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### Montaigne's Essays

In Three Books. With Notes and Quotations. And an Account of The Author's Life ; With a short Character of the Author and Translator, by the late Marquis of Halifax; With the Addition of A Complete Table to each Volume

**Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de**

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Chap. 16. Of Glory.

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not budge. Amongst so many garrison'd Houses, I am the only Person of my Condition, that I know of, who have purely intrusted mine to the Protection of Heaven; without removing either Plate, Deeds, or Hangings. I will neither fear, nor save myself by halves. If a full Acknowledgment can acquire the Divine Favour, it will stay with me to the End: If not, I have, however, continued long enough, to render my Continuance remarkable, and fit to be recorded. How? Why I have lived Thirty Years.



## C H A P. XVI.

*Of Glory.*

**T**Here is the Name and the Thing: The Name is a Voice which denotes and signifies the Thing; the Name is no Part of the Thing, or of the Substance; 'tis a Foreign Piece joyn'd to the Thing; and without it, God, who is all Fulness in himself, and the Height of all Perfection cannot augment or add any Thing to himself within; but his Name may be augmented and increased by the Blessing and Praise we attribute to his Exterior Works. Which Praise, seeing we cannot incorporate it in him, forasmuch as he can have no Accession of Good, we attribute it to his Name; which is the Part out of him that is nearest to us. Thus is it, that to God alone Glory and Honour appertain; and there is nothing so remote from Reason, as that we should go in quest of it for ourselves; for being indigent and necessitous within, our Essence being imperfect, and having Need of Melioration, 'tis to that that we ought to employ all our Endeavours. We are all hollow and empty: 'Tis not with Wind and Voice that we are to fill ourselves; we want a more solid Substance to repair us: A Man starv'd with Hunger, would be very simple to seek rather to provide himself of a gay Garment than a good Meal: We are to look after that whereof we have most Need. As we have it in our ordinary Prayers, *Gloria in excelsis Deo, in terra pax hominibus* \*. *Glory be to God on high, and on Earth*

\* *St. Luke, chap. 2.*



Peace, &c. We are in great Want of *Beauty, Health, Wisdom, Virtue*, and such like Essential Qualities: Exterior Ornaments should be look'd after when we have made Provision for necessary Things. Divinity treats amply and more pertinently of this Subject, but I am not much vers'd in it. *Cbrysippus* and *Diogenes* were the first and the most constant Authors of the Contempt of Glory; and maintain'd, that amongst all Pleasures, there was none more dangerous, nor more to be avoided, than that which proceeds from the Approbation of others. And, in Truth, Experience makes us sensible of many very hurtful Treasons in it. There is nothing that so poisons *Princes* as Flattery, nor any Thing whereby wicked Men more easily obtain Credit and Favour with them: Nor Pandarism so proper and usually made use of to corrupt the Chastity of Women, than to wheedle and entertain them with their own Prayers. The first Charm the *Syrens* made use of to allure *Ulysses* is of this Nature;

*Deca vers nous, deca ò tres louable Ulysse,  
Et le plus grand honeur dont la Greece fleurise\*.*

To us, noble *Ulysses*, this way, this,  
Thou greatest Ornament and Pride of *Greece*.

These Philosophers said, That all the Glory of the World was not worth an understanding Man's holding out his Finger to obtain it;

*Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si Gloria tantum est †?*

What's Glory in the high'st Degree,  
If it no more but Glory be?

I say for it alone: For it often brings several Commodities along with it, for which it may be justly desir'd: It acquires us Good-will, and renders us less subject and exposed to the Injuries of others, and the like. It was also one of the principal Doctrines of *Epicurus*; for this Precept of his Sect, *Conceal thy Life*, that forbids Men to incumber themselves with Offices and publick Negotiations, does also necessarily presuppose a Contempt of Glory, which is the World's Approbation of those Actions we produce in Pub-

\* *Petrarch.*

† *Juven. Sat. 7.*



lick. He that bids us conceal ourselves, and to have no other Concern but for ourselves, and that will not have us known to others, would much less have us honour'd and glorify'd. He advises *Idomeneus* also, not in any sort to regulate his Actions by the common Reputation or Opinion; if not to avoid the other accidental Inconveniences that the Contempt of Men might bring upon him. Those Discourses are, in my Opinion, very true and rational; but we are, I know not how, double in ourselves, which is the Cause that what we believe we do not believe, and cannot disengage ourselves from what we condemn. Let us see the last and dying Words of *Epicurus*; they are great, and worthy of such a *Philosopher*, and yet they carry some Marks of the Recommendation of his Name, and of that Humour he had decry'd by his Precepts. Here is a Letter that he dictated a little before his last Gasp.

*Epicurus to Hermachus, Health.*

**W**Hilst I was passing over the happiest and last Day of my Life, I writ thus; but at the same Time afflicted with such a Pain in my Bladder and Bowels, that nothing can be greater. But it was recompens'd with the Pleasure, the Remembrance of my Inventions and Doctrines suggested to my Soul. Now, as the Affection thou hast ever from thy Infancy borne towards me, and Philosophy does require; take upon thee the Protection of *Metrodorus's* Children.

This is the Letter. And that which makes me interpret, that the Pleasure he says he had in his Soul, concerning his Inventions, has some Reference to the Reputation he hoped for after his Death, is the Manner of his Will. In which he gives Order, That *Aminomachus* and *Timocrates*, his Heirs, should every January defray the Expence for the Celebration of his Nativity, that *Hermachus* should appoint; and also the Expence that should be made the Twentieth of every Moon in entertaining of the Philosophers, his Friends, who should assemble in Honour of the Memory of him and *Metrodorus*. *Carneades* was Head of the contrary Opinion; And maintain'd, that Glory was to be desir'd for itself, even as we embrace our Posthumous for themselves, having no Knowledge or Enjoyment of them. This Opinion was more universally



verfally follow'd, as thofe commonly are that are moft fuitable to our Inclinations. *Aristotle* gives it the firft Place amongst eternal Goods; and avoids, as two extreme Vices, the immoderate either seeking or evading it. I believe, that if we had the Books *Cicero* has writ upon this Subject, we fhould there find the Stories; for he was fo poffeffed with this Paflion, that if he had dar'd, I think he could willingly have fallen into the Excefs that others did, *That Virtue itfelf was not to be coveted, but upon the Account of the Honour that always attends it.*

*Cicero very ambitious of Glory.*

*Paulum sepultæ diftat inertiae  
Celata virtus ——— \**

Virtue, if concealed, doth  
Little differ from dead Sloth.

Which is an Opinion fo falfe, that I am vex'd it could ever enter into the Underftanding of a Man that was honour'd with the Name of a Philofopher. If this was true, Men fhould not be virtuous but in publick, and he fhould be no further concern'd to keep the Operation of the Soul, which is the true Seat of Virtue, regular and in Order, than as they are to arrive at the Knowledge of others. Is there no more in it than but only flily, and with Circumfpection to do ill? If thou knoweft, fays *Carneades*, of a Serpent lurking in a Place, where, without Suspicion, a Perfon is going to fit down, by whose Death thou expecteft an Advantage, thou doft ill, if thou doft not give him Caution of his Danger; and fo much the more, becaufe the Action is to be known by none but thyfelf. If we do not take up ourfelves a Rule of well-doing, if Impunity paffes with us for Juftice, to how many Sorts of Wickednefs fhall we every Day abandon ourfelves? I do not find what *Sp. Peduceus* did, in faithfully reftoring the Treafure that *C. Plotius* had committed to his foie Secrecy and Truft (a Thing that I have often done myfelf) fo commendable, as I fhould think it an execrable Baftenefs had we done otherwife. And think it of good Ufe in our Days to introduce the Example of *P. Sextilius Rufus*, whom *Cicero* accuses to have enter'd upon an Inbe-

\* *Hor. l. 4. Ode 9.*



ritance contrary to his Conscience, not only not against Law, but even by the Determination of the Laws themselves. And M. Crassus and Q. Hortensius, who, by Reason of their Authority and Power, having been call'd in by a Stranger to share in the Succession of a forg'd Will, that so he might secure his own Part; satisfied themselves with having no Hand in the Forgery, and refused not to make their Advantage; and to come in for a Share; secure enough, if they could shroud themselves from Accusations, Witnesses, and the Cognizance of the Laws. *Meminerint Deum se habere testem id est (ut ego arbitror) mentem suam*\*. Let them consider, they have God to witness, that is (as I interpret it) their own Consciences. Virtue is a very vain and frivolous Thing, if it derives its Recommendation from Glory. And 'tis to no Purpose that we endeavour to give it a Station by itself, and separate it from Fortune; for what is more accidental than Reputation? *Profecta Fortuna, in omni re dominatur? Ea res cunctas ex libidine, magis quam ex vero celebrat, obscuratque*†. Fortune rules in all Things, and does advance and depress Things more out of her own Will than Right and Justice. So to order it that Actions may be known and seen, is purely the Work of Fortune; 'tis Chance that helps us to Glory, according to its own Temerity. I have often seen her go along with Merit, and very much exceed it. He that first lik'd Glory to a Shadow, did better than he was aware of. They are both of them Things excellently vain. Glory also, like a Shadow, goes sometimes before the Body, and sometimes in Length infinitely exceeds it. They that instruct Gentlemen only to employ their Valour for the obtaining of Honour, *Quasi non sit honestum, quod nobilitatem non sit*‡. As tho' it were not a Virtue unless ennobled; what do they intend by that, but to instruct them never to hazard themselves if they are not seen, and to observe as well, if there be Witnesses present, who may carry News of their Valour: Whereas a thousand Occasions of well-doing present themselves, when we cannot be taken notice of? How many brave Actions are buried in the Crowd of a Battle? Whoever shall take upon him to censure another's Behaviour in such a Confusion, is not very busy himself;

\* Cicero de Off. l. 3. † Salust. ‡ Cicero de Off. l. 1.



and the Testimony he shall give of his Companion's Departments will be Evidence against himself. *Vera, & sapiens Animi magnitudo honestum illud quod maxime naturam sequitur, in factis positum, non in Gloria judicat.* The true and wise Magnanimity judges, that the Bravery which most follows Nature more consists in Act than Glory. All the Glory that I pretend to derive from my Life, is, that I have liv'd it in quiet. In quiet, not according to *Metrodorus, Arcefilaus, or Aristippus*, but according to myself; for seeing *Philosophy* has not been able to find out any Way to Tranquility that is good in common, let every one seek it in particular. To what do *Cæsar* and *Alexander* owe the infinite Grandeur of their Renown, but to Fortune? How many Men has she extinguish'd in the Beginning of their Progress, of whom we have no Knowledge; who brought as much Courage to the Work as they, if their adverse Hap had not cut them off in the first Sally of their Arms? Amongst so many and so great Dangers, I do not remember I have any where read, that *Cæsar* was ever wounded; a Thousand have fallen in less Dangers than the least of those he went thro'. A great many brave Actions must be expected to be perform'd without Witness, and so lost, before one turn to Account. A Man is not always on the Top of a Breach, or at the Head of an Army in the Sight of his General, as upon a Scaffold. A Man is oft surpriz'd betwixt the Hedge and the Ditch, he must run the Hazard of his Life against a Hen-roost, he must bolt four rascally Musketeers out of a Barn, he must prick out single from his Party, and alone make some Attempts, according as Necessity will have it. And whoever will observe, will, I believe find it experimentally true, that Occasions of the least Lustre are ever the most dangerous: And that in the Wars of our own Times there have more brave Men been lost in Occasions of little Moment, and in the Dispute about some little Paltry Fort, than in Places of greater Importance, and where their Valour, might have been more honourably employ'd. Who thinks his Death unworthy of him, if he do not fall in some Signal Occasions, instead of illustrating his Death, doth wilfully obscure his Life, suffering in the mean Time many very just Occasions of hazarding himself to slip out of his Hands. And every just one is illustrious enough: Every Man's Conscience be-



ing a sufficient Trumpet to him. *Gloria nostra est, Testimonium Conscientiæ nostræ* \*. For our rejoicing is this, the Testimony of our Conscience. Who is only a good Man that Men may know it, and that he may be the better esteem'd when 'tis known; who will not do well, but upon Condition that his Virtue may be known to Men, is one from whom much Service is not to be expected.

*Credo ch' el resto di quel verno, cose  
Faceffe degne di tener ne conto,  
Ma fur fin a quel tempo si nascofe,  
Che non e colpa mia s'hor' nor le conto,  
Porche Orlando a far' opre virtuose  
Piu ch'a narra le poi sempre era pronto,  
Ne mai fu alcun' de li suoi fatti espresso,  
Senon quando hebbei testimonii appresso †.*

The rest o'th' Winter, I presume, was spent  
In Actions worthy of Eternal Fame;  
Which at the End was so in Darknes pent,  
'That if I name them not, I'm not to blame:  
Orlando's noble Mind being more bent  
To do great Acts, than boast him of the same:  
So that no Deeds of his were ever known,  
But those that luckily had Lookers on.

A Man must go to the War upon the Account of Duty, and expect the Recompence that never fails brave and worthy Actions, how private and conceal'd soever, not so much as Virtuous Thoughts; 'tis the Satisfaction that a well-disposed Conscience receives in itself, to do well. A Man must be valiant for himself, and upon the Account of the Advantage it is to him, to have his Courage seated in a firm and secure Place against the Assaults of Fortune.

*Virtus repulsæ nescia sordidæ,  
Intaminatis fulget honoribus,  
Nec sumit, aut ponit secures  
Arbitrio popularis auræ.*

Virtue, that ne'er Repulse admits,  
In taintless Honours glorious sits,

\* *Corin.* 2, *Chap.* i, *Ver.* 12. † *Orlando.* *Canto* 11.  
No



Nor takes, or leaveth Dignities  
Rais'd with the Noise of vulgar Cries.

It is not forward Shew that the Soul is to play its Part, but for ourselves within, where no Eyes can pierce but our own; there she defends us from the Fear of Death, of Pains and Shame itself: she there arms us against the Loss of our Children, Friends and Fortunes: And when Opportunity presents itself, she leads us on to the Hazards of War. *Non emolumento aliquo, sed ipsius honestatis decore* \*. Not for any Profit or Advantage, but for the Decency of Virtue. A much greater Advantage, and more worthy to be coveted and hop'd for than Honour and Glory; which is no other than the favourable Judgment is given of us. A Dozen Men must be cull'd out of a whole Nation to judge of an Acre of Land, and the Judgment of our Inclinations and Actions, the hardest and most important Thing that is, we refer to the Voice and Determinations of the Rabble, the Mother of Ignorance, Injustice, and Inconstancy. Is it reasonable that the Life of a wise Man should depend upon the Judgment of Fools? *An quidquam stultius, quam quos singulos contemnas, eos aliquid putare esse universos †?* Can any Thing be more foolish than to think, that those you despise single can be any other when join'd together? He that makes it his business to please them, will have enough to do, and never have done; 'tis a Mark that never is to be reach'd or hit. *Nil tam inestimabile est, quam animi multitudinis.* Nothing is to be so little esteem'd as the Minds of the Multitude. Demetrius pleasantly said of the Voice of the People, That he made no more Account of that which came from above, than of that which fum'd from below. Cicero says more, *Ego hoc judicio, si quando turpe non sit, tamen non esse non turpe, quum id à multitudine laudatur ‡.* I am of Opinion, that tho' a Thing be not foul in itself, yet it cannot but become so when commended by the Multitude. No Art, no Activity of Wit could conduct our Steps so as to follow so wandering and so irregular a Guide. In this windy Confusion of the Noise of vulgar Reports and Opinions that drive us on, no Way

Honour,  
what it is.

\* Cicero.

† Elian. Varro.

‡ Cicero de Fin.

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worth



worth any Thing can be chosen. Let us not purpose to ourselves so floating and wavering an End; let us follow constantly after Reason, let the publick Approbation follow us there, if it will, and it wholly depending upon Fortune, we have no Reason sooner to expect it by any other Way than that. Tho' I would not follow the right Way because it is right, I should, however, follow it for having experimentally found, that at the End of the Reckoning 'tis commonly the most happy, and of greatest Utility. *Dedit hoc providentia hominis manus, ut honesta magis jurent.* This Gift Providence has given to Man, that honest Things should be the most delightful. The Mariner said thus to Neptune, O God, thou may'st save me if thou wilt, and if thou wilt thou may'st destroy me; but however I will steer my Rudder true. I have seen in my Time a Thousand Men of easy and ambiguous Natures, and that no one doubted but they were more worldly wise than I, throw themselves away, where I have sav'd one.

*Risi successus posse carere dolos \*.*

I have laugh'd, I must confess,  
To see Cunning want Success.

*Paulus Æmilius*, going in the glorious Expedition of *Macedonia*, above all Things charg'd the People of *Rome*, not to speak of his Actions during his Absence. O, the Licence of Judgments is a great Disturbance to great Affairs! Forasmuch as every one has not the Constancy of *Fabius* against common, adverse and injurious Ways: Who rather suffer'd his Authority to be dissented by the vain Fancies of Man, than to go less in his Charge with a favourable Reputation and popular Applause. There is, I know not what natural Sweetness in hearing a Man's Self commended; but we are a great deal too fond of it.

*Laudari hand metuum, neque enim mihi cornea fibra est;  
Sed recti finemque extremumque esse recusō  
Euge tuum, & belle ——— †.*

I love to be commended, I confess,  
My Heart is not of Horn, but ne'ertheless,

\* *Ovid.. Ep. Penult.*

† *Persius Sat. 1.*  
I must



I must deny the only End and Aim  
Of doing well, is to hear Man exclaim,  
O worthy Man! O noble Act!

I care not so much what I am in the Opinion of others, as what I am in my own. I would be rich of myself, and not by borrowing. Strangers see nothing but Events and outward Appearances; every body can set a good Face on the Matter, when they have Trembling and Terror within. They do not see my Heart, they see but by my Countenance. 'Tis with good Reason that Men decry the Hypocrisy that is in War; for what is more easy to an old Soldier, than to shift in a Time of Danger, and to counterfeit the Brave, when he has no more Heart than a Chicken? There are so many Ways to avoid hazarding a Man's own Person, that we have deceiv'd the World a Thousand times before we come to be engag'd in a real Danger: And even then, finding ourselves in an inevitable Necessity of doing something, we can make shift for that Time to conceal our Apprehensions with setting a good Face on the Business, tho' the Hearts beat within; and whoever had the Use of the *Platonick Ring*, which renders those invisible that wear it, if turn'd inward towards the Palm of the Hand; a great many would very often hide themselves when they ought most to appear; and would repent being plac'd in so honourable a Post, where Necessity must make them brave.

*Falsus honor juvat, & mendax infamia terret,  
Quem nisi mendosum, & mendacem\*?*

False Honour pleases, and false Infamy  
Affrights, whom? Those that love to hear a Lye.

Thus we see how all the Judgments that are founded upon external Appearances, are marvellously incertain and doubtful; and that there is no certain Testimony as every one is to himself. In these other, how many *Pedees* are made Companions of our Glory? He that stands firm in an open Trench, what does he in that do more than Fifty poor *Pioneers*, who open him the Way, and cover it with their own Bodies for Five Pence a Day Pay, have done before him?

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\* *Hor. l. 1. Epist. 16.*



— non quicquid turbida Roma  
 Eleuet, accedas, examenque improbum in illa  
 Castiges trutina, nec te quaesiveris extra \*.

Don't follow turbid Rome's blind senseless Ways  
 Of loading ev'ry Thing is done with Praise;  
 Of that false Balance trust not to the Test,  
 And out of thee make of thyself no Quest.

The dispersing and scattering our Names into many Mouths, we call making them more great; we will have them there well receiv'd, and that this Increase turn to their Advantage, which is all that can be excusable in this Design; but the Excess of this Disease proceeds so far, that many covet to have a Name, be it what it will. *Trogon Pompeius* says of *Herostratus*, and *Titus Livius* of *Manlius Capitolinus*, that they were more ambitious of a great Reputation than a good one. This Vice is very common. We are more solicitous that Men speak of us, than how they speak; and 'tis enough for us, that our Names are often mention'd, be it after what Manner it will. It should seem, that to be known, is in some sort to have a Man's Life and its Duration in another's keeping. I for my Part hold, that I am not but in myself, and of that other Life of mine which lies in the Knowledge of my Friends, to consider it naked and simply in itself, I know very well, that I am sensible of no Fruit nor Enjoyment, but by the Vanity of a fantastick Opinion; and when I shall be dead, I shall be much less sensible of it; and shall withall absolutely lose the Use of those real Advantages that sometimes accidentally follow it; I shall have no more handle whereby to take hold of Reputation: Neither shall it have any whereby to take hold of, or to cleave to me. For, to expect that my Name should be advanc'd by it, in the first Place, I have no Name that is enough my own; of two that I have, one is common to all my Race, and even to others also. There are two Families at *Paris* and *Montpellier*, whose Sirname is *Montaigne*; another in *Brittany*, and another *Montaigne* in *Xanten*. The Transposition of one Syllable only is enough to ravel our Affairs, so that I shall, peradventure, share in their

\* *Persius Sat. I.*

Glory,



Glory, and they shall partake of my Shame; and moreover, my Ancestors have formerly been surnam'd *Eyquem*, a Name wherein a Family well known in *England* is at this Day concern'd. As to my other Name, every one may take it that will. And so, perhaps, I may honour a Porter in my own stead. And besides, tho' I had a particular Distinction by myself, what can it distinguish when I am no more? Can it point out and favour Inanity?

— *nunc levior cippus non imprimit ossa,  
Laudat posteritas, nunc non è manibus illis,  
Nunc non è tumulo fortunataque favilla  
Nascuntur violæ* \* ? —

Will a less Tomb, compos'd of smaller Stones,  
Press with less Weight upon the under Bones?  
Posterity may praise them, why, what tho' ?  
Can yet their *Manes* such a Gift bestow,  
As to make Violets from their Ashes grow?

But of this I have spoken elsewhere. As to what remains, in a great Battle where Ten Thousand Men are maim'd or kill'd, there are not Fifteen that are taken notice of. It must be some very eminent Greatness, or some Consequence of great Importance, that Fortune has added to it, that must signalize a private Action, not of a Harquebussier only, but of a great Captain; for to kill a Man or two, or Ten, to expose a Man's Self bravely to the utmost Peril of Death, is, indeed, something in every one of us, because we there hazard all; but for the World's Concern, they are Things so ordinary, and so many of them are every Day seen, and there must of Necessity be so many of the same Kind to produce any notable Effect, that we cannot expect any particular Renown.

— *casus multis hic cognitus, ac jam  
Tritus, & è medio fortunæ ductus acervo* †.

The Action once was fam'd, but now worn old,  
With common Acts of Fortune is enroll'd.

Of so many Thousands of valiant Men that have died within these fifteen Years in *France*, with their Swords in

\* *Persius Sat. 1.* † *Juven. Sat. 13.*

their



their Hands, not a Hundred have come to our Knowledge. The Memory, not of *Commanders* only, but of Battles and Victories is buried and gone. The Fortunes of above half of the World, for want of a Record, stir not from their Place, and vanish without Duration. If I had unknown Events in my Possession, I should think with great Ease to out-do ~~those~~ that are recorded in all sorts of Examples. Is it not strange, that even of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, amongst so many Writers and Witnesses, and so many rare and noble Exploits, so few are arriv'd at our Knowledge?

*Ad nos vix tenuis famæ perlabitur aura* \*.

It will be much if a Hundred Years hence it be remembered in gross, that in our Times there were *Civil Wars* in *France*.

*The Muses sacrificed unto by the Lacedæmonians, and why.*

The *Lacedæmonians* entering into Battle, sacrificed to the *Muses*, to the End that their Actions might be well and worthily writ; looking upon it as a Divine, and no ordinary Favour, that brave Acts should find Witnesses that could give them Life and

Memory. Do we expect, that at every Musket Shot we receive, and at every Hazard we run, there must be a *Register* ready to record them? And besides, a Hundred *Registers* may enrol them, whose *Commentaries* will not last above three Days, and they shall never come to the Sight of any one. We have not the Thousandth Part of ancient Writings: 'Tis Fortune that gives them a shorter or longer Life, according to her Favour; and 'tis lawful to doubt, whether those we have be not the worst, having not seen the rest. Men do not write Histories of Things of so little Moment: A Man must have been *General* in the Conquest of an *Empire*, he must have won Two and Fifty set Battles, and always the weaker in Number, as *Cæsar* did. Ten Thousand brave Fellows, and several great *Captains* lost their Lives bravely in his Service, whose Names lasted no longer than their Wives and Children liv'd:

*Quos fama obscura recondit* †.

Even those we see behave themselves the best; three Months or three Years after they have been knock'd on the Head,

\* *Æneid*. l. 7.

† *Ibid*. l. 5.

they



they are no more spoken of than if they had never been. Whoever will justly consider, and with due Proportion, of what Kind of Men, and of what Sort of Actions Glory supports itself in the Records of History, will find, that there are very few Actions, and very few Persons of our Times who can there pretend any Right. How many worthy Men have we seen survive their own Reputation, who have seen and suffer'd the Honour and Glory, most justly acquir'd in their Youth, extinguish'd in their own Presence? And for three Years of this fantastick and imaginary Life, we must go and throw away our true and essential Life, and engage ourselves in a perpetual Death? The *Sages* propose to themselves a nobler and more just End in so important an Enterprize. *Recte facti, fecisse merces est: Officii fructus ipsum Officium est* \*. The Reward of a Thing well done is to have done it: The Fruit of a good Office is the Office itself. It were, perhaps, excusable in a *Painter* or any other *Artizan*, or yet in a *Rhetorician*, or a *Grammarian*, to endeavour to raise themselves a Name by their Works; but the Actions of Virtue are too noble in themselves, to seek any other Reward than from their own Value, and especially to seek it in the Vanity of Human Judgments. If this false Opinion nevertheless be of that Use to the Publick, as to keep Men in their Duty; if the People are thereby stirr'd up to Virtue; if *Princes* are touch'd to see the World bless the Memory of *Trajan*, and abominate that of *Nero*; if it moves them to see the Name of that great Beast, once so terrible, and fear'd by every School-boy, so freely cursed and reviled; let it, in the Name of *God*, increase, and be as much as possibly nursed up, cherished, and countenanced amongst us. And *Plato*, bending his whole Endeavour to make his Citizens virtuous, does also advise them *not to despise the good Esteem of the People*; and says, *that it falls out by a certain Divine Inspiration, that even the Wicked themselves oft-times, as well by Word as Opinion, can rightly distinguish the Virtuous from the Wicked*. This Person and his Tutor are both marvellous bold Artificers, every where to add Divine Operations and Revelations where human Force is wanting. And perhaps for this Reason it was, that *Timon*,

\* *Seneca.*



railing at him, call'd him *the Great Forger of Miracles*. *Ut tragici Poetæ confugiunt ad Deum, cum explicare argumenti exitum non possunt* \*. As Tragick Poets fly to some God, when they cannot explain the Issue of their Argument. Seeing that Men by their Insufficiency cannot pay themselves well enough with current Money, let the Counterfeit be superadded. 'Tis a Way that has been practised by all the *Legislators*; and there is no Government that has not some Mixture either of Ceremonial Vanity, or of false Opinion, that serves for a Curb to keep the People in their Duty. 'Tis for this that most of them have their fabulous Originals and Beginnings, and so enrich'd with supernatural Mysteries. 'Tis this that has given Credit to Bastard Religions, and caused them to be countenanced by Men of Understanding; and for this that *Numa* and *Sertorius*, to possess their Men of a better Opinion of them, fed them with this Poppery; one, that the Nymph *Egeria*, the other, that his white *Hind* brought them all their Resolutions from the Gods. And the Authority that *Numa* gave to his Laws under the Title of a Patronage of this Goddess; *Zoroaster*, Legislator of the *Bactrians* and *Persians*, gave to his under the Name of *Oromaxis*; *Trismegistus*, Legislator of the *Egyptians*, under that of *Mercury*; *Xanboxis*, Legislator of the *Scythians*, under that of *Vesta*; *Charondas*, Legislator of the *Chalcedonians*, under that of *Saturn*; *Minos*, Legislator of the *Cretans*, under that of *Jupiter*; *Lycurgus*, Legislator of the *Lacedæmonians*, under that of *Apollo*; And *Draco* and *Solon*, Legislators of the *Athenians*, under that of *Minerva*. And every Government has a God at the Head of it; others falsely, That truly which *Moses* set over the *Jeaus* at their Departure out of *Egypt*. The Religion of the *Bedouins*, as the *Sire de Joinville* reports, amongst other Things, enjoyn'd a Belief that the Soul of him amongst them who died for his Prince, went into another more happy Body, more beautiful and more robust than the former; by which Means they much more willingly ventur'd their Lives.

*In ferrum mens prono viris, animæque capaces  
Mortis, & ignavum est reditura parcere vitæ* †.

\* *Cicero de Nat. Deor.*

† *Lucan. lib. 1.*

Men



Men covet Wounds, and strive Death to embrace,  
To save a Life, that to return is base.

This is a very comfortable, however, an erroneous Belief. Every Nation has many such Examples of its own: But this Subject would require a Treatise by itself. To add one Word more to my former Discourse, I would advise the Ladies no more to call that *Honour* which is but their Duty, *Ut enim consuetudo loquitur, id solum dicitur honestum, quod est populari fama gloriosum*\*: According to the vulgar Chat, which only approves that for laudable that is glorious by the Publick Voice; their Duty is the Mark, their Honour but the outward Rind. Neither would I advise them to give that excuse for Payment of their Denial: For I presuppose that their Intentions, their Desire and Will, which are Things wherein their Honour is not at all concern'd, forasmuch as nothing appears without, are much better regulated than the Effects.

*Quæ quia non liceat, non facit, illa facit* †.

She who not sins, 'cause it unlawful is,  
In being therefore chaste has done amiss.

The Offence both towards God and in the Conscience, would be as great to desire, as to do it. And besides, they are Actions so private and secret of themselves, as would be easily enough kept from the Knowledge of others wherein the Honour consists; if they had not another respect to their Duty, and the Affection they bear to Chastity for itself. Every Woman of Honour will much rather choose to lose her Honour, than to hurt her Conscience.

\* Cicero de fin. lib. 2. † Ovid. Amor. l. 3. El. 4.