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English Reprints.
JOHN SELDEN.

TABLE-TALK.

1689.

περί παντός τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
(Above all things, Liberty).

1101

EDWARD ARBER,
CAREFULLY EDITED BY,

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(1)



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CHRONICLE
of
some of the principal events
in the
LIFE, WORKS, and TIMES
of
JOHN SELDEN.

Antiquary, Philologist, Heraldist, Linguist, Jurist, Statesman, &c.

* Probable or approximate dates.

A Life of Selden does not exist: to the great reproach of the **Lawyers**. All accounts of him are but sketches.

Few of Selden's many works have been mentioned here, for want of space. A list of them is given in Dr. Aikin's *Life of Selden*, pp. 197-9. *Ed.* 1812.

1558. **Nov. 17.** Elizabeth begins to reign.

JOHN SELDEN, the glory of the English nation, as Hugo Grotius worthily stiles him, son of John Selden, by Margaret his wife, the only daughter of Thomas Baker of Rushington, (descended from the knightly family of the Bakers in Kent) was born in an obscure village called Salvington near to Terring a market town in Sussex. His father . . . was a sufficient plebeian, and delighted much in music, by the exercising of which he obtained (as 'tis said) his wife, of whom our famous author Jo. Selden was born on the 16th of Decemb. 1584. *Wood, Ath. Oxon.* iii. 366. *Ed.* 1817.

The birthplace of John Selden is Salvington, a hamlet of the parish of West Tarring, in the county of Sussex. Tarring is about two miles from Worthing. . . . The cottage in which he was born still remains. It was then known as Lacies, being the residence attached to a farm of about eighty-one acres. The date of 1601 is upon its front. *G. W. Johnson. Memoirs of John Selden,* pp. 33. 34. *Ed.* 1835.

'1584—John, the sonne of John Selden, the minstrell, was baptized the 20th day of December.' *Parish Register of West Tarring.*

Besides John there were two younger sons, who died infants, and a daughter, who married to a John Bernard of Goring in Sussex: by whom she had two sons and four daughters. They appear to have remained in humble situations. *Johnson, p.* 36.

He was 'instructed in grammar learning in the Free School at Chichester, under Mr. Hugh Barker of New College [Oxford].' *Wood, idem.*

On the inside of the lintel of his birthplace and home "is carved a Latin distich, said to have been composed by Selden when only ten years old. . . . The following literal copy made at the time of a personal inspection [in August 1834] is submitted to the reader's judgement.

GRATVS HONESTE MIH' NO CLAVDAR INITO SEDEB'

FVR ABEAS: NO SV FACTA SOLVTA TIBI.

The last character of the first line is somewhat imperfect. It probably was intended as a contraction of 'que.' In this case the literal translation is 'Honest friend thou art welcome to me, I will not be closed, enter and be seated. Thief! begone, I am not open to thee.'" *Johnson, idem.*

Birth and Infancy.

1584. Dec. 16.

Dec. 20.

At Chichester School.

1595.

æt. 10.

CHRONICLE.

At Oxford.

1600. Mich. term. By the care and advice of his schoolmaster, Selden æt. 15. enters Hart Hall, Oxford: and is 'committed to the tuition of Mr. Anthony Barker, one of the Fellows,' brother to his schoolmaster, by 'whom he was instructed in logic and philosophy for about three years, which with great facility he conquered.' *Wood. idem.*

'Sir Giles Mompessen told me, that he was then of that house, and that Selden was a long scabby-pol'd boy but a good student.' *Aubrey MSS. quoted in Bliss's Edition of Wood; ut supra.*

1602. æt. 17. Becomes a member of Clifford's Inn.

1603. Mar. 24. James I. succeeds to the English crown.

1604. May. Removes to the Inner Temple. "His chamber was æt. 19. in the Paper buildings which looke towards the garden, staire-case, uppermost story, where he had a little gallery to walke in. He was quickly taken notice of for his learning."—*Aubrey MSS., idem.*

After he had continued there a sedulous student for some time, he did by the help of a strong body and vast memory, not only run through the whole body of the law, but became a prodigy in most parts of learning, especially in those which were not common, or little frequented, or regarded by the generality of students of his time. So that in few years his name was wonderfully advanced, not only at home, but in forreign countries, and was usually stiled the great dictator of learning of the English nation.

He seldom or never appeared publickly at the bar, (tho' a bencher) but gave sometimes chamber-counsel, and was good at conveyance.

He had a very choice library of books, as well MSS. as printed, in the beginning of all or most of which he wrote either in the title, or leaf before it, *περί παντός τὴν ἐλευθερίαν*: ABOVE ALL, LIBERTY; to shew, that he would examine things, and not take them upon trust. *Wood. Idem.*

[Dr. Bliss, on this, says, I shall take leave to render the words ABOVE EVERY THING, LIBERTY!

That is, liberty is dearer to me and more desirable than every other blessing; even than life itself: a sentiment worthy not only of Selden, but of every one who calls himself an Englishman."—*Wood. Idem.*]

He was solicitor and steward for the Earle of Kent.—*Aubrey MSS. idem.*

1607. æt. 22. He publishes his first work *Analecton Anglo-Britannicon.*

1612. æt. 27. He furnishes Drayton with notes to the first 18 Chapters of his *Polyolbion* published the next year.

1614. æt. 29. He publishes *Titles of Honour*, 'his largest English, and in the opinion of Usher, his best work.'—*Johnson, idem.*

1617. æt. 32. He publishes *De Diis Syris, Syntagmata duo*: a history of the Idol deities of the Old Testament.

1618. æt. 33. [Preface dated Apr. 4.] Selden publishes *The Historie of Tithes, that is, The practice of payment of them. The positive laws made for them. The opinions touching the right of them.* Whereupon a needless ecclesiastical uproar arises. Selden tells us "Having at length . . . composed it, I committed it to the *censure* of one that had the power of *licensing it for the press*. I left it with him, and to his own time, and without so much as any further request from me to him. He sent it to me *licensed*,

Studying, writing, and living chiefly in the Inner Temple.

In trouble about his *Historie of Tithes*.

with *ita est*, and *subscription of his name*. Then was it printed, and until it was wholly printed, I never had the least expression of any dislike to it from any man that had any *authority or power of command*, either in the *state*, or in the *church*.—*Omnia opera*, iii. 1456.

Dec.

The king, who had no knowledge of Selden but through the misrepresentations of his courtiers, summoned him by his secretary, Sir Robert Naunton, to appear, with his work, at the Palace of Theobalds. 'I,' says Selden, 'being then entirely a stranger to the court, and known personally there to a very few, was unwilling to go thither unaccompanied,' and consequently he obtained the attendance of his old friend and fellow-templar, Edward Heyward, of Reepham, in Norfolk, and of Ben Jonson, 'princeps poetarum,' to introduce him to the king. . . . Selden had two conferences with King James at Theobald's, and one at Whitehall, and bears testimony in several parts of his after-writings to the ability and courtesy of his Majesty.—*Johnson*, pp. 64, 67.

1619. Jan. 28.

æt. 34.

Selden however is cited before the High Commission Court at Lambeth Palace. One of his opponents, Dr. Richard Tillesley, Archdeacon of Rochester, in his *Animadversions upon Mr. Selden's History of Tythes and his Review thereof*, 2nd Edition, 1621, triumphantly quotes the following:—

His submission because he denieth to haue beene in the High Commission Court, and for that in my *Answer to his Pamphlet* it is not so perfittly related, may it please thee Reader, here to reade it whole out of the Registry of that Court.

Vicesimo octauo die Mensis Ianuarij, Anno Domini iuxta Computationem Ecclesie Anglicanæ 1618. Coram Reuerendissimo in Christo patre, Domino Georgio, prouidentia diuina Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primate et Metropolitano, Iohanne London, Lancelot Winton, et Iohanne Roffen, eadem prouidentia respectiue Episcopis: Iohanne Bennet, Willielmo Bird et Georgio Newman, Militibus, in Manerio Archiepiscopali apud Lambeth in Comitatu Surrey, iudicialiter sedentibus: præsente Thoma Mottershed.

Officium Dominorum contra Iohannem Selden de Interiори Templo London, Armigerum.

This day appeared personally *John Selden* Esquire, and made his submission all vnder his owne hand writing, touching the publication of his Booke entituled *The History of Tithes*, *Sub tenore verborum sequente*.

"My good Lords, I most humbly acknowledge my error, which I haue committed in publishing the *History of Tithes*, and especially, in that I haue at all by shewing any interpretation of holy Scriptures, by meddling with Councils, Fathers, or Canons, or by what elsesoeuer occurs in it, offered any occasion of Argument against any right of Maintenance *Iure Diuino* of the Ministers of the Gospell: Beseeching your Lordships to receiue this ingenuous and humble acknowledgement, together with the vnfeigned protestation of my grieffe, for that through it I haue so incurred both his Maiesties and your Lordships displeasure conceiued against mee in the behalfe of the Church of England.—*John Selden*."

The High Commission Court suppress his book.

This 'usage sunk so deep into his stomach, that he did

CHRONICLE.

never after affect the bishops and clergy, or cordially approve their calling, tho' many ways were tried to gain him to the church's interest.'—*Wood, idem.*

1619.

Selden's father dies.

About this time finishes his work on the Sovereignty of the sea, *Mare Clausum, seu de Dominio Maris* in answer to Grotius' *Mare liberum*. Not published till 1635. For history of this book, see *Johnson*, pp. 207-210.

1621.

Dr. Richard Mountagu—afterwards Bp. in succession of Chichester and Norwich—publishes his *Diatribæ upon the first part of the late History of Tythes*. King James tells Selden 'If you or your friends write anything against his [Dr. M's] confutation, I will throw you into prison.'—*Mare Clausum*. See *Opera Omnia*, ii. 1423.

1624. Feb. 12—
May 29. æt. 39.

King James' last Parliament. Selden first appearance in the House, as M.P. for Lancaster. See John Forster's admirable *Life of Sir John Eliot*, London 1864, for the best account of Selden's early Parliamentary career.

Trinity
term.

Selden is chosen Reader of Lyon's Inn. He refuses the office thrice.

Oct. 21.

The Benchers' displeasure is thus recorded in their Register. "The masters of the bench, taking into consideration his contempt and offence, and for that it is without precedent that any man elected to read in chancery has been discharged in the like case, much less has with such wilfulness refused to read the same, have ordered that he shall presently pay to the use of this house the sum of twenty pounds for his fine, and that he stand and be disabled ever to be called to the bench, or to be Reader of this house."—*Johnson*, p. 111.

1625. Mar. 27. Charles I. becomes king.

1626. Feb. 6—June
15. æt. 41.

King Charles' second Parliament. Selden is returned for Great Bedwin in Wilts. During the session is entrusted with the 4th and 5th articles of the Impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham.

1628. Mar. 17.

King Charles' third Parliament. Selden is member for Ludgershal. Takes part in the preparation of 'The Petition of Right.'

1629. Mar. 10.

He and others are imprisoned for several months.

1632. æt. 47.

The Benchers of Inner Temple rescind their order of

1624.

Selden is elected a Bencher of their Inn.

1639. æt. 54.

The Earl [of Kent] died in 1639, without issue, and from that time Selden appears to have made the family mansions at Wrest in Bedfordshire, and White Friars in London, his places of residence. Aubrey says he married the Countess Dowager, and that 'he never owned the marriage with the Countess of Kent till after her death, upon some lawe account. He never kept any servant peculiar, but my ladie's were all of his command; he lived with her in *Cedibus Carmeliticis* (White Fryers) which was, before the conflagration, a noble dwelling. He kept a plentiful table, and was never without learned company.'—*Aubrey MSS.*

1640. Nov. 3.

æt. 55

The Long Parliament assembles. Selden sits for Oxford University. For his share in public transactions, see John Forster's two works published in London 1860. *The Grand Remonstrance* and *The Arrest of the Five Members*.

1642. May.

æt. 57.

The King being half-minded to dismiss the Lord Keeper Littleton, commands Hyde and Lord Falkland

In Parliament: afterwards imprisoned.

In retirement.

In the Civil War, both parties seek him: he inclines to the Parliament.

Last years, prepares for death.

to report whether Selden should be offered the Great Seal. Their report was: "They did not doubt of Mr. Selden's Affection to the King, but withal they knew him so well, that they concluded, he would absolutely refuse the place, if it were offer'd to him. He was in years, and of a tender constitution; he had for many years enjoyed his ease, which he loved; was rich; and would not have made a Journey to *York*, or have layn out of his own bed, for any Preferment, which he had never affected."—*Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion. Bk. iv. 445, Ed. 1702.*

1643. æt. 58. Whitelock in his *Memorials*, tells us: "Divers Members of both Houses, whereof I was one, were Members of the Assembly of Divines, and had the same Liberty with the Divines to sit and debate, and give their Votes in any Matter which was in consideration amongst them: In which Debates Mr. Selden spake admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own Learning. And sometimes when they had cited a Text of Scripture to prove their Assertion, he would tell them, *Perhaps in your little Pocket Bibles with gilt Leaves* (which they would often pull out and read) *the Translation may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew, signifies thus and thus*; and so would totally silence them."—*p. 71. Ed. 1732.*

1643. Dec. 12. On the presentation of Philip, Count of Pembroke: Selden's amanuensis, Rev. Richard Milward, becomes Rector of Great Braxted, in Essex. He holds this living until his death. *Newcourt Repertorium, ii. 92, Ed. 1710.*

1645. Apr. æt. 60. Is one of a joint commission of both houses to administer the Admiralty.

Aug. Is elected Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge: but declines it.

1647. Jan. 11. The House of Commons votes those members imprisoned in 1628 'for oppressing the illegalities of that time,' £5000 each. Selden is believed to have only accepted one-half.

1651. Dec. 3. The Countess Dowager of Kent dies in White Friars. *Rev. J. Granger. Biogr. Hist. ii. 375, Ed. 1775.* She appointed Selden her executor, and bequeathed to him the Friary House, in White Friars. *Johnson, idem.* The opinion that he then and thus attained his chief riches is contradicted by the fact that he was reputed a rich man in 1642.

He would tell his intimate friends, Sir Bennet Hoskyns, &c., that he had nobody to make his heire, except it were a milk-mayd, and that such people did not know what to doe with a great estate. *Aubrey MSS.*

1653. June 11. Selden makes his will [printed in *Omnia Opera, I. liii. Ed. 1726.*] He leaves the bulk of his property, estimated at £40,000, to his four executors; Edward Heyward, Esq., Matthew Hale (afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench), John Vaughan (afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas), and Rowland Jewks the elder. Aubrey says: "He intended to haue given his owne library to the Vniversity of Oxford, but received disobligation from them, for that they would not lend him some MSS. wherefore by his will he left it to the disposall of his executors, who gave it to the Bodleian library at Oxon. . . . He would write sometimes, when notions came into his head, to preserve them, under his barber's hands. When he dyed, his barber sayd he had a great mind to know his will, 'For,'

Death.

- sayd he, 'I never knew a wise man make a wise will.'
1654. Nov. 30. æt. 69. John Selden dies at White Friars, of dropsy.
Dec. 14. Is magnificently buried in the Temple church. His executors 'invited all the parliament men, all the benchers, and great officers. All the judges had mourning, as also an abundance of persons of quality.' Archbishop Usher preached his funeral sermon. *Wood, idem.*

We may adduce the testimony of three contemporaries:—

1. G. Berkeley, Earl of Berkeley, in his *Historical Applications and occasional Meditations upon several subjects. Written by a Person of Honour.* London 1670, p. 12. gives us the following—

Our Learned *Selden*, before he dyed, sent for the most Reverend Arch-Bishop *Vsher*, and the Rev. Dr. *Langbaine*, and discoursed to them of this purpose; That he had suruey'd most part of the Learning that was among the Sons of Men; that he had his Study full of Books and Papers of most Subjects in the world; yet at that time he could not recollect any passage out of infinite Books and Manuscripts he was Master of, wherein he could Rest his Soul, save out of the Holy Scriptures; wherein the most remarkable passage that lay most upon his spirit was Titus ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

2. E. Hyde, Lord Clarendon, in his Autobiography, written about 20 years after *Selden's* death, gives the following character of him, in which may be traced admiration for his character and abilities; and regret, it may be sneering resentment, at his choosing the side of the Parliament in the Civil War.

"Mr. SELDEN was a Person, whom no Character can flatter, or transmit in any Expressions equal to his Merit and Virtue; He was of so stupendous Learning in all Kinds, and in all Languages (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent Writings) that a man would have thought He had been entirely conversant amongst Books, and had never spent an Hour but in Reading and Writing; yet his Humanity, Courtesy, and Affability was such, that He would have been thought to have been bred in the best Courts, but that his good Nature, Charity, and Delight in doing good, and in communicating all He knew, exceeded that Breeding: His Stile in all his Writings seems harsh and sometimes obscure: which is not wholly to be imputed to the abtruse Subjects of which He commonly treated, out of the Paths trod by other Men; but to a little undervaluing the Beauty of a Stile, and too much Propensity to the Language of Antiquity; but in his Conversation He was the most clear Discourser, and had the best Faculty in making hard Things easy, and presenting them to the Understanding, of any Man that hath been known. Mr. Hyde was wont to say, that He valued himself upon nothing more than upon having had Mr. *Selden's* Acquaintance from the Time He was very young; and held it with great Delight as long as They were suffered to continue together in London; and He was very much troubled always when He heard him blamed, censured, and reproached, for staying in London, and in the Parliament, after They were in Rebellion, and in the worst Times, which his Age obliged him to do; and how wicked soever the Actions were, which were every Day done, He was confident He had not given his Consent to them; but would have hindered them if He could, with his own Safety, to which He was always enough indulgent. If He had some Infirmities with other Men, they were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious Abilities and Excellencies in the other Scale."—*Life*, p. 16. Ed. 1759.

3. Rev. Richard Baxter, in his *Additional Notes on the Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale. Kt.* London 1682. p. 40, thus writes:—

"I know you are acquainted, how greatly he [Sir M. Hale] valued Mr. *Selden*, being one of his Executors; his Books and Picture being still near him. I think it meet therefore to remember, that because many *Hobbits* do report, that Mr. *Selden* was at the heart an Infidel, and inclined to the Opinions of *Hobbs*, I desired him [Sir M. Hale] to tell me the truth herein; And he oft professed to me, that Mr. *Selden* was a resolved serious Christian; and that he was a great adversary to *Hobbs* his errors; and that he had seen him openly oppose him so earnestly, as either to depart from him, or drive him out of the Room."

THE
TABLE-TALK OF JOHN SELDEN.

INTRODUCTION.



BOOK of Apothegms is an armoury of thoughts more or less felicitously expressed. Rightly read, it acts as a tonic on the mind. The subjects are so disconnected and follow the one the other so rapidly : the opinions and arguments are so incisively expressed, and are often so apparently contradictory and paradoxical : that the whole work becomes hard to read, and still harder to digest. Rapid reading of such condensed thought is unproductive ; careful study, however, makes it both enjoyable and fruitful : and that in proportion to the activity of the reader's mind.

It is clear, therefore, that Apothegms are rather subjects for consideration than articles for belief. They must be thoroughly examined. They must be, so to speak, unravelled and unfolded, that their inwrapped principles may be understood in their nature, applications, and consequences ; in order that concinnated speech may not beguile us from truth, or aphorisms charm us into injustice and error.

It is further evident, that our final judgment of the opinions of the Author must be suspended until we thus possess his whole work. In particular, in the present instance, we should not forget that we have but stray fragments of talk, separated from the context of casual and unrestrained conversations ; collected—probably without the Speaker's knowledge—one, two, or three at a time, over a period of twenty years ; and classified long afterwards, as seemed best to their Preserver.

These Sayings were published thirty-five years after Selden's death, and nine years after their recorder—the Rev. Richard Milward, S.T.P., who died Canon of Windsor, Rector of Great Braxted, and Vicar of Ifleworth—had passed away. While they are, therefore, thus doubly posthumous in publication, they must be long antedated in utterance. *Table-Talk* belongs chiefly, if not entirely, to 1634—1654, and therefore appertains to the first rather than the second half of the Seventeenth century.

These Discourses show somewhat of the mind, but not the whole mind of Selden, even in the subjects treated of. What must have been the fulness of information, the aptness of illustration, the love of truth, the justness of reasoning, when such fragments as these could be picked up by a casual hearer? Bacon's *Essays* are most carefully finished compositions: Selden's *Table-Talk* is the spontaneous incidental outpouring of an overflowing mind; and yet it may not unworthily compare with the former.

Passing by acute insight into human nature, and great antiquarian research, can we gather, however imperfectly, from the present work, any idea as to what Selden's main opinions were? We think we may.

In this work, as elsewhere, John Selden is the Champion of Human Law. It fell to his lot to live in a time when the life of England was convulsed, for years together, beyond precedent; when men searched after the ultimate and essential conditions and frames of human society; when each strove fiercely for his *rights*, and then as dogmatically asserted them.

Amidst immense, preposterous, and inflated assumptions; through the horrid tyranny of the system of the *Thorowgh*; in the exciting debates of Parliament; in all the storm of the Civil War; in the still fiercer jarring of religious sects; amidst all the phenomena of that age; Selden clung to 'the Law of the Kingdom.' 'All is as the State pleases.' He advocates the

supremacy of Human Law against the so-called doctrine of Divine Right. He thrusts out the Civil Power against all Ecclesiastical pretensions, and raising it to be the highest authority in the State, denies the existence of any other co-ordinate power. So strongly does he assert the power of the Nation to do or not to do, that, for the purpose of his argument, he reduces Religion almost to a habit of thought, to be assumed or cast off, like a fashion in dress, at will. 'So Religion was brought into kingdoms, so it has been continued, and so it may be cast out, when the State pleases.'* 'The Clergy tell the Prince they have Physick good for his Soul, and good for the Souls of his People, upon that he admits them: but when he finds by Experience they both trouble him and his People, he will have no more to do with them, what is that to them or any body else if a King will not go to Heaven'† 'The State still makes the Religion and receives into it, what will best agree with it.'‡

Selden lodges the Civil Power of England, in the King and the Parliament. He shews that our English Constitution is but one great Contract between two equal Princes, the Sovereign and the People; and that if that Contract be broken, both parties are at parity again. That, by a like consent, the majority in England governs; the minority assenting to the judgment of the majority, and being involved in their decision. Finally, reducing all relationships to like mutual Agreements, he urges the keeping of Contracts, as the essential bond of Human society. 'Keep your Faith.'

The way these views are enforced, fully justifies Lord Clarendon's opinion of him, that 'in his Conversation He was the most clear Discourser, and had the best Faculty in making hard Things easy, and presenting them to the Understanding, of any Man that hath been known.'‡

* P. 29.

† P. 36.

‡ P. 130.

‡ P. 8.

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* Editions not seen.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

None.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

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2. 1696. London. 'The Second Edition' of No. 1.
1 vol. 8vo. Printed for Jacob Tonson.
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1 vol. 8vo.
4. 1716. London. 'The Third Edition' of No. 1.
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1 vol. 12mo.
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1 vol. 24mo. printed in red letter. *Lowndes*.
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1 vol. 12mo.
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1 vol. 8vo. Esqre., with a biographical preface and
notes by S. W. SINGER Esqre.
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1 vol. 8vo. with notes by DAVID IRVING, LL. D.
Another edition of No. 8.
12. 1856. London. *Library of Old Authors*. Second
1 vol. 8vo. edition of No. 9.
13. 1860. London. *Library of Old Authors*. Third
1 vol. 8vo. edition of No. 9.
14. 1 June, 1868. London. *English Reprints*: see title on page 1.
1 vol. 8vo.

II. With other works.

5. 1726. Londini. Joannis Seldeni Iurifconsulti opera
3 vols. (6 parts) fol. omnia, tam edita quam inedita. Edited
by Rev. DAVID WILKINS, S. T. P.
Archdeacon of Suffolk, &c. 'Table
Talk' occupies iii. 2000—2080.

. It is strange, that but for the efforts of two gentlemen, Dr. Irving and Mr. Singer, only a single edition of the 'Table Talk' would have appeared this century. The neglect of our English masterpieces of thought is a thing incredible.

Table-Talk:

BEING THE

DISCOURSES

OF

John Selden Esq.;

OR HIS

SENCE

Of Various

MATTERS

OF

WEIGHT and High CONSEQUENCE

Relating especially to

Religion and State.

Distingue Tempora.

LONDON,

Printed for *E. Smith*, in the Year MDCLXXXIX.

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To the Honourable
Mr. Justice Hales,^{*}
One of the JUDGES
OF THE
Common-Pleas ;

And to the much Honoured
EDWARD HEYWOOD, JOHN
VAUGHAN and ROWLAND
JEWKS, Esquires.*

Most worthy Gentlemen,

W*Ere you not Executors to that Person, who
(while he liv'd) was the Glory of the Na-
tion; yet I am Confident any thing of his
would find Acceptance with you, and truly the Sense and
Notion here is wholly his, and most of the words. I had
the opportunity to hear his Discourse twenty Years together,
and least all those Excellent things that usually fell from
him might be lost, some of them from time to time I faith-
fully committed to Writing, where here digested into this
Method, I humbly present to your Hands; you will quickly
perceive them to be his by the familiar Illustrations where-
with they are set off, and in which way you know he was
so happy, that (with a marvelous delight to those that
heard him) he would presently convey the highest Points of
Religion, and the most important Affairs of State to an
ordinary apprehension.*

*In reading be pleas'd to distinguish Times, and in your
Fancy carry along with you, the When and the Why,
many of these things were spoken; this will give them
the more Life, and the smarter Relish. 'Tis possible the
Entertainment you find in them, may render you the more
inclinable to pardon the Presumption of*

Your most Obliged and
most Humble Servant,
RI : MILWARD.

* Misprints for Mr. Justice Hale and Edward Heyward : see p. 7.

THE
DISCOURSES

OF

John Selden, Esq;

Abbies, Priors, &c.

1. **T**HE unwillingness of the Monks to part with their Land, will fall out to be just nothing, because they were yielded up to the King by a Supream Hand (*viz.*) a Parliament. If a King conquer another Country, the People are loth to loose their Lands, yet no Divine will deny, but the King may give them to whom he please. If a Parliament make a Law concerning Leather, or any other Commodity, you and I for Example are Parliament Men, perhaps in respect to our own private Interests, we are against it, yet the Major part conclude it, we are then involv'd and the Law is good.

2. When the Founder of Abbies laid a Curse upon those that should take away those Lands, I would fain know what Power they had to curse me; 'Tis not the Curses that come from the Poor, or from any body, that hurt me, because they come from them, but because I do something ill against them that deserves God should curse me for it. On the other side 'tis not a man's Blessing me that makes me blessed, he only declares me to be so, and if I do well I shall be blessed, whether any blefs me or not.

3. At the time of Diffolution, they were tender in taking from the Abbots and Priors their Lands and their Houses, till they surrendred them (as most of

them did) indeed the Prior of St. *John's*, Sir *Richard Weston*, being a stout Man, got into *France*, and stood out a whole year, at last submitted, and the King took in that Priory also, to which the Temple belonged, and many other Houses in *England*, they did not then cry no Abbots, no Priors, as we do now no Bishops, no Bishops.

4. *Henry* the Fifth put away the Friars, Aliens, and seiz'd to himself 100000*l.* a year, and therefore they were not the Protestants only that took away Church Lands.

5. In Queen *Elizabeth's* time, when all the Abbies were pulled down, all good Works defaced, then the Preachers must cry up Justification by Faith, not by good Works.

Articles.

1. **T**HE nine and thirty Articles are much another thing in Latin, (in which Tongue they were made) then they are translated into English, they were made at three several Convocations, and confirmed by Act of Parliament six or seven times after. There is a Secret concerning them: Of late Ministers have subscribed to all of them, but by Act of Parliament that confirm'd them, they ought only to subscribe to those Articles which contain matter of Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, as appears by the first Subscriptions. But Bishop *Bancroft* (in the Convocation held in King *James's* days) he began it, that Ministers should subscribe to three things, to the Kings Supremacy, to the Common-prayer, and to the Thirty nine Articles; many of them do not contain matter of Faith. Is it matter of Faith how the Church should be govern'd? Whether Infants should be Baptized? Whether we have any Property in our Goods? &c.

Baptism.

1. **T**Was a good way to persuade men to be christned, to tell them that they had a Foulness about them, *viz.* Original Sin, that could not be washed away but by Baptism.

2. The Baptizing of Children with us, does only

prepare a Child againſt he comes to be a Man, to underſtand what Chriſtianity means. In the Church of *Rome* it hath this effect, it frees Children from Hell. They ſay they go into *Limbus Infantum*. It ſucceeds Circumciſion, and we are ſure the Child underſtood nothing of that at eight days old ; why then may not we as reaſonably baptiſe a Child at that Age? in *England* of late years I ever thought the Parſon baptiz'd his own Fingers rather than the Child.

3. In the Primitive times they had God-fathers to ſee the Children brought up in the Chriſtian Religion, becauſe many times, when the Father was a Chriſtian, the Mother was not, and ſometimes when the Mother was a Chriſtian, the Father was not, and therefore they made choice of two or more that were Chriſtians, to ſee their Children brought up in that Faith.

Baſtard.

1. 'TIS ſaid the 23d. of *Deuteron*. 2. [*A Baſtard ſhall not enter into the Congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth Generation.*] *Non ingreditur in Eccleſiam Domini*, he ſhall not enter into the Church. The meaning of the Phraſe is, he ſhall not marry a Jewish Woman. But upon this groſly miſtaken ; a Baſtard at this day in the Church of *Rome*, without a Diſpenſation, cannot take Orders ; the thing haply well enough, where 'tis ſo ſetled ; but 'tis upon a Miſtake (the Place having no reference to the Church) appears plainly by what follows at the third Verſe [*An Ammonite or Moabite ſhall not enter into the Congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth Generation.*] Now you know with the Jews an Ammonite, or a Moabite could never be a Prieſt, becauſe their Prieſts were born ſo, not made.

Bible, Scripture.

1. 'TIS a great queſtion how we know Scripture to be Scripture, whether by the Church, or by Mans private Spirit. Let me ask you how I know any thing? how I know this Carpet to be Green? Firſt, becauſe ſomebody told me it was

Green; that you call the Church in your Way. Then after I have been told it is green, when I see that Colour again, I know it to be Green, my own Eyes tell me it is Green, that you call the private Spirit.

2. The English Translation of the Bible, is the best Translation in the World, and renders the Sense of the Original best, taking in for the English Translation, the Bishops Bible, as well as King *James's*. The Translation in King *James's* time took an excellent way. That part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a Tongue (as the *Apochrypha* to *Andrew Downs*) and then they met together, and one read the Translation, the rest holding in their Hands some Bible, either of the learned Tongues, or *French*, *Spanish*, *Italian*, &c. if they found any Fault they spoke, if not, he read on.

3. There is no Book so translated as the Bible for the purpose. If I translate a *French* Book into *English*, I turn it into *English* Phrase, not into *French English* [*Il fait froid*] I say 'tis cold, not, it makes cold, but the Bible is rather translated into *English* Words, than into *English* Phrase. The Hebraisms are kept, and the Phrase of that Language is kept: As for Example [he uncovered her Shame] which is well enough, so long as Scholars have to do with it; but when it comes among the Common People, Lord, what Gear do they make of it!

4. *Scrutamini Scripturas*. These two Words have undone the World, because Christ spake it to his Disciples, therefore we must all, Men, Women and Children, read and interpret the Scripture.

5. *Henry* the Eighth made a Law, that all Men might read the Scripture, except Servants, but no Woman, except Ladies and Gentlewomen, who had Leisure, and might ask somebody the meaning. The Law was repealed in *Edward* the Sixth's days.

6. Lay-men have best interpreted the hard places in the Bible, such as *Johannes Picus*, *Scaliger*, *Grotius*, *Salmansius*, *Heinsius*, &c.

7. If you ask which of *Erasmus*, *Beza*, or *Grotius*

did best upon the New Testament, 'tis an Idle question, for they all did well in their way. *Eraſmus* broke down the firſt Brick, *Beza* added many things, and *Grotius* added much to him, in whom we have either ſomething new, or ſomething heightned, that was ſaid before, and ſo 'twas neceſſary to have them all three.

8. The Text ſerves only to gueſs by, we muſt ſatiſfie our ſelves fully out of the Authors that liv'd about thoſe times.

9. In interpreting the Scripture, many do, as if a man ſhould ſee one have ten pounds, which he reckoned by 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. meaning four, was but four Unities, and five, five Unities, &c. and that he had in all but ten pounds; the other that ſees him, takes not the Figures together as he doth, but picks here and there, and thereupon reports, that he hath five pounds in one Bag, and fix pounds in another Bag, and nine pounds in another Bag, &c. when as in truth he hath but ten pounds in all. So we pick out a Text here, and there to make it ſerve our turn; whereas, if we take it all together, and conſider'd what went before, and what followed after, we ſhould find it meant no ſuch thing.

10. Make no more Allegories in Scripture than needs muſt, the Fathers were too frequent in them, they indeed, before they fully underſtood the literal Sence, look'd out for an Allegory. The Folly whereof you may conceive thus; here at the firſt ſight appears to me in my Window, a Glaſs and a Book, I take it for granted 'tis a Glaſs and a Book, thereupon I go about to tell you what they ſignifie; afterwards, upon nearer view, they prove no ſuch thing, one is a Box made like a Book, the other is a Picture made like a Glaſs, where's now my Allegory?

11. When Men meddle with the Literal Text, the queſtion is, where they ſhould ſtop; in this caſe a Man might venture his Diſcretion, and do his beſt to ſatiſfie himſelf and others in thoſe places where he doubts, for although we call the Scripture the Word of God (as it is) yet it was writ by a Man, a mercenary

Man, whose Copy, either might be false, or he might make it false: For Example, here were a thousand Bibles printed in *England* with the Text thus, [*Thou shalt commit Adultery*] the Word [*not*] left out; might not this Text be mended?

12. The Scripture may have more Senses besides the Literal, because God understands all things at once, but a Mans Writing has but one true Sense, which is that which the Author meant when he writ it.

13. When you meet with several Readings of the Text, take heed you admit nothing against the Tenets of your Church, but do as if you were going over a Bridge, be sure you hold fast by the Rail, and then you may dance here and there as you please, be sure you keep to what is settled, and then you may flourish upon your various Lections.

14. The *Apochrypha* is bound with the Bibles of all Churches that have been hitherto. Why should we leave it out? the Church of *Rome* has her *Apochrypha* (*viz.*) *Sufanna* and *Bell and the Dragon*, which she does not esteem equally with the rest of those Books that we call *Apochrypha*.

Bishops before the Parliament.

1. **A** Bishop as a Bishop, had never any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; for as soon as he was *Electus Confirmatus*, that is, after the three Proclamations in *Bow-Church*, he might exercise Jurisdiction, before he was consecrated, not till then, he was no Bishop, neither could he give Orders. Besides, *Suffragans* were Bishops, and they never claim'd any Jurisdiction.

2. Antiently, the Noble Men lay within the City for Safety and Security. The Bishops Houses were by the Water-side, because they were held Sacred Persons which no body would hurt.

3. There was some Sense for *Commendams* at first, when there was a Living void, and never a Clerk to serve it, the Bishops was to keep it till they found a fit Man, but now 'tis a Trick for the Bishop to keep it for himself.

4. For a Bishop to preach, 'tis to do other Folks Office, as if the Steward of the House should execute the Porters or the Cooks place; 'tis his Business to see that they and all other about the House perform their Duties.

5. That which is thought to have done the Bishops hurt, is their going about to bring men to a blind Obedience, imposing things upon them [though perhaps small and well enough] without preparing them, and insinuating into their Reasons and Fancies, every man loves to know his Commander. I wear those Gloves, but perhaps if an Alderman should command me, I should think much to do it; what has he to do with me? Or if he has, peradventure I do not know it. This jumping upon things at first dash will destroy all; to keep up Friendship, there must be little Addresses and Applications, whereas Bluntness spoils it quickly: To keep up the Hierarchy, there must be little Applications made to men, they must be brought on by little and little: So in the Primitive times the Power was gain'd, and so it must be continued. *Scaliger* said of *Erasmus*: *Si minor esse voluit, major fuisset.* So we may say of the Bishops, *Si minores esse voluerint majores fuissent.*

6. The Bishops were too hasty, else with a discreet slowness they might have had what they aim'd at: The old Story of the Fellow, that told the Gentleman, that he might get to such a place, if he did not ride too fast, would have fitted their turn.

7. For a Bishop to cite an old Cannon to strengthen his new Articles, is as if a Lawyer should plead an old Statute that has been repeal'd God knows how long.

Bishops in the Parliament.

I. **B**ishops have the same Right to sit in Parliament as the best Earls and Barons, that is, those that were made by Writ: If you ask one of them [*Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland*] why they sit in the House? they can only say, their Fathers fate there before them, and their Grand-father before him,

&c. And so fays the Bifhops, he that was a Bifhop of this Place before me, fate in the Houfe, and he that was a Bifhop before him, &c. Indeed your later Earls and Barons have it expreffed in their Patents, that they fhall be called to Parliament. *Objection*, But the Lords fit there by Blood, the Bifhops not. *Answer*, 'Tis true, they fit not there both the fame way, yet that takes not away the Bifhops Right: If I am a Parfon of a Parifh, I have as much Right to my Gleab and Tyth, as you have to your Land which your Anceftors have had in that Parifh eight hundred years.

2. The Bifhops were not Barons, becaufe they had Baronies annex to their Bifhopricks (for few of them had fo, unlefs the old ones, *Canterbury, Wincheftter, Durham, &c.* the new erected we are fure had none, as *Glocefter, Peterborough, &c.*, befides, few of the Temporal Lords had any Baronies.) But they are Barons, becaufe they are called by Writ to the Parliament, and Bifhops were in the Parliament ever fince there was any mention or fign of a Parliament in *England*.

3. Bifhops may be judged by the Peers, though in time of Popery it never hapned, becaufe they pretended they were not obnoxious to a Secular Court, but their way was to cry, *Ego fum Frater Domini Papæ*, I am Brother to my Lord the Pope, and therefore take not my felf to be judged by you; in this Cafe they impanelled a Middlefex Jury, and difpatcht the Bufinefs.

4. Whether may Bifhops be prefent in cafes of Blood? *Anfw.* That they had a Right to give Votes, appears by this, always when they did go out, they left a Proxy, and in the time of the Abbots, one man had 10. 20. or 30. Voices. In *Richard* the Seconds time, there was a Proteftation againft the Canons, by which they were forbidden to be prefent in cafe of Blood. The Statute of 25th of *Henry* the Eighth may go a great way in this Bufinefs. The Clergy were forbidden to ufe or cite any Cannon, &c. but in the latter end of the Statute, there was a Clause, that fuch Cannons

that were in uſage in this Kingdom, ſhould be in force till the thirty two Commiſſioners appointed ſhould make others, provided they were not contrary to the Kings Supremacy. Now the Queſtion will be, whether theſe Cannons for Blood were in uſe in this Kingdom or no? the contrary whereof may appear by many Preſidents, in *R.* 3. and *H.* 7. and the beginning of *H.* 8. in which time there were more attainted than ſince, or ſcarce before: The Cannons of Irregularity of Blood were never received in *England*, but upon pleaſure. If a Lay Lord was attainted, the Biſhops aſſented to his Condemning, and were always preſent at the paſſing of the Bill of Attainder: But if a Spiritual Lord, they went out as if they cared not whoſe Head was cut off, ſo none of their own. In thoſe days the Biſhops being of great Houſes, were often entangled with the Lords in Matters of Treafon. But when d'ye hear of a Biſhop a Traytor now?

5. You would not have Biſhops meddle with Temporal Affairs, think who you are that ſay it. If a Papiſt, they do in your Church; if an *English* Proteſtant, they do among you; if a Presbyterian, where you have no Biſhops, you mean your Presbyterian Lay Elders ſhould meddle with Temporal Affairs as well as Spiritual. Beſides, all Jurisdiction is Temporal, and in no Church, but they have ſome Jurisdiction or other. The Queſtion then will be reduced to *Magis* and *Minis*; they meddle more in one Church than in another.

6. *Objection.* Biſhops give not their Votes by Blood in Parliament, but by an Office annexed to them, which being taken away, they ceaſe to vote, therefore there is not the ſame reaſon for them as for Temporal Lords. *Anſw.* We do not pretend they have that Power the ſame way, but they have a Right: He that has an Office in *Weſtminſter-Hall* for his Life, the Office is as much his, as his Land is his that hath Land by Inheritance.

7. Whether had the inferior Clergy ever any thing to do in the Parliament? *Anſw.* No, no otherwiſe

than thus, There were certain of the Clergy that used to affemble near the Parliament, with whom the Bishops, upon occasion might confult (but there were none of the Convocation, as 'twas afterwards fetled, (*viz.*) the Dean, the Arch-Deacon, one for the Chapter, and two for the Diocefs) but it hapned by continuance of time (to fave Charges and Trouble) their Voices and the Confent of the whole Clergy were involved in the Bishops, and at this day the Bishops Writs run, to bring all thefe to the Parliament, but the Bishops themfelves ftand for all.

8. Bishops were formerly one of thefe two Conditions, either Men bred Canonifts and Civilians, fent up and down Ambaffadors to *Rome* and other Parts, and fo by their Merit came to that Greatnefs, or elfe great Noble Mens Sons, Brothers, and Nephews, and fo born to govern the State: Now they are of a low Condition, their Education nothing of that way; he gets a Living, and then a greater Living, and then a greater then that, and fo comes to govern.

9. Bishops are now unfit to Govern becaufe of their Learning, they are bred up in another Law, they run to the Text for fomething done amongst the *Jews* that nothing concerns *England*, 'tis juft as if a Man would have a Kettle and he would not go to our *Brazier* to have it made; as they make Kettles, but he would have it made as *Hiram* made his Brafs work, who wrought in *Solomons* Temple.

10. To take away Bishops Votes, is but the beginning to take them away; for then they can be no longer ufeful to the King or State. 'Tis but like the little Wimble, to let in the greater Auger. Objection. But they are but for their Life, and that makes them always go for the King as he will have them. *Answer.* This is againft a double Charity, for you muft always fuppose a bad King and bad Bishops. Then again, whether will a Man be fooner content, himfelf fhould be made a Slave or his Son after him? [when we talk of our Children we mean our felves,] befides they that have pofterity are more obliged to the King, then

they that are only for themselves, in all the reason in the World.

11. How shall the Clergy be in the Parliament if the Bishops are taken away? *Answer.* By the Layety, because the Bishops in whom the rest of the Clergy are included, are sent to the taking away their own Votes, by being involv'd in the major part of the House. This follows naturally.

12. The Bishops being put out of the House, whom will they lay the fault upon now? When the Dog is beat out of the Room, where will they lay the flink?

Bishops out of the Parliament.

1. **I**N the beginning Bishops and Presbyters were alike, like the Gentlemen in the Country, whereof one is made Deputy Livetenant, another Justice of Peace, so one is made a Bishop, another a Dean; and that kind of Government by Arch-Bishops, and Bishops no doubt came in, in imitation of the Temporal Government, not *Jure Divino*. In time of the *Roman* Empire, where they had a Legatus, there they placed an Arch-Bishop, where they had a Rector there a Bishop, that every one might be instructed in Christianity, which now they had received into the Empire.

2. They that speak ingeniously of Bishops and Presbyters, say, that a Bishop is a great Presbyter, and during the time of his being Bishop, above a Presbyter: as your President of the Colledge of Physitians, is above the rest, yet he himself is no more than a Doctor of Physick.

3. The words [Bishop and Presbyter] are promiscuously used, that is confessed by all, and though the word [Bishop] be in *Timothy* and *Titus*, yet that will not prove the Bishops ought to have a Jurisdiction over the Presbyter, though *Timothy* and *Titus* had by the order that was given them: some Body must take care of the rest, and that Jurisdiction was but to Excommunicate, and that was but to tell them they should come no more into their Company. Or grant they did make Canons one for another, before they came to

be in the State, does it follow they must do so when the State has receiv'd them into it? What if *Timothy* had Power in *Ephesus*, and *Titus* in *Creet* over the *Presbyters*? Does it follow therefore the Bishop must have the same in *England*? Must we be govern'd like *Ephesus* and *Creet*?

4. However some of the Bishops pretend to be *Jure Divino*, yet the Practice of the Kingdom had ever been otherwise, for whatever Bishops do otherwise then the Law permits, *Westminster-Hall* can controul, or send them to absolve, &c.

5. He that goes about to prove Bishops *Jure Divino*, does as a Man that having a Sword shall strike it against an Anvil, if he strike it a while there, he may peradventure loosen it, though it be never so well riveted, 'twill serve to strike another Sword (or cut Flesh) but not against an Anvil.

6. If you should say you hold your Land by *Moses* or Gods Law, and would try it by that, you may perhaps loose, but by the Law of the Kingdom you are sure of it, so may the Bishops by this Plea of *Jure Divino* loose all; The Pope had as good a Title by the Law of *England* as could be had, had he not left that, and claim'd by Power from God.

7. There is no Government enjoyn'd by Example, but by Precept; it does not follow we must have Bishops still, because we have had them so long. They are equally mad who say Bishops are so *Jure Divino* that they must be continued, and they who say they are so Antichristian, that they must be put away, all is as the State pleases.

8. To have no Ministers, but Presbyters, 'tis as in the Temporal state they should have no Officers but Constables. Bishops do best stand with Monarchy, thus as amongst the Laity, you have Dukes, Lords, Lieutenants, Judges, &c. to send down the Kings pleasure to his Subjects; So you have Bishops to govern the inferiour Clergy: These upon occasion may address themselves to the King, otherwise every Parson of the Parish must come, and run up to the Court.

9. The Protestants have no Bishops in *France*, because they live in a Catholic Country, and they will not have Catholic Bishops ; therefore they must govern themselves as well as they may.

10. What is that to the purpose, to what end Bishops Lands were given to them at first? you must look to the Law and Custom of the place. What is that to any Temporal Lords Estate, how Lands were first divided, or how in *William* the Conquerours days? And if Men at first were juggled out of their Estates, yet they are rightly their Successours. If my Father cheat a Man, and he consent to it, the Inheritance is rightly mine.

11. If there be no Bishops, there must be something else, which has the Power of Bishops, though it be in many, and then had you not as good keep them? If you will have no Half Crowns, but only single Pence, yet Thirty single Pence are a Half-Crown ; and then had you not as good keep both? But the Bishops have done ill, 'twas the Men, not the Function ; As if you should say, you would have no more Half Crowns, because they were stolen, when the truth is they were not stolen because they were Half-Crowns, but because they were Money and light in a Thieves hand.

12. They that would pull down the Bishops and erect a new way of Government, do as he that pulls down an old House, and builds another, in another fashion, there's a great deal of do, and a great deal of trouble, the old rubbish must be carryed away, and new materials must be brought, Workmen must be provided, and perhaps the old one would have serv'd as well.

13. If the Parliament and *Presbyterian Party* should dispute who should be Judge? Indeed in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*, there was such a difference, between the *Protestants* and *Papists*, and Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord Chancellor was appointed to be Judge, but the Conclusion was the stronger *Party* carryed it : For so Religion was brought into Kingdoms, so it has

been continued, and so it may be cast out, when the State pleases.

14. 'Twill be a great discouragement to Scholars that *Bishops* should be put down: For now the Father can say to his Son, and the Tutor to his *Pupil*, *Study hard, and you shall have Vocem et Sedem in Parlamento*; then it must be, *Study hard, and you shall have a hundred a year if you please your Parish*. *Obj.* But they that enter into the Ministry for preferment, are like *Judas* that lookt after the *Bag*. *Anf.* It may be so, if they turn Scholars at *Judas's* Age, but what Arguments will they use to persuade them to follow their *Books* while they are young?

Books, Authors.

1. **T**HE giving a *Bookfeller* his price for his *Books* has this advantage, he that will do so, shall have the refusal of whatsoever comes to his hand, and so by that means get many things, which otherwise he never should have seen. So 'tis in giving a *Bawd* her price.

2. In buying Books or other Commodities, 'tis not always the best way to bid half so much as the feller asks: witness the Country fellow that went to buy two groat Shillings, they askt him three Shillings, and he bid them Eighteen Pence.

3. They counted the price of the Books (*Acts* 19. 19.) and found Fifty Thousand pieces of Silver, that is so many Sextertii, or so many three half pence of our Money, about Three Hundred pound Sterling.

4. Popish Books teach and inform, what we know, we know much out of them. The Fathers, Church Story, Schoolmen, all may pass for Popish Books, and if you take away them, what Learning will you leave? Besides who must be Judge? The Customer or the Waiter? If he disallows a Book it must not be brought into the Kingdom, then Lord have mercy upon all Schollars. These Puritan Preachers if they have any things good, they have it out of Popish Books, though they will not acknowledg[e] it, for fear of displeasing

the people, he is a poor Divine that cannot sever the good from the bad.

5. 'Tis good to have Translations, because they serve as a Comment, so far as the Judgement of the Man goes.

6. In Answering a Book, 'tis best to be short, otherwise he that I write against will suspect I intend to weary him, not to satisfy him. Besides in being long I shall give my Adversary a huge advantage, somewhere or other he will pick a hole.

7. In quoting of Books, quote such Authors as are usually read, others you may read for your own Satisfaction, but not name them.

8. Quoting of Authors is most for matter of Fact, and then I write them as I would produce a Witness, sometimes for a free Expression, and then I give the Author his due, and gain my self praise by reading him.

9. To quote a modern *Dutch* Man where I may use a Classic Author, is as if I were to justify my Reputation, and I neglect all Persons of Note and Quality that know me, and bring the Testimonial of the Scullion in the Kitchen.

Cannon Law.

IF I would study the Cannon-Law as it is used in *England*, I must study the Heads here in use, then go to the Practicers in those Courts where that Law is practised, and know their Customs, so for all the study in the World.

Ceremony.

1. **C**eremony keeps up all things; 'Tis like a Penny-Glass to a rich Spirit, or some Excellent Water, without it the water were spilt, the Spirit lost.

2. Of all people Ladies have no reason to cry down Ceremonies, for they take themselves slighted without it. And were they not used with Ceremony, with Complements and Addresses, with Legs, and Kissing of Hands, they were the pittifullest Creatures in the World, but yet methinks to kiss their Hands after their

Lips as some do, is like little Boys, that after they eat the Apple, fall to the paring, out of a Love they have to the Apple.

Chancellor.

1. **T**HE Bishop is not to fit with the Chancellor in his Court (as being a thing either beneath him, or beside him) no more then the King is to fit in the *Kings-Bench* when he has made a Lord-Chief-Justice.

2. The Chancellor govern'd in the Church, who was a Layman. And therefore 'tis false which they charge the Bishops with, that they Challenge sole Jurisdiction. For the Bishop can no more put out the Chancellor than the Chancellor the Bishop. They were many of them made Chancellors for their Lives, and he is the fittest Man to Govern, because Divinity so overwhelms the rest.

Changing Sides.

1. **'T**IS the Tryal of a Man to see if he will Change his side, and if he be so weak as to Change once, he will Change again. Your Country Fellows have a way to try if a Man be weak in the Hams, by coming behind him, and giving him a blow unawares, if he bend once, he will bend again.

2. The Lords that fall from the King after they have got Estates, by base Flattery at Court, and now pretend Conscience, do as a Vintner, that when he first sets up, you may bring your Wench to his House, and do your things there, but when he grows Rich, he turns Conscientious, and will sell no Wine upon the Sabbath-day.

3. Collonel *Goring* serving first the one side and then the other, did like a good Miller that knows how to grind which way soever the Wind fits.

4. After *Luther* had made a Combustion in *Germany* about Religion, he was sent to by the *Pope*, to be taken off, and offer'd any preferment in the Church, that he would make choice of, *Luther* answer'd, if he had offered half as much at first, he would have accepted

it, but now he had gone so far, he could not come back, in Truth he had made himself a greater thing than they could make him, the *German* Princes Courted him, he was become the Authour of a Sect ever after to be called *Lutherans*. So have our Preachers done that are against the Bishops, they have made themselves greater with the People, than they can be made the other way, and therefore there is the less Charity probably in bringing them of. Charity to Strangers is enjoyned in the Text, by Strangers is there understood those that are not of our own kin, Strangers to your Blood, not those you cannot tell whence they came, that is be Charitable to your Neighbours whom you know to be honest poor People.

Christmas.

1. **C** *Hristmas* succeeds the *Saturnalia*, the same time, the same number of Holy days, then the Master waited upon the Servant like the Lord of *Misrule*.

2. Our Meats and our Sports (much of them) have relation to Church-works. The Coffin of our *Christmas* Pies in shape long, is in imitation of the Cratch, our Choosing Kings and Queens on Twelfth night, hath reference to the Three Kings. So likewise our eating of Fritters, whipping of Tops, Roasting of Herrings, Jack of Lents, &c. they were all in imitation of Church-works, Emblems of *Martyrdom*. Our Tanfies at *Easter* have reference to the bitter Herbs: though at the same time 'twas always the Fashion for a Man to have a Gammon of Bakon, to show himself to be no *Jew*.

Christians.

1. **I** N the High Church of *Jerusalem*, the Christians were but another Sect of *Jews*, that did believe the *Messias* was come. To be called was nothing else, but to become a Christian, to have the Name of a Christian, it being their own Language, for amongst the *Jews*, when they made a Doctor of Law, 'twas said he was called.

2. The *Turks* tell their People of a Heaven where there is sensible Pleasure, but of a Hell where they shall suffer they do not know what. The Christians quite invert this order, they tell us of a Hell where we shall feel sensible Pain, but of a Heaven where we shall enjoy we cannot tell what.

3. Why did the Heathens object to the Christians, that they Worship an Asses Head? you must know, that to a Heathen, a *Jew* and a Christian were all one, that they regarded him not, so he was not one of them. Now that of the Asses Head might proceed from such a mistake as this, by the *Jews* Law all the Firstlings of Cattle were to be offered to God, except a Young Ass, which was to be redeem'd, a Heathen being present, and seeing young Calves, and young Lambs killed at their Sacrifices, only young Asses redeem'd might very well think they had that silly Beast in some high Estimation, and thence might imagine they worshipt it as a God.

Church.

1. **H**eretofore the Kingdom let the Church alone, let them do what they would, because they had something else to think of (*viz.*) Wars, but now in time of peace, we begin to examine all things, will have nothing but what we like, grow dainty and wanton, just as in a Family the Heir uses to go a hunting, he never considers how his Meal is dress'd, takes a bit, and away, but when he stays within, then he grows curious, he does not like this, nor he does not like that, he will have his Meat dress'd his own way, or peradventure he will dress it himself.

2. It hath ever been the gain of the Church when the King will let the Church have no Power to cry down the King and cry up the Church: but when the Church can make use of the Kings Power, then to bring all under the Kings Perogative, the Catholicks of *England* go one way, and the Court Clergy another.

3. A glorious Church is like a Magnificent Feast there is all the variety that may be, but every one

chooses out a dish or two that he likes, and lets the rest alone, how Glorious soever the Church is, every one chooses out of it his own Religion, by which he governs himself and lets the rest alone.

4. The Laws of the Church are most Favourable to the Church, because they were the Churches own making, as the Heralds are the best Gentlemen because they make their own Pedigree.

5. There is a Question about that Article, Concerning the Power of the Church, whether these words [of having Power in Controversies of Faith] were not stoln in, but 'tis most certain they were in the Book of Articles that was Confirm'd, though in some Editions they have been left out : But the Article before tells you, who the Church is, not the Clergy, but *Cætus fidelium*.

Church of Rome.

1. **B**Efore a Juglars Tricks are discovered we admire him, and give him Money, but afterwards we care not for them, so 'twas before the discovery of the Jugling of the Church of *Rome*.

2. Catholics say, we out of our Charity, believe they of the Church of *Rome* may be saved : But they do not believe so of us. Therefore their Church is better according to our selves ; first, some of them no doubt believe as well of us, as we do of them, but they must not say so, besides is that an Argument their Church is better than Ours, because it has less Charity ?

3. One of the *Church of Rome* will not come to our Prayers, does that agree he doth not like them ? I would fain see a *Catholic* leave his Dinner, because a Nobleman's *Chaplain* says Grace, nor haply would he leave the Prayers of the *Church*, if going to *Church* were not made a mark of distinction between a *Protestant* and a *Papist*.

Churches.

1. **T**HE Way coming into our great Churches was Antiently at the West door, that Men might see the Altar, and all the Church before them, the other Doors were but Posterns.

City.

1. **W**Hat makes a City? Whether a Bishoprick or any of that nature? *Answer.* 'Tis according to the first Charter which made them a Corporation. If they are Incorporated by Name of *Civitas* they are a City, if by the name of *Burgum*, then they are a Burrough.

2. The Lord Mayor of *London* by their first Charter was to be presented to the King, in his absence to the Lord Chief Justiciary of *England*, afterwards to the Lord Chancellor, now to the Barons of the Exchequer, but still there was a Reservation, that for their Honour they should come once a Year to the King, as they do still.

Clergy.

1. **T**Hough a Clergy-Man have no Faults of his own, yet the Faults of the whole Tribe shall be laid upon him, so that he shall be sure not to lack.

2. The Clergy would have us believe them against our own Reason, as the Woman would have her Husband against his own Eyes: What! will you believe your own Eyes before your own sweet Wife?

3. The Condition of the Clergy towards their Prince, and the Condition of the Physician is all one: the Physicians tell the Prince they have Agrick and Rubarb, good for him, and good for his Subjects bodies, upon this he gives them leave to use it, but if it prove naught, then away with it, they shall use it no more. So the Clergy tell the Prince they have Physick good for his Soul, and good for the Souls of his People, upon that he admits them: but when he finds by Experience they both trouble him and his People, he will have no more to do with them, what is that to them or any body else if a King will not go to Heaven.

4. A Clergy Man goes not a dram further than this, you ought to obey your Prince in general [if he does he is lost] how to obey him you must be inform'd by those whose profession it is to tell you. The Parson

of the Tower (a good discreet Man) told Dr. *Mofely* (who was sent to me, and the rest of the Gentlemen Committed the 3. *Caroli*, to persuade Us to submit to the King) that they found no such words as [Parliament, *Habeas Corpus*, *Return*, *Tower*, &c.] Neither in the Fathers, nor the School-Men, nor in the Text, and therefore for his part he believed he understood nothing of the business. A Satyr upon all those Clergy Men that meddle with Matters they do not understand.

All Confess there never was a more Learned Clergy, no Man taxes them with Ignorance. But to talk of that, is like the Fellow that was a great Wentcher he wisht God would forgive him his Leachery, and lay Ufury to his Charge. The Clergy have worse Faults.

6. The Clergy and Laity together are never like to do well, 'tis as if a Man were to make an Excellent Feast and should have his Apothecary and Physitian come into the Kitchen: The Cooks if they were let alone would make Excellent Meat, but then comes the Apothecary and he puts Rubarb into one Sauce, and Agrick into another Sauce. Chain up the Clergy on both sides.

High Commission.

1. **M**EN cry out upon the High-Commission, as if the Clergy-men only had to do in it, when I believe there are more Lay-men in Commission there, than Clergymen, if the Laymen will not come, whose fault is that? So of the Star-Chamber the People think the Bishops only censur'd *Prin*, *Burton* and *Bastwick*, when there were but two there, and one speak not in his own Cause.

House of Commons.

1. **T**Here be but two Erroneous Opinions in the House of Commons, That the Lords sit only for themselves, when the truth is, they sit as well for the Common-wealth. The Knights and Burgeffes sit for themselves and others, some for more, some for fewer, and what is the reason? Because the Room will not hold all, the Lords being

few, they all come, and imagine a Room able to hold all the Commons of *England*, then the Lords and Burgeffes would fit no otherwise than the Lords do. The second Error is, that the House of Commons are to begin to give Subsidies, yet if the Lords dissent they can give no Money.

2. The House of Commons is called the Lower House in Twenty Acts of Parliament, but what are Twenty Acts of Parliament amongst Friends?

3. The Form of a Charge runs thus, *I Accuse in the Name of all the Commons of England*, how then can any man be as a Witness, when every man is made the Accuser?

Confession.

1. **I**N time of Parliament it used to be one of the first things the House did, to petition the King that his Confessor might be removed, as fearing either his power with the King, or else, least he should reveal to the Pope what the House was in doing, as no doubt he did, when the Catholick Cause was concerned.

2. The difference between us and the *Papists* is, we both allow Contrition, but the *Papists* make Confession a part of Contrition, they say a Man is not sufficiently contrite, till he confess his sins to a Priest.

3. Why should I think a Priest will not reveal Confession, I am sure he will do anything that is forbidden him, haply not so often as I, the utmost punishment is Deprivation, and how can it be proved, that ever any man reveal'd Confession, when there is no Witness? And no man can be Witness in his own cause. A meer Gullery. There was a time when 'twas publick in the Church, and there is much against their Auricular Confession.

Competency.

1. **T**HAT which is a Competency for one Man, is not enough for another, no more than that which will keep one Man warm, will keep another Man warm; one Man can go in Doublet and

Hose, when another Man cannot be without a Cloak, and yet have no more Cloaths than is necessary for him.

Great-Conjunction.

THE greatest Conjunction of *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, happens but once in Eight Hundred Years, and therefore Astrologers can make no Experiments of it, nor foretel what it means, (not but that the Stars may mean somthing, but we cannot tell what) because we cannot come at them. Suppose a Planet were a Simple, or an Herb, How could a Phyfician tell the Vertue of that Simple, unless he could come at it, to apply it?

Conscience.

1. **H**E that hath a Scrupulous Conscience, is like a Horfe that is not well weigh'd, he starts at every Bird that flies out of the Hedge.
2. A knowing Man will do that, which a tender Conscience Man dares not do, by reason of his Ignorance, the other knows there is no hurt, as a Child is afraid to go into the dark, when a Man is not, because he knows there is no danger.
3. If we once come to leave that out-loofe, as to pretend Conscience against Law, who knows what inconvenience may follow? For thus, Suppose an *Anabaptist* comes and takes my Horfe, I Sue him, he tells me he did according to his Conscience, his Conscience tells him all things are common amongst the Saints, what is mine is his, therefore you do ill to make such a Law, If any Man takes anothers Horfe he shall be hang'd. What can I say to this Man? He does according to his Conscience. Why is not he as honest a Man as he that pretends a Ceremony established by Law, is against his Conscience? Generally to pretend Conscience against Law is dangerous, in some cases haply we may.
4. Some men make it a case of Conscience, whether a man may have a Pidgeon-house, because his Pidgeons eat other Folks Corn. But there is no such thing as

Conscience in the business, the matter is, whether he be a man of such Quality, that the State allows him to have a Dove-house, if so there's an end of the business, his Pidgeons have a right to eat where they please themselves.

Consecrated Places.

1. **T**HE *Jews* had a peculiar way of Consecrating things to God, which we have not.

2. Under the Law, God, who was Master of all, made choice of a Temple to Worship in, where he was more especially present: Just as the Master of the House, who ow[n]s all the House, makes choice of one Chamber to lie in, which is called the Master's Chamber, but under the Gospel there was no such thing, Temples and Churches are set apart for the conveniency of men to Worship in; they cannot meet upon the point of a Needle, but God himself makes no choice.

3. All things are Gods already, we can give him no right by consecrating any, that he had not before, only we set it apart to his Service. Just as a Gardiner brings his Lord and Master a Basket of Apricocks, and presents them, his Lord thanks him, perhaps gives him something for his pains, and yet the Apricocks were as much his Lords before as now.

4. What is Consecrated, is given to some particular man, to do God Service, not given to God, but given to Man, to serve God: And there's not any thing, Lands or Goods, but some men or other have it in their power, to dispose of as they please. The saying things Consecrated cannot be taken away, makes men afraid of Consecration.

5. Yet Consecration has this Power, when a Man has Consecrated any thing to God, he cannot of himself take it away.

Contracts.

1. **I**F our Fathers have lost their Liberty, why may not we labour to regain it? *Ans^w.* We must look to the Contract, if that be rightly made we must stand to it, if we once grant we may recede

from Contracts upon any inconveniency that may afterwards happen, we shall have no Bargain kept. If I sell you a Horse, and do not like my Bargain, I will have my Horse again.

2. Keep your Contracts, so far a Divine goes, but how to make our Contracts is left to our selves, and as we agree upon the conveying of this House, or that Land, so it must be, if you offer me a hundred pounds for my Glove. I tell you what my Glove is, a plain Glove, pretend no virtue in it, the Glove is my own, I profess not to sell Gloves, and we agree for an hundred pounds. I do not know why I may not with a safe Conscience take it. The want of that common Obvious Distinction of *Jus præceptivum*, and *Jus permissum*, does much trouble men.

3. Lady *Kent* Articled with Sir *Edward Herbert*, that he should come to her when she sent for him, and stay with her as long as she would have him, to which he set his hand; then he Articled with her, That he should go away when he pleas'd, and stay away as long as he pleas'd, to which she set her hand. This is the Epitome of all the Contracts in the World, betwixt man and man, betwixt Prince and Subject, they keep them as long as they like them, and no longer.

Council.

1. **T**hey talk (but blasphemously enough) that the Holy Ghost is President of their General-Councils, when the truth is, the odd man is still the Holy-Ghost.

Convocation.

1. **W**hen the King sends his Writ for a Parliament, he sends for two Knights for a Shire, and two Burgeffes for a Corporation: But when he sends for two Archbishops for a Convocation, he commands them to assemble the whole Clergy, but they out of custome amongst themselves send to the Bishops of their Provinces to will them to bring two Clerks for a Diocese, the Dean, one

for the Chapter, and the Arch-deacons, but to the King every Clergy-man is there present.

2. We have nothing so nearly expresses the power of a Convocation, in respect of a Parliament, as a Court-Leet, where they have a power to make By-Laws, as they call them; as that a man shall put so many Cows, or sheep in the Common, but they can make nothing that is contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom.

Creed.

1. **A** *Thanafius's* Creed is the shortest, take away the Preface, and the force, and the Conclusion, which are not part of the Creed. In the *Nicene* Creed it is *εις ἐκκλησίαν*, I believe in the Church, but now, as our Common-prayer has it, I believe one Catholick and Apostolick Church; they like not Creeds, because they would have no Forms of Faith, as they have none of Prayer, though there be more reason for the one than for the other.

Damnation.

1. **I**F the Physician sees you eat anything that is not good for your Body, to keep you from it, he crys 'tis poyson, if the Divine sees you do any thing that is hurtful for your Soul, to keep you from it, he crys out you are damn'd.

2. To preach long, loud, and Damnation is the way to be cry'd up. We love a man that Damns us, and we run after him again to save us. If a man had a fore Leg, and he should go to an Honest Judicious Chyrurgeon, and he should only bid him keep it warm, and anoint with such an Oyl (an Oyl well known) that would do the Cure, haply he would not much regard him, because he knows the Medecine before hand an ordinary Medecine. But if he should go to a Surgeon that should tell him, your Leg will Gangreen within three days, and it must be cut off, and you will die, unless you do something that I could tell you, what listning there would be to this Man? Oh for the Lord's sake, tell me what this is, I will give you any content for your pains.

Devils.

1. **W**HY have we none possess'd with Devils in *England*? The old Answer is, the Protestants the Devil hath already, and the Papists are so Holy, he dares not meddle with them. Why, then beyond Seas where a Nun is possess'd, when a *Hugonot* comes into the Church, does not the Devil hunt them out? The Priest teaches him, you never saw the Devil throw up a Nuns Coats, mark that, the Priest will not suffer it, for then the People will spit at him.

2. Casting out Devils is meer Juggling, they never cast out any but what they first cast in. They do it where for Reverence no Man shall dare to Examine it, they do it in a Corner, in a Mortice-hole, not in the Market-place. They do nothing but what may be done by Art, they make the Devil fly out of the Window in the likeness of a Bat, or a Rat, why do they not hold him? Why, in the likeness of a Bat, or a Rat, or some Creature? That is why not in some shape we Paint him in, with Claws and Horns? By this trick they gain much, gain upon Mens fancies, and so are reverenc'd, and certainly if the Priest deliver me from him, that is my most deadly Enemy, I have all the Reason in the World to Reverence him. Objection. But if this be Juggling, why do they punish Impostures? *Answer.* For great Reason, because they do not play their part well, and for fear others should discover them, and so all of them ought to be of the same Trade.

3. A Person of Quality came to my Chamber in the Temple, and told me he had two Devils in his head [I wonder'd what he meant] and just at that time, one of them bid him kill me, [with that I begun to be afraid and thought he was mad] he said he knew I could Cure him, and therefore intreated me to give him something, for he was resolv'd to go to no body else. I perceiving what an Opinion he had of me, and that 'twas only Melancholy that troubl'd him, took him in

hand, warranted him, if he would follow my directions, to Cure him in a short time. I desired him to let me be alone about an hour, and then to come again, which he was very willing to. In the mean time I got a Card, and lapt it up handsome in a piece of Taffata, and put strings to the Taffata, and when he came gave it to him, to hang about his Neck, withal charged him, that he should not disorder himself neither with eating or drinking, but eat very little of Supper, and say his Prayers duly when he went to Bed, and I made no question but he would be well in three or four days. Within that time I went to Dinner to his House and askt him how he did? He said he was much better, but not perfectly well, [f]or in truth he had not dealt clearly with me, he had four Devils in his head, and he perceiv'd two of them were gone, with that which I had given him, but the other two troubled him still. Well said I, I am glad two of them are gone I make no doubt but to get away the other two likewise. So I gave him another thing to hang about his Neck, three days after he came to me to my Chamber and profest he was now as well as ever he was in his life, and did extreamly thank me for the great care I had taken of him, I fearing least he might relapse into the like Distemper, told him that there was none but my self, and one Physitian more in the whole Town that could Cure the Devils in the head, and that was Dr. *Harvey* (whom I had prepar'd) and wisht him if ever he found himself ill in my absence to go to him, for he could Cure his Disease, as well as my self. The Gentleman lived many Years and was never troubl'd after.

Self Denyal.

I. 'T IS much the Doctrine of the times that Men should not please themselves, but deny themselves every thing they take delight in, not look upon Beauty, wear no good Clothes, eat no good Meat, &c. which seems the greatest Accusation that can be upon the maker of all good things. If

they be not to be us'd, why did God make them? The truth is, they that preach against them, cannot make use of them their selves, and then again they get Esteem by seeming to condemn them. But mark it while you live, if they do not please themselves as much as they can, and we live more by Example than precept.

Duell.

1. **A** Duell may still be granted in some Cafes by the Law of *Englana*, and only there. That the Church allow'd it Antiently, appears by this, in their publick Liturgies there were Prayers appointed for the Duellists to say, the Judge, used to bid them go to such a Church and pray, &c. But whether is this Lawful? If you grant any War Lawful, I make no doubt but to Convince it, War is Lawful, because God is the only Judge between two, that is Supream. Now if a difference happen between two Subjects, and it cannot be decided by Human Testimony, why may they not put it to God to Judge between them by the Permission of the Prince? Nay what if we should bring it down for Arguments sake, to the Swordmen. One gives me the Lye, 'tis a great disgrace to take it, the Law has made no provision to give Remedy for the Injury (if you can suppose any thing an Injury for which the Law gives no Remedy) why am not I in this case Supream, and may therefore right my self.

2. A Duke ought to fight with a Gentleman, the Reason is this, the Gentleman will say to the Duke 'tis True, you hold a higher Place in the State than I, there's a great distance between you and me, but your Dignity does not Priviledge you to do me an Injury, as soon as ever you do me an Injury, you make your self my equal, and as you are my equal I Challenge you, and in fence the Duke is bound to Answer him. This will give you some light to understand the Quarrel betwixt a Prince and his Subjects, though there be a vast distance between him and them, and they are to obey him, according to their Contract, yet he hath

no power to do them an Injury, then they think themselves as much bound to Vindicate their right, as they are to obey his Lawful Commands, nor is there any other measure of Justice left upon Earth but Arms.

Epitaph.

1. **A**N *Epitaph* must be made fit for the Person for whom it is made, for a Man to say all the Excellent things, that can be said upon one, and call that his *Epitaph*, is as if a Painter should make the handsomest piece he can possibly make, and say 'twas my Picture. It holds in a Funeral Sermon.

Equity.

1. **E**quity in Law is the same that the Spirit is in Religion, what every one pleases to make it, sometimes they go according to Conscience, sometimes according to Law, sometimes according to the Rule of Court.

2. Equity is a Roguish thing, for Law we have a measure, know what to trust to, Equity is according to Conscience of him that is Chancellor, and as that is larger or narrower, so is Equity. 'Tis all one as if they should make the Standard for the measure, we call a Chancellors Foot, what an uncertain measure would this be? One Chancellor has a long Foot, another a short Foot, a third an indifferent Foot. 'Tis the same thing in the Chancellors Conscience.

3. That saying, do as you would be done to, is often misunderstood, for 'tis not thus meant that I a private Man, should do to you a private Man, as I would have you to me, but do, as we have agreed to do one to another by publick Agreement, If the Prisoner should ask the Judge, whether he would be content to be hang'd, were he in his Case, he would answer no. Then says the Prisoner, do as you would be done to, neither of them must do as private Men, but the Judge must do by him as they have publicly agreed, that is both Judge and Prisoner have consented to a Law that if either of them Steal, they shall be hanged.

Evil-Speaking.

1. **H**E that speaks ill of another commonly before he is aware, makes himself such a one as he speaks against, for if he had the Civility or breeding he would forbear such kind of Language.

2. A Gallant Man is above ill words : an Example we have in the old Lord of *Salisbury* (who was a great wise Man) *Stone* had call'd some Lord about Court, Fool, the Lord complains and has *Stone* whipt, *Stone* cries, I might have called my Lord of *Salisbury* Fool often enough, before he would have had me whipt.

3. Speak not ill of a great Enemy but rather give him good words, that he may use you the better, if you chance to fall into his Hands, the Spaniard did this when he was dying ; his Confessor told him (to work him to Repentance) how the Devil Tormented the wicked that went to Hell : the *Spaniard* replying, called the Devil my Lord. I hope my Lord the Devil is not so Cruel, his Confessor reprov'd him. Excuse me said the *Don*, for calling him so, I know not into what hands I may fall, and if I happen into his, I hope he will use me the better for giving him good words.

Excommunication.

1. **T**HAT place they bring for Excommunication [put away from among your selves that wicked person, 1 *Cor.* 5. *Cha:* 13. *verse*] is corrupted in the *Greek*. for it should be τὸ πονηρὸν, put away that Evil from among you, not τὸν πονηρὸν, that Evil Person, besides ὁ πονηρὸς is the Devil in Scripture, and it may be so taken there, and there is a new Edition of *Theoderet* come out, that has it right τὸ πονηρὸν. 'Tis true the Christians before the Civil State became Christian, did by Covenant and Agreement fet down how they should live ; and he that did not observe what they agreed upon, should come no more amongst them, that is, be Excommunicated. Such Men are spoken of by the *Apostle* [*Romans* 1. 31.] who he

calls ἀσυνθέτους καὶ ἀσπόνδους, the Vulgar has it, *Incompositos, et sine fœdere*, the last word is pretty well, but the first not at all, *Origen* in his Book against *Celsus*, speaks of the Christians. συνθήκη: the Translation renders it *Conventus*, as it signifies a Meeting, when it is plain it signifies a Covenant, and the *English* Bible turned the other word well, Covenant-breakers. *Pliny* tells us, the Christians took an Oath amongst themselves to live thus, and thus.

2. The other place [*Dic Ecclesiæ*] tell the Church, is but a weak Ground to raise Excommunication upon, especially from the Sacrament, the lesser Excommunication, since when that was spoken, the Sacrament was instituted. The *Jews Ecclesia* was their *Sanhedrim*, their Court: so that the meaning is: if after once or twice *Admonition* this Brother will not be reclaim'd, bring him thither.

3. The first Excommunication was 180. Years after Christ, and that by Victor, Bishop of *Rome*. But that was no more than this, that they should Communicate and receive the Sacrament amongst themselves, not with those of the other Opinion: The Controversie (as I take it) being about the Feast of *Easter*. Men do not care for Excommunication because they are shut out of the Church, or delivered up to *Sathan*, but because the Law of the Kingdom takes hold of them, after so many days a Man cannot Sue, no, not for his Wife, if you take her from him, and there may be as much Reason, to grant it for a small Fault, if there be Contumacy, as for a great one, in *Westminster-Hall* you may Out-law a Man for forty Shillings, which is their Excommunication, and you can do no more for forty Thousand Pound.

4. When *Constantine* became Christian, he so fell in love with the Clergy, that he let them be Judges of all things, but that continued not above three or four Years, by reason they were to be Judges of matters they understood not, and then they were allowed to meddle with nothing but Religion, all Jurisdiction belonged to him, and he scanted them out as much as

he pleased, and so things have since continued. They Excommunicate for three or four things, matters concerning Adultery, Tythes, Wills, &c. which is the Civil Punishment the State allows for such Faults. If a Bishop Excommunicate a Man for what he ought not, the Judge has Power to absolve, and punish the Bishop, if they had that Jurisdiction from God, why does not the Church Excommunicate for Murder, for Theft? If the Civil Power might take away all but three things, why may they not take them away too? If this Excommunication were taken away, the Presbyters would be quiet; 'tis that they have a mind to, 'tis that they would fain be at, like the Wench that was to be Married; she asked her Mother when 'twas done, if she should go to Bed presently: no says her Mother you must Dine first, and then to Bed Mother? no you must Dance after Dinner, and then to Bed Mother, no you must go to Supper, and then to Bed Mother, &c.

Faith and Works.

I. 'T WAS an unhappy Division that has been made between Faith and Works; though in my Intellect I may divide them, just as in the Candle, I know there is both light and heat. But yet put out the Candle, and they are both gone, one remains not without the other: So 'tis betwixt Faith and Works; nay, in a right Conception *Fides est opus*, if I believe a thing because I am commanded, that is *Opus*.

Fasting-days.

I. WHAT the Church debars us one day, she gives us leave to take out in another. First we Fast, and then we Feast; first there is a Carnival, and then a Lent.

2. Whether do Human Laws bind the Conscience? If they do, 'tis a way to ensnare: If we say they do not, we open the door to disobedience. *Anfw.* In this Case we must look to the Justice of the Law, and intention of the Law-giver. If there be no Justice in

the Law, 'tis not to be obey'd, if the intention of the Law-giver be absolute, our obedience must be so too. If the intention of the Law-giver enjoyn a Penalty as a Compensation for the Breach of the Law, I sin not, if I submit to the Penalty, if it enjoyn a Penalty, as a further enforcement of Obedience to the Law, then ought I to observe it, which may be known by the often repetition of the Law. The way of Fasting is enjoyn'd unto them, who yet do not observe it. The Law enjoyns a Penalty as an enforcement to Obedience; which intention appears by the often calling upon us, to keep that Law by the King and the Dispensation of the Church to such as are not able to keep it, as Young Children, Old Folks, Disfeas'd Men, &c.

Fathers and Sons.

I. **I**T hath ever been the way for Fathers, to bind their Sons, to strengthen this by the Law of the Land, every one at Twelve Years of age, is to take the Oath of Allegiance in Court-Leets, whereby he swears Obedience to the King.

Fines.

I. **T**HE old Law was, That when a Man was Fin'd, he was to be Fin'd *Salvo Contentamento*, so as his Countenance might be safe, taking Countenance in the same sense as your Countryman does, when he says, if you will come unto my House, I will show you the best Countenance I can, that is not the best Face, but the best Entertainment. The meaning of the Law was, that so much should be taken from a man, such a Gobbet sliced off, that yet notwithstanding he might live in the same Rank and Condition he lived in before; but now they Fine men ten times more than they are worth.

Free-will.

I. **T**HE *Puritans* who will allow no free-will at all, but God does all, yet will allow the Subject his Liberty to do, or not to do, notwithstanding the King, the God upon Earth. The

Arminians, who hold we have free-will, yet say, when we come to the King, there must be all Obedience, and no Liberty to be stood for.

Fryers.

1. **T**HE Fryers say they possess nothing, whose then are the Lands they hold? not their Superiour's, he hath vow'd Poverty as well as they, whose then? To answer this, 'twas Decreed they should say they were the Popes. And why must the Fryers be more perfect than the Pope himself?

2. If there had been no Fryers, *Christendome* might have continu'd quiet, and things remain'd at a stay.

If there had been no Lecturers (which succeed the Friars in their way) the Church of *England* might have stood, and flourish'd at this day.

Friends.

1. **O**LD Friends are best. King *James* us'd to call for his Old Shoos, they were easiest for his Feet.

Genealogy of Christ.

1. **T**HEY that say the reason why *Joseph's* Pedigree is set down, and not *Mary's*, is, because the descent from the Mother is lost, and swallow'd up, say something; but yet if a *Jewish* Woman, marry'd with a *Gentil*, they only took notice of the Mother, not of the Father; but they that say they were both of a Tribe, say nothing, for the Tribes might Marry one with another, and the Law against it was only Temporary, in the time while *Joshua* was dividing the Land, lest the being so long about it, there might be a confusion.

2. That Christ was the Son of *Joseph* is most exactly true. For though he was the Son of God, yet with the *Jews*, if any man kept a Child, and brought him up, and call'd him Son, he was taken for his Son; and his Land (if he had any) was to descend upon him; and therefore the Genealogy of *Joseph* is justly set down.

Gentlemen.

1. **W**Hat a Gentleman is, 'tis hard with us to define, in other Countries he is known by his Privileges; in *Westminster* Hall he is one that is reputed one; in the Court of Honour, he that hath Arms. The King cannot make a Gentleman of Blood [what have you said] nor God Almighty, but he can make a Gentleman by Creation. If you ask which is the better of these two, Civilly, the Gentleman of Blood, Morally the Gentleman by Creation may be the better; for the other may be a Debauch'd man, this a Person of worth.

2. Gentlemen have ever been more Temperate in their Religion, than the Common People, as having more Reason, the others running in a hurry. In the beginning of Christianity, the Fathers writ *Contra gentes*, and *Contra Gentiles*, they were all one: But after all were Christians, the better sort of People still retain'd the name of Gentiles, throughout the four Provinces of the *Roman Empire*; as *Gentil-homme* in *French*, *Gentil homo* in *Italian*, *Gentil huombre* in *Spanish*, and *Gentil-man* in *English*: And they, no question, being Persons of Quality, kept up those Feasts which we borrow from the Gentils; as *Christmas*, *Candlemas*, *May-day*, &c. continuing what was not directly against Christianity, which the Common people would never have endured.

Gold.

1. **T**Here are two Reasons, why these words (*Jesus autem transiens per medium eorum ibat*) were about our old Gold: the one is, because *Ripley* the Alchymist, when he made Gold in the *Tower*, the first time he found it, he spoke these words [*per medium eorum*] that is, *per medium ignis, et Sulphuris*. The other, because these words were thought to be a Charm, and that they did bind whatsoever they were written upon, so that a Man could not take it away. To this Reason I rather incline.

Hall.

1. **T**HE Hall was the place where the great Lord us'd to eat, (wherefore else were the Halls made so big?) Where he saw all his Servants and Tenants about him. He eat not in private, Except in time of sickness; when once he became a thing Coopt up, all his greatness was spoil'd. Nay the King himself us'd to eat in the Hall, and his Lords ate with him, and then he understood Men.

Hell.

1. **T**HERE are two Texts for Christ's descending into Hell: The one *Psalms*. 16. The other *Acts* the 2d. where the Bible that was in use when the thirty nine Articles were made has it (*Hell*.) But the Bible that was in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, when the Articles were confirm'd, reads it (*Grave*.) and so it continu'd till the New Translation in King *James's* time, and then 'tis *Hell* again. But by this we may gather the Church of *England* declined as much as they could, the descent, otherwise they never would have alter'd the Bible.

2. (*He descended into Hell*) this may be the Interpretation of it. He may be dead and buried, then his Soul ascended into Heaven. Afterwards he descended again into *Hell*, that is, into the Grave, to fetch his Body, and to rise again. The ground of this Interpretation is taken from the Platonick Learning, who held a Metempsychosis, and when a Soul did descend from Heaven to take another Body, they call'd it *κατὰ βίαν εἰς ἄδην* taking *ἄδης* for the lower World, the state of Mortality: Now the first Christians many of them were Platonick Philosophers, and no question spake such Language as then was understood amongst them. To understand by *Hell* the Grave is no Tautology, because the Creed first tells what Christ suffer'd, *he was Crucified, Dead, and Buried*; then it tells us what he did, *he descended into Hell, the third day he rose again, he ascended, &c.*

Holy-days.

1. **T**hey say the Church imposes Holy-days, there's no such thing, though the number of Holy-days is set down in some of our Common-Prayer Books. Yet that has relation to an Act of Parliament, which forbids the keeping of any Holy-Days in time of Popery, but those that are kept, are kept by the Custom of the Country, and I hope you will not say the Church imposes that.

Humility.

1. **H**umility is a Vertue all preach, none practise, and yet every body is content to hear. The Master thinks it good Doctrine for his Servant, the Laity for the Clergy, and the Clergy for the Laity.

2. There is *Humilitas quædam in Vitio*. If a man does not take notice of that excellency and perfection that is in himself, how can he be thankful to God, who is the Author of all Excellency and Perfection? Nay, if a Man hath too mean an Opinion of himself, 'twill render him unserviceable both to God and Man.

3. Pride may be allow'd to this or that degree, else a man cannot keep up his Dignity. In Gluttons there must be Eating, in drunkenness there must be drinking; 'tis not the eating, nor 'tis not the drinking that is to be blam'd, but the Excess. So in Pride.

Idolatry.

1. **I**dolatry is in a Man's own thought, not in the Opinion of another. Put Case I bow to the Altar, why am I guilty of Idolatry? because a stander by thinks so? I am sure I do not believe the Altar to be God, and the God I worship may be bow'd to in all places, and at all times.

Jews.

1. **G**OD at the first gave Laws to all Mankind, but afterwards he gave peculiar Laws to the Jews, which they were only to observe. Just

as we have the Common Law for all *England*, and yet you have some Corporations, that, besides that, have peculiar Laws and priviledges to themselves.

2. Talk what you will of the Jews, that they are Curfed, they thrive where e're they come, they are able to oblige the Prince of their Country by lending him money, none of them beg, they keep together, and for their being hated, my life for yours, Christians hate one another as much.

Invincible Ignorance.

1. 'TIS all one to me if I am told of Christ, or some Mystery of Christianity, if I am not capable of understanding, as if I am not told at all, my Ignorance is as invincible, and therefore 'tis vain to call their Ignorance only invincible, who never were told of Christ. The trick of it is to advance the Priest, whilst the Church of *Rome* says a Man must be told of Christ, by one thus and thus ordain'd.

Images.

1. THE Papists taking away the second [Commandment], is not haply so horrid a thing, nor so unreasonable amongst Christians as we make it. For the *Jews* could make no figure of God, but they must commit Idolatry, because he had taken no shape, but since the Assumption of our flesh, we know what shape to picture God in. Nor do I know why we may not make his Image, provided we be sure what it is: as we say Saint *Luke* took the picture of the Virgin *Mary*, and Saint *Veronica* of our Saviour. Otherwise it would be no honour to the King, to make a Picture, and call it the King's Picture, when 'tis nothing like him.

2. Though the Learned Papists pray not to Images, yet 'tis to be feared the ignorant do; as appears by that Story of St. *Nicholas* in *Spain*. A Countrey-man us'd to offer daily to St. *Nicholas's* Image, at length by mischance the Image was broken, and a new one made of his own Plumb-Tree; after that the man forbore, being complain'd of to his Ordinary, he answer'd, 'tis

true, he us'd to offer to the Old Image, but to the new he could not find in his heart, because he knew 'twas a piece of his own Plumb Tree. You see what Opinion this man had of the Image, and to this tended the bowing of their Images, the twinkling of their Eyes, the Virgins Milk, &c. Had they only meant representations, a Picture would have done as well as these tricks. It may be with us in *England* they do not worship images, because living among Protestants, they are either laught out of it, or beaten out of it by shock of Argument.

3. 'Tis a discreet way concerning Pictures in Churches, to set up no new, nor to pull down no old.

Imperial Constitutions.

1. **T**hey say Imperial Constitutions did only confirm the Canons of the Church, but that is not so, for they inflicted punishment, when the Canons never did. (*viz.*) If a man Converted a Christian to be a Jew, he was to forfeit his Estate, and lose his Life. In *Valentines Novels* 'tis said. *Constat Episcopus Forum Legibus non habere, et Judicant tantum de Religione.*

Imprisonment.

1. **S**IR *Kenelme Digby* was several times taken and let go again, at last Imprison'd in *Winchester-House*. I can compare him to nothing but a great Fish that we catch and let go again, but still he will come to the Bait, at last therefore we put him into some great Pond for Store.

Incendiarics.

1. **F**ancy to your self a Man sets the City on Fire at *Cripplegate*, and that Fire continues by means of others, 'till it come to *White-Fryers*, and then he that began it would fain quench it, does not he deserve to be punisht most that first set the City on Fire? So 'tis with the Incendiarics of the State. They that first set it on fire [by Monopolizing, Forrest Business, Imprisoning Parliament Men, *tertio Caroli*,

&c.] are now become regenerate, and would fain quench the Fire; Certainly they deserv'd most to be punish'd, for being the first Cause of our Distractions.

Independency.

1. **I**Ndependency is in use at *Amsterdam*, where forty Churches or Congregations have nothing to do one with another. And 'tis no question agreeable to the Primitive times, before the Emperour became Christian. For either we must say every Church govern'd it self, or else we must fall upon that old foolish Rock, that St. *Peter* and his Successours govern'd all, but when the Civil State became Christian, they appointed who should govern them, before they govern'd by agreement and consent; if you will not do this, you shall come no more amongst us, but both the Independant man, and the Presbyterian man do equally exclude the Civil Power, though after a different manner.

2. The Independant may as well plead, they should not be subject to temporal Things, not come before a Constable, or a Justice of Peace, as they plead they should not be subject in Spiritual things, because St *Paul* says, *Is it so, that there is not a wise man amongst you?*

3. The Pope challenges all Churches to be under him, the King and the two Arch-Bishops challenge all the Church of *England* to be under them. The Presbyterian man divides the Kingdom into as many Churches as there be Presbyteries, and your Independant would have every Congregation a Church by it self.

Things Indifferent.

1. **I**N a time of Parliament, when things are under debate, they are indifferent, but in a Church or State fetled, there's nothing left indifferent.

Publick Interest.

1. **A**LL might go well in the Common-Wealth, if every one in the Parliament would lay down his own Interest, and aim at the general good. If a man were sick, and the whole Colledge of

Physicians should come to him, and administer severally, haply so long as they observ'd the Rules of Art he might recover, but if one of them had a great deal of Scamony by him, he must put off that, therefore he prescribes Scamony. Another had a great deal of Rubarb, and he must put off that, and therefore he prescribes Rubarb, &c. they would certainly kill the man. We destroy the Common-wealth, while we preserve our own private Interests, and neglect the Publick.

Humane Invention.

1. **Y**OU say there must be no Human Invention in the Church, nothing but the pure word.
Answer. If I give any Exposition, but what is express'd in the Text, that is my invention: if you give another Exposition, that is your invention, and both are Human. For Example, suppose the word [Egg] were in the Text, I say, 'tis meant an Henn-Egg, you say a Goose-Egg, neither of these are express'd, therefore they are Humane Invention, and I am sure the newer the Invention the worse, old Inventions are best.

2. If we must admit nothing, but what we read in the Bible, what will become of the Parliament? for we do not read of that there.

Judgments.

1. **W**E cannot tell what is a Judgment of God, 'tis presumption to take upon us to know. In time of Plague we know we want health, and therefore we pray to God to give us health; in time of War we know we want peace, and therefore we pray to God to give us peace. Commonly we say a Judgment falls upon a man for something in them we cannot abide. An Example we have in King *James*, concerning the death of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*; one said he was kill'd for his Wenching, another said he was kill'd for turning his Religion. No, says King *James* (who could not abide fighting) he was kill'd for permitting Duels in his Kingdom.

Judge.

1. **W**E see the Pageants in *Cheapside*, the Lions, and the Elephants, but we do not see the men that carry them; we see the Judges look big, look like Lions, but we do not see who moves them.

2. Little things do great works, when great things will not. If I should take a Pin from the ground, a little pair of Tongues will do it, when a great pair will not. Go to a Judge to do a business for you, by no means he will not hear it; but go to some small Servant about him, and he will dispatch it according to your hearts desire.

3. There could be no mischief done in the Commonwealth without a Judge. Though there be false Dice brought in at the Groom-Porters, and cheating offer'd, yet unless he allow the Cheating, and judge the Dice to be good, there may be hopes of fair play.

Juggling.

1. **'T**IS not Juggling that is to be blam'd, but much Juggling, for the World cannot be Govern'd without it. All your Rhetorick, and all your Elenchs in Logick come within the compass of Juggling.

Jurisdiction.

1. **T**HERE'S no such Thing as Spiritual Jurisdiction, all is Civil, the Churches is the same with the Lord Mayors; suppose a Christian came into a Pagan Country, how can you fancy he shall have any Power there? he finds faults with the Gods of the Country, well, they will put him to Death for it, when he is a Martyr, what follows? Does that argue he has any Spiritual Jurisdiction? If the Clergy say the Church ought to be govern'd thus, and thus, by the word of God, that is Doctrine all, that is not Discipline.

2. The Pope he challenges Jurisdiction over all, the Bishops they pretend to it as well as he, the Presbyterians they would have it to themselves, but over whom is all this? the poor Laymen.

Jus Divinum.

1. **A**LL things are held by *Jus Divinum*, either immediately or mediately.
2. Nothing has lost the Pope so much in his Supremacy, as not acknowledging what Princes gave him. 'Tis a scorn upon the Civil Power, and an unthankfulness in the Priest. But the Church runs to *Jus Divinum*, lest if they should acknowledge what they have they have by positive Law, it might be as well taken from them as given to them.

King.

1. **A** King is a thing men have made for their own sakes, for quietness sake. Just as in a Family one Man is appointed to buy Meat; if every man should buy, or if there were many buyers, they would never agree, one would buy what the other lik'd not, or what the other had bought before, so there would be a confusion. But that Charge being committed to one, he according to his Discretion pleases all, if they have not what they would have one day, they shall have it the next, or something as good.
2. The word King directs our Eyes, suppose it had been Consul, or Dictator, to think all Kings alike is the same folly, as if a Consul of *Aleppo* or *Smyrna*, should claim to himself the same power that a Consul at *Rome*, What, am not I a Consul? or a Duke of *England* should think himself like the Duke of *Florence*; nor can it be imagin'd, that the word βασιλεύς did signify the same in Greek, as the Hebrew word כֹּלֵךְ did with the *Jews*. Besides, let the Divines in their Pulpits say what they will, they in their practice deny that all is the Kings: They sue him, and so does all the Nation, whereof they are a part. What matter is it then, what they Preach or Teach in the Schools?
3. Kings are all individual, this or that King, there is no Species of Kings.
4. A King that claims Priviledges in his own Country, because they have them in another, is just as a Cook, that

claims Fees in one Lords House, because they are allow'd in another. If the Master of the House will yield them, well and good.

5. The Text [*render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*] makes as much against Kings, as for them, for it says plainly that some things are not *Cæsars*. But Divines make choice of it, first in flattery, and then because of the other part adjoin'd to it [*render unto God the things that are Gods*] where they bring in the Church.

6. A King outed of his Country, that takes as much upon him as he did at home, in his own Court, is as if a man on high, and I being upon the ground, us'd to lift up my voice to him, that he might hear me, at length should come down, and then expects I should speak as loud to him as I did before.

King of England.

1. **T**HE King can do no wrong, that is no Proceſs can be granted against him, what must be done then? Petition him, and the King writes upon the Petition *foit droit fait*, and sends it to the Chancery, and then the business is heard. His Confessor will not tell him he can do no wrong.

2. There's a great deal of difference between Head of the Church, and Supream Governour, as our Canons call the King. Conceive it thus, there is in the Kingdom of *England* a Colledge of Phificians, the King is Supream Governour of those, but not Head of them, nor President of the Colledge, not the best Phifician.

3. After the dissolution of Abbies, they did not much advance the King's Supremacy, for they only car'd to Exclude the Pope, hence have we had several Translations of the Bible put upon us. But now we must look to it, otherwise the King may put upon us what Religion he pleases.

4. 'Twas the old way when the King of *England* had his House, there were Canons to sing Service in his Chappel; so at *Westminster* in St. *Stephen's* Chappel (where the House of Commons sits) from which Canons the street call'd *Canon-row* has its name, because they

liv'd there, and he had also the Abbot and his Monks, and all these the King's House.

5. The Three Estates are the Lords Temporal, the Bishops are the Clergy, and the Commons, as some would have it [take heed of that] for then if two agree the third is involv'd, but he is King of the Three Estates.

6. The King hath a Seal in every Court, and tho' the Great Seal be call'd *Sigillum Angliæ*, the Great Seal of *England*, yet 'tis not because 'tis the Kingdoms Seal, and not the Kings, but to distinguish it from *Sigillum Hiberniæ*, *Sigillum Scotiæ*.

7. The Court of *England* is much alter'd. At a solemn Dancing, first you had the grave Measures, then the Corrantoes and the Galliards, and this is kept up with Ceremony, at length to *French-more*, and the Cushion-Dance, and then all the Company Dance, Lord and Groom, Lady and Kitchin-Maid, no distinction. So in our Court in Queen *Elizabeth's* time Gravity and State were kept up. In King *James's* time things were pretty well. But in King *Charles's* time, there has been nothing but *French-more* and the Cushion Dance, *omnium gatherum*, tolly, polly, hoite come toite.

The King.

1. 'T IS hard to make an accommodation between the King and the Parliament. If you and I fell out about Money, you said I ow'd you twenty Pounds, I said I ow'd you but ten Pounds, it may be a third Party allowing me twenty Marks, might make us Friends. But if I said I ow'd you twenty Pounds in Silver, and you said I ow'd you twenty pound of Diamonds, which is a sum innumerable, 'tis impossible we should ever agree, this is the case.

2. The King using the House of Commons, as he did in Mr. *Pym* and his Company, that is charging them with Treason, because they charg'd my Lord of *Canterbury* and Sir *George Ratcliff*, it was just with as much Logick as the Boy, that would have lain with his

Grandmother, us'd to his Father, you lay with my Mother, why should not I lye with yours?

3. There is not the same reason for the King's accusing Men of Treason, and carrying them away, as there is for the Houses themselves, because they accuse one of themselves. For every one that is accused, is either a Peer or a Commoner, and he that is accused hath his Consent going along with him; but if the King accuses, there is nothing of this in it.

4. The King is equally abus'd now as before, then they flatter'd him and made him do ill things, now they would force him against his Conscience. If a Physician should tell me, every thing I had a mind to was good for me, tho' in truth 'twas Poison, he abus'd me; and he abuses me as much, that would force me to take something whether I will or no.

5. The King so long as he is our King, may do with his Officers what he pleases, as the Master of the House may turn away all his Servants, and take whom he please.

6. The King's Oath is not security enough for our Property, for he swears to Govern according to Law; now the Judges they interpret the Law, and what Judges can be made to do we know.

7. The King and the Parliament now falling out, are just as when there is foul Play offer'd amongst Gamesters, one snatches the others stake, they seize what they can of one anothers. 'Tis not to be askt whether it belongs not to the King to do this or that; before when there was fair Play, it did. But now they will do what is most convenient for their own safety. If two fall to scuffling, one tears the others Band, the other tears his, when they were Friends they were quiet, and did no such thing, they let one anothers Bands alone.

8. The King calling his Friends from the Parliament, because he had use of them at *Oxford*, is as if a man should have use of a little piece of wood, and he runs down into the Cellar, and takes the Spiggott, in the mean time all the Beer runs about the House, when his Friends are absent the King will be lost.

Knights-Service.

1. **K**Nights-Service in earnest means nothing, for the Lords are bound to wait upon the King when he goes to War with a Foreign Enemy, with it may be One Man and One Horfe, and he that doth not, is to be rated so much as shall seem good to the next Parliament. And what will that be? So 'tis for a private Man, that holds of a Gentleman.

Land.

1. **W**Hen men did let their Land underfoot, the Tenants would fight for their Landlords, so that way they had their Retribution, but now they will do nothing for them, may be the first, if but a Constable bid them, that shall lay the Landlord by the heels, and therefore 'tis vanity and folly not to take the full value.

2. *Allodium* is a Law-word contrary to *Feudum*, and it signifies Land that holds of no body, we have no such Land in *England*. 'Tis a true Proposition, all the Land in *England* is held, either immediately, or mediately of the King.

Language.

1. **T**O a living Tongue new words may be added, but not to a dead Tongue, as Latine, Greek, Hebrew, &c.

2. *Latimer* is the Corruption of *Latiner*, it signifies he that interprets Latine, and though he interpreted *French*, *Spanish*, or *Italian*, he was call'd the King's *Latiner*, that is, the King's Interpreter.

3. If you look upon the Language spoken in the Saxon time, and the Language spoken now, you will find the difference to be just, as if a man had a Cloak that he wore plain in Queen *Elizabeth's* days, and since, here has put in a piece of Red, and there a piece of Blew, and here a piece of Green, and there a piece of Orange-tawny. We borow words from the *French*, *Italian*, *Latine*, as every Pedantick Man pleases.

4. We have more words than Notions, half a dozen words for the same thing. Sometime we put a new signification to an old word, as when we call a Piece a Gun. The word Gun was in use in *England* for an Engine to cast a thing from a man, long before there was any Gun-powder found out.

5. Words must be fitted to a man's mouth; 'twas well said of the Fellow that was to make a Speech for my Lord Mayor, he desir'd to take measure of his Lordships mouth.

Latw.

1. **A** Man may plead not guilty, and yet tell no Lye, for by the Law no Man is bound to accuse himself, so that when I say Not guilty, the meaning is, as if I should say by way of Paraphrase, I am Not so guilty as to tell you; if you will bring me to a Tryal, and have me punish'd for this you lay to my Charge, prove it against me.

2. Ignorance of the Law excuses no man, not that all Men know the Law, but because 'tis an excuse every man will plead, and no man can tell how to confute him.

3. The King of *Spain* was out-law'd in *Westminster-Hall*, I being of Council against him. A Merchant had recover'd Cofts against him in a Suit, which because he could not get, we advis'd to have him Out-law'd for not appearing, and so he was. As soon as *Gondimer* heard that, he presently sent the money, by reason, if his Master had been Out-law'd he could not have the benefit of the Law, which would have been very prejudicial, there being then many suits depending betwixt the King of *Spain* and our English Merchants.

4. Every Law is a Contract between the King and the People, and therefore to be kept. An hundred men may owe me an hundred pounds, as well as any one man, and shall they not pay me because they are stronger than I? *Object.* Oh but they lose all if they keep that Law. *Answer.* Let them look to the making of their Bargain. If I sell my Lands, and when I have done, one comes and tells me I have nothing else to keep me. I and my Wife and Children must starve,

if I part with my Land. Must I not therefore let them have my Land that have bought it and paid for it?

5. The Parliament may declare Law, as well as any other inferiour Court may, (*viz.*) the Kings Bench. In that or this particular Case the Kings Bench will declare unto you what the Law is, but that binds no body whom the Case concerns: So the highest Court, the Parliament may doe, but not declare Law, that is, make Law that was never heard of before.

Law of Nature.

1. **I** Cannot fancy to my self what the Law of Nature means, but the Law of God. How should I know I ought not to steal, I ought not to commit Adultery, unless some body had told me so? Surely 'tis because I have been told so? 'Tis not because I think I ought not to do them, nor because you think I ought not; if so, our minds might change, whence then comes the restraint? from a higher Power, nothing else can bind. I cannot bind my self, for I may untye my self again; nor an equal cannot bind me, for we may untie one another. It must be a superiour Power, even God Almighty. If two of us make a Bargain, why should either of us stand to it? What need you care what you say, or what need I care what I say? Certainly because there is something about me that tells me *Fides est servanda*, and if we after alter our minds, and make a new Bargain, there's *Fides servanda* there too.

Learning.

1. **N**O man is the wiser for his Learning, it may Administer matter to work in, or Objects to work upon, but Wit and Wisdom are born with a Man.

2. Most mens Learning is nothing but History duly taken up. If I quote *Thomas Aquinas* for some Tenet and believe it, because the Schoolmen say so, that is but History. Few men make themselves Masters of the things they write or speak.

3. The Jesuits and the Lawyers of *France*, and the Low-Country-men have engrossed all Learning. The rest of the world make nothing but Homilies.

4. 'Tis observable, that in *Athens* where the Arts flourish, they were govern'd by a Democrasie, Learning made them think themselves as wise as any body, and they would govern as well as others; and they spake as it were by way of Contempt, that in the *East* and in the *North* they had Kings, and why? Because the most part of them follow'd their business, and if some one man had made himself wiser than the rest, he govern'd them, and they willingly submitted themselves to him. *Aristotle* makes the Observation. And as in *Athens* the Philosophers made the People knowing, and therefore they thought themselves wise enough to govern, so does preaching with us, and that makes us affect a Democrasie: For upon these two grounds we all would be Governours, either because we think our selves as wise as the best, or because we think our selves the Elect, and have the Spirit, and the rest a Company of Reprobates that belong to the Devil.

Lecturers.

1. **L**ecturers do in a Parish Church what the Fryers did heretofore, get away not only the Affections, but the Bounty, that should be bestow'd upon the Minister.

2. Lecturers get a great deal of money, because they preach the People tame [as a man watches a Hawk] and then they do what they list with them.

3. The Lectures in Black Fryers, perform'd by Officers of the Army, Trades-men, and Ministers, is as if a great Lord should make a Feast, and he would have his Cook dress one Dish, and his Coachman another, his Porter a third, &c.

Libels.

1. **T**HO' some make slight of *Libels*, yet you may see by them how the wind fits: As take a straw and throw it up into the Air, you shall see by that which way the Wind is, which you

shall not do by casting up a Stone. More solid things do not show the Complexion of the times so well, as Ballads and Libels.

Liturgy.

1. **T**HERE is no Church without a Liturgy, nor indeed can there be conveniently, as there is no School without a Grammar. One Scholar may be taught otherwise upon the Stock of his Acumen, but not a whole School. One or two that are piously dispos'd, may serve themselves their own way, but hardly a whole Nation.

2. To know what was generally believ'd in all Ages, the way is to consult the Liturgies, not any private man's writing. As if you would know how the Church of *England* serves God. Go to the Common prayer-Book, consult not this nor that man. Besides Liturgies never Complement, nor use high Expressions. The Fathers oft-times speak Oratoriously.

Lords in the Parliament.

1. **T**HE Lords giving Protections is a scorn upon them. A Protection means nothing actively, but passively, he that is a Servant to a Parliament man is thereby Protected. What a scorn is it to a person of Honour to put his hand to two Lyes at once, that such a man is my Servant, and employed by me, when haply he never saw the man in his life, nor before never heard of him.

2. The Lords protesting is foolish. To protest is properly to save to a man's self some right. But to protest as the Lords protest, when they their selves are involv'd, 'tis no more than if I should go into *Smith field*, and sell my Horse, and take the money, and yet when I have your Money, and you my Horse, I should protest this Horse is mine, because I love the Horse, or I do not know why I do protest, because my Opinion is contrary to the rest. Ridiculous, when they say the Bishops did antiently protest, it was only dissenting, and that in the case of the Pope.

Lords before the Parliament.

1. **G**reat Lords by reason of their Flatterers, are the first that know their own Vertues, and the last that know their own Vices; Some of them are asham'd upwards, because their Ancestors were too great. Others are asham'd downwards, because they were too little.

2. The *Priour of St John of Jerusalem* is said to be *Primus Baro Angliæ*, the first Baron of *England*, because being last of the Spiritual Barons, he chose to be first of the Temporal. He was a kind of an Otter, a Knight half-Spiritual, and half-Temporal.

3. *Quest.* Whether is every Baron a Baron of some place?
Answ. 'Tis according to his Patent, of late years they have been made Baron of some place, but antiently not, call'd only by their Sir-name, or the Sir-name of some Family, into which they have been married.

4. The making of new Lords lessens all the rest. 'Tis in the business of Lords, as 'twas with St. *Nicholas's* Image; the Countryman, you know, could not find in his heart to adore the new Image, made of his own Plumb-Tree, though he had formerly Worship'd the old one. The Lords that are antient we honour, because we know not whence they come, but the new ones we slight, because we know their beginning.

5. For the *Irish* Lords to take upon them here in *England*; is as if the Cook in the Fair should come to my Lady *Kents* kitchen, and take upon him to roast the meat there, because he is a Cook in another place.

Marriage.

1. **O**F all Actions of a man's life, his Marriage does least concern other people, yet of all Actions of our Life, 'tis most medled with by other people.

2. Marriage is nothing but a Civil Contract, 'tis true 'tis an Ordinance of God: so is every other Contract, God commands me to keep it when I have made it.

3. Marriage is a desperate thing, the Frogs in *Æsop* were extream wise, they had a great mind to some

water, but they would not leap into the Well, because they could not get out again.

4. We single out particulars, and apply Gods Providence to them, thus when two are marry'd and have undone one another, they cry it was God's Providence we should come together, when God's Providence does equally concur to every thing.

Marriage of Cousin-Germans.

1. **S**OME men forbear to Marry Coufin-Germans out of this kind of scruple of Conscience, because it was unlawful before the Reformation, and is still in the Church of *Rome*. And so by reason their Grandfather, or their great Grandfather did not do it, upon that old Score they think they ought not to do it; as some men forbear flesh upon *Friday*, not reflecting upon the Statute, which with us makes it unlawful, but out of an old Score, because the Church of *Rome* forbids it, and their Fore-fathers always forbore flesh upon that day. Others forbear it out of a Natural Consideration, because it is observ'd (for Example) in Beasts, if two couple of a near kind, the breed proves not so good; The same observation they make in Plants and Trees, which degenerate being grafted upon the same Stock. And 'tis also further observ'd, those Matches between Coufin Germans seldom prove fortunate. But for the lawfulness there is no colour but Coufin-Germans in *England* may marry, both by the Law of God and man: for with us we have reduc'd all the degrees of Marriage to those in the *Levitical Law*, and 'tis plain there's nothing against it. As for that that is said Coufin-Germans once remov'd may not Marry, and therefore being a further degree may not, 'tis presumed a nearer should not, no man can tell what it means.

Measure of Things.

1. **W**E measure from our selves, and as things are for our use and purpose, so we approve them; bring a Pear to the Table that is rotten, we cry it down, 'tis naught; but bring

a Medlar that is rotten, and 'tis a fine thing, and yet I'll warrant you the Pear thinks as well of it self as the Medlar does.

2. We measure the Excellency of other men, by some Excellency we conceive to be in our selves. *Nash* a Poet, poor enough (as Poets us'd to be) seeing an Alderman with his Gold Chain, upon his great Horse, by way of scorn said to one of his Companions, do you see yon fellow, how goodly, how big he looks, why that fellow cannot make a blank Verse.

3. Nay we measure the goodness of God from our selves, we measure his Goodness, his Justice, his Wisdom, by something we call just, good, or wise in our selves; and in so doing we judge proportionably to the Country fellow in the Play, who said if he were a King, he would live like a Lord, and have Pease and Bacon every day, and a Whip that cry'd Slash.

Difference of Men.

1. **T**HE difference of men is very great, you would scarce think them to be of the same Species, and yet it consists more in the Affection than in the Intellect. For as in the strength of Body, two men shall be of an equal strength, yet one shall appear stronger than the other, because he exercises, and puts out his strength, the other will not stir nor strain himself. So 'tis in the strength of the Brain, the one endeavours, and strains, and labours, and studies, the other sits still, and is idle, and takes no pains, and therefore he appears so much the inferiour.

Minister Divine.

1. **T**HE imposition of hands upon the Minister when all is done, will be nothing but a designation of a Person to this or that Office or Employment in the Church. 'Tis a ridiculous Phrase that of the Canonists [*Conferre Ordines*] 'Tis *Coaptare aliquem in Ordinem*, to make a man one of us, one of our Number, one of our Order. So *Cicero* would understand what I said, it being a Phrase borrow'd from the *Latines*, and

to be understood proportionably to what was amongst them.

2. Those words you now use in making a Minister [*receive the Holy Ghost*] were us'd amongst the *Jews* in making of a Lawyer, from thence we have them, which is a villanous key to something, as if you would have some other kind of Præfature, than a Mayoralty, and yet keep the same Ceremony that was us'd in making the Mayor.

3. A Priest has no such thing as an indelible Character, what difference do you find betwixt him and another man after Ordination? only he is made a Priest, (as I said) by Designation: as a Lawyer is call'd to the Bar, then made a Serjeant; all men that would get power over others, make themselves as unlike them as they can, upon the same ground the Priests made themselves unlike the Laity.

4. A Minister when he is made is *Materia prima*, apt for any form the State will put upon him, but of himself he can do nothing. Like a Doctor of Law in the University, he hath a great deal of Law in him, but cannot use it till he be made some bodies Chancellor; or like a Physician, before he be receiv'd into a house, he can give no body Physick; indeed after the Master of the house hath given him charge of his Servants, then he may. Or like a Suffragan, that could do nothing but give Orders, and yet he was no Bishop.

5. A Minister should preach according to the Articles of Religion Established in the Church where he is. To be a Civil Lawyer let a man read *Justinian*, and the Body of the Law, to confirm his Brain to that way, but when he comes to practice, he must make use of it so far as it concerns the Law received in his own Country. To be a Physician let a Man read *Gallen* and *Hypocrates*; but when he practices, he must apply his Medicins according to the Temper of those Mens Bodies with whom he lives, and have respect to the heat and cold of Climes, otherwise that which in *Pergamus* (where *Gallen* liv'd) was Physick, in our cold Climate may be Poison. So to be a Divine, let him

read the whole Body of Divinity, the Fathers and the Schoolmen, but when he comes to practice, he must use it and apply it according to those Grounds and Articles of Religion that are establish'd in the Church, and this with fence.

6. There be four things a Minister should be at, the Confessionary part, Ecclesiastical story, School Divinity, and the Casuists.

1. In the Confessionary part he must read all the Chief Fathers, both Latine and Greek wholly. St. *Austin*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Chryostome*, both the *Gregories*, &c. *Tertullian*, *Clemens*, *Alexandrinus*, and *Epiphanius*, which last have more Learning in them than all the rest, and writ freely.

2. For Ecclesiastical story let him read *Baronius*, with the *Magdeburgenses*, and be his own Judge, the one being extreamly for the Papists, the other extreamly against them.

3. For School Divinity let him get *Javellus's* Edition of *Scotus* or *Mayco*, where there be Quotations that direct you to every Schoolman, where such and such questions are handled. Without School-Divinity a Divine knows nothing Logically, nor will be able to satisfy a rational man out of the Pulpit.

4. The Study of the Casuists must follow the Study of the School-men, because the division of their Cases is according to their Divinity, otherwise he that begins with them will know little. As he that begins with the study of the Reports and Cases in the Common Law, will thereby know little of the Law. Casuists may be of admirable use, if discreetly dealt with, tho' among them you shall have many leaves together very impertinent. A Case well decided would stick by a man, they would remember it whether they will or no, whereas a quaint position dieth in the Birth. The main thing is to know where to search, for talk what they will of vast memories, no man will presume upon his own memory for any thing he means to write or speak in publick.

7. [*Go and teach all Nations.*] This was said to all

Christians that then were, before the distinction of Clergy and Laity; there have been since Men design'd to Preach only by the State, as some Men are design'd to study the Law, others to study Physick. When the Lord's Supper was instituted, there were none present but the Disciples, shall none then but Ministers receive?

8. There is all the Reason you should believe your Minister, unless you have studied Divinity as well as he, or more than he.

9. 'Tis a foolish thing to say Ministers must not meddle with Secular Matters, because his own profession will take up the whole Man; may he not eat, or drink, or walk, or learn to sing? the meaning of that is, he must seriously attend his Calling.

10. Ministers with the Papists [that is their Priests] have much respect, with the Puritans they have much, and that upon the same ground, they pretend both of 'em to come immediately from Christ; but with the Protestants they have very little, the reason whereof is, in the beginning of the Reformation they were glad to get such to take Livings as they could procure by any Invitations, things of pitiful condition. The Nobility and Gentry would not suffer their Sons or Kindred to meddle with the Church, and therefore at this day, when they see a Parson, they think him to be such a thing still, and there they will keep him, and use him accordingly; if he be a Gentleman, that is singled out, and he is us'd the more respectfully.

11. The Protestant Minister is least regarded, appears by the old story of the Keeper of the Clink. He had Priests of several sorts sent unto him, as they came in, he ask'd them who they were; who are you to the first? I am a Priest of the Church of *Rome*; you are welcome quoth the Keeper, there are those will take care of you. And who are you? A silens'd Minister. You are welcome too, I shall fare the better for you? And who are you? A Minister of the Church of *England*. O God help me (quoth the Keeper) I shall get nothing by you, I am sure you

may lye and starve, and rot, before any body will look after you.

12. Methinks 'tis an ignorant thing for a Churchman, to call himself the Minister of Christ, because St. *Paul*, or the Apostles call'd themselves so. If one of them had a Voice from Heav'n, as St. *Paul* had, I will grant he is a Minister of Christ, I will call him so too. Must they take upon them as the Apostles did? Can they do as the Apostles could? The Apostles had a Mark to be known by, spake Tongues, Cur'd Diseases, trod upon Serpents, &c. Can they do this? If a Gentleman tells me, he will send his Man to me, and I did not know his Man, but he gave me this Mark to know him by, he should bring in his hand a rich Jewel; if a fellow came to me with a pebble-Stone, had I any reason to believe he was the Gentleman's man?

Money.

1. **M**oney makes a man laugh. A blind Fidler playing to a Company, and playing but scurvily, the Company laugh at him; His Boy that led him, perceiving it, cry'd, Father let us be gone, they do nothing but laugh at you. Hold thy peace, Boy, said the Fidler, we shall have their money presently, and then we will laugh at them.

2. *Euclide* was beaten in *Boccaline*, for teaching his Scholars a Mathematical Figure in his School, whereby he shew'd, that all the Lives both of Princes and private Men tended to one Centre, *Con. Gentilizza*, handsomly to get money out of other mens pockets, and it into their own.

3. The Pope us'd heretofore to send the Princes of Christendom to fight against the *Turk*, but Prince and Pope finely Juggl'd together, the Moneys were rais'd, and some men went out to the Holy War, but commonly after they had got the money, the Turk was pretty quiet, and the Prince and the Pope shar'd it between them.

4. In all times the Princes in *England* have done something illegal, to get money. But then came

a Parliament and all was well, the People and the Prince kist and were Friends, and so things were quiet for a while ; afterwards there was another trick found out to get money, and after they had got it, another Parliament was call'd to set all right, &c. But now they have so out-run the Constable————

Moral Honesty.

I. **T**HEY that cry down Moral-honesty, cry down that which is a great part of Religion, my Duty towards God, and my Duty towards man. What care I to see a man run after a Sermon, if he Couzen and Cheats as soon as he comes home. On the other side Morality must not be without Religion, for if so, it may change, as I see convenience. Religion must govern it. He that has not Religion to govern his Morality, is not a Dram better than my Mastiff-Dogg ; so long as you stroak him and please him, and do not pinch him, he will play with you as finely as may be, he is a very good Moral-Mastiff, but if you hurt him, he will fly in your Face, and tear out your Throat.

Mortgage.

I. **I**N Case I receive a thousand pounds, and Mortgage as much Land as is worth two thousand to you, if I do not pay the Money at such a day, I fail, whether you may take my Land and keep it in point of Conscience? *Answ.* If you had my Lands as security only for your Money, then you are not to keep it, but if we bargain'd so, that if I did not repay your 1000*l.* my Land should go for it, be it what it will, no doubt you may with a safe Conscience keep it ; for in these things all the Obligation is *Servare Fidem.*

Number.

I. **A**LL those misterious things they observe in numbers, come to nothing, upon this very ground, because number in it self is nothing, has not to do with Nature, but is meerly of Human Imposition,

a meer found. For Example, when I cry one a Clock, two a Clock, three a Clock, that is but Man's division of time, the time it self goes on, and it had been all one in Nature if those Hours had been call'd nine, ten, and eleven. So when they say the Seventh Son is Fortunate, it means nothing; for if you count from the seventh back-wards, then the first is the seventh, why is not he likewise Fortunate?

Oaths.

1. **S**Wearing was another thing with the *Jews* than with us, because they might not pronounce the Name of the Lord Jehovah.

2. There is no Oath scarcely, but we swear to things we are ignorant of: For Example, the Oath of Supremacy: how many know how the King is King? what are his Right and Prerogative? So how many know what are the Priviledges of the Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subject, when they take the protestation? But the meaning is, they will defend them when they know them. As if I should swear I would take part with all that wear Red Ribbons in their Hats, it may be I do not know which colour is Red; but when I do know, and see a Red Ribbon in a Man's Hat, then will I take his part.

3. I cannot conceive how an Oath is imposed, where there is a Parity (*viz.*) in the House of Commons, they are all *pares inter se*, only one brings Paper, and shews it the rest, they look upon it, and in their own Sence take it: Now they are but *pares* to me, who am none of the House, for I do not acknowledge my self their Subject, if I did, then no question, I was bound by an Oath of their imposing. 'Tis to me but reading a Paper in their own Sence.

4. There is a great difference between an Affertory Oath and a Promissary Oath. An Affertory Oath is made to a Man before God, and I must swear so, as man may know what I mean: But a Promissary Oath is made to God only, and I am sure he knows my meaning: So in the new Oath it runs [whereas I be-

lieve in my Conscience, &c. I will assist thus and thus] that [whereas] gives me an Outloose, for if I do not believe so, for ought I know, I swear not at all.

5. In a Promissary Oath, the mind I am in is a good Interpretation, for if there be enough hapned to change my mind, I do not know why I should not. If I promise to go to *Oxford* to-morrow, and mean it when I say it, and afterwards it appears to me, that 'twill be my undoing, will you say I have broke my Promise if I stay at home? certainly I must not go.

6. The *Jews* had this way with them concerning a Promissary Oath or Vow, if one of them had vow'd a vow, which afterwards appear'd to him to be very prejudicial by reason of something he either did not foresee, or did not think of, when he made his Vow; if he made it known to three of his Country-men, they had power to absolve him, though he could not absolve himself, and that they pickt out of some words in the Text: Perjury hath only to do with an Affertory Oath, and no man was punisht for Perjury by man's Law till Queen *Elizabeth's* time, 'twas left to God, as a sin against him, the Reason was, because 'twas so hard a thing to prove a man perjurd: I might misunderstand him, and he swears as he thought.

7. When men ask me whether they may take an Oath in their own Sense, 'tis to me, as if they should ask whether they may go to such a place upon their own Legs, I would fain know how they can go otherwise.

8. If the Ministers that are in sequestred Livings will not take the Engagement, threaten to turn them out and put in the old ones, and then I'll warrant you they will quietly take it. A Gentleman having been rambling two or three days, at length came home, and being in Bed with his Wife, would fain have been at something, that she was unwilling to, and instead of complying, fell to chiding him for his being abroad so long: Well says he, if you will not, call up *Sue* (his Wife's Chambermaid) upon that she yielded presently.

9. Now Oaths are so frequent, they should be taken like Pills, swallow'd whole: If you chew them you will

find them bitter : If you think what you swear 'twill hardly go down.

Oracles.

1. **O** Racles ceas'd presently after Christ, as soon as nobody believ'd them. Just as we have no Fortune-Tellers, nor Wife-Men, when nobody cares for them. Sometime you have a Season for them, when People believe them, and neither of these, I conceive, wrought by the Devil.

Opinion.

1. **O** pinion and Affection extreamly differ ; I may affect a Woman best, but it does not follow I must think her the Handsomest Woman in the World. I love Apples the best of any Fruit, but it does not follow, I must think Apples to be the best Fruit. Opinion is something wherein I go about to give Reason why all the World should think as I think. Affection is a thing wherein I look after the pleasing of my self.

2. 'Twas a good Fancy of an old Platonick : The Gods which are above men, had something whereof Man did partake, [an Intellect Knowledge] and the Gods kept on their course quietly. The Beasts, which are below man, had something whereof Man did partake, [Sence and Growth,] and the Beasts liv'd quietly in their way. But Man had something in him, whereof neither Gods nor Beasts did partake, which gave him all the Trouble, and made all the Confusion in the world, and that is Opinion.

3. 'Tis a foolish thing for me to be brought off from an Opinion in a thing neither of us know, but are led only by some Cobweb-stuff, as in such a case as this, *Utrum Angeli in vicem colloquantur?* if I forsake my side in such a case, I shew my self wonderful light, or infinitely complying, or flattering the other party. But if I be in a business of Nature, and hold an Opinion one way, and some man's Experience has found out the contrary, I may with a safe Reputation give up my side.

4. 'Tis a vain thing to talk of an Heretick, for a man for his heart can think no otherwise than he does think. In the Primitive times there were many Opinions, nothing scarce but some or other held: One of these Opinions being embrac'd by some Prince, and received into his Kingdom, the rest were Condemn'd as Heresies, and his Religion which was but one of the several Opinions, first is said to be Orthodox, and so have continu'd ever since the Apostles.

Parity.

1. **T**His is the juggling trick of the Parity, they would have no body above them, but they do not tell you they would have no body under them.

Parliament.

1. **A**LL are involved in a Parliament. There was a time when all Men had their voice in choosing Knights. About *Henry* the Sixth's time they found the inconvenience, so one Parliament made a Law, that only he that had forty Shillings *per annum* should give his voice, they under should be excluded. They made the Law who had the voice of all, as well under forty Shillings as above; and thus it continues at this day. All consent civilly to a Parliament, Women are involv'd in the Men, Children in those of perfect age, those that are under forty Shillings a year, in those that have forty Shillings a year, those of forty Shillings in the Knights.

2. All things are brought to the Parliament, little to the Courts of Justice; just as in a room where there is a Banquet presented, if there be Persons of Quality there, the People must expect, and stay till the great ones have done.

3. The Parliament flying upon several Men, and then letting them alone, does as a Hawk that flies a Covey of Partridges, and when she has flown them a great way, grows weary and takes a Tree; then the Faulconer lures her down, and takes her to his fist: on they go again, *hei rett*, up springs another Covey, away

goes the Hawk, and as she did before, takes another Tree. &c.

4. Dissenters in Parliament may at length come to a good end, tho' first there be a great deal of do, and a great deal of noise, which mad wild folks make ; just as in brewing of Wrest-Beer, there's a great deal of business in grinding the Mault, and that spoils any Mans cloaths that comes near it ; then it must be mash'd, then comes a Fellow in and drinks of the Wort, and he's drunk, then they keep a huge quarter when they carry it into the Cellar, and a twelve month after 'tis delicate fine Beer.

5. It must necessarily be that our Distempers are worse than they were in the beginning of the Parliament. If a Physician comes to a sick Man, he lets him blood, it may be scarifies him, cups him, puts him into a great disorder, before he makes him well ; and if he be sent for to cure an Ague, and he finds his Patient hath many diseases, a Dropsie, and a Palsie, he applies remedies to 'em all, which makes the cure the longer and the dearer : this is the case.

6. The Parliament-men are as great Princes as any in the World, when whatsoever they please is Priviledge of Parliament ; no man must know the number of their Priviledges, and whatsoever they dislike is breach of Priviledge. The Duke of *Venice* is no more than Speaker of the House of Commons ; but the Senate at *Venice*, are not so much as our Parliament-men, nor have they that power over the People, who yet exercise the greatest Tyranny that is anywhere. In plain truth, breach of Priviledge is only the actual taking away of a Member of the House, the rest are Offences against the House. For example, to take out Procces against a Parliament-man, or the like.

7. The Parliament-party, if the Law be for them, they call for the Law ; if it be against them, they will go to a Parliamentary way ; if no Law be for them, then for Law again : Like him that first call'd for Sack to heat him, then small Drink to cool his Sack, then Sack again to heat his small Drink, &c.

8. The Parliament-party do not play fair play, in fitting up till two of the Clock in the Morning, to vote something they have a mind to. 'Tis like a crafty Gamester that makes the Company drunk, then cheats them of their Money. Young men and infirm men go away; besides, a man is not there to persuade other men to be of his Mind, but to speak his own Heart, and if it be lik'd, so, if not, there's an end.

Parson.

1. **T**Hough we write [Parson] differently, yet 'tis but Person; that is, the individual person set apart for the service of such a Church, and 'tis in Latin *persona*, and *Personatus* is a Personage. Indeed with the Canon Lawyers, *Personatus* is any Dignity or Preferment in the Church.

2. There never was a merry World since the *Faries* left Dancing, and the Parson left Conjuring. The Opinion of the latter kept Thieves in awe, and did as much good in a Country as a Justice of Peace.

Patience.

1. **P**atience is the chiefest fruit of Study, a man that strives to make himself a different thing from other men by much reading, gains this chiefest good, that in all Fortunes he hath something to entertain and comfort himself withall.

Peace.

1. **K**ing *James* was pictur'd going easily down a pair of Stairs, and upon every step there was written, Peace, Peace, Peace; the wisest way for men in these times is to say nothing.

2. When a Country-wench cannot get her Butter to come, she says, The Witch is in her Churn. We have been churning for Peace a great while, and 'twill not come, sure the Witch is in it.

3. Though we had Peace, yet 'twill be a great while e're things be settled: Tho' the Wind lye, yet after a Storm the Sea will work a great while.

Penance.

1. **P**enance is only the Punishment inflicted, not Penitence, which is the right word ; a man comes not to do Penance, because he repents him of his Sin, but because he is compell'd to it ; he curses him, and could kill him that sends him thither. The old Canons wisely enjoyn'd three years Penance, sometimes more, because in that time a man got a habit of Vertue, and so committed that sin no more, for which he did Penance.

People.

1. **T**here is not any thing in the World more abus'd than this Sentence, *Salus populi suprema Lex esto*, for we apply it, as if we ought to forsake the known Law, when it may be most for the advantage of the people, when it means no such thing. For first, 'tis not *Salus populi suprema Lex est*, but *esto*, it being one of the Laws of the twelve Tables, and after divers Laws made, some for Punishment, some for Reward, then follows this, *Salus populi suprema Lex esto*: that is, in all the Laws you make, have a special eye to the good of the people, and then what does this concern the way they now go?

2. *Objection*, He that makes one, is greater than he that is made ; the People make the King, *ergo*, &c.

Answer. This does not hold, for if I have 1000*l.* *per Annum*, and give it you and leave my self ne're a penny, I made you, but when you have my Land, you are greater than I. The Parish makes the Constable, and when the Constable is made, he governs the Parish. The answer to all these Doubts is, Have you agreed so ? if you have, then it must remain till you have alter'd it.

Pleasure.

1. **P**leasure is nothing else but the intermission of pain, the enjoying of some thing. I am in great trouble for 'till I have it.

2. 'Tis a wrong way to proportion other mens pleasures to our selves ; 'tis like a Child's using a little Bird [O poor Bird thou shalt sleep with me] so lays it in his Bosome, and stifles it with his hot breath, the Bird had

rather be in the cold Air: And yet too 'tis the most pleasing flattery, to like what other men like.

3. 'Tis most undoubtedly true, that all men are equally given to their pleasure, only thus, one mans pleasure lyes one way, and anothers another. Pleasures are all alike, simply considered in themselves, he that hunts, or he that governs the Common-wealth, they both please themselves alike, only we commend that, whereby we our selves receive some benefit. As if a man place his delight in things that tend to the common good, he that takes pleasure to hear Sermons, enjoys himself as much as he that hears Plays, and could he that loves Plays endeavour to love Sermons, possibly he might bring himself to it as well as to any other Pleasure. At first it may seem harsh and tedious, but afterwards 'twould be pleasing and delightful. So it falls out in that, which is the great pleasure of some men, Tobacco, at first they could not abide it, and now they cannot be without it.

4. Whilst you are upon Earth enjoy the good things that are here (to that end were they given) and be not melancholly, and wish yourself in Heaven. If a King should give you the keeping of a Castle, with all things belonging to it, Orchards, Gardens, &c., and bid you use them; withal promise you that after twenty years to remove you to Court, and to make you a Privy Councillor. If you should neglect your Castle, and refuse to eat of those fruits, and sit down, and whine, and wish you were a Privy Councillor, do you think the King would be pleased with you?

5. Pleasures of Meat, Drink, Cloaths, &c., are forbidden those that know not how to use them, just as Nurfes cry pah! when they see a Knife in a Childs hand, they will never say any thing to a man.

Philosophy.

1. **W**Hen Men comfort themselves with Philosophy, 'tis not because they have got two or three Sentences, but because they have digested those Sentences, and made them their own: So upon the matter, Philosophy is nothing but Discretion.

Poetry.

1. **O** *Vid* was not only a fine Poet, but [as a man may speak] a great Canon Lawyer, as appears in his *Fasti*, where we have more of the Festivals of the Old *Romans* than any where else: 'tis pity the rest are lost.

2. There is no reason Plays should be in Verse, either in Blank or Rhime, only the Poet has to say for himself, that he makes something like that, which some body made before him. The old Poets had no other reason but this, their Verse was sung to Musick, otherwise it had been a senseless thing to have fetter'd up themselves.

3. I never Converted but two, the one was Mr. *Crasham* from writing against Plays, by telling him a way how to understand that place [of putting on Womens Apparel] which has nothing to do in the business [as neither has it, that the Fathers speak against Plays in their time, with reason enough, for they had real Idolatries mix'd with their Plays, having three Altars perpetually upon the Stage.] The other was a Doctor of Divinity, from preaching against Painting, which simply in it self is no more hurtful, than putting on my Cloaths, or doing any thing to make my self like other folks, that I may not be odious nor offensive to the Company. Indeed if I do it with an ill intention, it alters the Case, so if I put on my Gloves with an intention to do a mischief, I am a Villain.

4. 'Tis a fine thing for Children to learn to make Verse, but when they come to be men they must speak like other men, or else they will be laugh'd at. 'Tis Ridiculous to speak, or write, or preach in Verse. As 'tis good to learn to dance, a man may learn his Leg, learn to go handfomly, but 'tis ridiculous for him to dance, when he should go.

5. 'Tis ridiculous for a Lord to Print Verses, 'tis well enough to make them to please himself, but to make them publick, is foolish. If a man in his private Chamber twirls his Bandstrings, or plays with a Rush

to please himself, 'tis well enough, but if he should go into *Fleet street*, and sit upon a Stall, and twirl a Band-string, or play with a Rush, then all the Boys in the Street would laugh at him.

6. Verse proves nothing but the quantity of Syllables, they are not meant for Logick.

Pope.

1. **A** Popes Bull and a Popes Brief differ very much, as with us the great Seal and the Privy Seal. The Bull being the highest Authority the Pope can give, the Brief is of less. The Bull has a Leaden Seal upon silk, hanging upon the Instrument. The Brief has *sub Annulo Piscatoris* upon the side.

2. He was a wise Pope, that when one that used to be merry with him, before he was advanc't to the Popedom, refrain'd afterwards to come at him, (presuming he was busie in governing the Christian World) the Pope sends for him, bids him come again, and (says he) we will be merry as we were before, for thou little thinkest what a little Foolery governs the whole World.

3. The Pope in sending Relicks to Princes, does as Wenches do by their *Waffals* at *New-years-tide*, they present you with a Cup, and you must drink of a slabby stuff; but the meaning is, that you must give them Moneys, ten times more than it is worth.

4. The Pope is Infallible, where he hath power to command, that is where he must be obey'd, so is every Supream Power and Prince. They that stretch his Infallibility further, do they know not what.

5. When a Protestant and a Papist Dispute, they talk like two Madmen, because they do not agree upon their Principles, the one way is to destroy the Popes Power, for if he hath Power to command me, 'tis not my alledging Reasons to the contrary can keep me from obeying: For Example, if a Constable command me to wear a Green Suit to morrow, and has power to make me, 'tis not my alledging a hundred Reasons of the Folly of it can excuse me from doing it.

6. There was a time when the Pope had Power here in *England*, and there was excellent use made of it, for 'twas only to serve turns, (as might be manifested out of the Records of the Kingdom, which Divines know little of.) If the King did not like what the Pope would have, he would forbid the Pope's Legate to land upon his ground. So that the Power was truly then in the King, though suffer'd in the Pope. But now the Temporal and the Spiritual Power (Spiritual so call'd because ordain'd to a Spiritual end) spring both from one Fountain, they are like to twist that.

7. The Protestants in *France* bear Office in the State, because though their Religion be different, yet they acknowledge no other King but the King of *France*. The Papists in *England* they must have a King of their own, a Pope, that must do something in our Kingdom, therefore there is no reason they should enjoy the same Priviledges.

8. *Amsterdam* admits of all Religions but Papists, and 'tis upon the same Account. The Papists where e're they live, have another King at *Rome*; all other Religions are subject to the present State, and have no Prince else-where.

9. The Papists call our Religion a Parliamentary Religion, but there was once, I am sure, a Parliamentary Pope. Pope *Urban* was made Pope in *England* by Act of Parliament, against *Pope Clement*; the Act is not in the Book of Statutes, either because he that compiled the Book, would not have the Name of the Pope there, or else he would not let it appear that they medled with any such thing, but 'tis upon the Rolls.

10. When our Clergy preach against the Pope, and the Church of *Rome*, they preach against themselves, and crying down their Pride, their Power, and their Riches, have made themselves poor and contemptible enough, they dedicate first to please their Prince, not considering what would follow. Just as if a man were to go a Journey, and seeing at his first setting out the way clean and fair, ventures forth in his Slippers, not considering the Dirt and the Sloughs are a little further off, or how suddenly the Weather may change.

Popery.

1. **T**HE demanding a Noble, for a dead body passing through a Town, came from hence in time of Popery, they carry'd the dead body into the Church, where the Priest said Dirgies, and twenty Dirgies at fourpence a piece comes to a Noble, but now 'tis forbidden by an Order from my Lord Marshal, the Heralds carry his Warrant about them.

2. We charge the Prelatical Clergy with Popery to make them odious, though we know they are guilty of no such thing: Just as heretofore they call'd Images Mammets, and the Adoration of Images Mammetry: that is, *Mahomet* and *Mahometry*, odious names, when all the World knows the *Turks* are forbidden Images by their Religion.

Power, State.

1. **T**Here is no stretching of Power, 'tis a good rule, eat within your Stomack, act within your Commission.

2. They that govern most make least noise. You see when they row in a Barge, they that do drudgery-work, lash, and puff, and swear, but he that governs, sits quietly at the Stern, and scarce is seen to stir.

3. Syllables govern the world.

4. [*All Power is of God*] means no more than *Fides est servanda*. When St. Paul said this, the people had made Nero Emperour. They agree, he to command, they to obey. Then God comes in, and casts a hook upon them, keep your Faith, then comes in, all power is of God. Never King dropt out of the Clouds. God did not make a new Emperour, as the King makes a Justice of peace.

5. Christ himself was a great observer of the Civil power, and did many things only justifiable, because the State requir'd it, which were things meerly Temporary for the time that State stood. But Divines make use of them to gain power to themselves, (as for Example) that of *Dic Ecclesiæ*, tell the Church; there was then a Sanhedrim, a Court to tell it to, and therefore they would have it so now.

6. Divines ought to do no more than what the State permits. Before the State became Christian, they made their own Laws, and those that did not observe them, they Excommunicated, [*naughty men*] they suffer'd them to come no more amongst them. But if they would come amongst them, how could they hinder them? By what Law? by what Power? they were still subject to the State, which was Heathen. Nothing better expresses the condition of Christians in those times, than one of the Meetings you have in *London*, of men of the same Country, of *Suffex-men*, or *Bedfordshire-men*, they appoint their meeting, and they agree, and make Laws amongst themselves [*He that is not there shall pay double, &c.*] and if any one misbehave himself, they shut him out of their Company; but can they recover a Forfeiture made concerning their meeting by any Law? Have they any power to compel one to pay? but afterwards when the State became Christian, all the power was in them, and they gave the Church as much, or as little as they pleas'd, and took away when they pleas'd, and added what they pleas'd.

7. The Church is not only Subject to the Civil Power with us that are Protestants, but also in *Spain*, if the Church does Excommunicate a man for what it should not, the Civil Power will take him out of their hands. So in *France*, the Bishop of *Angiers* alter'd something in the Breviary, they complain'd to the Parliament at *Paris*, they made him alter it again, with a [*comme abuse*].

8. The Parliament of *England* has no Arbitrary Power in point of Judicature, but in point of making Law only.

9. If the Prince be *servus natura*, of a servile base Spirit, and the Subjects *liberi*, Free and Ingenuous, oft-times they depose their Prince, and govern themselves. On the contrary, if the people be *Servi Natura*, and some one amongst them of a Free and Ingenuous Spirit, he makes himself King of the rest, and this is the Cause of all Changes in State. Common-wealths into Monarchies, and Monarchies into Common-wealths.

10. In a troubled State we must do as in foul Weather upon the *Thames*, not think to cut directly through, so the Boat may be quickly full of water, but rise and fall as the Waves do, give as much as conveniently we can.

Prayer.

1. **I**F I were a Minister, I should think my self most in my Office, Reading of Prayers, and Dispensing the Sacraments; and 'tis ill done to put one to Officiate in the Church, whose Person is contemptible out of it. Should a great Lady, that was invited to be a Gossip, in her place send her Kitchen-Maid, 'twould be ill taken, yet she is a Woman as well as she, let her send her Woman at least.

2. [*You shall pray*] is the right way, because according as the Church is settled, no man may make a Prayer in Publick of his own head.

3. 'Tis not the Original Common-Prayer-Book, why, shew me an Original Bible, or an Original *Magna Charta*.

4. Admit the Preacher prays by the Spirit, yet that very Prayer is Common-Prayer to the People; they are ty'd as much to his words, as in saying [*Almighty and most merciful Father*] is it then unlawful in the Minister, but not unlawful in the People?

5. There are some Mathematicians, that could with one fetch of their Pen make an exact Circle, and with the next touch point out the Center, is it therefore reasonable to banish all use of the Compasses? Set Forms are a pair of Compasses.

6. [*God hath given gifts unto men*] General Texts prove nothing: let him shew me *John, William* or *Thomas* in the Text, and then I will believe him. If a man hath a voluble Tongue, we say, He hath the gift of Prayer. His gift is to pray long, that I see; but does he pray better?

7. We take care what we speak to men, but to God we may say any thing.

8. The People must not think a thought towards God, but as their Pastours will put it into their Mouths: they will make right Sheep of us.

9. The *English* Priests would do that in English which the *Romish* do in Latin, keep the people in Ignorance; but some of the people out-do them at their own Game.

10. Prayer should be short, without giving God Almighty Reasons why he should grant this, or that, he knows best what is good for us. If your Boy should ask you a Suit of Cloaths, and give you Reasons (otherwise he cannot wait upon you, he cannot go abroad but he shall discredit you) would you endure it? you know it better than he, let him ask a Suit of Cloaths.

11. If a Servant that has been fed with good Beef, goes into that part of *England*, where Salmon is plenty, at first he is pleas'd with his Salmon, and despises his Beef, but after he has been there a while, he grows weary of his Salmon, and wishes for his good Beef again. We have a while been much taken with this praying by the Spirit, but in time we may grow weary of it, and wish for our *Common-Prayer*.

12. 'Tis hop'd we may be cur'd of our Extempory Prayers the same way the Grocer's-Boy is cur'd of his eating Plumbs, when we have had our Belly full of them.

Preaching.

1. **N**othing is more mistaken than that Speech [*Preach the Gosple*] for 'tis not to make long Harangues, as they do now a-days, but to tell the news of Christs coming into the World, and when that is done, or where 'tis known already, the Preacher's work is done.

2. Preaching in the first sence of the word ceas'd as soon as ever the Gospels were written.

3. When the Preacher says, this is the meaning of the Holy Ghost in such a place, in sence he can mean no more than this, that is, I by studdying of the place, by comparing one place with another, by weighing what goes before, and what comes after, think this is the meaning of the Holy Ghost, and for shortness of Expression I say, the Holy Ghost says thus, or this is the meaning of the Spirit of God. So the Judge speaks of the King's Proclamation, this is

the intention of the King, not that the King had declared his intention any other way to the Judge, but the Judge examining the Contents of the Proclamation, gathers by the Purport of the words, the King's Intention, and then for shortness of expression says, this is the King's Intention.

4. Nothing is Text but what was spoken in the Bible, and meant there for Person and Place, the rest is Application, which a discreet Man may do well ; but 'tis his Scripture, not the Holy Ghost.

5. Preaching by the Spirit (as they call it) is most esteem'd by the Common people, because they cannot abide Art or Learning, which they have not been bred up in. Just as in the business of Fencing ; if one Country-Fellow amongst the rest, has been at the School, the rest will undervalue his Skill, or tell him he wants Valour. *You come with your School-Tricks : There's Dick Butcher has ten times more Mettle in him :* So they say to the Preachers, *You come with your School Learning : There's such a one has the Spirit.*

6. The tone in Preaching does much in working upon the Peoples Affections. If a Man should make love in an ordinary Tone, his Mistrefs would not regard him ; and therefore he must whine. If a Man should cry Fire, or Murther in an ordinary Voice, no body would come out to help him.

7. Preachers will bring anything into the Text. The Young Masters of Arts preached against Non-Residency in the Univerfity, whereupon the Heads made an Order, That no Man should meddle with any thing but what was in the Text. The next Day one preach'd upon these Words, *Abraham begat Isaac* ; when he had gone a good way, at last he observ'd, that *Abraham* was Resident, for if he had been Non-Resident, he could never have begat *Isaac* ; and so fell foul upon the Non-Residents.

8. I could never tell what often Preaching meant, after a Church is fetled, and we know what is to be done ; 'tis just as if a Husbandman should once tell his Servants what they are to do, when to Sow, when to Reap, and afterwards one should come and tell them

twice or thrice a Day what they know already. You must Sow your Wheat in *October*, you must Reap your Wheat in *August*, &c.

9. The main Argument why they would have two Sermons a day, is, because they have two Meals a Day; the Soul must be fed as well as the Body. But I may as well argue, I ought to have two Noses, because I have two Eyes, or two Mouths, because I have two Ears. What have Meals and Sermons to do one with another?

10. The Things between God and Man are but few, and those, forsooth, we must be told often of; but things between Man and Man are many; those I hear not of above twice a Year, at the Assizes, or once a Quarter at the Sessions; but few come then; nor does the Minister exhort the People to go at these times to learn their Duty towards their Neighbour. Often Preaching is sure to keep the Minister in Countenance, that he may have something to do.

11. In Preaching they say more to raise men to love Vertue than men can possibly perform, to make them do their best; as if you would teach a man to throw the Bar, or make him put out his Strength, you bid him throw further than it is possible for him, or any man else? Throw over yonder House.

12. In Preaching they do by men as Writers of Romances do by their Chief Knights, bring them into many Dangers, but still fetch them off: So they put men in fear of Hell, but at last they bring them to Heaven.

13. Preachers say, Do as I say, not as I do. But if a Physician had the same Disease upon him that I have, and he should bid me do one thing, and he do quite another, could I believe him?

14. Preaching the same Sermon to all sorts of People, is, as if a School-Master should read the same Lesson to his several Formes: If he reads *Amo, amas, amavi*, the highest Forms Laugh at him; the younger Boys admire him: So 'tis in preaching to a mix'd Auditory. *Obj.* But it cannot be otherwise, the Parish cannot be divided into several Formes. What must the

Preacher then do in Discretion? *Anfw.* Why then let him use some expressions by which this or that condition of people may know such Doctrine does more especially concern them, it being so delivered that the wisest may be content to hear. For if he delivers it all together, and leaves it to them to single out what belongs to themselves (which is the usual way) 'tis as if a man would bestow Gifts upon Children of several ages: Two years old, four years old, ten years old, &c., and there he brings Tops, Pins, Points, Ribbands, and casts them all in a heap together upon a Table before them: though the Boy of ten years old knows how to chuse his Top, yet the Child of two years old, that should have a Ribband, takes a Pin, and the Pin ere he be aware pricks his Fingers, and then all's out of order, &c. Preaching for the most part is the glory of the preacher, to shew himself a fine man. Catechising would do much better.

15. Use the best Arguments to persuade, though but few understand, for the ignorant will sooner believe the judicious of the Parish, than the Preacher himself, and they teach when they dissipate what he has said, and believe it the sooner confirm'd by men of their own side. For betwixt the Laity and the Clergy, there is, as it were, a continual driving of a bargain; something the Clergy would still have us be at, and therefore many things are heard from the Preacher with suspicion. They are afraid of some ends, which are easily assented to, when they have it from some of themselves. 'Tis with a Sermon as 'tis with a Play; many come to see it, which do not understand it; and yet hearing it cry'd up by one, whose judgment they cast themselves upon, and of power with them, they swear and will die in it, that 'tis a very good Play, which they would not have done if the Priest himself had told them so. As in a great School, 'tis the Master that teaches all; the Monitor does a great deal of work; it may be the Boys are afraid to see the Master: so in a Parish 'tis not the Minister does all; the greater Neighbour teaches the lesser, the Master of the house teaches his Servant, &c.

16. First in your Sermons use your Logick, and then your Rhetorick. Rhetorick without Logick is like a Tree with Leaves and Bloffoms, but no Root; yet I confes more are taken with Rhetorick than Logick, because they are catched with a free Expression, when they understand not Reason. Logick must be natural, or it is worth nothing at all: Your Rhetorick figures may be learn'd; That Rhetorick is best which is most feasonable and most catching. An instance we have in that old blunt Commander at *Cadiz*, who shew'd himself a good Oratour, being to say something to his Souldiers (which he was not us'd to do) he made them a Speech to this purpose; *What a shame will it be, you Englishmen, that feed upon good Beef and Brewes, to let those Rascally Spaniards beat you, that eat nothing but Oranges and Limons?* And so put more Courage into his Men than he could have done with a more learned Oration. Rhetorick is very good, or stark naught: There's no *medium* in Rhetorick. If I am not fully perswaded I laugh at the Oratour.

17. 'Tis good to preach the same thing again, for that's the way to have it learn'd. You see a Bird by often whistling to learn a tune, and a Month after record it to her self.

18. 'Tis a hard case a Minister should be turned out of his Living for something they inform he should say in his Pulpit. We can no more know what a Minister said in his Sermon by two or three words pickt out of it, than we can tell what Tune a Mufician play'd last upon the Lute, by two or three single Notes.

Predestination.

1. **T**hey that talk nothing but Predestination, and will not proceed in the way of Heaven till they be satisfied in that point, do, as a man that would not come to *London*, unless at his first step he might set his foot upon the top of *Paul's*.

2. For a young Divine to begin in his Pulpit with Predestination, is as if a man were coming into *London* and at his first step would think to set his foot, &c.

3. Predestination is a point inaccessible, out of our

reach; we can make no notion of it, 'tis so full of intricacy, so full of contradiction: 'tis in good earnest, as we state it, half a dozen Bulls one upon another.

4. Doctor *Prideaux* in his Lectures, several days us'd Arguments to prove Predestination; at last tells his Auditory they are damn'd that do not believe it; doing herein just like School-boys, when one of them has got an Apple, or something the rest have a mind to, they use all the Arguments they can to get some of it from them: *I gave you some t'other day: You shall have some with me another time:* when they cannot prevail, they tell him he's a Jackanapes, a Rogue and a Rascal.

Preferment.

1. **W**hen you would have a Child go to such a place, and you find him unwilling, you tell him he shall ride a Cock-horse, and then he will go presently: So do those that govern the State, deal by men, to work them to their ends; they tell them they shall be advanc'd to such or such a place, and they will do anything they would have them.

2. A great place strangely qualifies. *John Read* (was in the right) *Groom of the Chamber to my Lord of Kent.* Attorney *Noy* being dead, some were saying, How will the King do for a fit man? why, Any man, (says *John Read*) may execute the Place. I warrant (says my Lord) thou thinkst thou understand'st enough to perform it. Yes, quoth *John*, Let the King make me Attorney, and I would fain see that man, that durst tell me, there's any thing I understand not.

3. When the Pageants are a coming there's a great thrusting and a riding upon one another's backs, to look out at the Window; stay a little and they will come just to you, you may see them quietly. So 'tis when a new Statesman or Officer is chosen; there's great expectation and lifting who it should be; stay a while, and you may know quietly.

4. Missing Preferment makes the Presbyters fall foul upon the Bishops: Men that are in hopes and in the way of rising, keep in the Channel, but they that have none, seek new ways: 'Tis so amongst the Lawyers:

he that hath the Judges Ear, will be very observant of the way of the Court ; but he that hath no regard will be flying out.

5. My Lord *Digby* having spoken something in the House of Commons, for which they would have question'd him, was presently called to the Upper House. He did by the Parliament as an Ape when he hath done some waggery ; his Master spies him, and he looks for his Whip, but before he can come at him, whip says he to the top of the house.

6. Some of the Parliament were discontented, that they wanted places at Court, which others had got ; but when they had them once, then they were quiet. Just as at a Christning some that get no Sugar Plums, when the rest have, mutter and grumble ; presently the Wench comes again with her Basket of Sugar-Plums, and then they catch and scramble and when they have got them, you hear no more of them.

Præmunire.

1. **T**Here can be no *Præmunire*. A *Præmunire* (so call'd from the word *Præmunire facias*) was when a man laid an Action in an Ecclesiastical Court, for which he could have no remedy in any of the King's Courts ; that is in the Courts of Common Law, by reason the Ecclesiastical Courts before *Henry* the Eight were subordinate to the Pope, and so it was *Contra coronam et dignitatem Regis* ; but now the Ecclesiastical Courts are equally subordinate to the King. Therefore it cannot be *contra coronam et dignitatem Regis*, and so no *Præmunire*.

Prerogative.

1. **P**rerogative is something that can be told what it is, not something that has no name. Just as you see the Archbishop has his Prerogative Court, but we know what is done in that Court. So the King's Prerogative is not his will ; or what Divines make it, a Power to do what he lists.

2. The King's Prerogative, that is, the King's Law.

For example, if you ask whether a Patron may present to a Living after six months by Law? I answer no. If you ask whether the King may? I answer he may by his Prerogative, that is by the Law that concerns him in that case.

Presbytery.

1. **T**hey that would bring in a new Government, would very fain persuade us, they meet it in Antiquity; thus they interpret Presbyters, when they meet the word in the Fathers; Other professions likewise pretend to Antiquity. The Alchymist will find his Art in *Virgil's Aureus ramus*, and he that delights in Opticks will find them in *Tacitus*. When *Cæsar* came into *England* they would persuade us, they had perspective-Glasses, by which he could discover what they were doing upon the Land, because it is said, *Positio Speculis*; the meaning is, His Watch, or his Sentinel discover'd this, and this unto him.

2. Presbyters have the greatest power of any Clergy in the World, and gull the Laity most; for example; Admit there be twelve Laymen to six Presbyters, the six shall govern the rest as they please. First because they are constant, and the others come in like Church-Wardens in their turns, which is an huge advantage. Men will give way to them who have been in place before them. Next the Laymen have other professions to follow; the Presbyters make it their sole business; and besides too they learn and study the Art of persuading; some of *Geneva* have confess'd as much.

3. The Presbyter with his Elders about him is like a young Tree fenc'd about with two or three or four Stakes; the Stakes defend it, and hold it up; but the Tree only prospers and flourishes; it may be some Willow stake may bear a Leaf or two, but it comes to nothing. Lay-Elders are Stakes, the Presbyter the Tree that flourishes.

4. When the Queries were sent to the Assembly concerning the *Jus Divinum* of Presbytery; their asking time to Answer them, was a Satyr upon themselves. For if it were to be seen in the Text, they might quickly turn to the place, and shew us it. Their

delaying to Answer makes us think there's no such thing there. They do just as you have seen a fellow do at a Tavern Reckoning, when he should come to pay his Reckoning he puts his hands in his Pockets, and keeps a grabbling and a fumbling, and shaking, at last tells you he has left his Money at home; when all the company knew at first, he had no Money there, for every man can quickly find his own Money.

Priests of Rome.

1. **T**HE reason of the Statute against Priests, was this; In the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth* there was a Statute made, that he that drew men from their Civil obedience was a Traitor. It happen'd this was done in Privacies and Confessions, when there could be no proof; therefore they made another Act, that for a Priest to be in *England*, was Treason, because they presum'd that was his business to fetch men off from their Obedience.

2. When Queen *Elizabeth* dy'd, and King *James* came in, an Irish Priest does thus express it; *Elizabetha in orcum detrusa, successit Jacobus, alter Hæreticus*. You will ask why they did use such Language in their Church. *Anfw.* Why does the Nurse tell the Child of Raw-head and Bloody-bones, to keep it in awe?

3. The Queen-Mother and Count *Roffet*, are to the Priests and Jesuits like the honey-pot to the Flies.

4. The Priests of *Rome* aim but at two things, To get power from the King, and Money from the Subject.

5. When the Priests come into a Family, they do as a man that would set fire on a house; he does not put fire to the Brick-wall, but thrusts it into the Thatch. They work upon the women, and let the men alone.

6. For a Priest to turn a man when he lies a-dying, is just like one that hath a long time sollicitated a woman, and cannot obtain his end; at length makes her drunk, and so lies with her.

Prophecies.

1. **D**reams and Prophecies do thus much good; They make a man go on with boldness and courage, upon a Danger or a Mistress; if

he obtains, he attributes much to them; if he mis-carries, he thinks no more of them, or is no more thought of himself.

Proverbs.

1. **T**HE Proverbs of several Nations were much studied by Bishop *Andrews*, and the reason he gave, was, Because by them he knew the minds of several Nations which is a brave thing; as we count him a wise man, that knows the minds and insides of men, which is done by knowing what is habitual to them. Proverbs are habitual to a Nation, being transmitted from Father to Son.

Question.

1. **W**HEN a doubt is propounded, you must learn to distinguish, and show wherein a thing holds, and wherein it does not hold. Ay, or no, never answer'd any Question. The not distinguishing where things should be distinguish'd, and the not confounding, where things should be confounded, is the cause of all the mistakes in the World.

Reason.

1. **I**N giving Reasons, Men commonly do with us as the Woman does with her Child; when she goes to Market about her business, she tells it she goes to buy it a fine thing, to buy it a Cake or some Plums. They give us such Reasons as they think we will be caught withal, but never let us know the Truth.

2. When the School-men talk of *Recta Ratio* in Morals, either they understand Reason, as it is govern'd by a Command from above; or else they say no more than a Woman, when she says a thing is so, because it is so; that is her Reason persuades her 'tis so. The other Acceptation has Sense in it. As take a Law of the Land, I must not depopulate, my Reason tells me so. Why? Because if I do, I incur the detriment.

3. The Reason of a Thing is not to be enquired after, till you are sure the Thing itself be so. We commonly are at [*What's the Reason of it?*] before we are sure of the Thing. 'Twas an excellent Question of my

Lady *Cotten*, when Sir *Robert Cotten* was magnifying of a Shooe, which was *Mofes's* or *Noah's*, and wondring at the strange Shape and Fashion of it: *But Mr. Cotten*, fays she, *are you fure it is a Shooe.*

Retaliation.

AN *Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a Tooth;* That does not mean, that if I put out another Man's Eye, therefore I must lose one of my own, (for what is he the better for that?) though this be commonly received; but it means, I shall give him what Satisfaction an Eye shall be judged to be worth.

Reberence.

1. 'TIS sometimes unreasonable to look after Respect and Reverence, either from a Man's own Servant, or other Inferiours. A great Lord and a Gentleman talking together, there came a Boy by, leading a Calf with both his hands; fays the Lord to the Gentleman, You shall see me make the Boy let go his Calf; with that he came towards him, thinking the Boy would have put off his Hat, but the Boy took no Notice of him. The Lord seeing that, *Sirrah*, fays he, *Do you not know me that you use no Reverence?* Yes, fays the Boy, *if your Lordship will hold my Calf, I will put off my Hat.*

Non-Residency.

1. THE People thought they had a great Victory over the Clergy, when in *Henry* the Eighth's time they got their Bill passed, That a Clergy-man should have but Two Livings; before a Man might have Twenty or Thirty; 'twas but getting a Dispensation from the Pope's Limiter, or Gatherer of the *Peter-Pence*, which was as easily got, as now you may have a *Licence* to eat Flesh.

2. As soon as a Minister is made, he hath Power to Preach all over the World, but the Civil-Power restrains him; he cannot preach in this Parish, or in that; there is one already appointed. Now if the State allows him Two Livings, then he hath Two Places where he may Exercise his Function, and so has the more Power

to do his Office, which he might do every where if he were not restrained.

Religion.

1. **K**ing *James* said to the Fly, Have I Three Kingdoms, and thou must needs fly into my Eye? Is there not enough to meddle with upon the Stage, or in Love, or at the Table, but Religion?

2. Religion amongst Men appears to me like the Learning they got at School. Some Men forget all they learned, others spend upon the Stock, and some improve it. So some Men forget all the Religion that was taught them when they were Young, others spend upon that Stock, and some improve it.

3. Religion is like the Fashion, one Man wears his Doublet flash'd, another lac'd, another plain; but every Man has a Doublet: So every Man has his Religion. We differ about Trimming.

4. Men say they are of the same Religion for Quietness sake; but if the matter were well Examined you would scarce find Three any where of the same Religion in all Points.

5. Every Religion is a getting Religion; for though I myself get nothing, I am Subordinate to those that do. So you may find a Lawyer in the *Temple* that gets little for the present, but he is fitting himself to be in time one of those great Ones that do get.

6. Alteration of Religion is dangerous, because we know not where it will stay; 'tis like a *Milstone* that lies upon the top of a pair of Stairs, 'tis hard to remove it, but if once it be thrust off the first Stair, it never stays till it comes to the bottom.

7. *Question.* Whether is the Church or the Scripture Judge of Religion? *Answer.* In truth neither, but the State. I am troubled with a Boil; I call a Company of Chirurgeons about me; one prescribes one thing, another another; I single out something I like, and ask you that stand by, and are no Chirurgeon, what you think of it: You like it too; you and I are Judges of the Plaster, and we bid them prepare it, and there's an end. Thus 'tis in Religion; the Protestants say they

will be judged by the Scripture; the Papists say so too; but that cannot speak. A Judge is no Judge, except he can both speak and command Execution; but the truth is they never intend to agree. No doubt the Pope where he is Supreme, is to be Judge; if he say we in *England* ought to be subject to him, then he must draw his Sword and make it good.

8. By the Law was the Manual received into the Church before the Reformation, not by the Civil Law, that had nothing to do in it; nor by the Canon Law, for that Manual that was here, was not in *France*, nor in *Spain*; but by Custom, which is the Common Law of *England*; and Custom is but the Elder Brother to a Parliament: and so it will fall out to be nothing that the Papists say, Ours is a Parliamentary Religion, by reason the Service-Book was Established by Act of Parliament, and never any Service-Book was so before. That will be nothing that the Pope sent the Manual: 'Twas ours, because the State received it. The State still makes the Religion and receives into it, what will best agree with it. Why are the *Venetians* Roman Catholics? Because the State likes the Religion: All the World knows they care not Three Pence for the Pope. The Council of *Trent* is not at this day admitted in *France*.

9. *Papist*. Where was your Religion before *Luther*, an Hundred Years ago? *Protestant*. Where was *America* an Hundred or Sixscore years ago? Our Religion was where the rest of the Christian Church was. *Papist*. Our Religion continued ever since the Apostles, and therefore 'tis better. *Protestant*. So did ours. That there was an interruption of it, will fall out to be nothing, no more than if another Earl should tell me of the Earl of *Kent*, saying, He is a better Earl than he, because there was one or two of the Family of *Kent* did not take the Title upon them: yet all that while they were really Earls; and afterwards a Great Prince declar'd them to be Earls of *Kent*, as he that made the other Family an Earl.

10. Disputes in Religion will never be ended, because there wants a Measure by which the Business

would be decided: The *Puritan* would be judged by the Word of God: If he would speak clearly, he means himself, but he is ashamed to say so; and he would have me believe him before a whole Church, that has read the Word of God as well as he. One says one thing, and another another; and there is, I say, no Measure to end the Controversie. 'Tis just as if Two men were at Bowls, and both judg'd by the Eye; One says 'tis his Cast, the other says 'tis my Cast; and having no Measure, the Difference is Eternal. *Ben Johnson* Satyrically express'd the vain Disputes of Divines by *Inigo Lanthorne*, disputing with his Puppet in a *Bartholomew Fair*: It is so; It is not so; It is so; It is not so, crying thus one to another a quarter of an Hour together.

11. In Matters of Religion to be rul'd by one that writes against his Adversary, and throws all the Dirt he can in his Face, is, as if in point of good Manners a Man should be govern'd by one whom he sees at Cuffs with another, and thereupon thinks himself bound to give the next Man he meets a Box on the Ear.

12. 'Tis to no purpose to labour to Reconcile Religions, when the Interest of Princes will not suffer it. 'Tis well if they could be Reconciled so far, that they should not cut one another's Throats.

13. There's all the Reason in the World *Divines* should not be suffer'd to go a Hair beyond their Bounds, for fear of breeding Confusion, since there now be so many Religions on Foot. The matter was not so narrowly to be look'd after when there was but one Religion in Christendom; the rest would cry him down for an Heretick, and there was no Body to side with him.

14. We look after Religion as the Butcher did after his Knife, when he had it in his Mouth.

15. Religion is made a Juggler's Paper; now 'tis a Horse, now 'tis a Lanthorn, now 'tis a Boar, now 'tis a Man. To serve Ends Religion is turn'd into all Shapes.

16. Pretending Religion and the Law of God, is to fet all things loose: When a Man has no mind to do something he ought to do by his Contract with Man, then he gets a Text, and Interprets it as he pleases, and so thinks to get loose.

17. Some Mens pretending Religion, is like the Roaring Boys way of Challenges, [*Their Reputation is dear. It does not stand with the Honour of a Gentleman,*] when, God knows, they have neither Honour nor Reputation about them.

18. They talk much of fetling Religion ; Religion is well enough fetled already, if we would let it alone : Methinks we might look after, &c.

19. If men would say they took Arms for any thing but Religion, they might be beaten out of it by Reason ; out of that they never can, for they will not believe you whatever you say.

20. The very *Arcanum* of pretending Religion in all Wars is, That something may be found out in which all men may have interest. In this the Groom has as much interest as the Lord. Were it for Land, one has One Thousand Acres, and the other but One ; he would not venture so far, as he that has a Thousand. But Religion is equal to both. Had all men Land alike, by a *Lex Agraria*, then all men would say they fought for Land.

Sabbath.

1. **W**HY should I think all the Fourth Commandment belongs to me, when all the Fifth does not? What Land will the Lord give me for honouring my Father? It was spoken to the Jews with reference to the Land of *Canaan* ; but the meaning is, If I honour my Parents, God will also bless me. We read the Commandments in the Church-Service, as we do *David's* Psalms, not that all there concerns us, but a great deal of them does.

Sacrament.

1. **C**Hrist suffered *Judas* to take the Communion. Those Ministers that keep the Parishoners from it, because they will not do as they will have them, revenge rather than reform.

2. No man can tell whether I am fit to receive the Sacrament ; for though I were fit the day before, when he examined me ; at least appear'd so to him : yet how can he tell what sin I have committed that night, or

the next morning, or what impious Atheistical thoughts I may have about me, when I am approaching to the very Table ?

Salvation.

1. **W** E can best understand the meaning of *σωτηρία*, Salvation, from the Jews, to whom the Saviour was promised. They held that themselves should have the chief place of happiness in the other world ; but the Gentiles that were good men, should likewise have their portion of Blifs there too. Now by Christ the Partition-Wall is broken down, and the Gentiles that believe in him, are admitted to the same place of Blifs with the Jews ; and why then should not that portion of Happiness still remain to them, who do not believe in Christ, so they be morally good ? This is a charitable opinion.

State.

1. **I** N a troubled State save as much for your own as you can. A Dog had been at Market to buy a Shoulder of Mutton ; coming home he met two Dogs by the way, that quarrell'd with him ; he laid down his Shoulder of Mutton, and fell to fighting with one of them ; in the mean time the other Dog fell to eating his Mutton ; he seeing that, left the Dog he was fighting with, and fell upon him that was eating ; then the other Dog fell to eat ; when he perceiv'd there was no remedy, but which of them foever he fought withal, his Mutton was in danger, he thought he would have as much of it as he could, and thereupon gave over fighting, and fell to eating himself.

Superstition.

1. **T** Hey that are against Superstition often-times run into it of the wrong side. If I will wear all colours but black, then am I Superstitious in not wearing black.

2. They pretend not to adore the Crofs, because 'tis superstitious ; for my part I will believe them, when I see them throw their money out of their Pockets, and not till then.

3. If there be any Superstition truly and properly so

called, 'tis their observing the Sabbath after the Jewish manner.

Subsidies.

1. **H**eretofore the Parliament was wary what Subsidies they gave to the King, because they had no account, but now they care not how much they give of the Subjects money, because they give it with one hand and receive it with the other; and so upon the matter give it themselves. In the mean time what a case the Subjects of *England* are in; if the men they have sent to the Parliament misbehave themselves, they cannot help it, because the Parliament is eternal.

2. A Subsidy was counted the fifth part of a man's Estate, and so fifty Subsidies is five and forty times more than a man is worth.

Simony.

1. **T**he name of Simony was begot in the Canon-Law; the first Statute against it was in Queen *Elizabeth's* time. Since the Reformation Simony has been frequent: One reason why it was not practised in time of Popery, was the Pope's provision; no man was sure to bestow his own Benefice.

Ship-Money.

1. **M**R. *Noy* brought in Ship-money first for Maritime Towns, but that was like putting in a little Augur, that afterwards you may put in a greater; he that pulls down the first Brick, does the main work, afterwards 'tis easie to pull down the Wall.

2. They that at first would not pay Ship-money, till 'twas decided, did like brave men (though perhaps they did no good by the Trial), but they that stand out since, and suffer themselves to be distrain'd, never questioning those that do it, do pitifully, for so they only pay twice as much as they should.

Synod Assembly.

1. **W**E have had no National Synod since the Kingdom hath been settled, as now it is, only Provincial; and there will be this inconveniency, to call so many Divines together; 'twill be to put power in their hands, who are too apt to usurp

it, as if the Laity were bound by their determination. No, let the Laity consult with Divines on all sides, hear what they say, and make themselves Masters of their reasons ; as they do by any other profession, when they have a difference before them. For example Goldsmiths, they enquire of them, if such a Jewel be of such a value, and such a Stone of such a value, hear them, and then being rational men judge themselves.

2. Why should you have a Synod, when you have a Convocation already, which is a Synod? Would you have a superfetation of another Synod? The Clergy of *England* when they cast off the Pope, submitted themselves to the Civil Power, and so have continued ; but these challenge to be *Jure Divino*, and so to be above the Civil Power ; these challenge power to call before their Presbyteries all persons for all sins directly against the Law of God, as proved to be sins by necessary consequence. If you would buy Gloves, send for a Glover or two, not Glovers-hall ; consult with some Divines, not send for a Body.

3. There must be some Laymen in the Synod, to overlook the Clergy, lest they spoil the Civil work ; just as when the good Woman puts a Cat into the Milk-house to kill a Mouse, she sends her Maid to look after the Cat, lest the Cat should eat up the Cream.

4. In the Ordinance for the Assembly, the Lords and Commons go under the names of learned, godly, and judicious Divines ; there is no difference put betwixt them, and the Ministers in the Context.

5. 'Tis not unusual in the Assembly to revoke their Votes, by reason they make so much hast, but 'tis that will make them scorn'd. You never heard of a Council revok'd an Act of its own making, they have been wary in that, to keep up their Infallibility ; if they did anything they took away the whole Council, and yet we would be thought infallible as any body : 'tis not enough to say, the House of Commons revoke their Votes, for theirs are but Civil truths which they by agreement create, and uncreate, as they please : But the Truths the Synod deals in are Divine, and when they have voted a thing, if it be then true, 'twas true

before, not true because they voted it, nor does it cease to be true, because they voted otherwise.

6. Subscribing in a Synod, or to the Articles of a Synod, is no such terrible thing as they make it; because, if I am of a Synod, 'tis agreed, either tacitely or expressly. That which the Major part determines, the rest are involv'd in; and therefore I subscribe, though my own private Opinion be otherwise; and upon the same Ground, I may without scruple subscribe to what those have determin'd, whom I sent, though my private Opinion be otherwise, having respect to that which is the Ground of all Assemblies, the major part carries it.

Thanksgiving.

1. **A**T first we gave Thanks for every Victory as soon as ever 'twas obtained, but since we have had many now we can stay a good while. We are just like a Child; give him a Plum, he makes his Leg; give him a second Plum, he makes another Leg: At last when his Belly is full, he forgets what he ought to do; then his Nurse, or some body else that stands by him, puts him in mind of his Duty, *Where's your Leg.*

Tythes.

1. **T***ythes* are more paid in kind in *England*, than in all *Italy* and *France*. In *France* they have had Impropropriations a long time; we had none in *England* till *Henry* the Eighth.

2. To make an Impropropriation, there was to be the Consent of the Incumbent, the Patron, and the King; then 'twas confirmed by the Pope: Without all this the Pope could make no Impropropriation.

3. Or what if the Pope gave the *Tythes* to any Man, must they therefore be taken away? If the Pope gives me a Jewel, will you therefore take it away from me?

4. *Abraham* paid *Tythes* to *Melchizedeck*, what then? 'Twas very well done of him: It does not follow therefore that I must pay *Tythes*, no more than I am bound to imitate any other Action of *Abraham's*.

5. 'Tis ridiculous to say the *Tythes* are God's part, and therefore the Clergy must have them: Why, of

they are if the Layman has them. 'Tis as if one of my Lady *Kent's* Maids should be sweeping this Room, and another of them should come and take away the Broom, and tell for a Reason, why she should part with it: 'Tis my Lady's Broom: As if it were not my Lady's Broom, which of them soever had it.

6. They Consulted in *Oxford* where they might find the best Argument for their Tythes, setting aside the *Jus Divinum*; they were advis'd to my History of Tythes; a Book so much cry'd down by them formerly; (in which, I dare boldly say, there are more Arguments for them than are extant together any where:) Upon this, one writ me word, That my History of Tythes was now become like *Peleus's Hasta*, to Wound and to Heal. I told him in my Answer, I thought I could fit him with a better instance. 'Twas possible it might undergo the same Fate, that *Aristotle*, *Avicen*, and *Averroes* did in *France*, some Five Hundred Years ago; which were Excommunicated by *Stephen* Bishop of *Paris*, [by that very name, *Excommunicated*,] because that kind of Learning puzzled and troubled their Divinity. But finding themselves at a loss, some Forty Years after (which is much about the time since I writ my History) they were call'd in again, and so have continued ever since.

Trade.

1. **T**Here is no Prince in Christendom but is directly a Tradesman, though in another way than an ordinary Tradesman. For the purpose, I have a Man, I bid him lay out Twenty Shillings in such Commodities, but I tell him for every Shilling he lays out I will have a Penny. I Trade as well as he. This every Prince does in his Customs.

2. That which a Man is bred up in, he thinks no Cheating; as your Tradesman thinks not so of his Profession, but calls it a Mystery. Whereas if you would teach a Mercer to make his Silks heavier, than what he has been used to, he would peradventure think that to be Cheating.

3. Every Tradesman professes to cheat me, that asks for his Commodity twice as much as it is worth.

Tradition.

1. **S**AY what you will against *Tradition*; we know the Signification of Words by nothing but Tradition. You will say the Scripture was written by the Holy *Spirit*, but do you understand that Language 'twas writ in it? No. Then for Example, take these words, [*In principio erat verbum*] How do you know those words signifie, [*In the beginning was the word,*] but by Tradition, because some Body has told you so?

Transubstantiation.

1. **T**HE Fathers using to speak Rhetorically brought up Transubstantiation: As if because it is commonly said, *Amicus est alter idem*, One should go about to prove a Man and his Friend are all one. That Opinion is only Rhetorick turn'd into Logick.

2. There is no greater Argument (though not us'd) against Transubstantiation, than the Apostles at their first Council, forbidding Blood and Suffocation. Would they forbid Blood, and yet enjoin the eating of Blood too?

3. The best way for a pious Man, is to address himself to the Sacrament with that Reverence and Devotion, as if Christ were really there present.

Traitor.

1. **'T**IS not seasonable to call a Man Traitor that has an Army at his Heels. One with an Army is a Gallant man. My Lady *Cotten* was in the right, when she laugh'd at the Dutchess of *Richmond* for taking such State upon her, when she could Command no Forces. [*She a Dutchess, there's in Flanders a Dutchess indeed;*] meaning the Arch-Dutchess.

Trinity.

1. **T**HE Second Person is made of a piece of Bread by the Papist, the Third Person is made of his own Frenzy, Malice, Ignorance and Folly, by the Roundhead [to all these the

Spirit is intituled,] One the Baker makes, the other the Cöbler ; and betwixt those Two, I think the First Person is sufficiently abused.

Truth.

1. **T**He *Aristotelians* say, All Truth is contained in *Aristotle* in one place or another. *Galileo* makes *Simplicius* say so, but shows the absurdity of that Speech, by answering, All Truth is contained in a lesser Compass ; viz. In the Alphabet. *Aristotle* is not blam'd for mistaking sometimes ; but *Aristotelians* for maintaining those mistakes. They should acknowledge the good they have from him, and leave him when he is in the wrong. There never breath'd that Person to whom Mankind was more beholden.

2. The way to find out the Truth is by others mistakings : For if I was to go to such a place, and one had gone before me on the Right-hand, and he was out ; another had gone on the Left-hand, and he was out ; this would direct me to keep the middle way, that peradventure would bring me to the place I desir'd to go.

3. In troubled Water you can scarce see your Face ; or see it very little, till the Water be quiet and stand still. So in troubled times you can see little Truth ; when times are quiet and settled, then Truth appears.

Trial.

1. **T**Trials are by one of these three ways ; by Confession, or by Demurrer, that is, Confessing the Fact, but denying it to be that, wherewith a Man is charged. For Example, Denying it to be Treason, if a Man be charged with Treason ; or by a Jury.

3. *Ordalium* was a Trial ; and was either by going over Nine red hot Plough-Shares, (as in the Case of Queen *Emma*, accus'd for lying with the Bishop of *Winchester*, over which she being led Blindfold ; and having pass'd all her Irons, ask'd when she should come to her Trial ;) or 'twas by taking a red hot Coulter in a Man's hand, and carrying it so many Steps, and then casting it from him. As soon as this was done, the

Hands or the Feet were to be bound up, and certain Charms to be said, and a day or two after to be open'd; and if the parts were whole, the Party was judg'd to be Innocent; and so on the contrary.

3. The Rack is us'd no where as in *England*: In other Countries 'tis us'd in *Judicature*, when there is a *Semiplena probatio*, a half Proof against a Man; then to see if they can make it full, they Rack him if he will not Confess. But here in *England* they take a Man and Rack him, I do not know why, nor when; not in time of *Judicature*, but when some Body bids.

4. Some Men before they come to their Trial, are cozen'd to Confess upon Examination: Upon this Trick, they are made to believe some Body has confessed before them; and then they think it a piece of Honour to be clear and ingenious, and that destroys them.

Univerſity.

1. **T**HE best Argument why *Oxford* should have precedence of *Cambridge* is the Act of Parliament, by which *Oxford* is made a Body; made what it is; and *Cambridge* is made what it is; and in the Act it takes place. Besides *Oxford* has the best Monuments to show.

2. 'Twas well said of One, hearing of a History Lecture to be founded in the Univerſity; Would to God, says he, they would direct a Lecture of Discretion there, this would do more good there an hundred times.

3. He that comes from the Univerſity to govern the State, before he is acquainted with the Men and Manners of the Place, does just as if he should come into the presence Chamber all Dirty, with his Boots on, his riding Coat, and his Head all daub'd; They may serve him well enough in the way, but when he comes to Court, he must conform to the Place.

Vows.

1. **S**uppose a man find by his own inclination he has no mind to marry, may he not then Vow Chastity? *Anſw.* If he does, what a fine thing hath he done? 'tis as if a man did not love

Cheefe, and then he would vow to God Almighty never to eat Cheefe. He that Vows can mean no more in fense, than this; To do his utmost endeavour to keep his Vow.

Usury.

1. **T**HE *Jews* were forbidden to take Use one of another; but they were not forbidden to take it of other Nations. That being so, I see no reason, why I may not as well take Use for my Money as Rent for my House. 'Tis a vain thing to say, Money begets not Money; for that no doubt it does.

2. Would it not look odly to a Stranger, that should come into this Land, and hear in our Pulpits Usury preach'd against; and yet the Law allow it? Many men use it; perhaps some Churchmen themselves. No Bishop nor Ecclesiastical Judge, that pretends power to punish other faults, dares punish, or at least does punish any man for doing it.

Pious Uses.

1. **T**HE ground of the Ordinary's taking part of a Man's Estate (who dy'd without a Will) to Pious Uses, was this; To give it some body to pray, that his soul might be deliver'd out of Purgatory, now the pious Uses come into his own Pocket. 'Twas well exprest by *John O Powels* in the Play, who acted the Priest; one that was to be hang'd, being brought to the Ladder, would fain have given something to the Poor; he feels for his Purse, (which *John O Powels* had pickt out of his Pocket before) missing it, crys out, He had lost his Purse; now he intended to have given something to the Poor: *John O Powels* bid him be pacified, for the Poor had it already.

War.

1. **D**O not under-value an Enemy by whom you have been worsted. When our Countrymen came home from fighting with the *Saracens*, and were beaten by them, they pictured them with huge, big, terrible Faces (as you still see the Sign of the *Saracen's-head* is) when in truth they were

like other men. But this they did to save their own Credits.

2. Martial-Law in general, means nothing but the Martial-Law of this, or that place; with us to be us'd in *Fervore Belli*, in the Face of the Enemy, not in time of Peace; there they can take away neither Limb nor Life. The Commanders need not complain for want of it, because our Ancestors have done Gallant things without it.

3. *Question.* Whether may Subjects take up Arms against their Prince? *Anfw.* Conceive it thus; Here lies a Shilling betwixt you and me; Ten Pence of the Shilling is yours, Two Pence is mine: By agreement, I am as much King of my Two Pence, as you of your Ten Pence: If you therefore go about to take away my Two Pence, I will defend it; for there you and I are equal, both Princes.

4. Or thus, Two supream Powers meet; one says to the other, Give me your Land; if you will not, I will take it from you: The other, because he thinks himself too weak to resist him, tells him, Of Nine Parts I will give you Three, so I may quietly enjoy the rest, and I will become your Tributary. Afterwards the Prince comes to exact Six Parts, and leaves but Three; the Contract then is broken, and they are in Parity again.

5. To know what Obedience is due to the Prince, you must look into the Contract betwixt him and his People: as if you would know what Rent is due from the Tenant to the Landlord, you must look into the Lease. When the Contract is broken, and there is no third Person to judge, then the Decision is by Arms. And this is the Case between the Prince and the Subject.

6. *Question.* What Law is there to take up Arms against the Prince, in Case he break his Covenant? *Anfw.* Though there be no written Law for it, yet there is Custom; which is the best Law of the Kingdom; for in *England* they have always done it. There is nothing express between the King of *England* and the King of *France*; that if either Invades the other's Territory, the other shall take up Arms against him, and yet they do it upon such an Occasion.

7. 'Tis all one to be plunder'd by a Troop of Horfe, or to have a Man's Goods taken from him by an Order from the Council-Table. To him that dies, 'tis all one whether it be by a Penny Halter, or a Silk Garter; yet I confefs the Silk Garter pleafes more; and like *Trouts* we love to be tickled to Death.

8. The Souldiers fay they Fight for Honour; when the truth is they have their Honour in their Pocket. And they mean the fame thing that pretend to Fight for Religion. Juft as a Parfon goes to Law with his Parifhioners; he fays, For the Good of his Succelfors, that the Church may not lofe its Right; when the meaning is to get the Tythes into his own Pocket.

9. We Govern this War as an unskilful Man does a Cafting-Net; if he has not the right trick to caft the Net off his Shoulder, the Leads will pull him into the River. I am afraid we fhall pull our felves into Deftruftion.

10. We look after the particulars of a Battle becaufe we live in the very time of War. Where as of Battles paft we hear nothing but the number flain. Juft as for the Death of a Man; When he is fick, we talk how he fleep'this Night, and that Night; what he eat, and what he drunk: But when he is dead, we only fay, He died of a Fever, or name his Difefe; and there's an end.

11. *Boccaline* has this paffage of Souldiers, They came to *Apollo* to have their profeflion made the Eighth Liberal Science, which he granted. As foon as it was nois'd up and down, it came to the Butchers, and they defir'd their Profeflion might be made the Ninth: For fay they, the Souldiers have this Honour for the killing of Men; now we kill as well as they; but we kill Beasts for the preferving of Men, and why fhould not we have Honour likewise done to us? *Apollo* could not Answer their Reafons, fo he revers'd his Sentence, and made the Souldiers Trade a Myftery, as the Butchers is.

Witches.

1. **T**HE Law againft Witches does not prove there be any; but it punifhes the Malice of thofe people, that ufe fuch means, to take away mens Lives. If one fhould profefs that by turning

his Hat thrice, and crying Buz ; he could take away a man's life (though in truth he could do no such thing) yet this were a just Law made by the State, that whoever should turn his Hat thrice, and cry Buz ; with an intention to take away a man's life, shall be put to death.

Wife.

1. **H**E that hath a handsome Wife, by other men is thought happy ; 'tis a pleasure to look upon her, and be in her company ; but the Husband is cloy'd with her. We are never content with what we have.

2. You shall see a Monkey sometime, that has been playing up and down the Garden, at length leap up to the top of the Wall, but his Clog hangs a great way below on this side ; the Bishop's Wife is like that Monkey's Clog, himself is got up very high, takes place of the Temporal Barons, but his wife comes a great way behind.

3. 'Tis reason a man that will have a Wife should be at the charge of her Trinkets, and pay all the scores she sets on him. He that will keep a Monkey, 'tis fit he should pay for the Glasses he breaks.

Wisdom.

1. **A** Wise Man should never resolve upon any thing, at least never let the World know his Resolution, for if he cannot arrive at that, he is ashamed. How many things did the King resolve in his Declaration concerning *Scotland*, never to do, and yet did 'em all ? A man must do according to accidents and Emergencies.

2. Never tell your Resolution before hand ; but when the Cast is thrown, Play it as well as you can to win the Game you are at. 'Tis but folly to study, how to Play Size-ace, when you know not whether you shall throw it or no.

3. Wise Men say nothing in dangerous times. The Lion you know call'd the Sheep, to ask her if his breath smelt ; she said, Ay ; he bit off her head for a fool. He call'd the Wolf and askt him : He said no ;

he tore him in pieces for a Flatterer. At last he call'd the Fox and ask'd him; truly he had got a Cold and could not smell. King *James* was pictur'd &c.

Wit.

1. **W**IT and Wisedom differ; Wit is upon the sudden turn, Wisedom is in bringing about ends.
2. Nature must be the ground-work of Wit and Art; otherwise whatever is done will prove but Jack-puddings work.
3. Wit must grow like Fingers; if it be taken from others, 'tis like Plums stuck upon Black thornes; there they are for a while but they come to nothing.
4. He that will give himself to all manner of ways to get Money may be rich; so he that lets fly all he knows or thinks, may by chance be Satyrically witty. Honesty sometimes keeps a man from growing rich; and Civility from being witty.
5. Women ought not to know their own Wit, because they will still be shewing it, and so spoil it; like a Child that will continually be shewing its fine new Coat, till at length it all bedawbs it with its Pah-hands.
6. Fine Wits destroy themselves with their own Plots, in meddling with great affairs of State. They commonly do as the Ape that saw the Gunner put Bullets in the Cannon, and was pleas'd with it, and he would be doing so too; at last he puts himself into the Piece, and so both Ape, and Bullet were shot away together.

Women.

1. **L**ET the Women have power of their heads, because of the Angels. The reason of the words, *because of the Angels*, is this; The *Greek Church* held an Opinion that the Angels fell in Love with Women. This fancy *Saint Paul* discreetly catches, and uses it as an Argument to perswade them to modesty.
2. The Grant of a place, is not good by the Canon-Law before a man be dead; upon this ground some mischief might be plotted against him in present possession, by poisoning, or some other way. Upon

the same reason a Contract made with a Woman during her husband's life, was not valid.

3. Men are not troubled to hear a Man dispraised, because they know, though he be naught, there's worth in others. But Women are mightily troubled to hear any of them spoken against as if the Sex it self were guilty of some unworthiness.

4. Women and Princes must both trust somebody; and they are happy, or unhappy according to the desert of those under whose hands they fall. If a man knows how to manage the favour of a Lady, her Honour is safe, and so is a Princes.

5. An Opinion grounded upon that, *Genesis 6. The Sons of God saw the Daughters of Men that they were fair.*

Dear.

1. **T** Was the manner of the Jews (if the Year did not fall out right, but that it was dirty for the people to come up to *Jerusalem*, at the Feast of the Passover; or that their Corn was not ripe for their first Fruits) to intercalate a Month, and so to have, as it were, two *Februarys*; thrusting up the Year still higher, *March* into *April's* place, *April* into *May's* place, &c. Whereupon it is impossible for us to know when our Saviour was born, or when he dy'd.

2. The Year is either the year of the Moon, or the Year of the Sun; there's not above Eleven days difference. Our moveable Feasts are according to the Year of the Moon; else they should be fixt.

3. Though they reckon Ten days sooner beyond Sea; yet it does not follow their Spring is sooner than ours; we keep the same time in natural things, and their Ten days sooner, and our Ten days later in those things mean the self same time; just as Twelve *Sous* in French, are Ten Pence in English.

4. The lengthening of days is not suddenly perceiv'd till they are grown a pretty deal longer, because the Sun, though it be in a Circle, yet it seems for a while to go in a right Line. For take a Segment of a great Circle especially, and you shall doubt whether it be

straight or no. But when that Sun is got past that Line, then you presently perceive the days are lengthened. Thus it is in the Winter and Summer Solstice ; which is indeed the true reason of them.

5. The Eclipse of the Sun is, when it is new Moon ; the Eclipse of the Moon when 'tis full. They say *Dionysius* was converted by the Eclipse that happened at our Saviour's Death, because it was neither of these, and so could not be natural.

Zelots.

1. **O**NE would wonder Christ should Whip the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, and no Body offer to resist him (considering what Opinion they had of him.) But the reason was, they had a Law, that whosoever should profane *Sanctitatem Dei, aut Templi* ; the Holiness of God, or the Temple, before Ten persons, 'twas lawful for any of them to kill him, or to do any thing this side killing him ; as Whipping him, or the like. And hence it was, that when one struck our Saviour before the Judge where it was not lawful to strike (as it is not with us at this day) he only replies ; If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the Evil ; but if well why smitest thou me ? He says nothing against their smiting him, in case he had been guilty of speaking Evil, that is Blasphemy ; and they could have prov'd it against him. They that put this law in Execution were called Zelots ; but afterwards they committed many Villainies.

FINIS.