **A**N engaging appearance is a letter of recommendation,’ said queen *Isabella*. We must have an indifferent opinion of the friends we do not know of that man, whose friends we do know we have a bad opinion of. We shall certainly form our judgment of a man, and his company too, by that part of it that we know.

“ Cardinal *Bessarion*, assisting at some canonizations at *Rome* of some persons, whose lives and characters he had been acquainted with, and knew that they were altogether unworthy of the high honour of this spiritual knighthood; and, if they had had their deserts, would have been sent to another place, cried out, ‘ that these new saints made him doubt of the old ones.’ ‘ *Affé che questi santi moderni mi fanno assai dubitar delli passati.*” *Bodin Meth. Hist.* c. 4. Applicable to those, I think, very indiscreet divines, if sincere, who are so angry at *Middleton’s Letter from Rome*, and other works, in which he endeavours to pare away some of  
the

the new grafts and suckers that weaken the genuine tree, and might, in time, go a great way towards withering it. Such are not very bad papists, but very good protestants on their principles.

Is there not reason to believe, that these scrupulous people are in the situation of their predecessors, who “reproached *Tillotson*, for *whipping the protestants on the papists backs?* ‘What had they to do there?’ said the divine prelate.”

## XCIII.

—*Sacro digna silentio.*

HOR. ODE II. 13. 29.

**T**HERE is nothing more ill-bred, not to say barbarous and brutish, than those unnecessary noises of all kinds in public audiences, that dissipate the general attention, and obstruct the speaker; which nuisance is above all remarkable in churches, chiefly during sermon, and mostly by far in the city, where it never fails to tear the thread of reasoning in the most serious and important enquiries.

—*Fit*

—Fit audience fina, though few,  
But drive far off the barbarous dissonance.

Milton P. L. VII. 13.

*Strabo* says, that “ the ancient *Brachmans* demanded so severe an attention of their disciples, that if any one not only spoke, but even hawked, nay but spate, he was obliged to retire from the assembly for that day, as a loose and intemperate person.”

“ *St. Martin* saying mass, as he was turning himself toward the people to pronounce the *Dominus vobiscum*, burst out a laughing; the congregation were all astonished at so strange an indecency in so holy a person; and crowded about the saint, that he might satisfy them, who answered them in this manner: ‘ As I was intent, said the good man, on the sacrifice, my eyes were forcibly called off for some time by observing the devil writing down the tittle tattle of the women during the service on a large skin of parchment, and how, when he had filled it all, and came to the bottom, he took it between his teeth and stretched it out; but the women still going on, he could not make room enough, and so pulling with all his strength, the parchment

tore

tore in half, and he knocked his head against the pillar he leaned on; and when he saw this he could not forbear bursting out into a loud laugh." *Du Chat. note on Rabelais, Gargant. I. 6.*

This is one of those pious frauds that were very much in fashion in the early church, and shows withal the taste of those dark ages. "Much more bold was that of *St. Jerome*, who writes a long letter to a certain *Eustochium*, a lady of quality, whom he had long endeavoured, by all the arguments he could think of, to deter from reading the prophane authors, and apply herself wholly to that of the scripture, and the writings of the christian bishops; that he himself had been greatly in that taste, and had read with infinite pleasure the noble poets, historians, and orators of antiquity; but that he had received divers warnings in his sleep against this practice so unworthy of a christian man, without having given due attention to these heavenly impulses, 'till at length he dreamed that an angel threatened him, with a terrible look and angry voice, if he still persisted in his disobedience, and that

Y.

even



even now he gave him a most severe scourging, and that he had but too sensible proofs that this was not a mere illusion of his fancy, since when he awaked in the morning he was all over full of stripes, and the bed swam with blood.' This he calls God to witness the strict truth of, as he shall answer any the least prevarication on so solemn an appeal, when he shall stand before him at the day of judgment." A copy of this letter he sends to another friend, and desires him to read it attentively, as one of the finest instances of style and oratory that he had produced, and which had its desired effect upon the person for whom it was composed. These letters are both published at length in *Dailes's Use of the Fathers*, and which I only quote by memory after more than twenty years. I remember Dr. *Fleetwood*, bishop of *Ely*, seeing this book at our house told my father, 'He thought the author had pretty sufficiently proved they were of *no use* at all.'

## XCIV.

*Sibi ergo habeat suos mores, maximè cum bonus dux sit,  
et severus, et fortis, et reipublicæ necessarius.*

*M. Aurel. ap. Vulcat. Gallican. vit. Avid. Cass. c. 2.*

“**T**HE great prince of *Condé* had a fellow brought before him and accused of having been taken in the fact of criminal conversation with a he-goat. The prince, in the first transport of indignation, ordered him immediately away to the gibbet; but, as he was carrying off, bethought himself to enquire into his character as a soldier which every one extolled as being very regular and strict in point of discipline, and having behaved well, and even gallantly, on several occasions; so the prince put his hand up to his forehead, and rubbing his temples for some time in a sort of muse, then suddenly started, and stroking his whiskers, said: ‘If this fellow is a good soldier, and performs the duties of his profession, and serves us well, I do not see

what we have to do with his amours,' and sent to stop the execution." *My father.*

" There was a foldier of this fort in *Alexander's* army, who got himself put into the muster of old men and invalids that were sent home ; but as he was a very useful fellow, and well known in the army, *Alexander* was soon informed of the trick, and that it was only to follow a girl of whom he was fond, who was also returning with others on this occasion ; so *Alexander*, enquiring first, what this young woman was, whom he found to be a courtesan, but no slave ; sent for the man, and told him, ' Honest friend, I shall be very glad to serve you in this amour, if we can but be put into any way, either by intreaties or presents, to hinder her from leaving us ; for, as she is a free-woman, I cannot force her to stay ; so bethink yourself, and let me know, that we may consult together.' *Plutarch, Alexander, p. 98. (VI.)*

*Alexander*, with that good-nature which is natural to a noble open mind, never thought of the deceit and desertion, but of the merit and usefulness, of the man only ; whereas  
there

there is a certain malignity in little minds, that will condemn a less fault, and perhaps merely private, and overlook more essential and universal qualities.

The generous spirit of *Alexander* reminds me of a like one, “ of another soldier, and a brave one too, and an honest man; he shewed me a fine picture that he had bought, he said, in the south of *France*, out of a convent; and when I admired it, as I thought it deserved, ‘ How much do you think I gave for it, Mr. *Richardson*? ‘ Nay,’ said I, ‘ general, I do not know, but, to be sure, a good handsome price.’ ‘ By G—,’ said he, ‘ no more than a bottle of champagne, and a whore for the father-guardian.’ ‘ You condescended, then, general, at least to pimp for his reverence.’ ‘ Oy, for the church, Mr. *Richardson*—If I can be of service to any friend of yours who has that honour, I desire you would recommend me,” *General Guise*.

XCV.

*Elle avoit une fiertè d'amour propre, qui ne lui permet-  
toit pas de s'abbaïsser,*

Says MARIVAUX of his MARIANNE.

“CATO the censor said, he should prefer a wife of a noble family to a rich one; because, though they would both be proud and haughty, yet, the generous pride of the noble would, more probably, be a *garantée* of her good and worthy conduct, from a decent and all-virtuous shame of condescending to any behaviour that was unworthy of her nobleness of birth and education; whereas the wealth of the other would rather be an incitement to a vile conduct, as it would be a means to brave it out.” *Plut. Cato Censf.* (III.) p. 456.

I had much rather have to do with a man's pride than his avarice; one will induce him to do a thousand dishonest or mean actions; the other will keep him from doing any. I like what was said of a very  
con-

considerable man in his way, and a very friendly one, *Nourse*, the surgeon, that “ he was so proud a fellow, that he would see his patients d—— before he would keep them in hand, or do any little dirty tricks in his profession.” One, perhaps, may provoke my vanity, but the other will pick my pocket.

## XCVI.

*Si mihi pergat quæ volt dicere, ea quæ non volt audiet.*

——— *Non tu tuum malum æquo animo feres ?*

TER. AND. V. 4. 17.

**T**HOSE who can give a jest cannot always take one; and indeed the very expertness at this weapon is a sort of consequence of the nice feeling of its sharpness. No one was ever more tender and fore to raillery than *Pope*, who was so great a master of it, nor consequently more resentful; too strong a proof of this was his long affair with *Colley Cibber*, whom he could never forgive his treatment of himself and friends on occasion of their *Three Hours after Marriage*, and which at last (as his rul-

ing passion grew proportionably stronger, as most of the others which had shared with it dropped off one by one, and his constitution was impaired) drew him into great and even fatal indiscretions, which affected not only his bodily health, but the reputation of perhaps, his most excellent work, by the absurd alteration of the *Hero*, and rendering it by that means no more of a piece.

“ The great *Condé* made it one of his principal diversions to discover, and play off, other people’s ridicule with his two *beaux esprits*, the count *de Mioffens* and *St. Evremond*. This last happening one day to ask the first, in the gaiety of his heart, after parting from the prince, ‘ Whether he did not believe that his highness, who was so clear-sighted in discovering the ridicule of others, had himself his ridicule ?’ and diverting themselves and their friends with this ticklish subject ; the prince hearing of it (as these things generally come round) would never forgive either of them, but distanced the count, and took away the other’s captainship of his guards.”—*Des Maizeaux, vie de St. Evremond, p. 16.*

Probably

Probably the prince did not suppose, from this resentment, that he could not take a jest as well as any other man, but he saw no joke in it. The same thing has a very different appearance in two several persons, when I myself am one of them. Self-love is an excellent chymist in extracting and evaporating all the ridicule here. Somebody said, 'the eye was made to look forward, not backward.'

“ Father *Petre* undertook to convert the duke of *Buckingham* to popery ; and among other arguments, that he was prepared with, set out with this, which these casuists commonly urge, and which, attacking the imagination in its weakest part, fear, draws in many silly people ; ‘ we,’ said the good *Jesuit*, ‘ deny that any one can possibly be saved, out of our church, your grace allows that our people may be saved.’ ‘ No, curse ye,’ said the duke, ‘ I make no doubt but you will be all damned to a man.’ The reverend father started, and said gravely, ‘ Sir, I cannot argue with a person so void of all charity.’ ‘ I did not expect, my reverend father,’ said the duke calmly, ‘ such a reproach from you, whose whole reasoning  
with



with me was founded on the very same instance of want of charity in yourself.' A man must be unreasonable indeed, who refuses to take his own money back again in exchange.

## XCVII.

— *Ad extremum similis sibi.* —

HOR. A. P. 254.

“ A friend of mine (Mr. *Richard Graham*\*) as we were at table (at the *Mitre* with the *Royal Society*) had some conceit come into his head on the subject they were upon, and his face beginning to simmer with it, the person he was going to discharge it upon (Mr. archdeacon *Squire* †) observed it, and was before-hand with him, and said the same thing. ‘Plague on you,’ said *Graham*, ‘you have smuggled my joke.’”

“ This word was used in a like happy manner by the count *de Grammont*, who had

\* Surveyor of *Westminster-bridge*.

† Afterwards bishop of *St. David's*.

been

been a great libertine, and being now on his death-bed, as all thought, the king sent the marquis *Dangeau*, a famous devotee of those times, to talk with him of God. The countess *de Grammont* was sitting on the bedside, also a professed devotee, and who had before been perpetually teasing her husband with repentance. So, after the king's devoté had been haranguing him for some time, he turned to his wife, and said, "Countess, if you don't look about you, *Dangeau* will smuggle my conversion\*." *St. Evremond*, T. V. p. 196. The ruling passion keeps on to the last moment.

*St. Evremond* (who was a wit by profession) would have been 'glad to be dead,' he says, 'to have gone off with that *bon mot*.' It is a sign he had lived a great while in *England*, 'where,' he says, 'they excell all the world in dying.†

\* *Contesse, si vous n'y prenez garde, Dangeau vous escamotera ma conversion.*

† *Les Anglois surpassent toutes les nations à mourir. Ils ont une grande vivacité à mourir, says somebody.—*  
"No people in the world have such a vivacity in dying as the *English*."

## XCVIII.

*Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum.*

“**D**R. *Radcliffe* told Dr. *Mead*, ‘*Mead*, I love you, and now I will tell you a sure secret to make your fortune; use all mankind ill.’ And it certainly was his own practice. He owned he was avaricious even to spunging, whenever he any way could, at a tavern-reckoning a six-pence or shilling, among the rest of the company, under pretence of ‘hating (as he ever did) to change a guinea, because, (said he) it slips away so fast.’ He could never be brought to pay bills without much following and importunity; nor then, if there appeared any chance of wearying them out.—A pavioir, after long and fruitless attempts, caught him just getting out of his chariot at his own door, in *Bloomsbury-square*, and set upon him. ‘Why you rascal,’ said the doctor, ‘do you pretend to be paid for such a piece of work; why you have spoiled my pavement, and then covered it over  
with

earth to hide your bad work.' 'Doctor,' said the paviour; 'mine is not the only bad work that the earth hides.' 'You dog you,' said the doctor, 'are you a wit? You must be poor, come in;' and paid him." *Doctor Mead.*

As for his maxim of 'using mankind ill,' he was right. The generality are bullies, and if you do not bully them, they will bully you; and the boldest bullyer hath the fairest chance of carrying it.

Yet, no body ever practised this rule less than doctor *Mead* (who told me himself the story) and who, as I have been informed by great physicians, got as much again by his practice as doctor *Radcliffe* did.

But, it is also true, that his using them so well, caused him to be infamously ill used, by some who had had the greatest obligations to him.

## XCIX.

—————*Placitone etiam pugnabis amorì?*

VIRG. ÆN. IV. 38.

WE are very severe upon those vices that we have no taste for, or are not our favourites, and this helps to pay for those that are. We make a merit of abstaining from those dishes we do not like, or have been surfeited with, but are very gluttons on what particularly hits our palate. Self-love is never at a loss. “ A poor tame fellow of a *German* pietist who was my first school-master, and got drunk every night, was perpetually preaching to us the efficacy of grace. ‘ Do you think,’ said he once, ‘ if it was not for grace, that I would not go to bawdy-houses, and ravish my neighbours daughters?’ There were two very pretty girls at the next door, whom, it should seem by this little opening, that the poor man had had a muzzy conceit about, in his cups perhaps. ‘ No,’ said I, ‘ I believe you would not, whether you had grace  
or

or no, Sir.' I remember even now how I looked over his insipid person. So, in a rage, he took up the poor little boy, and whipped him, 'because,' he said, 'he saw the seeds of atheism in him.'

"*Alexander the Great* (for, if he pleases, I will join him with honest Mr. *Wegers*, they are much upon a footing now) ordered two of his *Macedonians*, who had ravished some soldiers wives of his allies, to be executed with the utmost severity, 'as wild beasts,' said he, 'and born for the destruction of men; for, as for me', he went on, 'I would not so much as see the wife of *Darius*, nor even suffered any body to talk of her beauty in my presence.'" This noble casuist could see the crime of those passions from which he himself was exempt, but made no reflection upon his own eradicating a portion of mankind, and murdering friend and foe, for ambition and drunkenness.

## C.

*Chi dura vince.*

**N**OTHING is like persisting, let your cause be what it will. "I remember *Pitt*, the journalist, being one evening engaged in a metaphysical dispute of two or three on a side, one of his antagonists said, in the course of his argument, to one of those of his party, 'God is omnipotent and omniscient.' *Pitt* turned, in the warmth of dispute, to his friend, and, holding up his hand before him, cried, 'Don't allow it, don't allow it;' when every body burst out into a laughter, and put an end to the question, by waking all the disputants to common sense."

"*Archidamas*, king of *Sparta*, once asked *Thucydides*, the *Milesian*, who had been formerly for many years the great concurrent of *Pericles*, who then governed *Athens*, heading the opposite faction, 'which of them two was, in his honest opinion, the better wrestler?' He only gave him this answer, 'when

“when I have given him the fairest fall in the world, he maintains it to all the by-standers that he is not under me; and insists upon it, ’till he has brought them all over to his opinion, though they see me uppermost.” *Plut. Pericles, (II.) p. 109.*

Therefore, because he would be uppermost, he was uppermost; out-convicting conviction itself by perseverance. *Crede quod habes, & habes*; or if you can, make others believe. A hardy and inflexible perseverance astonishes and disconcerts your prey, as the rattle-snake, that keeps staring with his eyes stedfastly fixed on the bird in the tree; with an impudent rattling of his tail, ’till it begins to falter, then tremble, and at last drops into his mouth.

CI.

*Ibant obscuro solâ sub nocte per umbram.*

VIRG. ÆN. VI. 268.

“IT is better to be in an error, after serious enquiry, than to be right by chance,” said Dr. *Herring*, afterwards arch-  
Z
bishop



bishop of *Canterbury*, in a sermon at *St. James's* chapel, that the Rev. Dr. *Allen* heard, and was particularly struck with this candid sentiment and expression.

Nothing is more common, than for people to suppose they believe what they actually do not ; because, whatever is properly belief is “ an assent given to a proposition, of which we either at once see, or think we see, the truth ; or, after having carefully examined into, find various degrees of reason to give our assent to, according as the arguments for it appear to us.” But what is commonly called, and only supposed to be, belief, is nothing more than an indolent or timorous acquiescence in what we have been told is truth from our infancy, or otherwise ; which false and fraudulent sense of belief is merely local and accidental ; and the same who is a *Christian* here, would have been a *Mahometan*, born at *Constantinople*. Such do, indeed, like the superstitious *Athenians*, sacrifice to ‘ an unknown God,’ and, still worse, one whom they do not desire to know ; but rather abuse, vilify, and dread those who have themselves taken sincere and righteous pains, (as such is, above all things,

things, their duty) to know, and would, to their power, declare to them 'him whom they ignorantly adore and worship.'

## CII.

*Uti excellentium hominum virtutem imitatione dignam,  
non invidiâ putarent.*

CIC. PHILIPPIC. XIV. 6.

**N**O man envies another what he is not himself conscious of wanting; nor he neither, if he have the spirit, instead of bemoaning himself, to put his utmost powers in action to supply such want.

“Others expected of those who professed themselves their friends, that they should have no commerce of friendship with them whom they took to be their enemies, only *Julius Cæsar* gave all his their free liberty.” *Cic. Ep. Fam. XI. 28.* I suppose, his vast and superior master-genius did not deign to envy, or be jealous of any one; therefore no man had such warm and constant friends, as *de nullo minus principe queruntur homines, quam de quo maxime licet.* *Plin. Paneg. Trajan.*

“ That was exquisite of *Apelles*, who, seeing the fine works of *Protogenes* at *Rhodes*, and finding that (according to custom) he was not esteemed in his own country, in any proportion to his merit, desired to know of him what he would ask for a picture to which he pointed, which he had just finished? And on modest *Protogenes*'s telling him an inconsiderable sum \*, he immediately purchased it himself, and gave him fifty talents; and withal took care to have it industriously given out, that ‘ he had bought it, in order to sell again, when he came home, as one of his own painting.’”  
*Plin.* XXXV. 10.

That was a truly brave and independent genius, above envy and jealousy; which qualities are always accusing themselves, and betraying the littleness of mind to which they are owing, that *ipso facto* defeats its own purpose; as it praises and compliments that very merit it apprehends and fears, and degrades its own, in the very instance, while it is impotently striving to

\* See a fine story of *Michael Angelo* and *Raphael*, of my father's telling, in my account of the pictures, &c. in *Italy*, p. 105, and *French edit.* V. II. p. 154.

exalt,

exalt, or at least defend its present place. But the allowing and honouring another's merit makes the world more careless of it, and rather excites its malignity and scandal ; this is the true way to heap coals of fire upon his head ; whereas, when we refuse others that honour which is plainly their due, and depreciate them, we only do by them, as by books that are ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, (the post we give ourselves on this occasion !) which only makes them ten times more bought up and read ; and all this too with a marvellous prejudice in their favour, as having been treated unjustly ; and undeserved suffering does itself confer a dignity on the person, besides the natural love we have to contradict and oppose restraint of all kinds, (for all persecution is sure to rouse the dormant spirit of zeal and opposition) and the justice with which we compliment our own self-love, in becoming the defenders of oppressed innocence and worth.

“ The duke of *Marlborough*, at his death, left prince *Eugene* his sword ; the late lord *Orford*, the minister's son, was with the  
Z 3
prince,

prince, when this mark of his great rival's final esteem was brought, and presented to him. He immediately drew it, and, making a flourish with it, said, '*Voilà l'épée que j'ai suivie par toute cette longue guerre.*'  
*Sir William Brown.*

## CIII.

*Take awa'w you deel, Use not care a bawbee for God.*  
 SCOTCH PROV. DR. M.

“SOME officers drinking, in one of their tents, with the chaplain of the regiment, the chaplain gave them for a toast ‘the king of *France.*’ ‘What do you mean, doctor,’ they all cried, ‘our capital enemy!’ ‘No matter for that,’ said the chaplain, ‘you live by him.’ After some little time, one of the officers drank to the chaplain, ‘Come, doctor, here’s your old friend, the devil.’ ‘Dear colonel,’ said the doctor, in some flutter, ‘do you mean to affront me?’ ‘No matter for that, my dear doctor, said the colonel, ‘you live by him.’”  
*Dr. Sandylands.*

CIV. “GE-

## CIV.

“GENERAL *Guise* was invited to dinner at *Paris*, among other persons of rank, by cardinal *Polignac*; who, in discourse, often mentioned his holiness with great encomiums. The honest refugee general could hold out no longer, and told his eminence, that ‘the pope was a *bougre*.’ The cardinal, as it was at his own table, only rose and retired; but another of the guests followed him, and said, ‘his eminence need take no notice, for that the general was a very well-meaning man, but a little odd;’ upon which the cardinal returned to table, and, bowing to him, said, ‘*Monsieur a permission de dire tout ce qu’il veut.*” *Dr. Sandylands.*

“The *Athenians* once coming in a riotous manner into an assembly at *Sparta*, the Ephori ordered the heralds to proclaim, in the theatre itself, that ‘the *Athenians*, in regard to the virtues of their ancestors, had the privilege to come into all their assemblies drunk.” *Plut.*

## CV.

“ **G**ENERAL *Guise*, going over one campaign to *Flanders*, observed a young raw officer who was in the same vessel, and, with his usual humanity, told him ‘ he would take care of him, and conduct him to *Antwerp*,’ where they were both going ; which he accordingly did, and then took leave of him. The young fellow was soon told, by other arch rogues that he happened to fall in with, that ‘ he must signalise himself by fighting some man of known courage, or else he would be soon despised in the regiment.’ The young gentleman said, ‘ he knew nobody but colonel *Guise*, and he had received great obligations from him.’ ‘ It is all one for that,’ they said, ‘ in these cases, the colonel was the fittest man in the world, every body knew his bravery.’ Up comes the captain to him, as he was strolling about in the coffee-house, and began, in an hesitating style, to tell him ‘ how much he had been obliged to him, and how sensible’——‘ Sir, I have  
done

done my duty, and no more.' 'But, colonel, said he, faltering, 'I am told I must fight some gentleman of known resolution, and who has killed several persons, and that nobody'——'Oh, Sir,' said the colonel, interrupting him, 'your friends do me too much honour; but there is one' (pointing to a huge fierce-looking black fellow, that was sitting at one of the tables) 'who has killed half the regiment; he is your man.' So, up he goes to him, and tells him, 'he is well informed of his bravery, but, by G—, he must fight him.' 'Who I, Sir! I am *Peal*, the apothecary.'" *Dr. Sandylands.*

## CVI.

*Once a rogue and always a rogue.*

**A**UGUSTUS CÆSAR, who had obtained the empire by all the ways he could; who had scrupled no rapine that could farther his ambition, nor any cruelty that might tend to the security of his person from the most distant possibility of danger; nor even what may be called a sort of  
post-



posthumous cruelty, of revenge for past dangers; when at length he found himself in actual possession of every thing, with the utmost security, endeavoured to make mankind some amends, at least to obtain himself a new character, now that he could do it without any possibility of hurting himself, by justice and mercy.

But, 'lead us not into temptation!' an unlucky opportunity (opportunity, the devil's old instrument, and that will never wear out!) sent him back to his original nature, like 'Æsop's cat, who forgot she was a lady, and leaped at a mouse.' *Æsop's Fables*,

"*Licinius*, a freed-man of *Julius Cæsar*, to whom *Augustus* had given the government of *Gaul*, being convicted of having pillaged the province, with the most insatiable avarice, and unfeeling oppression, and perceiving, from his master's new character, that he would infallibly be condemned, besought him, by friends, to come to his house; where, shewing the emperor his immense treasures, he said to him, 'My lord, I have collected all this with great assiduity  
and

and zeal for you, and the common-wealth; which are the same; lest such great riches might have tempted the barbarians to an insurrection." *Dion.* LIV. p. 201.—The mild prince took the money, and forgave him the injuries he had done to the *Gauls*.

Which reminds me of a story *Ficaroni* told me at *Rome*, of himself and Sir *Andrew Fontaine*.

“ A rich old abbot had a noble collection of medals, that had been transmitted to him from his ancestors; which, as he understood nothing of them, and was come to that time of life when, having no farther occasion for money, we love nothing else, he wanted to part with. *Ficaroni*, as being the pope's antiquary, was employed to get him a purchaser; and he brought him Sir *Andrew Fontaine*, who, he had before acquainted him, was a young *English* cavalero on his travels, who knew nothing of medals himself, but had a mind to shew away, like other raw young fellows of birth and fortune, when he came home, with a little bad *vertù*. This did very well; but *Ficaroni* and Sir *Andrew* (who was one of  
the

the keenest *virtuosi* in *Europe*, and out-*Italianed* the *Italians* themselves) had agreed, before they went, on certain terms between them two, to pick out all the rare and valuable ones, which the abbot was to let him have for low prices, as being in a manner trash, for so *Ficaroni* was to wink at him; by which means they plundered the poor ecclesiastic, while he was hugging himself on his, and his friend's, duping the young *English* cully. When they were come down, and got out of the convent, Sir *Andrew* embraced *Ficaroni*, and said to him, as *Augustus* and *Licinius* might have done; “*Noi siamo due becchi fututi*. We are a couple of precious dogs.”

## CVII.

*Heu primæ scelerum causæ mortalibus ægris,  
Naturam nescire Deûm; justa ite precari,  
Thure pio, cædumque feros avertite ritus.  
Mite & cognatum est homini Deus.*

SIL. ITAL. IV. 794.

“**A**RISTOTLE's physician prescribing to him, in a disorder he had, the philosopher desired, he would not treat him like  
like

like a hedger or a hog-driver, but tell him what he would have him swallow, and why; that his reason being convinced, he might take the potion with the less reluctance, and it might operate with the greater energy."

This was like a man who was not used to take things on trust, and implicitly; for, in all arts and sciences, the genuine truth is open and apparent; where that ends, and mystery begins, all the rest is trade; and it was a fine character of *Garth*, that "No physician knew his art more, nor his trade less." One of our great divines, a most worthy, as well as reverend, bishop\*, told my father, (in my hearing) who was full of doubts and scruples then in matters of faith, when I was a boy, that "where mystery began, religion ended." It makes wild work where reason does not govern the raptures which religious enthusiasm inspires.

"The same excellent and honest divine advised my father, at that time, as he was depressed with doubts, to 'make a truce

\* *Fleetwood.*

with

with texts and fathers, and read *Don Quixote*;' telling him, withal, that, 'in his present situation of mind, and weakness of spirits, he was not capable of doing them justice, nor was equal to such high points of speculation.' 'Ah, doctor,' said my father, 'but if I should be mistaken, and put up with an erroneous faith?' 'Well,' said the good divine, and constant friend \*, (for he loved my father, for his sincere and warm desire to know his duty, and how he might best please his Maker; and, I am morally sure, that he never, in one single instance in his whole long life, did or said any one thing that he thought would displease him,) 'well, and if you should?' 'If

[\* As such, among the pictures of his particular friends, painted by himself, Mr. *Richardson* had an admirable one of this amiable prelate, of which archbishop *Herring*, (who justly venerated the character of his first patron) makes the following mention, in a letter to Mr. *Duncombe*, dated "Aug. 5, 1750." "I was the other day at your friend Mr. *Richardson's* to see a head of bishop *Fleetwood*, of his father's painting. He was very polite; and, on my asking 'whether he would part with it,' he consented, and we soon agreed upon the terms."

This head, while the archbishop lived, graced *Lambeth* gallery, and, by his last will, he bequeathed it to the (late) earl of *Hardwicke*, his "ever honoured friend."]

I should,'

I should? 'said my father, in surprife; ' if I should be mistaken, after the utmost diligent enquiry I can make, I am fure to make my God my enemy.' ' Are you? ' said *Fleetwood*, warmly, ' then he is no God for me : ' which expreffion (for they were his very words, as I have often heard my dear father relate them) he proceeded to explain, and soften, by giving him a juft and reasonable idea of the common father of mankind."

Indeed, as God hath made man after his own image, man may be said, in one sense, to make every one his particular God, after his own image; for surely this great universal idea is essentially different in every individual, according to his own make (as it may be said) of mind, and powers and manner of reception; in extremes it must seem evident to all. How different a being is the God of *Locke*, or *Newton*, or *Aristotle*, from that of his hedger or hog-driver! Yet all pass in gross, and among the gross, for the same unanimous reception of the most sublime idea the human mind can receive, so infinitely short as it can be received, even by the most exalted.

AD-

## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 204. Sir *Godfrey Kneller*, "being at first designed for a military life, was sent to *Leyden*, where he applied to mathematics and fortification."

*Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting*, III. 109.

This will, in some degree, account for his military taste, which is also very conspicuous in his picture (by himself) in the gallery of painters, at *Florence*. "Sir *Godfrey Kneller* (says lord *Corke*) is placed on high. He looks fierce, and, by his dress and posture, seems fitter to hold a truncheon than a pencil."

*Letters from Italy*, p. 84.

Page 269. "*Hugh Howard*; (says Mr. *Walpole*) better known by *Prior's* beautiful verses to him, than by his own works, was son of *Ralph Howard*, M. D. and was born in *Dublin*, Feb. 7, 1675. The greatest and latter part of his life he spent in *England*, practising painting, at least, with applause; but, having ingratiated himself, by his fame and knowledge of hands, with men of the first rank, particularly the duke of *Devonshire* and lord *Pembroke*, and, by a parsimonious management of his good fortune, he was enabled to quit the practical part of his profession for the last twenty years of his life, the latter peer having obtained for him the posts of keeper of the state papers, and pay-master of his majesty's palaces. He died *March 17, 1737*."

# I N D E X.

*N.* refers to the notes, and the pages marked thus \*  
are repeated by mistake.

## A.

|  | Page      |
|--|-----------|
| <b>A</b> Bdalmaleck (Soliman ben) caliph, his gluttony -                             | 181       |
| Acindynus, a strange story of, told by St. Austin -                                  | 152       |
| Æschines, what he said of Demosthenes's eloquence - -                                | 78        |
| Agefilaus, what he said to a magnanimous malefactor -                                | 68        |
| Alexander the Great, what was said to him by the Scythian<br>ambassadors ——— ——— ——— | 40        |
| ————— how encouraged by his friends -  | 81        |
| ————— a fine compliment to by an Indian archer                                       | 85        |
| ————— his just reproof of Parmenio -   | 102       |
| ————— of Anaxarchus -  | 103       |
| ————— addressed the Gods only when he<br>wanted them ——— ——— ———                     | 114       |
| ————— wept for another world instead of en-<br>joying this ——— ——— ———               | 227       |
| ————— instance of his clemency and good sense  | 308       |
| Ali, caliph, his severe repartee to his turbulent officers -                         | 159       |
| Annese (Jennaro) how rewarded by the Spaniards for his<br>treachery — — — — —        | 52        |
| Antigonus, his command of temper ———   | 143       |
| Apelles, his freedom with Alexander ———  | 107       |
| ———— his noble behaviour to Protogenes — —   | 324       |
| Arem (kings of) the great business of their lives ———                                | 175       |
| Argos (women of) wore men's cloaths once a year —                                    | 163       |
| ————— and a beard on the<br>wedding night ——— ——— ———                                | 164       |
| ————— one of them so painted   | ib.       |
| Aristotle approved the exposing of children ———                                      | 31        |
| A a  | Aristotle |



## I N D E X.

|  | Page   |
|--|--------|
| Aristotle desired to know what he swallowed ———                                    | 332    |
| Armada (Spanish) its ill success how accounted for —                               | *142   |
| Athenodorus (the philosopher) his warm zeal for Augustus                           | 106    |
| Aubigné (Theodore Agrippa d') his account of the panic of<br>some dragoons ——— ——— | 118    |
| Augustus Cæsar, his cruelty to the Perugians ———                                   | 13     |
| ————— snuffed up the incense of Virgil —   | 41     |
| ————— his moderation in pardoning Timagenes  | *130   |
| ————— his fine reflection on Alexander —   | 227    |
| ————— epigram by, on Fulvia, translated -  | n. 258 |
| ————— naturally rapacious and cruel ———  | 329    |
| ————— resumed, on occasion, his original nature                                    | 330    |

### B.

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Bargus hated and despised by him whom he had served —                      | 56         |
| Bateman (Sir William) avaricious to the last ———                           | 92         |
| Battori (Stephen) king of Poland, his policy —                             | 47         |
| Bentley (Dr.) introduced a new kind of criticism —                         | 263        |
| ————— gravely foppish and learnedly dull ———                               | 270        |
| Bessarion (cardinal) his mean opinion of some new saints                   | 302        |
| Bible (Latin) epigram on ——— ———   | 199        |
| —— (French) two interpolations of — —                                      | 223        |
| Biron (marshal) his policy ——— ———   | 121        |
| Bishop, an Italian, left his body to the surgeons for dissection           | 248        |
| Bletso (lord St. John of) a strange mistake concerning -                   | 252        |
| Boisfrobot (M.) cheated the ears of his friends —                          | 82         |
| ————— imprisoned by cardinal Richelieu - -                                 | 284        |
| Bomilcar, his policy ——— ———   | 120        |
| Booth (Mr.) how disconcerted by Betterton in Hamlet -                      | 78         |
| Borgia family of, their unhappy success. ——— ———                           | 233        |
| Borret (captain) his insensibility of a wound ———                          | 138        |
| Bouillon (marshal) stormed a fort on his wedding night -                   | 279        |
| Brandenburgh (an elector of) went to bed to his bride in<br>armour ——— ——— | 280        |
| Britany (John V. duke of) desired no sense in a wife -                     | 249        |
| Browne (Mr. Hawkins) how struck by Sheridan's reading<br>Milton ——— ———    | 77         |
| Buchanan very easy as to his burial ——— ———                                | 137        |
|  | Buckingham |

## I N D E X.

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| Buckingham (duke of) wished, when dying, for a priest that<br>could eat the devil | 167  |
| _____ his retort on father Petre  | 313  |
| Bull and Cow, splendid marriage of,   | 7    |
| Bures (count de) would die armed and accoutred                                    | *135 |
| Burgundy (duke of) the dupe of his own cunning                                    | 54   |
| Burnet (Mrs.) her dying vanity  | 289  |
| Busbequius, how received by the Turks at Buda                                     | 66   |

### C.

|  |      |
|--|------|
| Caciques (Indian) eat their captives                                     | 8    |
| _____ strange story of this by an eye-witness                            | 9    |
| Caesar (Julius) introduced gladiators at his daughter's funeral          | 15   |
| _____ wept over the head of Pompey                                       | 47   |
| _____ was superior to envy   | 323  |
| Calavrese (Signora) a victim to conjugal chastity                        | 170  |
| _____ much superior to Lucretia  | 171  |
| Caligula (emperor) his forbearance with an abusive taylor                | 143  |
| Carpenter (lord) his condescension at a Westminster election             | 259  |
| Carthaginians sacrificed their children to Moloch                        | 34   |
| _____ seized with a barbarous pang of superstition                       | 114  |
| _____ their timorous and ungrateful policy                               | 119  |
| Catherine (of Medicis) her cool reply to the insults of some<br>soldiers | 144  |
| Cato (the censor) his noble condescension                                | 133  |
| _____ his reason for preferring a noble wife to a<br>rich one            | 310  |
| Cato (of Utica) inferior to his son Portius                              | 135  |
| _____ his weak argument for making Pompey general                        | 239  |
| Cavades, king of Persia, heroic adultery of his wife                     | 151  |
| Cerda (La) his presence of mind  | *139 |
| Charles I. a letter of, which finished his ruin                          | *132 |
| _____ his ungraciousness in conferring a favour                          | 261  |
| _____ II. his pertinent reply to Dr. Stillingfleet                       | 90   |
| _____ why called Rowley  | ib.  |
| _____ how he rewarded a steeple-flyer                                    | 99   |
| _____ his ridicule of Sir Christopher Wren's low stature                 | 103  |
| _____ alarmed by his officious barber                                    | 106  |
| _____ made a confidant by a pick-pocket                                  | 187  |

## I N D E X.

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| Charles IV. (emperor) a saying of - - -                                    | 239  |
| ----- V. ----- was said to have lived only two years                       | 138  |
| ----- repented of his abdication the very day                              | 139  |
| ----- his reply to a Pascal king -   | ib.  |
| ----- an equivoque of - - -  | 149  |
| Chesterfield (lord) reflection on a supposed <i>bon mot</i> of -           | 217  |
| ----- his reason for refusing parson Ford his chap-<br>lainship - - - - -  | 225  |
| Chilo (the philosopher) his strange advice to Hippocrates                  | 32   |
| Chiomara (queen) her conjugal virtue - - -                                 | 172  |
| Christianity, its wonderful rise and progress - - -                        | 233  |
| Cicero, his dread in speaking - - -  | †84  |
| Cimon, how he put in for a little more praise - - -                        | 203  |
| ----- his prevailing argument in favour of Sparta -                        | 206  |
| Claudius (emperor) his exposure of his daughter -                          | 31   |
| Clazomenians, an idle frolic of, - - -                                     | 162  |
| ----- allowed by the Spartans to play the fool -                           | ib.  |
| Collet (Mr.) his account of an Indian wife's burning -                     | 73   |
| Colonel (a) shoots himself in a panic - - -                                | 117  |
| Commodus (emperor) his ill-omened savageness - - -                         | 21   |
| Condé (prince of) could not bear to die in his bed -                       | *134 |
| ----- his consideration of the essential quality of<br>a soldier - - - - - | 307  |
| ----- never forgave the jests of two <i>beaux esprits</i>                  | 312  |
| Content, Holbein's idea of - - - - -                                       | 127  |
| Cosimo I. killed his son Garcia - - - - -                                  | 60   |
| Craffus (L.) his terror at the bar - - - - -                               | †84  |
| Craven (lord) a constant man at a fire - - -                               | 140  |
| ----- what was said to Charles II. on that occasion                        | ib.  |
| Cromwell (Oliver) an instance of his superior temper -                     | *129 |
| ----- would romp with his guests - - -                                     | 276  |
| Cumberland (bishop) a story told by - - -                                  | 241  |

### D.

|   |      |
|---|------|
| David (king) his policy - - - - -                           | 51   |
| Dejanira, an excellent scene of, in Sophocles - - -         | *140 |
| Demosthenes, what he thought the first quality of an orator | 80   |
| ----- pleased with the notice of an old woman               | 201  |
| ----- blamed for it by Cicero - - -                         | 202  |

† Misprinted 83.

Dioclesian

## I N D E X.

|  | Page   |
|--|--------|
| Dioclesian sick of retirement, but declined resuming his power | 128    |
| ———— his busy leisure, and glorious retreat                    | 134    |
| Diogenes, his repartee on the manner of his burial             | 137    |
| ———— what he said to Demosthenes coming out of a tavern        | *131   |
| ———— to two trifling disputants                                | 166    |
| Dionysius crucified his barber for a jest                      | n. 107 |
| Dorset (lord) his raillery on Charles II. to himself           | 158    |

### E.

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Edward (the confessor) his humane apology for a thief                      | 185 |
| Elephant, sagacity of,   | 235 |
| Elizabeth (queen) how she rewarded and reproached the traitor Graveston    | 52  |
| ———— what she said of a fine dancer  | 136 |
| Epaminondas granted to a courtesan what he refused to a friend             | 102 |
| Epictetus, an instance of his good-nature and humanity                     | 31  |
| Eugene (prince) his fine testimony to the merit of the duke of Marlborough | 325 |

### F.

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Fellows (Mr.) his concise epitaph  | 139 |
| Fenwick (Sir John) how prevented from squeaking                          | 180 |
| Ferdinand (of Arragon) why, perhaps, called John Gipon                   | 91  |
| Flaminius (T. Q.) how he influenced his Grecian allies                   | 123 |
| Fleetwood (bishop) what he said of Dailes's <i>Use of the Fathers</i>    | 306 |
| ———— what he said of mystery and of his God                              | 333 |
| Florio, his profane adulation of James I.'s queen                        | 42  |
| Fontaine (Sir Andrew) an instance of his out-Italianing an Italian abbot | 331 |
| Francis I. his bad opinion of kings in general                           | 174 |
| Fright, effect of, on a Swedish gentleman                                | 105 |
| Fulvia, her pleasant reason for making war on Augustus                   | 258 |

### G. Ga-

# I N D E X.

## G.

|   | Page   |
|---|--------|
| Gabinus, his policy - - - - -                             | 122    |
| Garcias III. (king of Navarre) why surnamed the Trembler  | 116    |
| Garth (Dr.) altered his Dispensary for the better - - -   | 195    |
| ----- fine character of - - - - -                         | 333    |
| Gauls had their devoted friends - - - - -                 | 282    |
| Geekie (Dr.) epigram by, on Sir Godfrey Kneller - - -     | n. 245 |
| Gentoos, their spirit of toleration - - - - -             | 36     |
| George I. his fine reply to judge Dormer - - - - -        | 188    |
| Gibson (bishop) a strange offer made to, by an old lady   | 222    |
| Gladiators, combats of, at burials and banquets - - -     | 15     |
| ----- their manners and laws - - - - -                    | 19     |
| ----- abolished by Christianity - - - - -                 | 22     |
| Grammont (count de) his joke on his death-bed - - -       | 315    |
| Grotius saved by the virtue of his wife - - - - -         | 155    |
| ----- his wife's person unluckily ridiculed to their son  | 297    |
| Guise (general) pimped, by confession, for a fine picture | 309    |
| ----- abused the pope at cardinal Polignac's table        | 327    |
| ----- challenged by a young raw officer - - - - -         | 328    |
| Gyges, how the oracle humbled his vanity - - - - -        | 127    |

## H.

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Halley (Dr.) a story told by - - - - -  | 168  |
| Handel (Mr.) would never forgive Goupée - - - - -                                   | 247  |
| ----- what he said on that occasion to the prince and<br>princes of Wales - - - - - | ib.  |
| Hanmer (Sir Thomas) a faint copier of some heroic bride-<br>grooms - - - - -        | 280  |
| Hannibal saved his son from Moloch - - - - -  | 95   |
| ----- reason of his not going directly to Rome from<br>Cannæ - - - - -              | 120  |
| ----- how he parried a rebuke of Scipio - - - - -                                   | 235  |
| Harvey (Dr.) would not survive the loss of fight - - -                              | *137 |
| Henley (Anthony) his blunt answer to his constituents                               | 240  |
| Henry IV. (emperor) his generosity to the remains of his<br>enemy - - - - -         | 46   |

Henry

## I N D E X.

|   | Page   |
|---|--------|
| Henry IV. (of France) terrified by an astrologer    | *136   |
| ----- a papist only as king                         | 286    |
| Herring (archbishop) a fine protestant sentiment of | 321    |
| Hooke (Mr.) his bewitching manner of reading        | 76     |
| Hortensius (the orator) rather seen than heard      | 82     |
| Hottentots, their answer for, and solution of all   | 110    |
| Howard (Hugh) his character                         | 269    |
| ----- Mr. Walpole's account of                      | n. 336 |
| Huns, a strange custom of their people of quality   | 176    |
| Hurd (Dr.) his reflection on affected criticism     | 262    |
| ----- a reflection on him on this occasion          | ib.    |

### J and I.

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| James II. ruined probably by his unfeeling cruelty         | 290 |
| Jerome (St.) a pious fraud of                              | 305 |
| Jesuits in France lunched at their own game                | 148 |
| John (Don) of Austria, his reason for concealing an amour  | 225 |
| Irish rebel petitioned to be hanged in a wythe             | 109 |
| Julia, wife of Pompey, died of apprehension for his danger | 150 |

### K.

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Kings, in Don Quevedo, all in hell                               | 178        |
| Kneller (Sir Godfrey) fitted Dick Estcourt's cap to his own head | 110        |
| ----- what he said, when dying, to Pope                          | *134       |
| ----- his military vanity  | 204 n. 336 |
| ----- what he said to Cock the auctioneer                        | 244        |
| ----- how flattered and cajoled by Messrs. Tonson and Geekie     | 245        |

### L.

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Lælius and Scipio, their relaxation at Baiæ    | 275 |
| Lentulus (Cn.) an odd instance of his vanity   | 131 |
| Lewis XI. the dupe of his own cunning          | 54  |
| ----- his pleasant proposal to the Virgin Mary | 57  |
| Lewis  |     |

## I N D E X

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| Lewis XI. overheard and discovered by his fool                      | 58   |
| —— XIII. his impatience when dying                                  | 246  |
| Lorrain (duke of) his generosity to the remains of Charles the Bold | 46   |
| Lover's Rock, in Granada, why so called                             | 174  |
| Lucretia sacrificed her chastity to her fame                        | 171  |
| —— a polluted victim to calumny                                     | ib.  |
| Lyfias, what he said to a criminal                                  | 82   |

### M.

|  |      |
|--|------|
| Madruccio (cardinal) his definition of a fool                                | 242  |
| Mæcenas, how he checked Augustus's cruelty                                   | 106  |
| Magas, king of Cyrene, his lenity to the poet Philemon                       | 105  |
| Mahomet, his regard for his cat  | 65   |
| —— his sense and policy  | ib.  |
| Man defined as the only proud animal   | 37   |
| Marlborough (duke of) his reason for risking the battle of Hochstedt         | 123  |
| —— an instance of his command of temper                                      | 142  |
| —— what he said on felons being sent him for recruits                        | 291  |
| —— bequeathed his sword to prince Eugene                                     | 325  |
| Martin (St.) a pious fraud of  | 304  |
| Matthias (Corvinus) king of Hungary, how he punished his barber              | 104  |
| Maximinus (emperor) his ostentatious gluttony                                | 181  |
| Mazarine (cardinal) what he said to a detected thief                         | 186  |
| Mead (Dr.) the reverse of Dr. Radcliffe                                      | 317  |
| Misfaubin (Dr.) how played upon by two great men                             | 160  |
| Mob, their resentment of being so called                                     | 260  |
| Mondonnedo (bishop of) a fine saying of                                      | 59   |
| Monmouth (duke of) succeeded at Maestricht by his rashness                   | *144 |
| Montagu (lady M. W.) her reason for not suffering Pope to correct her verses | 112  |
| —— (duke of) his bodily wit  | 160  |
| Montaigne, his account of some surprising feats in horsemanship              | 97   |
| Muscovite butchers, their absurdity  | 108  |

N. Ne-

# I N D E X.

## N.

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| Nemesis envious of our happiness  | 17   |
| ——— appeased by blood   | 18   |
| Nepomucene (St. John) a martyr for female secrets                       | 219  |
| ——— his statue at Prague, inscription on                                | 220  |
| Newcastle (duke of) thought his wife's wisdom folly                     | 249  |
| Newry fort taken by successful rashness                                 | 145  |
| Nouschirvan (king of Persia) his good-natured forgiveness<br>of a thief | 184  |
| Nourse (Mr.) surgeon, his honest pride                                  | 311  |

## O.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Oldfield (Mrs.) her best school was hearing Rowe read                     | 77  |
| ——— her consolation on her death-bed                                      | 210 |
| Onslow (Mr. Speaker) what he said of Mr. Hooke's reading                  | 76  |
| Orange (prince of) killed some carrier pigeons out of kindness            | 219 |
| ——— his noble reply in 1672   | 229 |
| Orford (lord) never but once gave up his own opinion                      | 237 |
| Orleans (duke of) found out the price of a queen of France                | 179 |
| ———, regent, took shame to himself  | 236 |
| Otho III. (emperor) gave up his empress to an injured woman               | 156 |
| Oxford (lord treasurer) what comforted an ancestor of, on<br>the scaffold | 209 |

## P.

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| Padilla (Mariade) a pleasant instance of her devout sacrilege                | 92      |
| ——— ruinous to a poor curate   | 94      |
| Parents exposing their children, manner of                                   | 25      |
| ——— some instances of  | 31      |
| ——— continued by the Romans  | 33      |
| ——— abolished by Christianity  | 34      |
| Parma (duke of) led into an error by counting too much on<br>others prudence | *142    |
| B b  | Parrot, |



## I N D E X.

|  | Page   |
|--|--------|
| Parrot, an unlucky one, in Doctors Commons -                                       | 251    |
| Paris, or <i>Ignicolæ</i> , how they dispose of their old people                   | 3      |
| ----- how they discover whether those who die<br>young will be saved or not - - -  | 4      |
| Paul (St.) a beautiful allusion of not generally understood                        | 283    |
| Pellet (Dr.) his calmness in dying - - -   | *137   |
| Pelopidas freed his country by a trivial accident -                                | 149    |
| Perez (Antonio) his baseness and exile - - -                                       | 48     |
| ----- what he said of princes - - -  | 50     |
| Pericles, his noble boast on his death-bed - - -                                   | 202    |
| ----- was persuaded to put on a charm when dying                                   | 238    |
| ----- reconciled his enemies by his affliction -                                   | 278    |
| Persians (Magiary) their absurd ordeal - - -                                       | 6      |
| ----- denied publicly the interposition of the Gods                                | 112    |
| Peter the Great, an anecdote of his cruelty - - -                                  | 256    |
| Peterborough (lord) his frolic with a dancing-master                               | 287    |
| Phavorinus demeaned himself by wrangling with one whom<br>he despised - - - - -    | 141    |
| Philip (of Macedon) owned he was not a God - - -                                   | 40     |
| ----- his reply to a complaint of Læsthenes  | 53     |
| ----- reproved Alexander for his skill in music                                    | 100    |
| Philippides, his reply to Lyfimachus - - -   | 284    |
| Physician (a cavalier) strange prescription of - - -                               | 222    |
| Pigeons, seven, embalmed and preserved at Leyden -                                 | 219    |
| ----- would probably have excused this honour -                                    | 220    |
| Pinky (a black merchant) his odd rebuke of some pert<br>Frenchmen - - - - -        | 234    |
| Pisistratus found means to cajole Solon's rigour -                                 | 230    |
| ----- force of his answering an accusation in the Ar-<br>eopagus - - - - -         | ib.    |
| Pitt (the journalist) story of a dispute with - - -                                | 320    |
| Plato, his rebuke of a dexterous charioteer - - -                                  | 96     |
| Pliny, his concern at speaking in public - - -                                     | 89     |
| Plutarch and Cicero, their different opinions of a certain<br>expression - - - - - | 300    |
| Poitiers (a dean of) lived in one room by choice -                                 | 125    |
| Pope, his opinion of Dr. Garth - - -   | n. 195 |
| ----- had an exquisite description of an old lady dying                            | 221    |
|  | Pope,  |

# I N D E X.

|  | Page   |
|--|--------|
| Pope, anecdotes of his own designs in the <i>Essays on Criticism</i><br>and <i>Man</i> - - - - - | 264    |
| —— could not take Cibber's jest - - - - -  | 311    |
| Portia, her death heroic vanity - - - - -  | 150    |
| Portius (the son of Cato) his generous death - - - - -   | 135    |
| —— his gallantry - - - - -   | n. ib. |
| Posthumius (Albinus) his excuse for writing in Greek inad-<br>missible - - - - -                 | 98     |
| Preacher (Spanish) his abuse of the French - - - - -   | 298    |
| Prior, how he unbent his faculties - - - - -   | 275    |
| Pyrrhus, the reason of his grieving for a friend - - - - -                                       | 63     |
| —— his saying of Cyneas - - - - -  | 79     |

## Q.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Queen-mother (of China) fine saying of - - - - -                                    | 191 |
| Queensbury (duke of) his advice to the duke of Bucking-<br>ham when dying - - - - - | 167 |

## R.

|  |      |
|--|------|
| Racan (Mr. de) his arch reply to Mademoiselle de Gournai       | 200  |
| Radcliffe (Dr.) his maxim of using mankind ill succeeded well  | 316  |
| —— (Mr.) proud of being beheaded - - - - -                     | 181  |
| Raymond (lord chief justice) a good maxim of - - - - -         | 291  |
| Reading, a politician of, lived forty years in a garret        | 126  |
| Richard III. hanged a man for punning - - - - -                | *131 |
| Richelieu (cardinal) how he used an informer - - - - -         | *129 |
| —— how he availed himself of a fellow's<br>impudence - - - - - | 146  |
| Roch (St.) his eulogy - - - - -                                | 298  |
| —— born by a particular favour of heaven - - - - -             | 299  |
| Rochefaucault (duke of) his dread of speaking in public        | 87   |
| Rocheſter (lord) his juſt reproof of Charles II. - - - - -     | 293  |
| Roper (Mrs.) how affected by her father's death - - - - -      | *139 |

## I N D E X.

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| Rowley, the occasion of that name to Charles II. | 99   |
| Ruffi (Antony de) an honest lawyer               | 216  |

### S.

|   |      |
|---|------|
| St. Evremond, his witty character                                 | 315  |
| Scipio (Africanus) his condescension                              | 134  |
| ———— his fine rebuke of Hannibal                                  | 235  |
| ———— Nafica, his reasons for saving Carthage                      | 207  |
| Secker (bishop) how he offended a certain dutchess                | 299  |
| Seneca, his sarcasm on a rich fluggard                            | 131  |
| Senefino was shocked at first coming on the stage every<br>season | 88   |
| Sertorius, how secured from an imminent danger                    | 11   |
| Sevigné (marchioness of) no friend to ignorance in women          | 250  |
| Shore (Sir Bartholomew) an anecdote of                            | 216  |
| Signor (Grand) offered his assistance to Henry IV. of France      | 254  |
| ———— true motive of this offer                                    | 255  |
| Similis, his retirement   | 138  |
| Siward (earl) his martial natural death                           | *135 |
| Slare (Dr.) the author's godfather, an observation of             | 229  |
| Sloane (Sir Hans) his account of two great drinkers               | 182  |
| Soldier (a French) anecdote of                                    | 246  |
| Solon, his noble reason for opposing Pisistratus                  | 229  |
| ———— how appeased and cajoled by him                              | 230  |
| Solyman (the Magnificent) how he rewarded a traitor               | 51   |
| Spencer (Jack) see Misaubin (Dr.)                                 |      |
| Squire (archdeacon) smuggled a joke                               | 314  |
| Stair (lord) his spirited treatment of Lewis XIV.                 | 236  |
| Stanhope (lord) what he said of the duke of Marlborough           | 226  |
| Stilicho, his selfish policy                                      | 122  |
| Stillingfleet (Dr.) a fine compliment he made Charles II.         | 89   |
| Strabo, what he relates of the ancient Brachmans                  | 304  |
| Syria (a queen of) desired to give birth to Mahomet               | 221  |

T. Tem-

# I N D E X.

## T.

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| Tempest (Mr.) his dialogue with a porter -   | 294  |
| Theodoric (king) how he treated one who embraced his<br>Arianism - - - - -               | 286  |
| Thucydides (the Milesian) his answer to king Archidamas<br>concerning Pericles - - - - - | 320  |
| Tillotson (archbishop) the good use he made of his enemies                               | 192  |
| ----- his fine answer to some objectors  | 303  |
| Titcum (Mr.) what he said, when dying, to Gay -  | 167  |
| Turenne (marshal) how he settled himself to rest -                                       | 275  |
| Turks, their reverence for scraps of paper - - -   | 63   |
| ----- the reason of it - - - - -   | 64   |
| Tuscans introduced into Italy human sacrifices - -                                       | 14   |
| ----- had their slaves scourged and tortured at feasts                                   | 17   |

## V.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Valentinois (dutchess of) sacrificed her chastity to save her<br>father - - - - - | 152 |
| Valerius Maximus invokes the divinity of Tiberius -                               | 41  |
| ----- his account of the courage and virtue of<br>certain wives - - - - -         | 155 |
| Vanbrugh (a famous epigram of) misunderstood by Voltaire                          | 199 |
| Victor, (an Olympic) lost his crown for kicking an ass                            | 165 |
| Virgil, his enchanting pronunciation - - - - -                                    | 76  |

## W.

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| Walpole* (Sir Robert) what he said of his parliament -                                 | 178     |
| Warburton (bishop) his criticism on Pope absurd refinement                             | 263     |
| Watson (hon. Mr.) would change his shirt when dying,<br>and why - - - - -              | 220     |
| Wife (Indian) burns with her husband - - - - -   | 71      |
| Wegers (Mr.) the author's schoolmaster, compared with<br>Alexander the Great - - - - - | 319     |
| * See Orford (lord.)   | William |

## I N D E X.

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| William (Rufus) forced some converted Jews to turn Jews |      |
| again - - - - -   | 286  |
| ----- III. how he treated a coward - - -                | 52   |
| Williamson (Mrs.) her account of the Gentoos -          | 69   |
| Wollaston (Mr.) what he said to a bigot - - -           | 36   |

End of Vol. I.

