

This is (more or less) a facsimile version of the 1645 edition of Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*. Page and line breaks follow that edition exactly. Some changes have been made to the text: long esses are now short (I don't own a proper typeface); a few typos have been corrected; some text has been changed to accord with the errata of the 1643 edition; a missing marginal note has been supplied; and pages misnumbered have been corrected. All these corrections and changes are noted as footnotes. Incorrect section numbers have *not* been changed. Some variant readings have been noted, where they're of general interest; this is not, nor is it intended to be, even a precursor of a critical edition.

Superscript of the form "K100" refer the reader to Keck's *Annotations on Religio Medici*, giving their numbers as they are currently numbered on my web site

(<http://penelope.uchicago.edu/relmed/annotations.html>).

In editions following 1645, these notes accompanied *Religio Medici and* were referred to in the text by bracketing the text being annotated; for example, the annotation I have numbered K2 appears thus: **There are many things delivered Rhetorically]*. This is obviously not practical when the notes do not accompany the printed edition.

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2001



A true and full copy of that which was most
imperfectly and surreptitiously printed before
under the name of: **Religio Medici.**
Printed for Andrew Crooke: 1645.

To such as have, or shall peruse
the Observations upon a former corrupt Copy of this Book.



*Here are some men that Politian speaks of, Cui quam recta manus, tam fuit & facilis: and it seems the Author to the Observations upon this book, would arrogate as much to himself, for they were by his own confession, but the conceptions of one night; a hasty birth; and so it proves: for what is really controllable, he generally omitteth; and what is false upon the error of the Copy, he doth not alwayes take notice of; and wherein he would contradict, he mistaketh, or traduceth the intention, and (besides a parenthesis sometimes upon the Author) on-ly medleth with those points from whence he takes a hint to deliver his prepared conceptions: But the gross of his book is made out by discourses collaterall, and digressions
of*

of his own, not at all emergent from this discourse; which is easily perceptible unto the intelligent Reader. Thus much I thought good to let thee understand, without the Authors knowledge, who slighting the refute hath inforcedly published (as a sufficient confutation) his own Book: and in this I shall not make so bold with him, as the Observator hath done with that noble Knight, whose name he hath wrongfully prefixed, as I am informed, to slight Animadversions; but I leave him to repentance, and thee to thy satisfaction.

Farewell.

Yours, A. B.

TO



To the Reader.



*Certainly that man were greedy of life,^{K1} who should desire to live when all the world were at an end; and he must needs be very impatient, who would repine at death in the society of all things that suffer under it. Had not almost every man suffered by the press; or were not the tyranny thereof become universall; I had not wanted reason for complaint: but in times wherein I have lived to behold the highest perversion of that excellent invention, the name of his Majesty defamed, the honour of Parliament depraved, the writings of both depravedly, anticipatively, counterfeitly imprinted; complaints may seem ridiculous in private persons, and men of my condition may be as incapable of affronts as hopeless of their reparations. And truly had not the duty I owe unto the importunity of friends, and
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To the Reader.

the allegiance I must ever acknowledge unto truth prevailed with me; the inactivity of my disposition might have made these sufferings continuall, and time that brings other things to light, should have satisfied me in the remedy of its oblivion. But because things evidently false are not only printed, but many things of truth most falsely set forth; in this latter I could not but think my self engaged: for though we have no power to redresse the former, yet in the other the reparation being within our selves, I have at present represented unto the world a full and intended copy of that Piece which was most imperfectly and surreptitiously published before.

*This I confesse about seven years past, with some others of affinity thereto, for my private exercise and satisfaction, I had at leasurable hours composed; which being communicated unto one, it became common unto many, and was by transcription successively corrupted untill it arrived in a most depraved Copie at the Presse. He that shall pursue¹ that work, and shall take notice of sundry particularities and personall expressions therein, will easily discern the
intention*

¹ 1643: *peruse* .

To the Reader.

*intention was not publik: and being a private exercise directed to my selfe, what is delivered therein was rather a memoriall unto mee then an example or rule unto any other: and therefore if there bee any singularity therein correspondent unto the private conceptions of any man, it doth not advantage them; or if dissentaneous thereunto, it no way overthrowes them. It was penned in such a place and with such advantage,¹ that (I protest) from the first setting of pen unto paper, I had not the assistance of any good book, whereby to promote my invention or relieve my memory; and therefore there might be many reall lapses therein, which others might take notice of, and more than I suspected my selfe. It was set down many years past, and was the sense of my conceptions at that time, not an immutable law unto my advancing judgement at all times, and therefore there might be many things therein plausible unto my passed apprehension, which are not agreeable unto my present self. There are many things delivered Rhetorically,^{K2} many expressions therein meerly Tropical, and as they best illustrate my intention; and therefore also
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¹ 1643: *disadvantage* .

To the Reader.

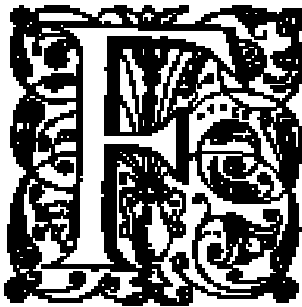
there are many things to be taken in a soft and flexible sense, and not to be called unto the rigid test of reason. Lastly, all that is contained therein is in submission unto maturer discernments, and as I have declared shall no further father them than the best and learned judgements shall authorize them; under favour of which considerations I have made its secrecy publick, and committed the truth thereof to every ingenious Reader.

Tho. Browne

RELI-



RELIGIO MEDICI



OR my Religion, though there be severall circumstances that might perswade the world I have none at all, as the generall scandall of my profession,^{K3} the naturall course of my studies,^{K4} the indifferency of my behaviour,^{K5} and discourse in matters of Religion, neither violently defending one, nor with that common ardour and contention opposing another; yet in despight hereof I dare, without usurpation, assume the honorable stile of a Christian: not that I meerly owe this title to the Font,^{K6} my education, or Clime wherein I was borne, as being bred up either to confirme those principles my Parents instilled

Sect. 1

led into my unwary understanding; or by a generall consent proceed in the Religion of my Country: But having, in my riper yeares,^{k7} and confirmed judgement, seene and examined all, I find my selfe obliged by the principles of Grace, and the law of mine owne reason, to embrace no other name but this; neither doth herein my zeale so farre make mee forget the generall charity I owe unto humanity, as rather to hate then pity Turkes, Infidels, and (what is worse) Jewes, rather contenting my selfe to enjoy that happy stile, then maligning those who refuse so glorious a title.

Sect. 2

But because the name of a Christian is become too generall to expresse our faith, there being a Geography of Religions^{k8} as well as Lands, and every Clime distinguished not onely by their Lawes and Limits, but circumscribed by their doctrines and rules of Faith; To be particular, I am of that reformed new-cast Religion, wherein I dislike nothing but the name,^{k9} of the same believe our Saviour taught, the Apostles disseminated, the Fathers authorised, and the Martyrs confirmed

confirmed; but by the sinister ends of Princes, the ambition and avarice of Prelates, and the fatal corruption of times, so decayed, impaired, and fallen from its native beauty, that it required the carefull and charitable hands of these times to restore it to its primitive integrity: Now the accidentall occasion whereon,^{K10} the slender meanes whereby, the low and abject condition of the person by whom so good a worke was set on foot, which in our adversaries beget contempt and scorn, fills me with wonder, and is the very same objection the insolent Pagans first cast at Christ and his Disciples.

Yet have I not so shaken hands with those desperate Resolutions, who had rather venture at large their decayed bottome then bring her in to be new trim'd in the dock; who had rather promiscuously retaine all, then abridge any, and obstinately be what they are, then what they have been, as to stand in diameter and swords point with them: we have reformed from them, not against them;^{K11} for omitting those impropertions and termes of scurrility betwixt us, which onely

Sect. 3

only difference our affections, and not our cause, there is between us one common name and appellation, one faith, and necessary body of principles common to us both; and therefore I am not scrupulous to converse and live with them, to enter their Churches in defect of ours, and either pray with them, or for them: I could never perceive any rationally consequence from those many texts which prohibite the children of Israel to pollute themselves with the Temples of the Heathens; we being all Christians, and not divided by such detested impieties as might prophane our prayers, or the place wherein we make them; or that a resolved conscience may not adore her Creator any where, especially in places devoted to his service; where if their devotions offend him, mine may please him, if theirs prophane it, mine may hallow it; Holy water and Crucifix (dangerous to the common people) deceive not my judgement, nor abuse my devotion at all: I am, I confesse, naturally inclined to that, which misguided zeale termes superstition; my common
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conversation I doe acknowledge austere, my behaviour full of rigour, sometimes not without morosity; yet at my devotion I love to use the civility of my knee, my hat, and hand, with all those outward and sensible motions, which may expresse, or promote my invisible devotion. I should violate my owne arme rather then a Church, nor willingly deface the memory of Saint or Martyr. At the sight of a Crosse or Crucifix I can dispence with my hat, but scarce with the thought or memory of my Saviour; I cannot laugh at but rather pity the fruitlesse journeys of Pilgrims, or contemne the miserable condition of Fryers; for though misplaced in circumstance, there is something in it of devotion. I could never heard the **Ave Marie* Bell without an elevation, or thinke it a sufficient warrant, because they erred in one circumstance, for me to erre in all, that is, in silence and dumbe contempt; whilst therefore they directed their devotions to her, I offered mine to God, and rectified the errors of their prayers by rightly ordering mine owne; At a solemn

*A Church Bell that tolls every day at 6. and 12. of the Clock, at the hearing wherof every one in what place soever either of house or street betakes him to his prayer, which is commonly directed to the *Virgin.*

Profession¹ I have wept abundantly while my consorts, blind with opposition and prejudice, have fallen into an access of scorne and laughter: There are questionlesse both in Greek, Roman, and African Churches, solemnities and ceremonies, whereof the wiser zeales doe make a Christian use, and stand condemned by us; not as evill in themselves, but as allurements and baites of superstition to those vulgar heads that look asquint on the face of truth, and those unstable judgements that cannot consist in the narrow point and centre of vertue without a reele or stagger to the circumference.

Sect. 4.

As there were many Reformers, so likewise many reformations; every Country proceeding in a particular way and Method, according as their national interest together with their constitution and clime inclined them, some angrily and with extreamity, others calmely, and with mediocrity, not rending, but easily dividing the community, and leaving an honest possibility of a reconciliation, which though peaceable

Spirits

¹ 1643: *Procession* . This may be intended as *Prosession*.

Spirits doe desire, and may conceive that revolution of time, and the mercies of God may effect; yet that judgement that shall consider the present antipathies between the two extreames, their contrarities in condition, affection and opinion, may with the same hopes expect an union in the poles of Heaven.

But to difference my self neerer, & draw into a lesser circle: There is no Church whose every part so squares unto my conscience, whose articles, constitutions, and customes seeme so consonant unto reason, and as it were framed to my particular devotion, as this whereof I hold my believe, the Church of *England*, to whose faith I am a sworn subject; and therefore in a double obligation, subscribe unto her Articles, and endeavour to observe her constitutions: whatsoever is beyond, as points indifferent, I observe according to the rules of my private reason, or the humor and fashion of my devotion, neither believing this, because *Luther* affirmed it, or disproving that, because *Calvin* hath disavouched it. I condemne not all things in the
Coun-

Sect. 5.

Councell of *Trent*, nor approve all in the Synod of *Dort*. In briefe, where the Scripture is silent, the Church is my Text; where that speaks, tis but my Comment; where there is a joynt silence of both, I borrow not the rules of my Religion from *Rome* or *Geneva*, but the dictates of my own reason. It is an unjust scandall of our adversaries, and a gross error in our selves, to compute the Nativity of our Religion from *Henry* the eight, who though he rejected the Pope refus'd not the faith of *Rome*,^{K12} and effected no more then what his owne Predecessors desired and assayed in ages past, and was conceived the State of *Venice* would have attempted in our dayes.^{K13}

It is as uncharitable a point in us to fall upon those popular scurrilities and opprobrious scoffs of the Bishop of *Rome*, whom as a temporall Prince, we owe the duty of good language; I confesse there is cause of passion between us; by his sentence I stand excommunicated, Heretick is the best language he affords me; yet can no eare witnesse I ever returned to him the name of Anti-christ,

christ, Man of sinne, or whore of *Babylon*; It is the method of charity to suffer without reaction: those usuall satyrs, and invectives of the Pulpit may perchance produce a good effect on the vulgar, whose eares are opener to Rhetorick then Logick, yet doe they in no wise confirm the faith of wiser beleevers, who know that a good cause needs not to be pardon'd¹ by a passion, but can sustaine it self upon a temperate dispute.

I could never divide my selfe from any man upon the difference of an opinion, or be angry with his judgement for not agreeing with mee in that, from which perhaps within a few dayes I should dissent my selfe:^{K14} I have no Genius to disputes in Religion, and have often thought it wisdom, to decline them, especially upon a disadvantage, or when the cause of truth might suffer in the weaknesse of my patronage: where we desire to be informed, 'tis good to contest with men above our selves; but to confirme and establish our opinions, 'tis best to argue with judgements below our own, that the frequent spoiles
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Sect. 6.

¹ 1643: *patron'd*

and victories over their reasons may settle in our selves an esteeme, and confirmed opinion of our owne. Every man is not a proper Champion for Truth, nor fit to take up the Gantlet in the cause of Veritie:^{K15} Many from the ignorance of these Maximes, and an inconsiderate zeale unto Truth, have too rashly charged the troopes of error, and remaine as Trophees unto the enemies of Truth: A man may be in as just possession of Truth as of a City, and yet be forced to surrender; tis therefore farre better to enjoy her with peace, then to hazzard her on a battell: If therefore there rise any doubts in my way, I doe forget them, or at least deferre them, till my better settled judgement, and more manly reason be able to resolve them; for I perceive every mans owne reason is his best *Oedipus*, and will upon a reasonable truce, find a way to loose those bonds wherewith the subtilties of error have enchained our more flexible and tender judgements. In Philosophy where truth seemes double-faced, there is no man more paradoxicall then my self; but
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in Divinity I love to keepe the road,^{K16} and though not in an implicate, yet an humble faith, follow the great wheele of the Church, by which I move, not reserving any proper poles or motion from the epicycle of my own braine; by this means I leave no gap for Heresies, Schismes, or Errors, of which at present I hope I shall not injure Truth, to say, I have no taint or tincture; I must confesse my greener studies have beene polluted with two or three, not any begotten in the latter Centuries, but old and obsolete, such as could never have been revived, but by such extravagant and irregular heads as mine; for indeed Heresies perish not with their Authors, but like the River *Arethusa*, though they lose their currents in one place, they rise up againe in another:^{K17} one generall Councell is not able to extirpate one single Heresie, it may be canceld for the present, but revolution of time and the like aspects from Heaven, will restore it, when it will flourish till it be condemned againe; for as though there were a *Metempsychosis*, and the soule of one man passed

* A revolution of certaine thousand yeares when all things should returne unto their former estate and he be teaching againe in his schoole as when he delivered this opinion.
Sect. 7.

12

Religio Medici.

passed into another, opinions doe finde after certaine revolutions, men and mindes like those that first begat them. To see our selves againe wee neede not looke for * *Platoes* yeare; every man is not onely himselfe; there have beene many *Diogenes*, and as many *Timons*, though but few of that name; men are lived over againe, the world is now as it was in ages past, there was none then, but there hath been some one since that parallels him, and is as it were his revived selfe.

Now the first of mine was that of the Arabians,^{K18} that the soules of men perished with their bodies, but should yet be raised againe at the last day; not that I did absolutely conceive a mortality of the soule; but if that were, which faith, not Philosophy hath yet thoroughly disproved, and that both entred the grave together, yet I held the same conceit thereof that we all doe of the bodie, that it rise¹ againe. Surely it is but the merits of our unworthy natures, if wee sleepe in darkenesse, untill the last alarum: A serious reflex upon my owne unworthinesse

¹ Thus all editions, although corrected errata 1643 to *should rise*; the (unauthorized) 1642 has *shall rise*.

ness did make me backward from challenging this prerogative of my soule; so I might enjoy my Saviour at the last, I could with patience be nothing almost unto eternity. The second was that of *Origen*, that God would not persist in his vengeance for ever, but after a definite time of his wrath hee would release the damned soules from torture;^{K19} Which error I fell into upon a serious contemplation of the great attribute of God his Mercy, and did a little cherish it in my selfe, because I found therein no malice, and a ready weight to sway me from the other extream of despair, whereunto melancholy and contemplative natures are too easily disposed. A third there is which I did never positively maintaine or practice, but have often wished it had been consonant unto Truth, and not offensive to my Religion, and that is the prayer for the dead; whereunto I was inclined from some charitable inducements, whereby I could scarce containe my prayers for a friend at the ringing of a Bell, or behold his corpes without an oraison for his soule: 'Twas a good way me thought to be

bee remembered by posterity, and farre more noble then an History. These opinions I never maintained with pertinacity, or endeavoured to enveagle any mans beliefe unto mine, nor so much as ever revealed or disputed them with my dearest friends; by which means I neither propagated them in others, nor confirmed them in my selfe: but suffering them to flame upon their own substance, without addition of new fuell, they went out insensibly of themselves; therefore these opinions, though condemned by lawfull Councils, were not Heresies in me,^{K20} but bare Errors, and single Lapses of my understanding, without a joynt depravity of my will: Those have not only depraved understandings, but diseased affections, which cannot enjoy a singularity without a Heresie, or be the author of an opinion, without they be of a Sect also; this was the villany of the first schisme of *Lucifer*, who was not content to erre alone, but drew into his faction many Legions of Spirits; and upon this experience hee tempted onely *Eve*, as well understanding the communicable

communicable nature of sin, and that to deceive but one, was tacitely and upon consequence to delude them both.

That Heresies should arise we have the prophesie of Christ, but that old ones should bee abolished wee hold no prediction. That there must be heresies, is true, not onely in our Church, but also in any other: even in Doctrines hereticall there will be super-heresies, and Arians not onely divided from their Church, but also among themselves: for heads that are disposed unto Schisme and complexionably¹ propense to innovation, are naturally indisposed² for a community, nor will ever be confined unto the order or œconomy of one body; and therefore when they separate from others they knit but loosely among themselves; nor contented with a generall breach or dichotomie with their Church, do subdivide and mince themselves almost into Atomes. 'Tis true, that men of singular parts and humors have not been free from singular opinions and conceits in all ages; retaining something not onely beside the opinion
of

Sect. 8.

¹ 1643: *complexionally*

² All editions *disposed* corrected errata 1643 *indisposed*.

of his owne Church or any other, but also any particular Author: which notwithstanding a sober judgement may do without offence or heresie; for there is yet after all the decrees of councils and the niceties of the Schooles, many things untouch'd, unimagin'd, wherein the liberty of an honest reason may play and expatiate¹ with security, and farre without the circle of an heresie.

Sect. 9. As for those wingy mysteries in Divinity, and aery subtillies in Religion, which have unhing'd the braines of better heads, they never stretched the *Pia Mater* of mine; methinkes there bee not impossibilities enough in Religion for an active faith; the deepest mysteries ours containes, have not onely been illustrated, but maintained by syllogisme, and the rule of reason:^{K21} I love to lose my selfe in a mystery, to pursue my reason to an *oh altitudo*. 'Tis my solitary recreation to pose my apprehension with those involved ænigma's and riddles of the Trinity, with Incarnation and Resurrection. I can answer all
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¹ 1645: *expiate*, corrected here to follow other editions.

the objections of Satan, and my rebellious reason, with that odde resolution I learned of *Tertullian*, *Certum est quia impossibile est*. I desire to exercise my faith in the difficultest point; for to credit ordinary and visible objects is not faith, but perswasion. Some beleeve the better for seeing Christ his Sepulchre, and when they have seene the Red Sea, doubt not of the miracle.^{K22} Now contrarily I blesse my selfe, and am thankfull that I lived not in the dayes of miracles, that I never saw Christ nor his Disciples; I would not have beene one of those Israelites that passed the Red Sea, nor one of Christs Patients, on whom hee wrought his wonders; then had my faith been thrust upon me, nor should I enjoy that greater blessing pronounced to all that beleeve and saw not. 'Tis an easie and necessary beliefe to credit what our eye and sense hath examined: I believe he was dead, and buried, and rose againe; and desire to see him in his glory, rather then to contemplate him in his Cenotaphe, or Sepulchre. Nor is this much to beleeve, as we have reason, we
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owe this faith unto History: they onely had the advantage of a bold and noble faith, who lived before his comming, who upon obscure prophesies and mysticall Types could raise a belief, and expect apparent impossibilities.

Sect. 10.

'Tis true there is an edge in all firme belief, and with an easie Metaphor wee may say the Sword of faith; but in these obscurities I rather use it, in the adjunct the Apostle gives it, a Buckler; under which I conceive¹ a wary combatant may lie invulnerable. Since I was of understanding to know we knew nothing, my reason hath been more pliable to the will of faith; I am now content to understand a mystery without a rigid definition in an easie and Platonick description. That allegoricall description of *Hermes*, *pleaseth mee beyond all the Metaphysicall definitions of Divines; where I cannot satisfie my reason, I love to humour my fancy; I had as lieve you tell mee that *anima est angelus hominis, est Corpus Dei*, as *Entelechia*; *Lux est umbra Dei*, as *actus perspicui*:^{K23} where there is an obscurity too deepe for our
reason

* *Sphæra,*
cujus cen-
trum ubiq;
circumfe-
rentia
nullibi.

¹ 1643: *perceive*

reason 'tis good to set downe with a description, periphrasis, or adumbration; for by acquainting our reason how unable it is to display the visible and obvious effect of nature, it becomes more humble and submissive unto the subtilties of faith: and thus I teach my haggard and unreclaimed Reason to stoope unto the lure of Faith. I beleeeve there was already a tree whose fruit our unhappy parents tasted, though in the same chapter, when God forbids it, 'tis positively said, the plants of the field were not yet growne; for God had not caused it to raine upon the Earth.^{K24} I beleeeve that the Serpent (if we shall literally understand it) from his proper forme and figure, made his motion on his belly before the curse.^{K25} I find the triall of the Pucelage and Virginitie of women, which God ordained the Jewes, is very fallible.^{K26} Experience and History informes me, that not onely many particular women, but likewise whole Nations have escaped the curse of childbirth, which God seemes to pronounce upon the whole Sex;^{K27} yet do I beleeeve that all this is true,

true, which indeed my reason would perswade me to be false; and this I think is no vulgar part of faith, to beleieve a thing not onely above, but contrary to reason, and against the arguments of our proper senses.

Sect. 11.

In my solitary and retired imagination, (*Neque enim cum porticus, aut me lectulus accepit, desum mihi*) I remember I am not alone, and therefore forget not to contemplate him and his attributes who is ever with me, especially those two mighty ones, his wisdom and eternity: with the one I recreate, with the other I confound my understanding: for who can speake of eternity without a solœcisme, or thinke thereof without an extasie?^{K28} Time we may comprehend, 'tis but five days elder then our selves, and hath the same Horoscope with the world, but to retire so farre backe as to apprehend a beginning, to give such an infinite start forward as to conceive an end in an essence that wee affirme hath neither the one nor the other; it puts my reason to Saint *Pauls* Sanctuary; my Philosophy dares not say

say the Angels can do it; God hath not made a creature that can comprehend him, 'tis the priviledge of his owne nature; *I am that I am*, was his owne definition unto *Moses*; and 'twas a short one, to confound mortality, that durst question God, or aske him what hee was; indeed hee onely is,^{K29} all others have and shall be, but in eternity there is no distinction of Tenses, and therefore that terrible terme *Predestination*, which hath troubled so many weake heads to conceive and the wisest to explaine, is in respect to God no prescious determination of our estates to come, but a definitive blast of his will already fulfilled, and at the instant that he first decreed it; for to his eternity which is indivisible, and altogether, the last Trump is already sounded, the reprobates in the flame, and the blessed in *Abrahams* bosome. Saint *Peter* speaks modestly, when hee saith a thousand years to God are but as one day: for to speake like a Philosopher, those continued instances of time which flow into thousand yeares, make not to him one moment; what to us is

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to come, to his Eternity is present, his whole duration being but one permanent point without succession, parts, flux, or division.

Sect. 12.

There is no Attribute that adds more difficulty to the mystery of the Trinity, where though in a relative way of Father and Son, we must deny a priority. I wonder how *Aristotle* could conceive the World eternall, or how hee could make good two Eternities:^{K30} his similitude of a Triangle, comprehended in a square, doth somewhat illustrate the Trinity of our soules, and that the Triple Unity of God; for there is in us not three, but a Trinity of Soules,^{K31} because there is in us, if not three distinct soules, yet differing faculties, that can, and do subsist apart in different subjects, and yet in us are so united as to make but one soule and substance; if one soule were so perfect as to informe three distinct bodies, that were a petty Trinity: conceive the distinct number of three, not divided nor separated by the intellect, but actually comprehended in its Unity, and that is a perfect Trinity. I have often
admired

admired the mysticall way of *Pythagoras*, and the secret Magick of numbers; Beware of Philosophy, is a precept not to bee received in too large a sense; for in this masse of nature there is a set of things that carry in their front, though not in capitall Letters, yet in Stenography, and short Characters, something of Divinity, which to wiser reasons serve as Luminaries in the abyse of knowledge, and to judicious beliefes, as scales and roundles to mount the pinnacles and highest pieces of Divinity. The severe Schooles shall never laugh mee out of the Philosophy of *Hermes*, that this visible world is but a picture of the invisible, wherein, as in a pourtract, things are not truely, but in equivocall shapes; and as they counterfeit some more reall substance in that invisible Fabrick.

That other attribute wherewith I recreate my devotion, is his Wisedome, in which I am happy; and for the contemplation of this onely, do not repent me that I was bred in the way of study: The advantage I have of the vulgar, with the content and happinesse I conceive

Sect. 13

ceive therein, is an ample recompence for all my endeavours, in what part of knowledge soever. Wisdome is his most beauteous attribute, no man can attain unto it, yet *Solomon* pleased God when he desired it. He is wise, because he knowes all things, and hee knoweth all things, because he made them all, but his greatest knowledge is in comprehending that hee made not, that is, himselfe. And this is also the greatest knowledge in man. For this do I honour my owne profession, and embrace the counsell even of the Devill himselfe: had he read such a Lecture in Paradise, as he did at **Delphos*; we had better knowne our selves, nor had we stood in feare to know him. I know he is wise in all, wonderfull in what we conceive, but far more in what we comprehend not, for we behold him but asquint upon reflexe or shadow; our understanding is dimmer then *Moses* eye, wee are ignorant of the backparts, or lower side of his Divinity; therefore to prie into the maze of his Counsels, is not onely folly in man, but presumption even in Angels; like us, they are his servants,

* γνῶθι
σεαυτὸν,
*Nosce
teipsum*

servants, not his Senators; he holds no Councell, but that mysticall one of the Trinity, wherein though there be three persons, there is but one mind that decrees, without contradiction: nor needs hee any, his actions are not begot with deliberation, his wisdom naturally knows what's best; his intellect stands ready fraught with the superlative and purest Idea's of goodnesse; consultation and election, which are two motions in us, make but one in him; his actions springing from his power, at the first touch of his will. These are Contemplations Metaphysicall, my humble speculations have another Method, and are content to trace and discover those expressions he hath left in his creatures, and the obvious effects of nature; there is no danger to profound these mysteries, no *sanctum sanctorum* in Philosophy: The world was made to be inhabited by Beasts, but studied and contemplated by man: 'tis the debt of our reason we owe unto God, and the homage we pay for not being beasts; without this the world is still as though it had

had not been, or as it was before the sixth day when as yet there was not a creature that could conceive, or say there was a world. The wisdom of God receives small honour from those vulgar heads, that rudely stare about, and with a grosse rusticity admire his workes; those highly magnifie him whose Judicious enquiry into his acts, and deliberate research into his creatures, returne the duty of a devout and learned admiration.

Therefore,

*Search while thou wilt, and let thy reason goe
To ransome truth even to the abyss below,
Rally the scattered causes, and that line
Which nature twists be able to untwine
It is thy Makers will, for unto none
But unto reason can he ere be knowne. (ours
The Devills doe know thee, but those damned mete-
Build not thy glory, but confound thy creatures.
Teach my indeavours so thy workes to read,
That learning them, in thee I may proceed.
Give thou my reason that instructive flight,
Whose weary wings may on thy hands still light.
Teach me to soare aloft, yet ever so,
When neare the sunne, to stoope againe below.
Thus shall my humble feathers safely hover, (cover.
And though neere earth, more then the heavens dis-
And then at last, when homeward I shall drive*

Rich

*Rich with the Spoyles of nature to my hive,
There will I sit, like that industrious flye,
Buzzing thy prayes, which shal never die
Till death abrupts them, and succeeding glory
Bid me goe on in a more lasting story.*

And this is almost all wherein an humble creature may endeavour to requite, and some way to retribute unto his Creator; for if not he that sayeth *Lord, Lord; but he that doth the will of his Father, shall be saved*; certainly our wills must bee our performances, and our intents make out our actions; otherwise our pious labours shall finde anxiety in their graves, and our best endeavours not hope, but feare a resurrection.

There is but one first cause, and foure second causes of all things;^{K32} some are without efficient, as God; others without matter, as Angels; some without forme, as the first matter; but every Essence created or uncreated, hath its finall cause, and some positive end both of its Essence and operation; This is the cause I grope after in the workes of nature; on this hangs the providence of God to raise so beauteous a structure,

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as

as the world and the creatures thereof, was but his Art, but their sundry and divided operations with their predestinated ends, are from the treasury of his wisdom. In the causes, nature, and affections of the Eclipse of Sunne and Moone, there is most excellent speculation; but to profound farther, and to contemplate a reason why his providence hath so disposed and ordered their motions in that vast circle, as to conjoyne and obscure each other, is a sweeter piece of reason, and a diviner point of Philosophy; therefore sometimes, and in some things there appears to me as much divinity in *Galen* his Books *De usu partium*, as in *Suarez* Metaphysicks: Had *Aristotle* beene as curious in the enquiry of this cause as he was of the other, he had not left behinde him an imperfect piece of Philosophy, but an absolute tract of Divinity.

Sect. 15

Natura nihil agit frustra, is the onely indisputable axiome in Philosophy; there are no *Grotesques* in nature,^{K33} not any thing framed to fill up empty cantons, and unnecessary spaces, in the most im-

imperfect creatures, and such as were not preserved in the Arke, but having their seeds and principles in the wombe of nature, are every-where where the power of the Sunne is; in these is the wisdom of his hand discovered: Out of this ranke *Solomon* chose the object of his admiration, indeed what reason may not goe to schoole to the wisdom of Bees, Aunts, and Spiders? what wise hand teacheth them to doe what reason cannot teach us? ruder heads stand amazed at those prodigious pieces of nature, Whales, Elephants, Dromidaries, and Camels; these I confesse, are the Colossus and Majestick pieces of her hand; but in these narrow Engines there is more curious Mathematicks, and the civility of these little Citizens, more neatly set forth the wisdom of their Maker; Who admires not *Regio-Montanus* his Fly beyond his Eagle,^{K34} or wonders not more at the operation of two soules in those little bodies, than but one in the trunck of a Cedar?^{K35} I could never content my contemplation with those generall pieces of wonders, the
flux

flux and reflux of the sea, the encrease of Nile, the conversion of the Needle to the North, and have studied to match and parallel those in the more obvious and neglected pieces of Nature, which without further travell I can doe in the Cosmography of my selfe; we carry with us the wonders wee seeke without us:^{K36} There is all *Africa*, and her prodigies in us; we are that bold and adventurous piece of nature, which he that studies, wisely learns in a *compendium*, what others labour at in a divided piece and endlesse volume.

Sect. 16

Thus there are two Bookes from whence I collect my Divinity; besides that written one of God, another of his servant Nature, that universall and publike Manuscript, that lies expans'd unto the eyes of all;^{K37} those that never saw him in the one, have discovered him in the other: This was the Scripture and Theologie of the Heathens; the naturall motion of the Sun made them more admire him, than its supernaturall station did the Children of Israel; the ordinary effect of nature wrought

wrought more admiration in them, than in the other all his miracles; surely the Heathens knew better how to joine and read these mysticall Letters, than wee Christians, who cast a more carelesse eye on these common Hieroglyphicks, and disdain to suck Divinity from the flowers of Nature. Nor do I so forget God, as to adore the name of Nature; which I define not with the Schools, the principle of motion and rest, but, that streight and regular line, that settled and constant course the wisdom of God hath ordained the actions of his Creatures, according to their several kinds. To make a revolution every day, is the nature of the Sunne, because that necessary course which God hath ordained it, from which it cannot swerve, but¹ by a faculty from that voice which first did give it motion. Now this course of Nature God seldome alters or perverts, but like an excellent Artist hath so contrived his worke, that with the selfe same instrument without a new creation hee may effect his obscurest designs. Thus hee sweetneth the Water with a Wood, preserveth

¹ 1645 : *by a faculty*; corrected errata 1643 to *but by a faculty*.

preserveth the creatures in the Arke, which the blast of his mouth might have as easily created: for God is like a skilfull Geometrician, who when more easily and with one stroke of his Compasse, he might describe, or divide a right line, had yet rather do this in a circle or longer way; according to the constituted and forelaid principles of his Art: yet this rule of his he doth sometimes pervert, to acquaint the world with his prerogative, lest the arrogancy of our reason should question his power, and conclude he could not; and thus I call the effects of nature the works of God, whose hand and instrument she only is; and therefore to ascribe his actions unto her, is to devolve the honour of the principall agent, upon the instrument; which if with reason we may do, then let our hammers rise up and boast they have built our houses, and our pens receive the honour of our writing. I hold there is a generall beauty in the workes of God, and therefore no deformity in any kinde or species of creature whatsoever: I cannot tell by what Logicke we call a Toad, a Bear, or
an

an Elephant, ugly, they being created in those outward shapes and figures which best express the actions of their inward formes. And having past that generall visitation of God, who saw that all that he had made was good, that is, conformable to his will, which abhors deformity, and is the rule of order and beauty; there is no deformity but in monstrosity, wherein notwithstanding there is a kinde of beauty, Nature so ingeniously contriving the irregular parts, as they become sometimes more remarkable than the principall Fabrick. To speake yet more narrowly, there was never any thing ugly, or mis-shapen, but the Chaos; wherein notwithstanding, to speak strictly, there was no deformity, because no forme, nor was it yet impregnate by the voice of God: Now nature is not at variance with art, nor art with nature; they being both the servants of his providence: Art is the perfection of Nature: Were the world now as it was the sixt day, there were yet a Chaos: Nature hath made one world, and Art another. In briefe, all things are
artificially¹

¹ Sic.

artificiall, for Nature is the Art of God. ^{K38}

Sect.17.

This is the ordinary and open way of his providence, which Art and Industry have in a good part discovered, whose effects wee may foretell without an Oracle: to foreshew these is not Prophetie, but Prognostication. There is another way full of Meanders and Labyrinths, whereof the Devill and Spirits have no exact Ephemerides, and that is a more particular and obscurer method of his providence, directing the operations of individualls and single Essences; ^{K39} this we call Fortune, that serpentine and crooked line, whereby he drawes those actions his wisdom intends in a more unknowne and secret way; This crypticke and involved method of his providence have I ever admired, nor can I relate the history of my life, the occurrences of my dayes, the escapes of dangers, and hits of chance with a *Bezo las Manos* to Fortune, or a bare Gramercy to my good starres: *Abraham* might have thought the Ram in the thicket came thither by accident; humane reason would have said that meere chance conveyed

veyed *Moses* in the Arke to the sight of *Pharaohs* daughter: what a Labyrinth is there in the story of *Joseph*, able to convert a Stoick? Surely there are in every mans life certaine rubs, doublings and wrenches which passe a while under the effects of chance, but at the last well examined, prove the meere hand of God: 'Twas not dumbe chance, that to discover the Fougade or Powder plot, contrived a miscarriage in the letter. I like the victory of 88. the better for that one occurrence which our enemies imputed to our dishonour, and the partiality of Fortune, to wit, the tempests, and contrarietie of winds. King *Philip* did not detract from the Nation, when hee said, hee sent his Armado to fight with men, and not to combate with the windes. Where there is a manifest disproportion betweene the powers and forces of two severall agents, upon a maxime of reason wee may promise the victory to the superiour; but when unexpected accidents slip in, and unthought of occurrences intervene, these must proceed from a power that owes no obedience to those

those axioms: where, as in the writing upon the wall, we behold the hand, but see not the spring that moves it. The successe of that petty Province of Holland (of which the grand Seigneur proudly said, That if they should trouble him as they did the Spaniard, hee would send his men with shovels and pick-axes and throw it into the Sea) I cannot altogether ascribe to the ingenuity and industry of the people, but to the mercy of God that hath disposed them to such a thriving *Genius*; and to the will of his providence, that disposeth her favour to each Country in their preordinate season. All cannot be happy at once, for because the glory of one State depends upon the ruine of another,^{K40} there is a revolution and vicissitude of their greatnesse, and must obey the swing of that wheele, not moved by Intelligences, but by the hand of God, whereby all Estates arise to their Zenith and verticall points, according to their predestinated periods. For the lives not only of men, but of Common-weales, and the whole world run not upon an Helix that still enlargeth,

enlargeth, but on a Circle, where arriving to their Meridian, they decline in obscurity, and fall under the Horizon againe.

These must not therefore bee named the effects of Fortune, but in a relative way, and as wee terme the workes of nature; it was the ignorance of mans reason that begat this very name, and by a carelesse term miscalled the providence of God: for there is no liberty for causes to operate in a loose and stragling way, nor any effect whatsoever, but hath its warrant from some universall or superiour cause. 'Tis not a ridiculous devotion to say a prayer before a game at Tables; for even in *sortilegies* and matters of greatest uncertainty, there is a settled and preordered course of effects; it is wee that are blind, not Fortune: because our eye is too dim to discover the mystery of her effects, we foolishly paint her blind, and hoodwink the providence of the Almighty. I cannot justifie that contemptible Proverb, *That Fooles only are fortunate*; or that insolent Paradox, *That a wiseman is out of the reach of fortune,*

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tune, much lesse those opprobrious Epithets of Poets, *Whore, Baud, and Strumpet*: 'Tis I confesse the common fate of men of singular gifts of mind, to be destitute of those of fortune;^{K41} which doth not any way deject the spirit of wiser judgements, who thoroughly understand the justice of this proceeding; and being enriched with higher donatives, cast a more carelesse eye on these vulgar parts of felicity. It is a most unjust ambition to desire to engrosse the mercies of the Almighty, nor to be content with the goods of minde, without a possession of those of body or fortune: and it is an error worse than heresie, to adore these complementall and circumstantial pieces of felicity, and undervalue those perfections and essentiall points of happinesse, wherein we resemble our maker. To wiser desires it is satisfaction enough to deserve, though not to enjoy the favours of fortune; let providence provide for fools: 'tis not partiality, but equity in God, who deales with us but as our naturall parents, those that are able of body and mind, he leaves to their deserts; to those
of

of weaker merits hee imparts a larger portion, and pieces out the defect of one by the accesse¹ of the other. Thus have wee no just quarrell with Nature, for leaving us naked; or to envie the horns, hoofs, skins, and furs of other Creatures, being provided with reason, that can supply them all. Wee need not labour with so many arguments to confute judiciall astrology;^{K42} for if there be a truth therein, it doth not injure Divinity; if to be borne under *Mercury* disposeth us to be witty, under *Jupiter* to be wealthy, I do not owe a knee unto these, but unto that mercifull hand that hath ordered my indifferent and uncertaine nativity unto such benevolous aspects. Those that hold that all things were governed by fortune, had not erred, had they not persisted there: The Romanes that erected a Temple to Fortune, acknowledged therein, though in a blinder way, somewhat of Divinity; for in a wise supputation all things begin and end in the Almighty. There is a nearer way to heaven than Homers chaine; an easie Logick may conjoine heaven and earth
in

¹ 1643: *excesse*

in one argument, and with lesse than a Sorites resolve all things into God. For though we christen effects by their most sensible and nearest causes, yet is God the true and infallible cause of all, whose concourse though it bee generall, yet doth it subdivide it selfe into the particular actions of every thing, and is that spirit, by which each singular essence not onely subsists, but performes its operation.

Sect. 19. The bad construction and perverse comment on these paire of second causes, or visible hands of God, have perverted the devotion of many unto Atheisme; who forgetting the honest advisoes of Faith, have listened unto the conspiracy of Passion and Reason. I have therefore alwayes endeavoured to compose those fewds and angry dissensions between affection, faith, and reason: For there is in our soule a kind of Triumvirate, or Triple government of three competitors, which distract the peace of this our Common-wealth, not lesse than did that other the State of Rome. ^{K43}

As Reason is a rebell unto Faith, so
Passion

Passion unto Reason: As the propositions of Faith seeme absurd unto Reason, so the Theorems of Reason unto Passion, and both unto Reason; yet a moderate and peaceable discretion may so state and order the matter, that they may be all Kings, and yet make but one Monarchy, every one exercising his Sovereignty and Prerogative in a due time and place according to the restraint and limit of circumstance. There is, as in Philosophy, so in Divinity, sturdy doubts, and boisterous objections, wherewith the unhappinesse of our knowledge too neerly acquainteth us. More of these no man hath knowne than my selfe, which I confesse I conquered, not in a martiall posture, but on my knees. For our in-deavours are not onely to combate with doubts, but alwayes to dispute with the Devill: the villany of that Spirit takes a hint of Infidelity from our Studies, and by demonstrating a naturality in one way, makes us mistrust a miracle in another. Thus having perused the Archidoxis and read the secret Sympathies of things, hee would dissuade my belief
from

from the miracle of the Brazen Serpent,^{K44} make me conceit that image worked by Sympathy, and was but an Ægyptian tricke to cure their diseases without a miracle. Againe, having seene some experiments of *Bitumen*, and having read farre more of *Naptha*, hee whispered to my curiosity the fire of the Altar might be naturall, and bid mee mistrust a miracle in *Elias*, when he entrenched the Altar round with water;^{K45} for that inflamable substance yeelds not easily unto water, but flames in the armes of its Antagonist: and thus would hee inveagle my beliefe to thinke the combustion of *Sodome* might be naturall,^{K46} and that there was an Asphaltick and Bituminous nature in that lake before the fire of *Gomorrha*: I know that Manna is now plentifully gathered in *Calabria*; and *Iosephus* tels mee, in his dayes it was as plentifull in *Arabia*; the Devill therefore made the *quere*, Where was then the miracle in the dayes of *Moses*? the *Israelite* saw but that in his time, the natives of those Countries behold in ours. Thus the Devill plaid at Chesse with mee,
and

and yeelding a pawne, thought to gaine a Queene of me, taking advantage of my honest indeavours; and whilst I laboured to raise the structure of my reason, hee strived to undermine the edifice of my faith.

Neither had these or any other ever such advantage of mee, as to encline mee to any point of Infidelity or desperate positions of Atheisme; for I have been these many yeares of opinion there was never any. Those that held Religion was the difference of man from Beasts,^{K47} have spoken probably, and proceed upon a principle as inductive as the other: That doctrine of *Epicurus*, that denyed the providence of God, was no Atheism, but a magnificent and high-strained conceit of his Majesty, which he deemed too sublime to minde the triviall actions of those inferiour Creatures:^{K48} That fatall necessity of the Stoicks is nothing but the immutable Law of his will. Those that heretofore denyed the Divinity of the holy Ghost, have been condemned but as Heretickes; and those that now deny our Saviour though

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(though more then Hereticks) are not so much as Atheists: for though they deny two persons in the Trinity, they hold as we do, there is but one God.

That villain and Secretary of Hell, that composed that miscreant piece of the three Impostors,^{K49} though divided from all Religions, and was neither Jew, Turk, nor Christian, was not a positive Atheist. I confesse every Country hath its *Machiavell*, every age its *Lucian*, whereof common heads must not heare, nor more advanced judgments too rashly venture on: it is the Rhetorick of Satan and may pervert a loose or prejudicate beleefe.

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I confesse I have perused them all, and can discover nothing that may startle a discreet beleefe, yet are there heads carryed off with the winde and breath of such motives. I remember a Doctor in Physick of *Italy*, who could not perfectly beleefe the immortality of the Soule, because *Galen* seemed to make a doubt thereof. With another I was familiarly acquainted in *France*, a Divine, and man of singular parts, that on the same point

point was so plunged and gravelled with *three lines of *Seneca*, that all our Antidotes, drawne from both Scripture and Philosophy, could not expell the poyson of his errour. There are a set of heads, that can credit the relations of Mariners, yet question the testimonies of Saint *Paul*; and peremptorily maintaine the traditions of *Ælian* or *Pliny*, yet in Histories of Scripture, raise Quere's and objections, beleaving no more than they can parallel in humane Authors. I confesse there are in Scripture stories that doe exceed the fable of Poets,^{K50} and to a captious Reader sound like *Gargantua* or *Bevis*: Search all the Legends of times past, and the fabulous conceits of these present, and 'twill be hard to finde one that deserves to carry the Buckler unto *Samson*, yet is all this of an easie possibility, if we conceive a divine concourse or an influence but from the little finger of the Almighty. It is impossible that either in the discourse of man, or in the infallible voyce of God, to the weakenesse of our apprehensions, there should not appeare irregularities,

* *Post mortem nihil est, ipsaq; mors nihil. Mos individua est noxia corpori, Nec patiens animæ — Toti morimur, nullaq; pars manet Nostræ —*

contradictions, and antinomies: my selfe could shew a Catalogue of doubts, never yet imagined nor questioned, as I know, which are not resolved at the first hearing, not fantastick Quere's, or objections of aire: For I cannot heare of Atoms in Divinity. I can read the history of the Pigeon that was sent out of the Ark, and returned no more, yet not question how she found out her mate that was left behind: That *Lazarus* was raised from the dead, yet not demand where in the interim his soule awaited; or raise a Law-case, whether his heire might lawfully detaine his inheritance, bequeathed unto him by his death; and he, though restored to life have no Plea or title unto his former possessions. Whether *Eve* was framed out of the left side of *Adam*, I dispute not; because I stand not yet assured which is the right side of a man, or whether there be any such distinction in Nature; that she was edified out of the ribbe of *Adam* I believe, yet raise no question who shall arise with that ribbe at the Resurrection.^{K51} Whether *Adam* was

was an Hermaphrodite, as the Rabbines contend upon the letter of the Text, because it is contrary to reason, there should bee an Hermaphrodite, before there was a woman, or a composition of two natures, before there was a second composed. Likewise, whether the world was created in Autumne, Summer, or the Spring;^{K52} because it was created in them all; for whatsoever Signe the Sun possesseth, those foure seasons are actually existent: It is the nature of this Luminary to distinguish the severall seasons of the yeere, all which it makes at one time in the whole earth, and successive in any part thereof. There are a bundle of curiosities, not onely in Philosophy but in Divinity, proposed and discussed by men of most supposed abilities, which indeed are not worthy our vacant houres, much lesse our serious studies; Pieces only fit to be placed in *Pantagruels* Library, or bound up with *Tartaretus de modo Cacandi*.

In Rabelais.

These are niceties that become not those that peruse so serious a Mystery: There are others more generally questioned

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stioned and called to the barre, yet me thinkes of an easie and possible truth. 'Tis ridiculous to put off, or drowne the generall Flood of *Noah*, in that particular inundation of *Deucalion*:^{K53} that there was Deluge once, seemes not to me so great a miracle, as that there is not one alwayes. How all the kinds of Creatures, not only in their own bulks, but with a competency of food and sustenance, might be preserved in one Ark, and within the extent of three hundred cubits, to a reason that rightly examines it, will appeare very feasible.^{K54} There is another secret, not contained in the Scripture, which is more hard to comprehend, and put the honest Father to the refuge of a Miracle; and that is, not onely how the distinct pieces of the world, and divided Ilands should bee first planted by men, but inhabited by Tigers, Panthers and Beares. How *America* abounded with beasts of prey, and noxious Animals, yet contained not in it that necessary creature, a Horse, is very strange. By what passage those, not onely Birds, but dangerous and unwelcome

come

come Beasts came over: How there bee Creatures there, (which are not found in this Triple Continent;) all which must needs be strange unto us, that hold but one Arke, and that the creatures began their progresse from the mountaines of *Ararat*. They who to salve this would make the Deluge particular, proceed upon a Principle that I can no way grant; not onely upon the negative of holy Scriptures, but of mine owne reason, whereby I can make it probable, that the world was as well peopled in the time of *Noah*, as in ours, and fifteene hundred yeares to people the world,^{K55} as full a time for them as foure thousand yeeres since have been to us. There are other assertions and common tenents drawne from Scripture, and generally beleaved as Scripture, whereunto, notwithstanding, I would never betray the liberty of my reason. 'Tis a posulate¹ to me, that *Methusalem* was the longest liv'd of all the children of *Adam*,^{K55a} and no man will bee able to prove it; when from the processe of the Text I can manifest it may be otherwise.

¹ 1645 *Paradoxe*, corrected errata 1643 to *postulate*.

wise. That *Judas* perished by hanging himselfe, there is no certainty in Scripture, though in one place it seemes to affirme it, and by a doubtfull word hath given occasion to translate it; yet in another place, in a more punctuall description, it makes it improbable, and seemes to overthrow it.^{K56} That our Fathers, after the Flood, erected the Tower of *Babel*,^{K57} to preserve themselves against a second Deluge, is generally opinioned and believed; yet is there another intention of theirs expressed in Scripture: Besides, it is improbable from the circumstance of the place, that is, a plaine in the land of *Shinar*. These are no points of Faith, and therefore may admit a free dispute. There are yet others, and those familiarly concluded from the Text, wherein (under favour) I see no consequence. The Church of Rome confidently proves the opinion of Tutelary Angels, from that answer when *Peter* knockt at the doore, 'Tis not he, but his Angel; that is, might some say, his Messenger, or some body from him; for so the originall signifies, and is as likely to be the doubtfull
Fami-

Families meaning. This exposition I once suggested to a young Divine, that answered upon this point, to which I remember the *Franciscan* Opponent replied no more, but, That it was a new and no authentick interpretation.

These are but the conclusions, and fallible discourses of man upon the word of God, for such I doe beleve the holy Scriptures; yet were it of man, I could not choose but say, it was the singularest, and superlative piece that hath been extant since the Creation; were I a Pagan, I should not refraine the Lecture of it; and cannot but commend the judgement of *Ptolomy*,^{K58} that thought not his Library compleate without it: the Alcoran of the Turks (I speak without prejudice) is an ill composed Piece, containing in it vaine and ridiculous errors in Philosophy, impossibilities, fictions, and vanities beyond laughter, maintained by evident and open Sophismes, the Policy of Ignorance, deposition of Universities, and banishment of Learning, that hath gotten foot by Armes and violence;^{K59} This without a blow hath dissemi-

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disseminated it selfe through the whole earth. It is not unremarkeable what *Philo* first observed, That the Law of *Moses* continued two thousand yeares without the least alteration; whereas, we see, the Lawes of other Commonweales do alter with occasions; and even those that pretended their originall from some Divinity to have vanished without trace or memory. I beleeve, besides *Zoroaster*, there were divers that writ before *Moses*,^{K60} who notwithstanding have suffered the common fate of time. Mens Workes have an age like themselves; and though they outlive their Authors, yet have they a stint and period to their duration: This onely is a worke too hard for the teeth of time, and cannot perish but in the generall flames, when all things shall confesse their ashes.

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I have heard some with deepe sighs lament the lost lines of *Cicero*; others with as many groans deplore the combustion of the Library of *Alexandria*;^{K61} for my owne part, I thinke there be too many in the world, and could with patience

tience behold the urne and ashes of the *Vatican*, could I with a few others recover the perished leaves of *Solomon*. I would not omit a Copy of *Enochs* Pillars, had they many nearer Authors than *Iosephus*, or did not relish somewhat of the Fable.^{K62} Some men have written more than others have spoken; **Pineda* quotes more Authors in one work, than are necessary in a whole world. Of those three great inventions in *Germany*, there are two which are not without their incommodities,^{K63} and 'tis disputable whether they exceed not their use and commodities. 'Tis not a melancholy *Utinam* of mine owne, but the desires of better heads, that there were a generall Synod; not to unite the incompatible difference of Religion, but for the benefit of learning, to reduce it as it lay at first in a few and solid Authors; and to condemne to the fire those swarms and millions of *Rhapsodies* begotten onely to distract and abuse the weaker judgements of Scholars, and to maintaine the Trade and Mystery of Typographers.^{K63a}

* *Pineda* in his *Monarchia Ecclesiastica* quotes one thousand and forty Authors.

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I cannot but wonder with what exceptions the *Samaritans* could confine their beliefe to the *Pentateuch*, or five Books of *Moses*. I am ashamed at the Rabbinicall Interpretation of the Jewes, upon the Old Testament, as much as their defection from the New: and truly it is beyond wonder, how that contemptible and degenerate issue of *Iacob*, once so devoted to Ethnick Superstition, and so easily seduced to the Idolatry of their Neighbours, should now in such an obstinate and peremptory beliefe adhere unto their owne Doctrine, expect impossibilities, and in the face and eye of the Church persist without the least hope of conversion: this is a vice in them, that were a vertue in us; for obstinacy in a bad cause, is but constancy in a good. And herein I must accuse those of my own Religion; for there is not any of such a fugitive faith, such an unstable beliefe, as a Christian; none that do so oft transforme themselves, not unto severall shapes of Christianity and of the same Species, but unto more unnaturall and contrary formes, of Jew and Maho-

Mahometan, that from the name of Saviour can condescend to the bare terme of Prophet; and from an old beliefe that he is come, fall to a new expectation of his comming: It is the promise of Christ to make us all one flock; but how and when this union shall be, is as obscure to me as the last day. Of those foure members of Religion wee hold a slender proportion; there are I confesse some new additions, yet small to those which accrew to our adversaries, and those onely drawne from the revolt of Pagans, men but of negative impieties, and such as deny Christ, but because they never heard of him: But the Religion of the Jew is expressly against the Christian, and the Mahometan against both; for the Turke, in the bulke he now stands, he is beyond all hope of conversion;^{K64} if he fall asunder, there may be conceived hopes, but not without strong improbabilities. The Jew is obstinate in all fortunes; the persecution of fifteene hundred yeares hath but confirmed them in their errour: they have already endured whatsoever may be
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be inflicted, and have suffered, in a bad cause, even to the condemnation of their enemies. Persecution is a bad and indirect way to plant Religion; It hath beene the unhappy method of angry devotions, not onely to confirme honest Religion, but wicked Heresies, and extravagant opinions. It was the first stone and Basis of our Faith, none can more justly boast of persecutions, and glory in the number and valour of Martyrs;^{K65} For, to speake properly, those are true and almost onely examples of fortitude: Those that are fetch'd from the field, or drawne from the actions of the Campe, are not oft-times so truely precedents of valour as audacity, and at the best attaine but to some bastard piece of fortitude: If wee shall strictly examine the circumstances and¹ requisites which *Aristotle* requires to true and perfect valour, we shall finde the name onely in his Master *Alexander*, and as little in that Romane Worthy, *Iulius Cæsar*;^{K66} and if any, in that easie and active way, have done so nobly as to deserve that name, yet in the passive and more
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¹ 1645: *aed.*

terrible piece these have surpassed, and in a more heroically way may claime the honour of that Title. 'Tis not in the power of every honest faith to proceed thus farre, or passe to Heaven through the flames; every one hath it not in that full measure, nor in so audacious and resolute a temper, as to endure those terrible tests and trialls, who notwithstanding in a peaceable way doe truly adore their Saviour, and have (no doubt) a faith acceptable in the eyes of God.

Now as all that die in the warre are not termed Souldiers, so neither can I properly terme all those that suffer in matters of Religion Martyrs. The Councill of *Constance* condemnes *Iohn Husse* for an Heretick, the Stories of his owne party stile him a Martyr;^{K67} He must needs offend the Divinity of both, that sayes he was neither the one nor the other: There are many (questionlesse) canonized on earth, that shall never be Saints in Heaven; and have their names in Histories and Martyrologies, who in the eyes of God, are not so perfect Martyrs

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tyrs, as was that wise Heathen *Socrates*, that suffered on a fundamentall point of Religion, the Unity of God.^{K68} I have often pityed the miserable Bishop that suffered in the cause of *Antipodes*,^{K69} yet cannot choose but accuse him of as much madnesse, for exposing his living on such a trifle, as those of ignorance and folly that condemned him. I thinke my conscience will not give me the lie, if I say, there are not many extant that in a noble way feare the face of death lesse than my selfe, yet from the morall duty I owe to the Commandement of God, and the naturall respects that I tender unto the conservation of my essence and being, I would not perish upon a Ceremony, Politick points, or indifferency: nor is my beleefe of that untractable temper, as not to bow at their obstacles, or connive at matters wherein there are not manifest impieties: The leaven therefore and ferment of all, not only Civill, but Religious actions, is wisdom; without which, to commit our selves to the flames, is Homicide, and (I feare) but to passe through one fire into another.

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That Miracles are ceased, I can neither prove, nor absolutely deny, much lesse define the time and period of their cessation; that they survived Christ, is manifest upon record of Scripture; that they out-lived the Apostles also, & were revived at the conversion of Nations, many yeares after, we cannot deny, if wee shall not question those Writers whose testimonies wee doe not controvert, in points that make for our own opinions; therefore that may have some truth in it that is reported by the Jesuites of their Miracles in the Indies; I could wish it were true, or had any other testimony then their owne Pennes: they may easily beleeve those Miracles abroad, who daily conceive a greater at home; the transmutation of those visible elements into the body and blood of our Saviour: for the conversion of water into wine, which he wrought in *Cana*, or what the Devill would have had him done in the Wildernesse, of stones into Bread, compared to this, will scarce deserve the name of a Miracle: Though indeed, to speake properly, there

there is not one Miracle greater than another, they being the extraordinary effect of the hand of God, to which all things are of an equall facility; and to create the world as easie as one single creature. For this is also a miracle, not only to produce effects against, or above Nature, but before Nature; and to create Nature as great a miracle, as to contradict or transcend her. Wee doe too narrowly define the power of God, restraining it to our capacities. I hold that God can doe all things, how hee should work contradictions I do not understand, yet dare not therefore deny.^{K70} I cannot see why the Angel of God should question *Esdras* to recall the time past,^{K71} if it were beyond his owne power; or that God should pose mortality in that, which he was not able to performe himselfe. I will not say God cannot, but hee will not performe many things, which wee plainely affirme he cannot: this I am sure is the mannerliest proposition, wherein notwithstanding I hold no Paradox. For strictly his power is the same with his will, and they both with
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all the rest doe make but one God.

Therefore that Miracles have been I doe beleeve, that they may yet bee wrought by the living I doe not deny: but have no confidence in those which are fathered on the dead; and this hath ever made me suspect the efficacy of reliques, to examine the bones, question the habits and appertinencies of Saints, and even of Christ himselfe: I cannot conceive why the Crosse that *Helena* found, and whereon Christ himselfe died, should have power to restore others unto life: I excuse not *Constantine* from a fall off his Horse, or a mischief from his enemies, upon the wearing those nayles on his bridle, which our Saviour bore upon the Crosse in his hands: ^{K72} I compute among your *Piæ fraudes*, nor many degrees before consecrated swords and roses, that which *Baldwyn* King of Jerusalem returned the *Genovese* for their cost and paines in his War, to wit, the ashes of *Iohn* the Baptist. Those that hold the sanctity of their soules doth leave behind a tincture and sacred faculty on their bodies, speake naturally

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rally of Miracles, and doe not salve the doubt. Now one reason I tender so little devotion unto reliques is, I think, the slender and doubtfull respect I have alwayes held unto Antiquities: for that indeed which I admire is farre before antiquity, that is, Eternity, and that is God himselfe; who though he be stiled the Antient of dayes, cannot receive the adjunct of antiquity, who was before the World, and shall be after it, yet is not older than it; for in his yeares there is no Climacter, his duration is eternity, and farre more venerable then antiquitie.

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But above all things I wonder how the curiosity of wiser heads could passe that great and indisputable miracle, the cessation of Oracles; ^{K73} and in what swoun their reasons lay, to content themselves and sit downe with such far-fetch't and ridiculous reasons as *Plutarch* alleadgeth for it. The Jewes that can beleve the supernaturall solstice of the Sunne in the dayes of *Joshua*, have yet the impudence to deny the Eclipse, which every Pagan confessed at his death: but for this, it is
evident

evident beyond all contradiction, *the Devil himselfe confessed it. Certainly it is not a warrantable curiosity, to examine the verity of Scripture by the concordance of humane history, or seek to confirme the Chronicle of *Hester* or *Daniel*, by the authority of *Magasthenes* or *Herodotus*. I confesse I have had an unhappy curiosity this way, till I laughed my selfe out of it with a piece of *Iustine*, where he delivers that the children of *Israel* for being scabbed were banished out of Egypt.^{K74} And truly since I have understood the occurrences of the world, and know in what counterfeit shapes & deceitful vizzards times present represent on the stage things past; I doe beleieve them little more then things to come. Some have been of my opinion, and endeavoured to write the History of their own lives; wherein *Moses* hath outgone them all, and left not onely the story of his life, but as some will have it of his death also.

It is a riddle to me, how this story of Oracles hath not worm'd out of the world that doubtful conceit of Spirits & witches;

*In his Oracle to *Augustus*.

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es; how so many learned heads should so farre forget their Metaphysicks, and destroy the ladder and scale of creatures, as to question the existence of Spirits: for my part, I have ever beleevd, and doe now know, that there are Witches;^{K75} they that doubt of these, doe not onely deny them, but spirits; and are obliquely and upon consequence a sort not of Infidels, but Atheists. Those that to confute their incredulity desire to see apparitions, shall questionlesse never behold any, nor have the power to be so much as Witches,^{K76} the Devill hath them already in a heresie as capitall as Witchcraft, and to appeare to them, were but to convert them: Of all the delusions wherewith he deceives mortalitie, there is not any that puzleth me more than the Legerdemain of *Change-lings*; I doe not credit those transformations of reasonable creatures into beasts, or that the Devill hath a power to transpeciate a man into a horse, who tempted Christ (as a triall of his Divinitie) to convert but stones into bread. I could beleeve that Spirits use with man
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the act of carnality, and that in both sexes; I conceive they may assume, steale, or contrive a body, wherein there may be action enough to content decrepit lust, or passion to satisfie more active veneries; yet in both, without a possibility of generation: and therefore that opinion, that Antichrist should be borne of the Tribe of *Dan* by conjunction with the Devill,^{K77} is ridiculous, and a conceit fitter for a Rabbin than a Christian. I hold that the Devill doth really possesse some men, the spirit of melancholy others, the spirit of delusion others; that as the Devill is concealed and denied by some, so God and good Angels are pretended by others, whereof the late defection of the Maid of Germany hath left a pregnant example.

Againe, I beleieve that all that use sorceries, incantations, and spels, are not Witches, or as we terme them, Magicians; I conceive there is a traditionall Magicke, not learned immediately from the Devill, but at second hand from his Scholars; who having once
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the secret betrayed, are able, and doe empirically practise without his advice, they both proceeding upon the principles of nature: where actives aptly conjoyned to disposed passives, will under any Master produce their effects. Thus I thinke at first a great part of Philosophy was Witchcraft, which being afterward derived to one another, proved but Philosophy, and was indeed no more but the honest effects of Nature: What invented by us is Philosophy, learned from him is Magicke. We doe surely owe the discovery of many secrets to the discovery of good and bad Angels. I could never passe that sentence of *Paracelsus* without an asterisk or annotation; **Ascendens constellationum multa revelat, quærentibus magnalia naturæ, i.e. opera Dei.* I doe thinke that many mysteries ascribed to our owne inventions, have beene the courteous revelations of Spirits; for those noble essences in heaven beare a friendly regard unto their fellow nature on earth; and therefore believe that those many prodigies and ominous

* Thereby is meant our good Angel appointed us from our nativity.

ominous prognostickes which fore-run the ruines of States, Princes, and private persons, are the charitable premonitions of good Angels, which more carelesse enquiries terme but the effects of chance and nature.

Now besides these particular and divided Spirits, there may be (for ought I know) an universall and common Spirit to the whole world. It was the opinion of *Plato*, and it is yet of the *Hermetical* Philosophers; if there be a common nature that unites and tyes the scattered and divided individuals into one species, why may there not be one that unites them all? However, I am sure there is a common Spirit that playes within us, yet makes no part of us, and that is the Spirit of God, the fire and scintillation of that noble and mighty Essence, which is the life and radical heat of spirits, and those essences that know not the vertue of the Sunne, a fire quite contrary to the fire of Hell: This is that gentle heate that brooded on the waters, and in six dayes hatched the world; this is that irra-

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irradiation that dispells¹ the mists of Hell, the clouds of horrou, feare, sorrow, despaire; and preserves the region of the mind in serenity: whosoever feels not the warme gale and gentle ventilation of this Spirit, (though I feele his pulse) I dare not say he lives; for truly without this, to mee there is no heat under the Tropick; nor any light, though I dwelt in the body of the Sunne.

*As when the labouring Sun hath wrought his track,
Up to the top of lofty Cancers back,
The ycie Ocean cracks, the frozen pole
Thawes with the heate of the Celestiall coale;
So when thy absent beames begin t'impart
Againe a Solstice on my frozen heart,
My winters ov'r, my drooping spirits sing,
And every part revives into a Spring.
But if thy quickning beames a while decline,
And with their light blesse not this Orbe of mine,
A chilly frost surprizeth every member,
And in the midst of June I feele December.
O how this earthly temper doth debase
The noble soule, in this her humble place.
Whose wingy nature ever doth aspire,
To reach that place whence first it took its fire.
These flames I feele, which in my heart doe dwell,
Are not thy beames, but take their fire from Hell:*

O

¹ 1645: *dispel* corrected from text of 1643.

*O quench them all, and let thy light divine
Be as the Sunne to this poore Orbe of mine.
And to thy sacred Spirit convert those fires,
Whose earthly fumes choake my devout aspires.*

Therefore for Spirits I am so farre from denying their existence, that I could easily beleeve, that not onely whole Countries, but particular persons have their Tutelary, and Guardian Angels: It is not a new opinion of the Church of *Rome*, but an old one of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*; ^{K78} there is no heresie in it, and if not manifestly defin'd in Scripture, yet is it an opinion of a good and wholsome use in the course and actions of a mans life, and would serve as an *Hypothesis* to salve many doubts, whereof common Philosophy affordeth no solution: now if you demand my opinion and Metaphysicks of their natures, I confesse them very shallow, most of them in a negative way, like that of God; or in a comparative, between our selves and fellow creatures; for there is in this Universe a Staire, or manifest Scale of creatures, rising not disorderly, or in confusion, but with a comely method

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thod and proportion: betweene creatures of meere existence and things of life, there is a large disproportion of nature; betweene plants and animals or creatures of sense, a wider difference; betweene them and man, a farre greater: and if the proportion hold on, betweene Man and Angels there should be yet a greater. We doe not comprehend their natures, who retaine the first definition of *Porphyry*, and distinguish them from our selves by immortality; for before his fall, man also was immortall; yet must we needs affirme that he had a different essence from the Angels: having therefore no certaine knowledge of their natures, 'tis no bad method of the Schooles, whatsoever perfection we finde obscurely in our selves, in a more compleat and absolute way to ascribe unto them. I beleeve they have an extemporary knowledge, and upon the first motion of their reason doe what we cannot without study or deliberation; that they know things by their formes, and define by specificall difference, what we describe by accidents and properties; and

and therefore probabilities to us may be demonstrations unto them; that they have knowledge not onely of the specificall, but numericall formes of individualls, and understand by what reserved difference each single *Hypostasis*, (besides the relation to its species) becomes its numericall selfe. That as the Soule hath a power to move the body it informes, so there's a faculty to move any, though informe none; ours upon restraint of time, place, and distance; but that invisible hand that conveyed *Habakkuk* to the Lions den, or *Philip* to *Azotus*, infringeth this rule, and hath a secret conveyance, wherewith mortality is not acquainted; if they have that intuitive knowledge, whereby as in reflexion they behold the thoughts of one another, I cannot peremptorily deny but they know a great part of ours. They that to refute the Invocation of Saints, have denyed that they have any knowledge of our affaires below, have proceeded too farre, and must pardon my opinion, till I can throughly answer that piece of Scripture, *At the conversion*
of

of a sinner the Angels of Heaven rejoyce.
 I cannot with those in that great Father securely interpret the work of the first day, *Fiat lux*, to the creation of angels,^{K79} though (I confesse) there is not any creature that hath so neere a glympse of their nature, as light in the Sunne and Elements; we stile it a bare accident, but where it subsists alone, 'tis a spirituall Substance, and may bee an Angel:^{K80} in briefe, conceive light invisible, and that is a Spirit.

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These are certainly the Magisteriall & master pieces of the Creator, the Flower or (as we may say) the best part of nothing, actually existing, what we are but in hopes, and probabilitie, we are onely that amphibious piece between a corporall and spirituall essence, that middle forme that linkes those two together, and makes good the method of God and Nature, that jumps not from extreames, but unites the incompatible distances by some middle and participating natures; that we are the breath and similitude of God, it is indisputable, and upon record of holy Scrip-

Scripture, but to call our selves a Microcosme, or little world, I thought it onely a pleasant trope of Rhetorick, till my neere judgement and second thoughts told me there was a reall truth therein: for first we are a rude masse, and in the ranke of creatures, which onely are; and have a dull kinde of being not yet priviledged with life, or preferred to sense or reason; next we live the life of plants, the life of animals, the life of men, and at last the life of spirits, running on in one mysterious nature those five kinds of existences, which comprehend the creatures not onely of the world, but of the Universe; thus is man that great and true *Amphibium*, whose nature is disposed to live not onely like other creatures in divers elements, but in divided and distinguished worlds; for though there be not one to sense, there are two to reason; the one visible, the other invisible, whereof *Moses* seemes to have left description, and of the other so obscurely, that some parts thereof are yet in controversie; and truely for the first chapters of *Genesis*, I must confesse a great deale of obscurity, though

though Divines have to the power of humane reason endeavoured to make all goe in a literall meaning; yet those allegoricall interpretations are also probable, and perhaps the mysticall method of *Moses* bred up in the Hieroglyphicall Schooles of the Egyptians.

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Now for that immateriall world, me thinkes wee need not wander so farre as the first moveable, for even in this materiall fabricke the spirits walke as freely exempt from the affection of time, place, and motion, as beyond the extreamest circumference; doe but extract from the corpulency of bodies, or resolve things beyond their first matter, and you discover the habitation of Angels, which if I call the ubiquitary, and omnipresent essence of God, I hope I shall not offend Divinity; for before the Creation of the world, God was really all things. For the Angels hee created no new World, or determinate mansion, and therefore they are every where where is his essence, and doe live at a distance even in himselfe: that God made all things
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for man, is in some sense true, yet not so farre as to subordinate the Creation of those purer Creatures unto ours, though as ministring Spirits they doe, and are willing to fulfill the will of God in these lower and sublunary affaires of man; God made all things for himselfe, and it is impossible he should make them for any other end than his owne glory; it is all he can receive, and all that is without himselfe; for honour being an externall adjunct, and in the honourer rather than in the person honoured, it was necessary to make a Creature, from whom hee might receive this homage, and that is in the other world Angels, in this, Man; which when we neglect, we forget the very end of our Creation, and may justly provoke God, not onely to repent that hee hath made the World, but that hee hath sworne he would not destroy it. That there is but one world, is a conclusion of faith. *Aristotle* with all his Philosophy hath not been able to prove it, and as weakly that the world was eternall; that dispute much troubled the penne of the
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antient Philosophers, but *Moses* decided that question, and all is salved with the new terme of a creation,^{K81} that is, a production of something out of nothing; and what is that? Whatsoever is opposite to something or more exactly, that which is truly contrary unto God: for he onely is, all others have an existence, with dependency, and are something but by a distinction; and herein is Divinity conformant unto Philosophy, and generation not onely founded on contrarieties, but also creation; God being all things is contrary unto nothing out of which were made all things, and so nothing became something, and *Omneity* informed *Nullity* into an essence.

Sect.
35.¹

The whole Creation² is a mystery, and particularly that of man; at the blast of his mouth were the rest of the creatures made, and at his bare word they started out of nothing: but in the frame of man (as the text describes it) he played the sensible operator, and seemed not so much to create, as make him; when he had separated the materials of other creatures, there consequently

¹ Both 1645 and 1643 have two sections 35.

² 1645: *Ceation*

quently resulted a forme and soule, but having raised the wals of man, he was driven to a second and harder creation of a substance like himselfe, an incorruptible and immortall soule. For these two affections we have the Philosophy, and opinion of the Heathens, the flat affirmative of *Plato*, and not a negative from *Aristotle*: there is another scruple cast in by Divinity (concerning its production) much disputed in the *Germane* auditories, and with that indifferency and equality of arguments, as leave the controversie undetermined. I am not of *Paracelsus* minde that boldly delivers a receipt to make a man without conjunction, yet cannot but wonder at the multitude of heads that doe deny traduction, having no other argument to confirme their beleefe, then that Rhetoricall sentence, and *Antimethesis* of *Augustine*, *Creando infunditur, infundendo creatur*: either opinion will consist well enough with religion, yet I should rather incline to this, did not one objection haunt me, not wrung from speculations and subtillties, but
from

from common sense, and observation, not pickt from the leaves of any author, but bred amongst the weeds and tares of mine owne braine. And this is a conclusion from the equivocal and monstrous productions in the copulation of man with beast; for if the soule of man bee not transmitted and transfused in the seed of the Parents, why are not those productions meerely beasts, but have also an impression and tincture of reason in as high a measure, as it can evidence it selfe in those improper organs? Nor truely can I peremptorily deny, that the soule in this her sublunary estate, is wholly and in all acceptions inorganically, but that for the performance of her ordinary actions, is required not onely a symmetry and proper disposition of Organs, but a Crasis and temper correspondent to its operations, yet is not this masse of flesh and visible structure the instrument and proper corps of the soule, but rather of sense, and that the hand of reason. In our study of Anatomy there

is a masse of mysterious Philosophy, and such as reduced the very Heathens to Divinity;^{K82} yet amongst all those rare discoveries, and curious pieces I finde in the fabrick of man, I doe not so much content my selfe, as in that I finde not, that is no Organ or instrument for the rationall soule; for in the braine, which we tearme the seat of reason, there is not any thing of moment more than I can discover in the crany of a beast: and this is a sensible and no inconsiderable argument of the inorganity of the soule, at least in that sense we usually so receive it. Thus we are men, and we know not how, there is something in us, that can be without us, and will be after us, though it is strange that it hath no history, what it was before us, nor cannot tell how it entred in us.

Now for these wals of flesh, wherein the soule doth seeme to be immured before the Resurrection, it is nothing but an elementall composition, and a fabrick that must fall to ashes; *All flesh is grasse*, is not only metaphorical-

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rically, but literally true, for all those creatures we behold, are but the herbs of the field, digested into flesh in them, or more remotely carnified in our selves. Nay further, we are what we all abhorre, *Antropophagi* and *Cannibals*, devourers not onely of men, but of our selves, and that not in an allegory, but a positive truth; for all this masse of flesh which we behold, came in at our mouths: this frame wee looke upon, hath been upon our trenchers; In briefe, we have devoured our selves. I cannot beleeve the wisdome of *Pythagoras* did ever positively, and in a literall sense, affirme his *Metempsychosis*,^{K83} or impossible transmigration of the soules of men into beasts: of all *Metamorphoses*, or transmigrations, I beleeve onely one, that is of *Lots* wife, for that of *Nebuchodonosor* proceeded not so farre; In all others I conceive there is no further verity than is contained in their implicite sense and morality: I beleeve that the whole frame of a beast doth perish, and is left in the same state after death,

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as before it was materialled unto life; that the soules of men know neither contrary nor corruption, that they subsist beyond the body, and outlive death by the priviledge of their proper natures, and without a miracle; that the soules of the faithfull, as they leave earth, take possession of Heaven: that those apparitions, and ghosts of departed persons are not the wandering soules of men, but the unquiet walkes of Devils, prompting and suggesting us unto mischief, bloud, and villany, instilling, and stealing into our hearts; that the blessed spirits are not at rest in their graves, but wander solicitous of the affaires of the world; but that¹ those phantasmes appear often, and doe frequent Cemiteries, charnall houses, and Churches, it is because those are the dormitories of the dead, where the Devill like an insolent Champion beholds with pride the spoyles and Trophies of his victory in *Adam*.

This is that dismall conquest we all deplore, that makes us so often cry (O) *Adam, quid fecisti* ? I thanke God I have

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¹ 1645 *but that*; 1643 *but*, corrected errata to *that*.

have not those strait ligaments, or narrow obligations to the world, as to dote on life, or be convulst and tremble at the name of death: Not that I am insensible of the dread and horreur thereof, or by raking into the bowels of the deceased, continuall sight of Anatomies, Skeletons, or Cadaverous reliques, like Vespilloes, or Grave-makers, *I* am become stupid, or have forgot the apprehension of Mortality, but that marshalling all the horrours, and contemplating the extremities thereof, *I* find not any thing therein able to daunt the courage of a man, much lesse a well resolved Christian. And therefore am not angry at the errour of our first Parents, or unwilling to beare a part of this common fate, and like the best of them to die, that is, to cease to breath, to take a farewell of the elements, to be a kind of nothing for a moment, to be within one instant of a spirit. When *I* take a full view and circle of my selfe, without this reasonable moderator, and equall piece of justice, Death, *I* doe conceive my selfe the misera-

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serablest person extant; were there not another life that I hope for, all the vanities of this world should not intreat a moments breath from me; could the Devill worke my believe to imagine I could ever die, I would not outlive that very thought; I have so abject a conceit of this common way of existence, this retaining to the Sunne and Elements, I cannot thinke this is to be a man, or to live according to the dignity of humanity; in expectation of a better I can with patience embrace this life, yet in my best meditations doe often defie death; I honour any man that contemnes it, nor can I highly love any that is afraid of it; this makes mee naturally love a Souldier, and honour those tattered and contemptible Regiments, that will die at the command of a Sergeant. For a Pagan there may be some motives to be in love with life, but for a Christian to be amazed at death, I see not how he can escape this Dilemma, that he is too sensible of this life, or hopelesse of the life to come.

Sect. 38.

Some Divines count *Adam* 30. yeares old at his creation, because they suppose him created in the perfect age and stature of man; and surely wee are all out of the computation of our age, and every man is some months elder than hee bethinkes him; for we live, move, have a being, and are subject to the actions of the elements, and the malice of diseases in that other world, the truest Microcosme, the wombe of our mother; for besides that generall and common existence we are conceived to hold in our Chaos, and whilst we sleep within the bosome of our causes, we enjoy a being and life in three distinct worlds, wherein we receive most manifest graduations: In that obscure world and womb of our mother, our time is short, computed by the Moon: yet longer then the dayes of many creatures that behold the Sunne, our selves being not yet without life, sense, and reason, though for the manifestation of its actions, it awaites the opportunity of objects; and seems to live there but in its roote and soule of vegetation:
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entring afterwards upon the scene of the world, wee arise up and become another creature, performing the reasonable actions of man, and obscurely manifesting that part of Divinity in us, but not in complement and perfection, till we have once more cast our second-dine, that is, this slough of flesh, and are delivered into the last world, that is, that ineffable place of *Paul*, that proper *ubi* of spirits. The smattering I have of the Philosophers Stone, (which is something more then the perfect exaltation of Gold) hath taught me a great deale of Divinity, and instructed my believe; how that immortall spirit and incorruptible substance of my Soule may lye obscure, and sleepe a while within this house of flesh. Those strange and mysticall transmigrations that I have observed in Silkewormes, turned my Philosophy into Divinity. There is in these workes of nature, which seeme to puzzle reason, something Divine, and hath more in it then the eye of a common spectator doth discover.

I am naturally bashfull, nor hath con-
ver-

Sect. 39.

versation, age, or travell, beene able to effront, or enharden me, yet I have one part of modesty, which I have seldome discovered in another, that is (to speake truly) I am not so much afraid of death, as ashamed thereof; tis the very disgrace and ignominy of our natures, that in a moment can so disfigure us, that our nearest friends, Wife, and Children stand afraid and start at us. The Birds and beasts of the field that before in a naturall feare obeyed us, forgetting all allegiance begin to prey upon us. This very conceit hath in a tempest disposed and left me willing to be swallowed up in the abyse of waters; wherein I had perished, unseene, unpityed, without wondering eyes, teares of pity, Lectures of mortality, and none had said, *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* Not that I am ashamed of the Anatomy of my parts, or can accuse nature for playing the bungler in any part of me, or my owne vitious life for contracting any shamefull disease upon me, whereby I might not call my selfe as wholesome a morsell for the wormes as any.

Some

Some upon the courage of a fruitfull issue, wherein, as in the truest Chronicle, they seeme to outlive themselves, can with greater patience away with death. This conceit and counterfeit subsisting in our progenies seemes to me a meere fallacy, unworthy the desires of a man, that can but conceive a thought of the next world; who, in a nobler ambition, should desire to live in his substance in Heaven rather than his name and shadow in the earth. And therefore at my death I meane to take a totall adieu of the world, not caring for a Monument, History, or Epitaph, not so much as the bare memory of my name to be found any where, but in the universall Register of God: I am not yet so Cynicall, as to approve the *Testament of *Diogenes*, nor doe I altogether allow that *Rodomontado* of *Lucan*; ———*Cœlo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.*

*He that unburied lies wants not his Herse,
For unto him a tombe's the Universe.*

But commend in my calmer judgement, those ingenuous intentions that desire to sleepe by the urnes of their Fathers,

* Who willed his friend not to bury him, but hang him up with a staffe in his hand to fright away the Crowes.

thers, and strive to goe the nearest way unto corruption. I doe not envie the temper of Crowes and Dawes,^{K84} nor the numerous and weary dayes of our Fathers before the Flood. If there bee any truth in Astrology, I may out live a Jubilee, as yet I have not seen one revolution of *Saturne*, nor hath my pulse beat thirty yeares, and yet excepting one, have seene the Ashes, and left under ground, all the Kings of *Europe*, have been contemporary to three Emperours, foure Grand Signiours, and as many Popes; mee thinkes I have out-lived my selfe, and begin to bee weary of the Sunne, I have shaked hands with delight in my warme blood and Canicular dayes, I perceive I doe anticipate the vices of age, the world to mee is but a dreame, or mockshow, and wee all therein but Pantalones and Antickes to my severer contemplations.

Sect. 41.

It is not, I confesse, an unlawfull prayer to desire to surpasse the dayes of our Saviour, or wish to out-live that age wherein he thought fittest to dye, yet if (as Divinity affirmes) there shall bee

no

no gray haire in Heaven, but all shall rise in the perfect state of men, wee doe but out-live those perfections in this World, to be recalled unto them by a greater miracle in the next, and run on here but to bee retrograde hereafter. Were there any hopes to out-live vice, or a point to be super-annuated from sin, it were worthy our knees to implore the dayes of *Methuselah*. But age doth not rectifie, but incurvate our natures, turning bad dispositions into worsser habits, and (like diseases) brings on incurable vices; for every day as we grow weaker in age, wee grow stronger in sinne, and the number of our dayes doth but make our sinnes innumerable. The same vice committed at sixteene, is not the same, though it agree in all other circumstances, as at forty, but swels and doubles from the circumstance of our ages, wherein, besides the constant and inexcuseable habit of transgressing, the maturity of our judgement cuts off pretence unto excuse or pardon: every sin the oftner it is committed, the more it acquireth in the quality of evill; as it succeeds

ceeds in time, so it proceeds in degrees of badness, for as they proceed they ever multiply, and like figures in Arithmetick, the last stands for more than all that went before it: And though I thinke no man can live well once but hee that could live twice, yet for my owne part, I would not live over my houres past, or beginne againe the thred of my dayes: not upon *Cicero's* ground, because I have lived them well,^{K85} but for feare I should live them worse: I find my growing Judgement daily instruct me how to be better, but my untamed affections and confirmed vitiosity makes mee daily doe worse; I finde in my confirmed age the same sinnes I discovered in my youth, I committed many then because I was a child, and because I commit them still I am yet an Infant. Therefore I perceive a man may bee twice a child before the dayes of dotage, and stand in need of *Æsons* bath before threescore.^{K86}

Sect. 42.

And truely there goes a great deale of providence to produce a mans life unto threescore; there is more required than
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an able temper for those yeeres; though the radicall humor containe in it sufficient oyle for seventy, yet I perceive in some it gives no light past thirty; men assigne not all the causes of long life that write whole bookes thereof. They that found themselves on the radicall balsome, or vitall sulphur of the parts, determine not why *Abel* lived not so long as *Adam*. There is therefore a secret glome or bottome of our dayes; 'twas his wisdom to determine them, but his perpetuall and waking providence that fulfills and accomplisheth them, wherein the spirits, our selves, and all the creatures of God in a secret and disputed way doe execute his will. Let them not therefore complaine of immaturity that die about thirty, they fall but like the whole world, whose solid and well composed substance must not expect the duration and period of its constitution, when all things are compleated in it, its age is accomplished, and the last and generall feaver may as naturally destroy it before six thousand, as me before forty; there is therefore
some

some other hand that twines the thread of life than that of Nature; we are not onely ignorant in Antipathies and occult qualities, our ends are as obscure as our beginnings, the line of our dayes is drawne by night, and the various effects therein by a pencill that is invisible; wherein though wee confesse our ignorance, I am sure wee doe not erre, if we say, it is the hand of God.

Sect. 43. I am much taken with two verses of *Lucan*, since I have been able not onely as we do at Schoole, to construe, but understand:

*Victurosque Dei celant ut vivere durent,
Felix esse mori.*

*We're all deluded, vainely searching waies,
To make us happy by the length of dayes;
For cunningly to¹ make's protract this breath,
The Gods conceale the happiness of Death.*

There be many excellent straines in that Poet, wherewith his Stoicall Genius hath liberally supplied him; and truely there are singular pieces in the Philosophy of *Zeno*, and doctrine of the Stoicks: which I perceive, delivered in a Pulpit, passe for currant Divinity: yet herein are they in extreames, that can allow

¹ 1645: *too*, corrected from 1643 and common sense *to*.

low a man to be his own *Assaßine*, and so highly extoll the end and suicide of *Cato*; ^{K87} this is indeed not to feare death, but yet to be afraid of life. It is a brave act of valour to contemne death, but where life is more terrible than death, it is then the truest valour to dare to live; and herein Religion hath taught us a noble example: For all the valiant acts of *Curtius*, *Scevola* or *Codruses*, doe not parallel or match that one of *Job*; and sure there is no torture to the racke of a disease, nor any *Poyneyards* in death it selfe, like those in the way or prologue unto it. *Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum nihil curo*, I would not dye, but care not to be dead. Were I of *Cesars* Religion ^{K88} I should be of his desires, and wish rather to goe off at one blow, then to be sawed in pieces by the grating torture of a disease. Men that looke no further than their outsides thinke health an appertinance unto life, and quarrell with their constitutions for being sick; but I that have examined the parts of man, and know upon what tender filaments that *Fabrick* hangs, doe
won-

wonder that we are not alwaies so; and considering the thousand doores that lead to death, doe thank my God that wee can die but once. 'Tis not onely the mischief of diseases, and the villany of poysons, that make an end of us; we vainly accuse the fury of Gunnes, and the new inventions of death; it is in the power of every hand to destroy us, and we are beholding unto every one wee meete, hee doth not kill us. There is therefore but one comfort left, that though it be in the power of the weakest arme to take away life, it is not in the strongest to deprive us of death: God would not exempt himselfe from that, the misery of immortality in the flesh, he undertooke not that was in it immortal. Certainly there is no happinesse within¹ this circle of flesh, nor is it in the Opticks of these eyes to behold felicity; the first day of our Jubilee is death; the Devill hath therefore failed of his desires; wee are happier with death than we should have been without it: there is no misery but in himselfe where there is no end of misery; and so
indeed

¹ 1645 *without*, corrected from text of 1643.

indeed in his own sense, the Stoick is in the right. Hee forgets that he can die who complaines of misery, wee are in the power of no calamity while death is in our owne.

Now besides this literall and positive kind of death, there are others whereof Divines make mention, and those I thinke, not meerely Metaphoricall, as mortification, dying unto sin and the World; therefore, I say, every man hath a double Horoscope, one of his humanity, his birth; another of his Christianity, his baptisme, and from this doe I compute or calculate my Nativity, not reckoning those *Horæ combustæ*, and odde dayes, or esteeming my selfe any thing, before I was my Saviours, and inrolled in the Register of Christ: Whosoever enjoyes not this life, I count him but an apparition, though he weare about him the sensible affections of flesh. In these morall acceptions, the way to be immortall is to die dayly; nor can I thinke I have the true Theory of death, when I contemplate

Sect. 44.

plate a skull, or behold a Skeleton with those vulgar imaginations it casts upon us; I have therefore enlarged that common *Memento mori*, into a more Christian memorandum, *Memento quatuor Novissima*, those foure inevitable points of us all, Death, Judgement, Heaven, and Hell. Neither did the contemplations of the Heathens rest in their graves, without a further thought of *Radamanth* or some Judiciall proceeding after death, though in another way, and upon suggestion of their naturall reasons. I cannot but marvaile from what *Sibyll* or Oracle they stole the prophesie of the worlds destruction by fire, or whence *Lucan* learned to say,^{K89}

*Communis mundo superest rogas, ossibus
astra Misturus. —*

*There yet remaines toth' world one common
fire,*

*Wherein our bones with stars shall make
one pyre.*

I beleieve the World growes neare its end, yet is neither old nor decayed, nor will ever perish upon the ruines of its owne principles. As the worke of Creation

ation was above nature, so is its adversary, annihilation; without which the world hath not its end, but its mutation. Now what force should bee able to consume it thus farre, without the breath of God, which is the truest consuming flame, my Philosophy cannot informe me. Some beleeve there went not a minute to the worlds creation, nor shall there go to its destruction, those six dayes so punctually described, make not to them one moment, but rather seem to manifest the method and Idea of the great work of the intellect of God, than the manner how he proceeded in its operation. I cannot dreame that there should be at the last day any such Judiciall proceeding, or calling to the Barre, as indeed the Scripture seemes to imply, and the literall Commentators do conceive: for unspeakable mysteries in the Scriptures are often delivered in a vulgar and illustrative way, and being written unto man, are delivered, not as they truly are, but as they may bee understood; wherein notwithstanding the different interpretations according

ding to different capacities may stand firme with our devotion, nor be any way prejudiciall to each single edification.

Sect. 45.

Now to determine the day and yeare of this inevitable time, is not onely convincible and statute madnesse, but also manifest impiety; how shall we interpret *Elias* 6000. yeares,^{K90} or imagine the secret communicated to a Rabbi, which God hath denyed unto his Angels? It had beene an excellent quære, to have posed the devill of *Delphos*, and must needs have forced him to some strange amphibology; it hath not onely mocked the predictions of sundry Astrologers in ages past, but the propheties of many melancholy heads in these present, who neither understanding reasonably things past or present, pretend a knowledge of things to come, heads ordained onely to manifest the incredible effects of melancholy, and to fulfill * old propheties, rather than be the authors of new. [In those dayes there shall come warres and rumours of warres,] to me seemes no prophecy, but a constant truth, in all times verified since it was

In those dayes shall come lyers and false prophets.

pro-

pronounced: There shall be signes in the Moone and Starres, how comes he then like a theefe in the night, when he gives an item of his comming? That common signe drawne from the revelation of Antichrist is as obscure as any; in our common compute he hath beene come these many yeares, but for my owne part to speake freely, I am halfe of opinion that Antichrist is the Philosophers stone in Divinity, for the discovery and invention whereof, though there be prescribed rules, and probable inductions, yet hath hardly any man attained the perfect discovery thereof. That generall opinion that the world growes neere its end, hath possessed all ages past as neerely as ours; I am afraid that the Soules that now depart, cannot escape that lingring expostulation of the Saints under the altar, *Quousque Domine? How long, O Lord?* and groane in the expectation of that great Jubilee.

This is the day that must make good that great attribute of God his Justice, that must reconcile those unanswerable doubts that torment the wisest understand-

Sect. 46.

standings, and reduce those seeming inequalities, and respective distributions in this world, to an equality and recompensive Justice in the next. This is that one day, that shall include and comprehend all that went before it, wherein as in the last scene, all the Actors must enter to compleat and make up the Catastrophe of this great peece. This is the day whose memory hath onely power to make us honest in the darke, and to bee vertuous without a witsnesse. *Ipsa suæ¹ pretium virtus sibi,*^{K91} that vertue is her owne reward, is but a cold principle, and not able to maintaine our variable resolutions in a constant and settled way of goodnesse. I have practised that honest artifice of *Seneca,*^{K92} and in my retired and solitary imaginations, to detaine mee from the foulness of vice, have fancied to my selfe the presence of my deare and worthiest friends, before whom I should lose my head, rather than be vitious, yet herein I found that there was nought but morall honesty, and this was not to be vertuous for his sake who must reward us
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¹ 1645 and 1643 *sui* corrected errata 1643 *suae*.

at the last. I have tryed if I could reach that great resolution of his, to be honest without a thought of Heaven or Hell;^{K93} and indeed I found upon a naturall inclination, and inbred loyalty unto vertue, that I could serve her without a livery, yet not in that resolved and venerable way, but that the frailtie of my nature, upon an easie temptation, might be induced to forget her. The life therefore and spirit of all our actions, is the resurrection and stable apprehension, that our ashes shall enjoy the fruit of our pious endeavours; without this, all Religion is a Fallacy, and those impieties of *Lucian*, *Euripedes*, and *Iulian* are no blasphemies, but subtile verities, and Atheists have beene the onely Philosophers.^{K94}

How shall the dead arise, is no question of my faith; to beleeve onely possibilities, is not faith, but meere Philosophy; many things are true in Divinity, which are neither inducible by reason, nor confirmable by sense; and many things in Philosophy confirmable by sense, yet not inducible by reason. Thus
it

*Sect. 46.*¹

¹ Bis; 1643 and 1645 have two sections 46.

it is impossible by any solid or demonstrative reasons to perswade a man to beleave the conversion of the Needle to the North; though this be possible, and true, and easily credible, upon a single experiment unto the sense. I beleave that our estranged and divided ashes shall unite againe, that our separated dust after so many pilgrimages and transformations into the parts of Minerralls, Plants, Animals, Elements, shall at the voice of God returne into their primitive shapes; and joine againe to make up their primary and predestinate formes. As at the Creation, there was a separation of that confused masse into its species, so at the destruction thereof there shall be a separation into its distinct individualls. As at the Creation of the world, all the distinct species that we behold, lay involved in one masse, till the fruitfull voice of God separated this united multitude into its severall species: so at the last day, when these corrupted reliques shall be scattered in the wildernesses of formes, and seem to have forgot their proper habits

bits, God by a powerfull voyce shall command them back into their proper shapes,^{K95} and call them out by their single individuals: Then shall appear the fertility of *Adam*, and the magick of that sperme that hath dilated into so many millions. I have often beheld as a miracle, that artificiall resurrection and re-vivification of *Mercury*, how being mortified into thousand shapes, it assumes againe its owne, and returns into its numericall selfe. Let us speake naturally, and like Philosophers, the formes of alterable bodies in these sensible corruptions perish not; nor, as wee imagine, wholly quit their mansions, but retire and contract themselves into their secret and unaccessible parts, where they may best protect themselves from the action of their Antagonist. A plant or vegetable consumed to ashes, to¹ a contemplative and schoole Philosopher seemes utterly destroyed, and the forme to have taken his leave for ever: But to a sensible Artist the formes are not perished, but withdrawne into their incombustible part, where they lie secure from the action

¹ 1645 *by* but 1643 *to* makes more sense.

on of that devouring element. This is made good by experience, which can from the ashes of a plant revive the plant, and from its cinders recall it into its stalke and leaves againe. What the Art of man can doe in these inferiour pieces, what blasphemy is it to affirm the finger of God cannot doe in these more perfect and sensible structures? This is that mysticall Philosophy, from whence no true Scholler becomes an Atheist, but from the visible effects of nature, growes up a reall Divine, and beholds not in a dreame, as *Ezekiel*, but in an ocular and visible object the types of his resurrection.

Sect. 47. Now, the necessary Mansions of our restored selves, are those two contrary and incompatible places wee call Heaven and Hell; to define them, or strictly to determine what and where these are, surpasseth my Divinity. That elegant Apostle which seemed to have a glimpse of Heaven, hath left but a negative description thereof; which neither eye hath seene, nor eare hath heard, nor can enter into
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the heart of man: he was translated out of himselfe to behold it, but being returned into himselfe could not expresse it. Saint *Iohns* description by Emeralds, Chrysolites, and pretious stones, is too weake to expresse the materiall Heaven we behold. Briefely therefore, where the soule hath the full measure, and complement of happinesse, where the boundlesse appetite of that spirit remains compleatly satisfied, that it can neither desire addition nor alteration, that I thinke is truely Heaven: and this can onely be in the enjoyment of that essence, whose infinite goodnesse is able to terminate the desires of it selfe, and the unsatiabable wishes of ours; wherever God will thus manifest himselfe, there is Heaven, though within the circle of this sensible world. Thus the soule of man may bee in Heaven any where, even within the limits of his owne proper body, and when it ceaseth to live in the body, it may remaine in its owne soule, that is its Creator. And thus wee may say that Saint *Paul*, whether in the body, or out of the body, was

was yet in Heaven. To place it in the Empyreall, or beyond the tenth Spheare, is to forget the worlds destruction; for when this sensible world shall be destroyed, all shall then be here as it is now there, an Empyreall Heaven, a *quasi* vacuitie, when to ask where Heaven is, is to demand where the presence of God is, or where wee have the glory of that happy vision. *Moses* that was bred up in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, committed a grosse absurdity in Philosophy, when with these eyes of flesh he desired to see God, and petitioned his Maker, that is truth it selfe, to a contradiction. Those that imagine Heaven and Hell neighbours, and conceive a vicinity between those two extreames, upon consequence of the Parable, where *Dives* discoursed with *Lazarus* in *Abrahams* bosome, doe too grossely conceive of those glorified creatures, whose eyes shall easily out-see the Sunne, and behold without a perspective, the extreamist distances: for if there shall be in our glorified eyes, the faculty of sight and reception of objects, I could think the visible species there
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to be in as unlimitable a way as now the intellectuall. I grant that two bodies placed beyond the tenth Spheare, or in a vacuity, according to *Aristotles* Philosophy, could not behold each other, because there wants a body or Medium to hand and transport the visible rayes of the object unto the sense; but when there shall be a generall defect of either Medium to convey, or light to prepare and dispose that Medium, and yet a perfect vision, wee must suspend the rules of our Philosophy, and make all good by a more absolute piece of Opticks.

I cannot tell how to say that fire is the essence of hell, I know not what to make of Purgatory, or conceive a flame that can either prey upon, or purifie the substance of a soule; ^{K96} those flames of sulphure mentioned in the scriptures, I take not to be understood of this present Hell, but of that to come, where fire shall make up the complement of our tortures, & have a body or subject wherein to manifest its tyranny: Some who have had the honour to be textuarie in Divinity, are of opinion it shall be the same specificall fire

Sect. 48.

fire with ours. This is hard to conceive, yet can I make good how even that may prey upon our bodies, and yet not consume us: for in this material world, there are bodies that persist invincible in the powerfulllest flames, and though by the action of fire they fall into ignition and liquation, yet will they never suffer a destruction: I would gladly know how *Moses* with an actual fire calcin'd, or burnt the Golden Calfe into powder: for that mysticall metall of Gold, whose solary and celestial nature I admire, exposed unto the violence of fire, growes onely hot and liquifies, but consumeth not: so when the consumable and volatile pieces of our bodies shall be refined into a more impregnable and fixed temper like Gold, though they suffer from the action of flames, they shall never perish, but lie immortall in the armes of fire. And surely if this frame must suffer onely by the action of this element, there will many bodies escape, and not onely Heaven, but earth will not bee at an end, but rather a beginning;¹ For at present it is not earth, but a composition

¹ 1645 *beginning?* 1643 *beginning;*

on of fire, water, earth, and aire; but at that time spoyled of these ingredients, it shall appeare in a substance more like it selfe, its ashes. Philosophers that opined the worlds destruction by fire, did never dreame of annihilation, which is beyond the power of sublunary causes; for the last and proper action of that element is but vitrification, or a reduction of a body into glasse; and therefore some of our Chymicks facetiously affirm, that at the last fire all shall be crystallized and reverberated into glasse, which is the utmost action of that element. Nor need we feare this term [annihilation] or wonder that God will destroy the workes of his Creation: for man subsisting, who is, and will then truely appeare a Microcosme, the world cannot be said to be destroyed. For the eyes of God and perhaps also of our glorified selves, shall as really behold and contemplate the world in its Epitome or contracted essence, as now it doth at large and in its dilated substance. In the seed of a Plant to the eyes of God, and to the understanding of man, there exists, though in
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an invisible way, the perfect leaves, flowers, and fruit thereof: (for things that are in *posse* to the sense, are actually existent to the understanding.) Thus God beholds all things, who contemplates as fully his workes in their Epitome, as in their full volume, and beheld as amply the whole world in that little compendium of the sixth day, as in the scattered and dilated pieces of those five before.

Sect. 49.

Men commonly set forth the torments of Hell by fire, and the extremity of corporall afflictions, and describe Hell in the same method that *Mahomet* doth Heaven. This indeed makes a noise, and drums in popular eares: but if this be the terrible piece thereof, it is not worthy to stand in diameter with Heaven, whose happinesse consists in that part that is best able to comprehend it, that immortal essence, that translated divinity and colony of God, the Soule. Surely though wee place Hell under earth, the Devils walke and purlue is about it; men speake too popularly who place it in those flaming mountaines, which to grosser apprehensions represent Hell. The heart of
man

man is the place the Devils dwell¹ in; I feele sometimes a Hell within my selfe, *Lucifer* keeps his Court in my breast, *Legion* is revived in me. There are as many hels as *Anaxagoras* conceited worlds;^{K97} there was more then one hell in *Magdalen*, when there were seven devils; for every devill is an hell unto himselfe: hee holds enough of torture in his owne *ubi*, and needs not the misery of circumference to afflict him, and thus a distracted conscience here is a shadow or introduction unto hell hereafter; Who can but pity the mercifull intention of those hands that doe destroy themselves? the devill, were it in his power, would doe the like; which being impossible, his miseries are endlesse, and he suffers most in that attribute wherein he is impassible, his immortality.

I thank God that with joy² I mention it, I was never afraid of Hell, nor never grew pale at the description of that place; I have so fixed my contemplations on Heaven, that I have almost forgot the Idea of Hell, and am afraid rather to lose the joyes of the one than endure

Sect. 50.

¹ 1643: *devill dwels* ²1643: *God, and with joy*

endure the misery of the other; to be deprived of them is a perfect Hell, and needs mee thinks no addition to compleat our afflictions; that terrible terme hath never detained me from sinne, nor do I owe any good action to the name thereof: I fear God, yet am not afraid of him, his mercies make me ashamed of my sins, before his judgments afraid thereof: these are the forced and secondary method of his wisdom, which hee useth but as the last remedy, and upon provocation, a course rather to deterre the wicked, than incite the vertuous to his worship. I can hardly thinke there was ever any scared into Heaven, they goe the fairest way to Heaven, that would serve God without a Hell; other Mercenaries that crouch unto him in feare of Hell, though they terme themselves the servants, are indeed but the slaves of the Almighty.

Sect. 51.

And to be true, and speak my soule, when I survey the occurrences of my life, and call into account the finger of God, I can perceive nothing but
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an abyſſe and maſſe of mercies, either in generall to mankinde, or in particular to my ſelfe; and whether out of the prejudice of my affection, or an inverting and partiall conceit of his mercies, I know not, but thoſe which others terme crosses, afflictions, judgments, miſfortunes, to mee who enquire farther into them than their viſible effects, they both appeare, and in event have ever proved the ſecret and diſsembled favours of his affection. It is a ſingular piece of Wiſdome to apprehend truly, and without paſſion the workes of God, and ſo well to diſtinguiſh his Juſtice from his Mercy, as not to miſcall thoſe noble attributes; yet it is likewise an honeſt piece of Logick ſo to diſpute and argue the proceedings of God, as to diſtinguiſh even his judgements into mercies. For God is mercifull unto all, becauſe better to the worſt, than the beſt deſerve, and to ſay hee puniſheth none in this world, though it be a Paradox, is no abſurdity. To one that hath committed murder, if the Judge ſhould
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onely ordaine a Fine, it were a madnesse to call this a punishment, and to repine at the sentence, rather than admire the clemencie of the Judge. Thus our offences being mortall, and deserving not onely death, but damnation, if the goodnesse of God be content to traverse and passe them over with a losse, misfortune, or disease; what frensie were it to terme this a punishment, rather than an extremity of mercy, and to groane under the rod of his judgements, rather than admire the Scepter of his mercies? Therefore to adore, honour, and admire him, is a debt of gratitude due from the obligation of our nature, states, and conditions; and with these thoughts, he that knowes them best, will not deny that I adore him: That I obtain Heaven, and the blisse thereof, is accidentall, and not the intended worke of my devotion, it being a felicity I can neither think to deserve, nor scarce in modesty to expect. For these two ends of us all, either as rewards or punishments, are mercifully ordained and disproportionally disposed unto
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our actions, the one being so far beyond our deserts, the other so infinitely below our demerits.

There is no salvation to those that beleave not in Christ, that is, say some, since his Nativity, and as Divinity affirmeth, before also; which makes me much apprehend the ends of those honest Worthies and Philosophers which died before his incarnation. It is hard to place those soules in Hell^{K98} whose worthy lives doe teach us vertue on earth; methinks amongst those many subdivisions of hell, there might have been one Limbo left for these: What a strange vision will it be to see their poeticall fictions converted into verities, and their imagined & fancied Furies, into reall Devils? how strange to them will sound the History of *Adam*, when they shall suffer for him they never heard of? when they derive their genealogy from the Gods, shall know they are the unhappy issue of sinfull man? It is an insolent part of reason to controvert the workes of God, or question the justice of his proceedings; Could humility teach others, as
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it hath instructed me, to contemplate the infinite and incomprehensible distance betwixt the Creator and the Creature, or did wee seriously perpend that one Simile of Saint *Paul*, *Shall the Vessell say to the Potter, Why hast thou made me thus?* it would prevent these arrogant disputes of reason, nor would we argue the definitive sentence of God, either to Heaven or Hell. Men that live according to the right rule and law of reason, live but in their owne kinde, as beasts doe in theirs; who justly obey the prescript of their natures, and therefore cannot reasonably demand a reward of their actions, as onely obeying the naturall dictates of their reason. It will therefore, and must at last appeare, that all salvation is through Christ; which verity I feare these great examples of vertue must confirme, and make it good, how the perfectest actions of earth have no title or claime unto Heaven.

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Nor truely doe I thinke the lives of these or of any other were ever correspondent, or in all points conformable unto their doctrines; it is evident that

Aristotle

Aristotle transgressed the rule of his owne Ethicks;^{K99} the Stoicks that condemne passion, and command a man to laugh in *Phalaris* his Bull, could not endure without a groane a fit of the Stone or Colick. The *Scepticks* that affirmed they know nothing,^{K100} even in that opinion confute themselves, and thought they knew more then all the World beside. *Diogenes* I hold to be the most vain-glorious man of his time, and more ambitious in refusing all honours, than *Alexander* in rejecting none. Vice and the Devill put a fallacie upon our reasons, and provoking us too hastily to run from it, entangle and profound us deeper in it. The Duke of *Venice*, that weds himselfe unto the Sea, by a Ring of Gold,^{K101} I will not argue of prodigality, because it is a solemnity of good use and consequence in the State. But the Philosopher that threw his mony into the Sea to avoyd avarice, was a notorious prodigall. There is no road or ready way to vertue, it is not an easie point of art to disentangle our selves from
from

from this riddle, or web of sinne: To perfect vertue, as to Religion, there is required a Panoplia or compleat armour; that whilest we lye at close ward against one vice, we lye open to the vennie of another: and indeed wiser discretions that have the thred of reason to conduct them, offend without a pardon; whereas under heads may stumble without dishonour. There goe so many circumstances to piece up one good action,^{K102} that it is a lesson to be good, and wee are forced to be vertuous by the booke. Againe the practice of men holds not an equall pace, yea, and often runnes counter to their Theory; we naturally know what is good, but naturally pursue what is evill: the Rhetorick wherewith I perswade another cannot perswade my selfe: there is a depraved appetite in us, that will with patience heare the learned instructions of Reason; but yet performe no farther than agrees to its owne irregular humour. In briefe, we all are monsters, that is, a composition of man and beast, wherein we must endeavour to be as the Poets fancy that

that wise man *Chiron*, that is, to have the Region of Man above that of Beast, and sense to sit but at the feete of reason. Lastly, I doe desire with God, that all, but yet affirme with men, that few shall know salvation, that the bridge is narrow, the passage straight unto life; yet those who doe confine the Church of God, either to particular Nations, Churches, or Families, have made it farre narrower then our Saviour ever meant it.

The vulgarity of those judgements that wrap the Church of God in *Strabo's* cloake and restraints it unto Europe,^{K103} seeme to me as bad Geographers as *Alexander*, who thought hee had conquer'd all the world when he not subdued the halfe of any part thereof: For wee cannot deny the Church of God both in Asia and Africa, if we doe not forget the Peregrinations of the Apostles, the deathes of their Martyrs, the Sessions of many, and even in our reformed judgement lawfull councells held in those parts in the minority and non-age of ours: nor must a few differences
more

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more remarkeable in the eyes of man than perhaps in the judgment of God, excommunicate from Heaven one another, much lesse those Christians who are in a manner all Martyrs, maintaining their faith in the noble way of persecution, and serving God in the fire, whereas we honour him but in the Sunshine. 'Tis true we all hold there is a number of Elect and many to be saved, yet take our opinions together, and from the confusion thereof there will be no such thing as salvation, nor shall any one bee saved; for first the Church of *Rome* condemneth us, we likewise them, the Sub-reformists and Sectaries sentence the Doctrine of our Church as damnable, the Atomist, or Familist reprobates all these, and all these them againe. Thus whilst the mercies of God do promise us Heaven, our conceits and opinions exclude us from that place. There must be therefore more than one Saint *Peter*, particular Churches and Sects usurpe the gates of Heaven, and turne the key against each other, and thus we goe to heaven against each others wills,

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conceits and opinions, and with as much uncharity as ignorance, do erre I feare in points, not only of our owne, but one anothers salvation..

I beleeeve many are saved who to man seeme reprobated, and many are reprobated, who in the opinion and sentence of man stand elected; there will appeare at the last day, strange, and unexpected examples, both of his Justice and his Mercy, and therefore to define either is folly in man, and insolency, even in the Devills; those acute and subtill spirits, in all their sagacity, can hardly divine who shall bee saved; which if they could prognosticke, their labour were at an end; nor need they compass the earth seeking whom they may devour. Those who upon a rigid application of the Law, sentence *Solomon* unto damnation, ^{K104} condemne not onely him, but themselves, and the whole World; for by the Letter, and written Word of God, wee are without exception in the state of Death, but there is a prerogative of God, and an arbitrary pleasure above the Letter of his owne Law,

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Law, by which alone we can pretend unto salvation, & through which *Solomon* might be as easily saved as those who condemne him.

Sect. 56. The number of those who pretend unto salvation, and those infinite swarmes who thinke to passe through the eye of this Needle, have much amazed me. That name and compellation of *little Flocke*, doth not comfort but deject my devotion, especially when I reflect upon mine owne unworthinesse, wherein, according to my humble apprehensions, I am below them all. I beleieve there shall never be an Anarchy in Heaven, but as there are Hierarchies amongst the Angels, so shall there be degrees of priority amongst the Saints. Yet is it (I protest) beyond my ambition to aspire unto the first ranks, my desires onely are, and I shall be happy therein, to be but the last man, and bring up the Rere in Heaven.

Sect. 57. Againe, I am confident, and fully perswaded, yet dare not take my oath of my salvation; I am as it were sure, and do
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beleve without all doubt that there is such a City as *Constantinople*, yet for me to take my oath thereon, were a kinde of perjury, because I hold no infallible warrant from my owne sense to confirme mee in the certainty thereof: And truely, though many pretend an absolute certainty of their salvation, yet when an humble soule shall contemplate her owne unworthinesse, she shall meet with many doubts, and suddainly finde how little wee stand in need of the precept of *Saint Paul*, *Worke out your salvation with feare and trembling*. That which is the cause of my election, I hold to be the cause of my salvation, which was the mercy and beneplacit of God, before I was, or the foundation of the World. *Before Abraham was, I am*, is the saying of Christ, yet is it true in some sense if I say it of my selfe, for I was not onely before my selfe, but *Adam*, that is, in the Idea of God, and the decree of that Synod held from all Eternitie. And in this sense, I say, the world was before the Creation, and at an end before it had a beginning; and thus was I
dead

dead before I was alive, though my grave be *England*, my dying place was Paradise, and *Eve* miscarried of me before she conceiv'd of *Cain*.

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Insolent zeales that doe decry good workes and rely onely upon faith, take not away merit: for depending upon the efficacy of their faith, they enforce the condition of God, and in a more sophisticall way doe seeme to challenge Heaven. It was decreed by God, that onely those that lapt in the water like dogges, should have the honour to destroy the *Midianites*, yet could none of those justly challenge, or imagine hee deserved that honour thereupon. I doe not deny, but that true faith, and such as God requires, is not onely a marke or token, but also a meanes of our salvation, but where to finde this, is as obscure to me, as my last end. And if our Saviour could object unto his owne Disciples, and Favourites, a faith, that to the quantity of a graine of Mustard seed, is able to remove Mountaines; surely that which wee boast of, is not any thing, or at the most, but a remove from nothing.

nothing. This is the Tenor of my belief, wherein, though there bee many things singular; and to the humour of my irregular selfe, yet if they square not with maturer judgements, I disclaime them, and do no further favour¹ them, than the learned and best judgments shal authorize them.



The second Part.

NOW for that other vertue of Charity, without which Faith is a meere notion, and of no existence, I have ever endeavoured to nourish the mercifull disposition, and humane inclination I borrowed from my Parents, and regulate it to the written and prescribed Lawes of Charity; and if I hold the true anatomy of my selfe, I am delineated and naturally framed to such a piece of vertue: for I am of a constitution so generall, that it consorts and sympathizeth with all things; I have no antipathy, or rather Idio-syncrasie, in diet, humour, aire, any thing; I wonder not
at

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¹ 1643 *father*

at the *French* for their dishes of frogges, snailes, and toadstooles,^{K105} nor at the Jewes for Locusts and Grasse-hoppers, but being amongst them, make them my common viands; and I finde they agree with my stomach as well as theirs. I could digest a Sallad gathered in a Church-yard, as well as in a Garden. I cannot start at the presence of a Serpent, Scorpion, Lizard, or Salamander; at the sight of a Toad or Viper, I find in me no desire to take up a stone to destroy them. I feele not in my self those common Antipathies that I can discover in others: Those nationall repugnances doe not touch me, nor doe I behold with prejudice the *French*, *Italian*, *Spaniard*, and *Dutch*; but where I find their actions in ballance with my Countrey-men, I honour, love, and embrace them in the same degree;¹ I was borne in the eighth Climate, but seeme for to bee framed, and constellated unto all; I am no plant that will not prosper out of a Garden. All places, all ayres make unto mee one Country; I am in *England*, every where, and under any meridian;

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¹ 1643 and 1645: *in some degree* corrected errata 1643 *in the same degree*

I have beene shipwrackt, yet am not enemie with the sea or winds; I can study, play, or sleepe in a tempest. In briefe, I am averse from nothing, my conscience would give me the lie if I should say I absolutely detest or hate any essence but the Devill, or so at least abhorre any thing but that wee might come to composition. If there bee any among those common objects of hatred I doe contemne and laugh at, it is that great enemy of reason, vertue and religion, the Multitude, that numerous piece of monstrosity, which taken asunder seeme men, and the reasonable creatures of God; but confused together, make but one great beast, and a monstrosity more prodigious then Hydra; it is no breach of Charity to call these Fooles, it is the style all holy Writers have afforded them, set downe by *Solomon* in Canonickall Scripture, and a point of our faith to beleieve so. Neither in the name of Multitude doe I onely include the base and minor sort of people; there is a rabble even amongst the Gentry, a sort of Plebeian heads, whose

whose fancy moves with the same wheele as these; men in the same Levell with Mechanicks, though their fortunes doe somewhat guild their infirmities, and their purses compound for their follies. But as in casting account, three or foure men together come short in account of one man placed by himself below them: So neither are a troope of these ignorant Doradoes, of that true esteeme and value, as many a forlorne person, whose condition doth place them below their feete. Let us speake like Politicians, there is a Nobility without Heraldry, a naturall dignity, whereby one man is ranked with another, another filed before him, according to the quality of his desert, and preheminance of his good parts. Though the corruption of these times, and the byas of present practise wheele another way, thus it was in the first and primitive Common-wealths, and is yet in the integrity and Cradle of well-ordered Polities, till corruption getteth ground, ruder desires labouring after that w^{ch} wiser considerations contemne,
every

every one having a liberty to amasse and heap up riches, and they a license or faculty to doe or purchase any thing.

This generall and indifferent temper of mine, doth more neerely dispose mee to this noble vertue. It is a happinesse to bee born and framed unto vertue, and to grow up from the seeds of nature, rather than the inoculation and forced graffs of education; yet if wee are directed only by our particular Natures, and regulate our inclinations by no higher rule than that of our reasons, we are but Moralists; Divinity will still call us Heathens. Therefore this great work of charity, must have other motives, ends, and impulsions: I give no almes to satisfie the hunger of my Brother, but to fulfill and accomplish the Will and Command of my God; I draw not my purse for his sake that demands it, but his that enjoyed it; I relieve no man upon the Rhetorick of his miseries, nor to content mine own commiserating disposition, for this is still but morall charity, and an act that oweth more to passion than reason. He that relieves another upon the bare suggestion

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gestion and bowels of pity, doth not this so much for his sake as for his own: for by compassion wee make others misery our own, and so by relieving them, we relieve our selves also. It is as erroneous a conceit to redresse other Mens misfortunes upon the common considerations of mercifull natures, that it may be one day our own case, for this is a sinister & politick kind of charity, whereby we seem to bespeake the pities of men in the like occasions: and truely I have observed that those professed Eleemosynaries, though in a croud or multitude, doe yet direct and place their petitions on a few and selected persons; there is surely a Physiognomy, which those experienced and Master Mendicants observe, whereby they instantly discover a mercifull aspect, and will single out a face, wherein they spy the signatures and markes of mercy: for there are mystically in our faces certaine characters which carry in them the motto of our Soules, wherein he that cannot¹ read *A.B.C.* may read our natures. I hold moreover that there is a Phytognomy, or Physiognomy

¹ 1643 and 1645 *can* corrected errata 1643 *cannot*

siognomy, not onely of men, but of Plants, and Vegetables; and in every one of them, some outward figures which hang as signes or bushes of their inward formes. The finger of God hath left an inscription upon all his workes, not graphicall or composed of Letters, but of their severall formes, constitutions, parts, and operations, which aptly joynd together doe make one word that doth expresse their natures. By these Letters God calls the Starres by their names, and by this Alphabet *Adam* assigned to every creature a name peculiar to its Nature. Now there are besides these Characters in our faces, certaine mysticall figures in our hands, which I dare not call meere dashes, strokes, *a la volee*, or at randome, because delineated by a pencill, that never workes in vaine; and hereof I take more particular notice, because I carry that in mine owne hand, which I could never read of, nor discover in another. *Aristotle*, I confesse, in his acute, and singular booke of Physiognomy, hath made no mention of Chiromancy, yet

I beleeeve the *Egyptians*, who were neerer addicted to those abstruse and mysticall sciences, had a knowledge therein, to which those vagabond and counterfeit *Egyptians* did after pretend, and perhaps retained a few corrupted principles, which sometimes might verifie their prognostickes.

It is the common wonder of all men, how among so many millions of faces, there should be none alike; ^{K106} Now contrary, I wonder as much how there should be any; he that shall consider how many thousand severall words have beene carelessly and without study composed out of 24 Letters; withall how many hundred lines there are to bee drawne in the fabrick of one man; shall easily finde that this variety is necessary: And it will be very hard that they shall so concurre as to make one portract like another. Let a Painter carelessly limbe out a Million of faces, and you shall finde them all different, yea let him have his copy before him, yet after all his art there will remaine a sensible distinction; for the patterne
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or example of every thing is the perfectest in that kinde, whereof wee still come short, though we transcend or goe beyond it, because herein it is wide, and agrees not in all points unto its Copy. Nor doth the similitude of Creatures disparage the variety of nature, nor any way confound the workes of God. For even in things alike, there is diversity, and those that doe seeme to accord, doe manifestly disagree. And thus is man like God, for in the same things that wee resemble him, wee are utterly different from him. There was never any thing so like another, as in all points to concurre, there will ever some reserved difference slip in, to prevent the identity, without which, two severall things would not be alike, but the same, which is impossible.

But to returne from Philosophy to Charity, I hold not so narrow a conceit of this vertue, as to conceive that to give almes, is onely to be Charitable, or thinke a piece of Liberality can comprehend the Totall of Charity; Divinity hath wisely divided the act thereof

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of into many branches, and hath taught us in this narrow way, many pathes unto goodnesse; as many wayes as wee may doe good, so many wayes wee may bee Charitable; there are infirmities, not onely of body, but of soule, and fortunes, which doe require the mercifull hand of our abilities. I cannot contemn a man for ignorance, but behold him with as much pity as I doe *Lazarus*. It is no greater Charity to cloath his body, than apparell the nakednesse of his Soule. It is an honourable object to see the reasons of other men weare our Liveries, and their borrowed understandings doe homage to the bounty of ours: It is the cheapest way of beneficence, and like the naturall charity of the Sunne illuminates another without obscuring it selfe. To bee reserved and caitif in this part of goodnesse, is the sordidest piece of covetousnesse, and more contemptible than the pecuniary avarice. To this (as calling my selfe a Scholar) I am obliged by the duty of my condition, I make not therefore my head a grave, but a treasure of knowledge;

ledge; I intend no Monopoly, but a Community in learning; I study not for my owne sake onely, but for theirs that study not for themselves. I envy no man that knowes more than my selfe, but pity them that knowes lesse. I instruct no man as an exercise of my knowledge, or with an intent rather to nourish and keepe it alive in mine owne head, than beget and propagate it in his; and in the midst of all my endeavours there is but one thought that dejects mee, that my acquired parts must perish with my selfe, nor can bee Legacyed among my honoured Friends. I cannot fall out or contemne a man for an error, or conceive why a difference in opinion should divide an affection: for controversies, disputes, and argumētations, both in Philosophy, and in Divinity, if they meete with discreet and peaceable natures, doe not infringe the Lawes of Charity in all disputes; so much as there is of passion, so much there is of nothing to the purpose, for then reason like a bad Hound spends upon a false sent, and forsakes the question

sition first started. And this is one reason why controversies are never determined, for though they be amply proposed, they are scarce at all handled, they doe so swell with unnecessary Digressions, and the Parenthesis on the party, is often as large as the main discourse upon the subject. The Foundations of Religion are already established, and the principles of Salvation subscribed unto by all, there remaines not many controversies worth a passion, and yet never any disputed without, not onely in Divinity, but in inferiour Arts: What a βατροχομυμαχία and hot skirmish is betwixt *S.* and *T.* in *Lucian*?^{K107} How doth Grammarians hack and slash for the Genitive case in *Jupiter*? How doe they breake their owne pates to salve that of *Priscian*? *Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus.* Yea, even amongst wiser militants, how many wounds have been given, and credits slaine for the poore victory of an opinion or beggerly conquest of a distinction? Scholars are men of Peace, they beare no armes, but their tongues are sharper then

Whether
Jovis or
*Jupiteris.*¹

¹ Marginal note lacking 1645. No textual referent 1643 or 1645.

than *Actius* his razor,^{K108} their pens carry farther, and give a lowder report than thunder; I had rather stand in the shock of a Basilisco, than in the fury of a mercillesse pen. It is not meere zeale to Learning, or devotion to the Muses, that wiser Princes patron the Arts: and carry an indulgent aspect unto Schollers, but a desire to have their names eternized by the memory of their writings,^{K109} and a feare of the revengefull pen of succeeding ages: for these are the men, that when they have played their parts, and had their *exits*, must step out and give the morall of their Scenes, and deliver unto posterity an Inventory of their vertues and vices. And surely there goes a great deale of conscience to the compiling of an History, there is no reproach to the scandall of a Story; It is such an Authenticke kinde of falsehood that with authority belies our good names to all Nations and Posteritie.

There is another offence unto Charity, which no Author hath ever written of, and few take notice of, and that's,

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that's the reproach, not of whole professions, mysteries and conditions, but of whole nations, wherein by opprobrious Epithets wee miscall each other, and by an uncharitable Logick, from a disposition in a few conclude a habit in all.

Le mutin Anglois, et le bravache Escossois;

Le bougre Italien, et le fol Francois;

Le poultron Romain, le larron de Gascongne,

L'Espagnol superbe, et l' Aleman yurongne.

Saint *Paul* that calts the *Cretians* lyers, doth it but indirectly and upon quotation of their owne Poet.^{K110} It is as bloody a thought in one way as *Neroes* was in another.^{K111} For by a word wee wound a thousand, and at one blow assassine the honour of a Nation. It is as compleate a piece of madnesse to miscall and rave against the times: or thinke to recall men to reason, by a fit of passion: *Democritus* that thought to laugh the times into goodnesse, seemes to me as deeply Hypochondriack, as *Heraclitus* that bewailed them; it moves not my spleen to behold the multitude in their proper humours, that is, in their fits of folly & madness, as wel understand-

derstanding that Wisedome is not prophan'd unto the World, and 'tis the privilege of a few to be vertuous. They that endeavour to abolish vice destroy also vertue, for contraries, though they destroy one another, are yet the life of one another. Thus vertue (abolish vice) is an Idea: againe, the communitie of sinne doth not disparage goodnesse; for when vice gaines upon the major part, vertue, in whom it remaines, becomes more excellent, and being lost in some, multiplies its goodnesse in others which remaine untouched, and persists intire in the generall inundation. I can therefore behold vice without a Satyre, content onely with an admonition, or instructive reprehension; for Noble natures, and such as are capable of goodnesse, are railed into vice, that might as easily bee admonished into vertue; and wee should be all so farre the Orators of goodnesse, as to protect her from the power of vice, and maintaine the cause of injured truth. No man can justly censure or condemne another, because indeed no man truely knowes another.

nother. This I perceive in my selfe, for I am in the dark to all the world, and my nearest friends behold mee but in a cloud; those that know mee but superficially, thinke lesse of me than I doe of my selfe; those of my neere acquaintance thinke more; God, who truely knowes me, knowes that I am nothing, for he onely beholds mee, and all the world, who lookes not on us through a derived ray, or a trajection of a sensible species, but beholds the substance without the helpes of accidents, and the formes of things, as we their operations. Further, no man can judge another, because no man knowes himselfe, for we censure others but as they disagree from that humour which wee fancy laudable in our selves, and commend others but for that wherein they seeme to quadrate and consent with us. So that in conclusion, all is but that we all condemne, selfe-love. 'Tis the generall complaint of these times, and perhaps of those past, that charity growes cold; which I perceive most verified in those which most doe manifest the fires
and

and flames of zeale; for it is a vertue that best agrees with coldest natures, and such as are complexioned for humility: But how shall wee expect charity towards others, when we are uncharitable to our selves? Charity begins at home, is the voice of the World, yet is every man his greatest enemy, and as it were, his owne executioner. *Non occides*, is the Commandement of God, yet scarce observed by any man; for I perceive every man is his owne *Atropos*, and lends a hand to cut the thred of his own dayes. *Cain* was not therefore the first Murtherer, but *Adam*, who brought in death; whereof hee beheld the practise and example in his owne sonne *Abel*, and saw that verified in the experience of another, which faith could not perswade him in the Theory of himselfe.

There is I thinke no man that apprehends his owne miseries lesse than my selfe, and no man that so neerely apprehends anothers. I could lose an arme without a teare, and with few groanes, mee thinkes, be quartered into pieces;

Sect. 5.

pieces; yet can I weepe most seriously at a Play, and receive with a true passion, the counterfeit griefes of those knowne and professed impostures. It is a barbarous part of inhumanity to adde unto any afflicted parties misery, or endeavour to multiply in any man, a passion, whose single nature is already above his patience; this was the greatest affliction of *Iob*, and those oblique expostulations of his friends a deeper injury than the downe-right blowes of the Devill. It is not the teares of our owne eyes onely, but of our friends also, that doe exhaust the current of our sorrowes, which falling into many streames, runne more peaceably, and is contented with a narrower channel. It is an act within the power of charity, to translate a passion out of one breast into another, and to divide a sorrow almost out of it selfe; for an affliction like a dimension may bee so divided, as if not indivisible, at least to become insensible. Now with my friend I desire not to share or participate, but to engrosse his sorrowes, that by making them mine owne,

owne, I may more easily discusse them; for in mine owne reason, and within my selfe I can command that, which I cannot intreat without my selfe, and within the circle of another. I have often thought those noble paires and examples of friendship not so truely Histories of what had beene, as fictions of what should be, but I now perceive nothing in them but possibilities, nor any thing in the Heroick examples of *Damon* and *Pythias*, *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, which mee thinkes upon some grounds I could not performe within the narrow compasse of my selfe. That a man should lay down his life for his friend, seemes strange to vulgar affections, and such as confine themselves within that worldly principle, Charity beginnes at home. For mine owne part, I could never remember the relations that I held unto my selfe, nor the respect that I owe unto mine owne nature, in the cause of God, my Countrey, and my Friends. Next to these three, I doe embrace my selfe; I confesse that I doe not observe that order that the Schooles ordain

daine our affections, to love our Parents, Wives, Children, and then our Friends, for excepting the injunctions of Religion, I doe not find in my selfe such a necessary and indissoluble Sympathy to all those of my bloud. I hope I doe not break the fifth Commandement, if I conceive I may love my friend before the nearest of my bloud, even those to whom I owe the principles of life; I never yet cast a true affection on a Woman, but I have loved my friend as I doe vertue, my soule, my God. From hence me thinkes I doe conceive how God loves man, what happinesse there is in the love of God. Omitting all other, there are three most mysticall unions; Two natures in one person; three persons in one nature; one soule in two bodies. For though indeed they be really divided, yet are they so united, as they seeme but one, and make rather a duality then two distinct soules.

Sect. 6.

There are wonders in true affection, it is a body of *Enigmaes*, mysteries and riddles; wherein two so become one, as they both become two; I love my friend
be-

before my selfe, and yet me thinkes I do not love him enough; some few months hence my multiplied affection will make me beleieve I have not loved him at all; when I am from him, I am dead till I bee with him, when I am with him, I am not satisfied, but would still be nearer him: united soules are not satisfied with embraces, but desire to be truely each other, which being impossible, their desires are infinite, and must proceed without a possibility of satisfaction. Another misery there is in affection, that whom we truely love like our owne, wee forget their looks, nor can our memory retaine the Idea of their faces; and it is no wonder, for they are our selves, and our affection makes their lookes our owne. This noble affection fals not on vulgar and common constitutions, but on such as are mark'd for vertue; he that can love his friend with this noble ardour, will in a competent degree affect all. Now if wee can bring our affections to looke beyond the body, and cast an eye upon the soule, we have found out the
true

true object, not onely of friendship but charity; and the greatest happinesse that we can bequeath the soule, is that wherein wee all doe place our last felicity, Salvation; which though it be not in our power to bestow, it is in our charity, and pious invocations to desire, if not procure and further. I cannot contentedly frame a prayer for my selfe in particular, without a catalogue for my friends, nor request a happinesse wherein my sociable disposition doth not desire the fellowship of my neighbour. I never heare the Toll of a passing Bell, though in my mirth, without my prayers and best wishes for the departing spirit: I cannot goe to cure the body of my Patient, but I forget my profession, and call unto God for his soule; I cannot see one say his Prayers, but instead of imitating him, I fall into a supplication for him, who perhaps is no more to me then a common nature: and if God hath vouchsafed an eare to my supplications, there are surely many happy that never saw mee, and enjoy the blessing of mine unknowne devotions.

votions. To pray for Enemies, that is, for their salvation, is no harsh precept, but the practice of our daily and ordinary devotions. I cannot beleieve the story of the Italian,^{K112} our bad wishes and uncharitable desires proceed no further than this life; it is the Devill, and the uncharitable votes of Hell, that desire our misery in the world to come.

To doe no injury, nor take none, was a principle, which to my former yeers, and impatient affections, seemed to containe enough of Morality, but my more setled years, and Christian constitution have fallen upon severer resolutions. I can hold there is no such thing as injury, that if there bee, there is no such injury as revenge, and no such revenge as the contempt of an injury; that to hate another, is to maligne himselfe, that the truest way to love another, is to despise our selves. I were unjust unto mine owne conscience, if I should say I am at variance with any thing like my selfe. I finde there are many pieces in this one fabricke of man; this frame is raised
upon

Sect. 7.

upon a masse of Antipathies: I am one mee thinkes, but as the World: wherein notwithstanding there are a swarme of distinct essences, and in them another World of contrarities; wee carry private and domestick enemies within, publick and more hostile adversaries without. The Devill that did but buffet Saint *Paul*, playes mee thinkes at sharpe with mee: Let mee be nothing if within the compasse of my selfe, I doe not find the battell of *Lepanto*, passion against reason, reason against faith, faith against the Devill, and my conscience against all. There is another man within me that's angry with mee, rebukes, commands, and dastards mee. I have no conscience of Marble to resist the hammer of more heavy offences, nor yet so¹ soft and waxen, as to take the impression of each single peccadillo or scape of infirmity: I am of a strange believe, that it is as easie to be forgiven some sinnes, as to commit some others. For my originall sinne, I hold it to be washed away in my Baptisme; for my actuall transgressi-

¹ 1643 and 1645 too corrected errata 1643 so.

gressions, I compute and reckon with God, but from my last repentance, Sacrament or general absolution: and therefore am not terrified with the sinnes or madnesse of my youth. I thanke the goodnesse of God, I have no sinnes that want a name,^{K113} I am not singular in offences, my transgressions are Epidemicall, and from the common breath of our corruption. For there are certaine tempers of body, which matcht with an humorous depravity of mind, doe hatch and produce vitiosities, whose newnesse and monstrosity of nature admits no name; this was the temper of that Lecher that carnald with a Statua,^{K114} and the constitution of *Nero* in his Spintrian recreations.^{K115} For the Heavens are not onely fruitfull in new and unheard of starres, the Earth in plants and animals, but mens minds also in villanie and vices; now the dulnesse of my reason, and the vulgarity of my disposition, never prompted my invention, nor solicited my affection unto any of these; yet even those common and quotidian infirmities that so necessarily attend me, and doe seeme

seeme to bee my very nature, have so dejected me, so broken the estimation that I should have otherwise of my self, that I repute my selfe the most abjectest piece of mortality: Divines prescribe a fit of sorrow to repentance, there goes indignation, anger, sorrow, hatred, into mine, passions of a contrary nature, which neither seeme to sute with this action, nor my proper constitution. It is no breach of charity to our selves to bee at variance with our vices, nor to abhorre that part of us, which is an enemy to the ground of charity, our God; wherein wee doe but imitate our great selves the world, whose divided Antipathies and contrary faces doe yet carry a charitable regard unto the whole by their particular discords, preserving the common harmony, and keeping in fetters those powers, whose rebellions once Masters, might bee the ruine of all.

Sect. 8.

I thanke God, amongst those millions of vices I doe inherit and hold from *Adam*, I have escaped one, and that a mortall enemy to charity, the first and father sin, not onely of man but of the devil,

vil, Pride, a vice whose name is comprehended in a Monosyllable, but in its nature not circumscribed with a world; I have escaped it in a condition that can hardly avoid it: those petty acquisitions & reputed perfections that advance and elevate the conceits of other men, adde no feathers unto mine; I have seene a Grammarian toure, and plume himselfe over a single line in *Horace*, and shew more pride in the construction of one Ode, than the Author in the composure of the whole booke.^{K116} For my owne part, besides the *Jargon* and *Patois* of severall Provinces, I understand no lesse then six Languages, yet I protest I have no higher conceit of my selfe than had our Fathers before the confusion of *Babel*, when there was but one Language in the world, and none to boast himselfe either Linguist or Critick. I have not onely seene severall Countries, beheld the nature of their climes, the Chorography of their provinces, Topography of their Cities, but understood their severall Lawes, Customes and Policies; yet cannot all this perswade the dulnesse of
of

of my spirit unto such an opinion of my¹ self, as I behold in nimbler and conceited heads, that never looked a degree beyond their nests. I know the names, and somewhat more, of all the constellations in my Horizon, yet I have seene a prating Mariner that could onely name the pointers and the North Starre, out-talke mee, and conceit himselfe a whole Spheare above mee. I know most of the Plants of my Country and of those about mee; yet mee thinks I doe not know so many as when I did but know a hundred, and had scarcely ever Simplified further than Cheap-side: for indeed heads of capacity, and such as are not full with a handfull, or easie measure of knowledge, think they know nothing, till they know all, which being impossible, they fall upon the opinion of *Socrates*, and onely know they know not any thing. I cannot thinke that *Homer* pin'd away upon the riddle of the fisherman,^{K117} or that *Aristotle*, who understood the uncertainty of knowledge, and confessed so often the reason of man too weake
for

¹ 1675 *may self*.

for the workes of nature, did ever drowne himselfe upon the flux and reflux of *Euripus*:^{K118} wee doe but learne to day, what our better advanced judgments will unteach to morrow: and *Aristotle* doth but instruct us as *Plato* did him; that is, to confute himselfe.^{K119} I have runne through all sorts, yet finde no rest in any, though our first studies and *junior* endeavours may stile us Peripateticks, Stoicks, or Academicks, yet I perceive the wisest heads prove at last, almost all Scepticks, and stand like *Ianus* in the field of knowledge. I have therefore one¹ common and authentick Philosophy I learned in the Schooles, whereby I discourse and satisfie the reason of other men, another more reserved and drawne from experience, whereby I content mine owne. *Solomon* that complained of ignorance in the height of knowledge, hath not onely humbled my conceits, but discouraged my endeavours. There is yet another conceit that hath sometimes made me shut my bookes, which tels mee it is a vanity to wast our dayes in the
blind

¹ All editions prior to 1672 read *on* .

blind pursuit of knowledge, it is but attending a little longer, and wee shall enjoy that by instinct and infusion, which wee indeavour at¹ here by labour and inquisition: it is better to sit downe in a modest ignorance, and rest contented with the naturall blessing of our owne reasons, then buy the uncertaine knowledge of this life, with sweat and vexation, which death gives every foole gratis, and is an accessory of our glorification.

Sect. 9.

I was never yet once, and commend their resolutions who never marry twice: not that I disallow of second marriage; as neither in all cases of Polygamy, which considering some times and the unequall number of both sexes, may bee also necessary. The whole World was made for man, but the twelfth part of man for woman: Man is the whole world and the breath of God, woman the rib and crooked piece of man. I could be content that we might procreate like trees without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the world without this triviall

¹ 1643–1672 all corrected errata 1643 at.

viall and vulgar way of coition; It is the foolishhest act a wise man¹ commits in all his life,^{K120} nor is there any thing that will more deject his cool'd imagination, when hee shall consider what an odde and unworthy piece of folly hee hath committed; I speake not in prejudice, nor am averse from that sweet sex, but naturally amorous of all that is beautifull; I can looke a whole day with delight upon a handsome picture, though it be but of an Horse. It is my temper and I like it the better, to affect all harmony, and sure there is musick even in the beauty, and the silent note which *Cupid* strikes, farre sweeter than the sound of an instrument. For there is a musicke where ever there is a harmony, order or proportion; and thus far we may maintain the musick of the spheares; for those well ordered motions, and regular paces, though they give no sound unto the eare, yet to the understanding they strike a note most full of harmony. Whatsoever is harmonically composed, delights in harmony; which makes me much distrust the symmetry of those
heads

¹ 1645 *wiseman*

heads which declaime against all Church musick. For my selfe, not on-ly from my obedience, but my particu-lar genius, I doe embrace it; for even that vulgar and Taverne Musick, which makes one man merry, another mad, strikes in me a deepe fit of devotion, and a profound contemplation of the first Composer, there is something in it of Divinity more than the eare discovers: it is an Hieroglyphicall and shadowed les-son of the whole world, and creatures of God, such a melody to the eare, as the whole world well understood, would af-ford the understanding. In briefe, it is a sensible fit of that harmony, which intel-lectually sounds in the eares of God: I will not say with *Plato*, the soule is an harmony, but harmonicall, and hath its nearest sympathy unto musicke: thus some whose temper of body agrees, and humours the constitution of their soules, are borne Poets, though in-
 deed all are naturally inclined unto Rhythme. *This made *Tacitus* in the very first line of his Story, fall upon a verse; and *Cicero* the worst of Poets, but de-

* *Vrbem
 Romam in
 principio
 Reges ha-
 buere*

* declayming for a Poet, falls in the very first sentence upon a perfect * Hexameter. I feele not in me those sordid, and unchristian desires of my profession, I doe not secretly implore and wish for Plagues, rejoyce at Famines, revolve Ephemerides, and Almanacks, in expectation of malignant Aspects, fatall conjunctions, and Eclipses: I rejoyce not at unwholsome springs, nor unseasonable Winters; my prayer goes with the Husbandmans; I desire every thing in its proper season, that neither men nor the times bee out of temper. Let mee be sicke my selfe, if sometimes the malady of my patient bee not a disease unto me, I desire rather to cure his infirmities than my own necessities, where I doe him no good me thinkes it is scarce honest gaine, though I confesse 'tis but the worthy salary of our well-intended endeavours: I am not onely ashamed, but heartily sorry, that besides death, there are diseases incureable, yet not for my owne sake, or that they be beyond my art, but for the generall cause & sake

**Pro Archia Poeta.*

**In qua me non inficior mediocriter esse.*

sake of humanity whose common cause I apprehend as mine own: And to speak more generally, those three Noble professions which all civil Commonwealths doe honour, are raised upon the fall of *Adam*, and are not any exempt from their infirmities; there are not onely diseases incureable in Physick, but cases indissoluble in Lawes, Vices incorrigible in Divinity: if General Councells may erre, I doe not see why particular Courts should be infallible, their perfectest rules are raised upon the erroneous reasons of Man, and the Lawes of one do but condemne the rules of another; as *Aristotle* oft-times the opinions of his predecessors, because, though agreeable to reason, yet were not consonant to his owne rules, and Logick of his proper principles. Againe, to speake nothing of the sinne against the Holy Ghost, whose cure not onely, but whose nature is unknowne; I can cure the gout or stone in some, sooner than Divinity, Pride, or Avarice in others. I can cure vices by Physicke, when they remaine incurable by Divinity, and shall obey my
pils,

pils, when they contemne their precepts. I boast nothing, but plainly say, wee all labour against our owne cure, for death is the cure of all diseases. There is no Catholicon or universall remedy I know but this, which though nauseous to queasie stomachs, yet to prepared appetites is Nectar and a pleasant potion of immortality.

For my conversation, it is like the Sunne's with all men, and with a friendly aspect to good and bad. Me thinkes there is no man bad, and the worst, best; that is, while they are kept within the circle of those qualities, wherein there is¹ good: there is no mans minde of such discordant and jarring a temper to which a tuneable disposition may not strike a harmony. *Magnæ virtutes, nec minora vitia*, it is the posie of the best natures, and may bee inverted on the worst;^{K121} there are in the most depraved and venemous dispositions, certaine pieces that remaine untouched; which by an Antiperistasis become more excellent, or by the excellency of their antipathies are able to
preserve

*Sect. 11.*²

¹ 1643 *they are* . ²1643 and 1645 skip Part 2, Sect. 10 (in numbering; text is continuous)

preserve themselves from the contagion of their enemies¹ vices, and persist intire beyond the generall corruption. For it is also thus in natures. The greatest Balsames doe lie enveloped in the bodies of most powerfull Corrosives; I say moreover, and I ground upon experience, that poysons containe within themselves their own Antidote,^{K122} and that which preserves them from the venome of themselves, without which they were not deleterious to others onely, but to themselves also. But it is the corruption that I feare within me, not the contagion of commerce without mee. 'Tis that unruly regiment within me, that will destroy me, 'tis I that doe infect my selfe, the man without a Navell yet lives in mee;^{K123} I feele that originall canker corrode and devour mee, and therefore *Defenda me Dios de me*, Lord deliver mee from my selfe, is a part of my Letany, and the first voice of my retired imaginations. There is no man alone, because every man is a *Microcosme*, and carries the whole world about him; *Nunquam minus solus quam cum*

¹ 1643 *enemy* would seem a better reading than the 1645-1672 *enemies* .

cum solus, though it bee the Apophthegme of a wise man, is yet true in the mouth of a foole; for indeed, though in a Wildernesse, a man is never, alone, not onely because hee is with himself, and his owne thoughts, but because hee is with the Devill, who ever consorts with our solitude, and is that unruly rebell that musters up those disordered motions, which accompany our sequestred imaginations: And to speake more narrowly, there is no such thing as solitude, nor any thing that can be said to bee alone, and by it selfe, but God who is his owne circle, and can subsist by himselfe, all others besides their dissimilary and Heterogeneous parts which in a manner multiply their natures, cannot subsist without the concourse of God, and the society of that hand which doth uphold their natures. In briefe, there can be nothing truely alone, and by its selfe, which is not truely one, and such is onely God: All others doe transcend an unity, and so by consequence are many.

Now for my life, it is a miracle of
thir-

Sect. 12.

thirty yeares, which to relate, were not a History, but a peece of Poetry, and would sound to common eares like a fable; for the world, I count it not an Inne, but an Hospitall, and a place, not to live, but to die in. The world that I regard is my selfe, it is the Microcosme of mine owne frame, that I cast mine eye on; for the other, I use it but like my Globe, and turne it round sometimes for my recreation. Men that looke upon my outside, perusing only my condition, and fortunes, do erre in my altitude; for I am above *Atlas* his shoulders. The earth is a point not onely in respect of the heavens above us, but of that heavenly and celestiall part within us: that masse of flesh that circumscribes me, limits not my minde: that surface that tells the heavens it hath an end, cannot perswade me I have any; I take my circle to be above three hundred and sixty, though the number of the Arke doe measure my body, it comprehendeth not my minde: whilst I study to find how I am a Microcosme or little world, I finde my selfe something
more

more than the great. There is surely a peece of Divinity in us, something that was before the Elements, and owes no homage unto the Sunne. Nature tels me I am the image of God, as well as Scripture; he that understands not thus much, hath not his introductions or first lesson, and is yet to begin the Alphabet of man. Let me not injure the felicity of others, if I say I am as happy as any, *Ruat coelum, Fiat voluntas tua*, salveth all; so that whatsoever happens, it is but what our daily prayers desire. In briefe, I am content, and what should providence adde more? Surely this is it wee call Happinesse, and this doe I enjoy, with this I am happy in a dreame, and as content to enjoy a happinesse in a fancy, as others in a more apparent truth and reality. There is surely a neerer apprehension of any thing that delights us in our dreames than in our waked senses; without this I were unhappy, for my awaked judgement discontents mee, ever whispering unto me, that I am from my friend, but my friendly dreames in the night requite me

me, and make me thinke I am within his armes. I thanke God for my happy dreames, as I doe for my good rest, for there is a satisfaction in them unto reasonable desires, and such as can be content with a fit of happinesse; and surely it is not a melancholy conceite to thinke we are all asleepe in this world, and that the conceits of this life are as meere dreames to those of the next, as the Phantasmes of the night, to the conceite of the day. There is an equall delusion in both, and the one doth but seeme to bee the embleme or picture of the other; wee are somewhat more than our selves in our sleepes, and the slumber of the body seemes to bee but the waking of the soule. It is the ligation of sense, but the liberty of reason, and our awaking conceptions doe not match the fancies of our sleepes. At my Nativity, my ascendant was the watery¹ signe of *Scorpius*, I was borne in the Planetary houre of *Saturne*, and I think I have a piece of that Leaden planet in mee. I am no way facetious, nor disposed for the mirth and galliardize of com-

¹ 1643–1672 *earthly* corrected errata 1643 *watery* .

company, yet in one dreame I can compose a whole Comedy, behold the action, apprehend the jests and laugh my selfe awake at the conceits thereof; were my memory as faithfull as my reason is then fruitfull, I would never study but in my dreames; and this time also would I chuse for my devotions; but our grosser memories have then so little hold of our abstracted understandings, that they forget the story, and can only relate to our awaked soules, a confused and broken tale of that that hath passed.^{K124}

Aristotle, who hath written a singular tract of sleepe, hath not me thinkes throughly defined it, nor yet *Galen*, though he seeme to have corrected it; for those *Noctambuloes* and night-walkers, though in their sleepe, doe yet enjoy the action of their senses: wee must therefore say that there is something in us that is not in the jurisdiction of *Morpheus*; and that those abstracted and ecstasick soules doe walke about in their owne corps, as spirits with the bodies they assume, wherein they seeme to heare, see, and feele, though indeed the

the Organs are destitute of sense, and their natures of those faculties that should informe them. Thus it is observed that men sometimes upon the houre of their departure, doe speake and reason above themselves. For then the soule begins to be freed from the ligaments of the body, begins to reason like her selfe and to discourse in a straine above mortality.

Sect. 13. We tearme sleep a death, and yet it is waking that kils us, and destroyes those spirits that are the house of life. Tis indeed a part of life that best expreseth death, for every man truely lives so long as hee acts his nature, or some-way makes good the faculties of himselfe: *Themistocles* therefore that slew his Souldier in his sleepe was a mercifull executioner, 'tis a kinde of punishment the mildnesse of no lawes hath invented; I wonder the fancy of *Lucan* and *Seneca* did not discover it.^{K125} It is that death by which wee may be literally said to die daily, a death which *Adam* died before his mortality; a death whereby wee live a middle and moderating point
be-

betweene life and death; in fine, so like death, I dare not trust it without my prayers, and an halfe adiew unto the world, and take my farewell in a Colloquy with God.

*The night is come like to the day,
Depart not thou great God away.
Let not my sinnes, blacke as the night,
Eclipse the lustre of thy light.
Keep still in my Horizon, for to me
The Sun makes not the day, but thee.
Thou whose nature cannot sleep,
On my temples centry keep;
Guard me 'gainst those watchfull foes,
Whose eyes are open while mine close.
Let no dreames my head infest,
But such as Jacobs temples blest.
While I doe rest, my soule advance,
Make my sleepe a holy trance:
That I may, my rest being wrought,
Awake into some holy thought.
And with as active vigour runne
My course, as doth the nimble Sunne.
Sleepe is a death, O make me try,
By sleeping what it is to die.
And as gently lay my head
On my Grave, as now my bed.*

How ere I rest, great God let me

Awake againe at last with thee.

And thus assur'd, behold I lie

Securely, or to wake or die.

These are my drowsie dayes, in vaine

I doe now wake to sleepe againe.

O come that houre, when I shall never

Sleepe againe, but wake for ever!

This is the dormitive I take to bedward, I need no other *Laudanum* than this to make mee sleep; after which I close mine eyes in security, content to take my leave of the Sunne, and sleepe unto the resurrection.

Sect. 14.

The method I should use in distributive justice, I often observe in commutative, and keepe a Geometricall proportion in both, whereby becomming equable to others, I become unjust to my selfe, and supererogate in that common principle, Doe unto others as thou wouldest be done unto thy self. I was not borne unto riches, neither is it I thinke my Starre to be wealthy; or if it were, the freedome of my minde, and franknesse of my disposition, were able to contradict and crosse my fates: for to
me

mee avarice seemes not so much a vice, as a deplorable piece of madnesse; to conceive our selves Vrinals, or be perswaded that wee are dead, is not so ridiculous,^{K126} nor so many degrees beyond the power of Hellebore, as this. The opinions of theory and positions of men are not so void of reason, as their practised conclusion: some have held that Snow is black, that the earth moves, that the soule is ayre, fire, water, but all this is Philosophy, and there is no *delirium*, if wee doe but speculate the folly and indisputable dotage of avarice to that subterraneous Idoll, and God of the Earth. I doe confesse I am an Atheist, I cannot perswade my selfe to honour that the world adores; whatsoever vertue its prepared substance may have within my body, it hath no influence nor operation without; I would not entertaine a base designe, or an action that should call mee villaine, for the Indies, and for this only do I love and honour my own soul: and have me thinkes two armes too few to embrace my selfe.

Aristotle

Aristotle is too severe, that will not allow us to bee truly liberall without wealth,^{K127} and the bountifull hand of fortune; if this be true, I must confesse I am charitable onely in my liberall intentions, and bountifull well-wishes. But if the example of the Mite bee not onely an act of wonder, but an example of the noblest charity, surely poore men may also build Hospitals, and the rich alone have not erected Cathedralls. I have a private method which others observe not, I take the opportunity of my selfe to do good, I borrow occasion of charity from mine owne necessities, and supply the wants of others, when I am in most neede my selfe; for it is an honest stratagem to take advantage of our selves, and so to husband the act of vertue, that where they are defective in one circumstance, they may repay their want, and multiply their goodnesse in an other. I have not *Peru* in my desires, but a competence, and ability to performe those good workes,
to

to which he hath inclined my nature. Hee is rich, who hath enough to be charitable, and it is hard to be so poore, that a noble minde may not finde a way to this piece of goodnesse. *Hee that giveth to the poore lendeth to the Lord*, there is more Rhetorick in that one sentence than in a Library of Sermons; and indeed if those sentences were understood by the Reader, with the same Emphasis as they are delivered by the Author, wee needed not those Volumes of instructions, but might bee honest by an Epitome. Upon this motive onely I cannot behold a Begger without relieving his necessities with my purse, or his soule with my prayers; these scenicall and accidentall differences betweene us, cannot make me forget that common and untoucht part of us both; there is under these *Centoes* and miserable outsides, these mutilate and semi-bodies, a soule of the same alloy with our owne, whose Genealogy is God as well as ours, and in as faire a way to salvation, as our selves. Statists that labour to contrive a Common-wealth without

out poverty, take away the object of charity, not understanding only the Common-wealth of a Christian, but forgetting the prophecy of Christ.

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Now there is another part of charity, which is the Basis and Pillar of this, and that is the love of God, for whom we love our neighbour, for this I think charity, to love God for himselfe, and our neighbour for God. All that is truly amiable is God, or as it were a divided piece of him, that retaines a reflex or shadow of himself. Nor is it strange that we should place affection on that which is invisible, all that we truly love is thus; what we adore under affection of our senses, deserves not the honour of so pure a title. Thus we adore vertue, though to the eyes of sense she be invisible. Thus that part of our noble friends that we love, is not that part that we embrace, but that insensible part that our arms cannot embrace. *God* being all goodnesse, can love nothing but himselfe, hee loves us but for that part, which is as it were himselfe, and the traduction of his
his

his holy Spirit. Let us call to assize the loves of our parents, the affection of our wives and children, and they are all dumb shows and dreams, without reality, truth, or constancy; for first there is a strong bond of affection betweene us and our parents; yet how easily dissolved? We betake our selves to a woman, forgetting our Mother in a wife, and the wombe that bare us in that that shall beare our Image. This woman blessing us with children, our affection leaves the levell it held before, and sinkes from our bed unto our issue and picture of posterity, where affection holds no steady mansion. They, growing up in yeares, desire our ends, or applying themselves to a woman, take a lawfull way to love another better then our selves. Thus I perceive a man may bee buried alive, and behold his grave in his owne issue.

I conclude therefore and say, there is no happinesse under (or as *Copernicus* will have it, above) the Sunne, nor any Crambe in that repeated verity and burthen of all the wisdom of *Solomon*, *All is vanity and vexation of Spirit*; there is no felicity

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felicity in that the world adores. *Aristotle* whilst he labours to refute *Idea's*¹ of *Plato*, falls upon one himself: for his *summum bonum*, is a *Chimæra*, and there is no such thing as his Felicity. That wherein God himselfe is happy, the holy Angels are happy, in whose defect the Devills are unhappy; that dare I call happinesse: whatsoever conduceth unto this, may with an easie Metaphor deserve that name; whatsoever else the World termes happines, is to me a story out of *Pliny*; an apparition or neat delusion, wherein there is no more of happines, than the name. Blesse mee in this life with but peace of my conscience, command of my affections, the love of thy selfe and my dearest friends, & I shall be happy enough to pity *Cæsar*. These are O Lord the humble desires of my most reasonable ambition, and all I dare call happines on earth, wherein I set no rule or limit to thy hand or providence, dispose of me according to the wisdome of thy pleasure. Thy will be done though in my owne undoing. K128

FINIS.

¹ 1643, 1672 *the Idea's* .