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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

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Chap. X. Of managing the Will.

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was a Paradoxical Command anciently given us by the God of Delphos, Look into your felf, discover your felf, keep close to your felf; call back your Mind and Will, that elsewhere consume themselves, into your self; you run out, you spill your self, carry a more steady Hand: Men betray you, Men spill you, Men steal you from your self. Dost not thou fee that this World we live in keeps all it's Sights confined within, and it's Eyes open to contemplate it felf? 'Tis always Vanity for thee, both within and without, but 'tis less Vanity when less extended. Excepting thee, (O Man) faid that God, every Thing studies it felf first, and has Bounds to it's Labours and Defires, according to it's need. There is nothing fo empty and necessitous as thou who embracest the Universe, thou art the Explorator without Knowledge, the Magistrate without Jurisdiction; and after all, the Fool in the Play.



CHAP. X.

Of managing the Will.

affect other Men, move, or to fay better, possess me: For 'tis but Reason they should concern a Man, provided they have not taken Possession of him. I am very solicitous, both by Study and Argument, to enlarge this Privilege of Insensibility, which is naturally raised to a pretty high Degree in me; so that consequently I espouse, or am very much mov'd with very few Things. I am clear sighted enough; but I six upon very sew Objects; have a Sense delicate and tender enough, but an Apprehension and Application stubborn and negligent; I am very unwilling to engage my self. As much as in me lies, I employ my self wholly for my self; and in this very Subject, should rather chuse to curb and restrain my Affection from plunging it self

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over Head and Ears into it, it being a Subject that I poffess at the Mercy of others, and over which Fortune, has more Right than I. So that even so much as to Health, which I fo much value, it were necessary for me, not so passionately to covet and defire it, as to find Diseases insupportable. A Man ought to moderate himfelf betwixt the Hatred of Pain, and Love of Pleafure. And Plato fets down a middle Path of Life betwixt both. But against such Affections as wholly carry me away from my felf, and fix me elfewhere, against those, I fay, I oppose my self with my utmost Force and Power. 'Tis my Opinion, that a Man should lend himself to others, and only give himself to himself. Were my Will eafy to lend it felf out, and to be fway'd, I should not flick there: I am too tender, both by Nature and Cuffor, He with bee a neithbling modified

Fugax rerum, securaque in otia natus ...

Born and bred up in Negligence and Ease.

for hot and obstinate Disputes wherein my Adversary would at least have the better. The Issue that would render my Heat and Obstinacy disgraceful, would perhaps vex me to the last degree. Should I set my self to it at the rate that others do, who purfue and grafp at so much, my Soul would never have the Force to bear the Emotions and Alarms; it would immediately be disorder'd by this inward Agitation. If sometimes I have been put upon the Management of other Mens Affairs, I have promifed to take them in Hand, but not into my Lungs and Liver; to take them upon me, not to incorporate them: To take Pains for, but not to be passionate in them: I have a care of them, but I will not brood upon them; I have enough to do to order and govern the domestick Tumults that I have in my own Veins and Bowels, without introducing a Crowd of other Mens Affairs; and am fufficiently concerned about my own proper and natural Bufiness, without medling with the Concerns of others. Such as know how much

* Ovid. de Trift. 1. 3. Eleg. 2.

they

they owe to themselves, and how many Offices they are bound to of their own, find, that Nature has cut them out Work enough of their own to keep them from being idle. Thou hast Business enough at Home, look to that. Men let themfelves out to hire, their Faculties are not for themselves, but to be employed for those to whom they have inflayed themselves; this common Humour pleases not me. We must be thrifty of the Liberty of our Souls, and never let them out but upon just Occasions, which are very few, if we judge aright. Do but observe such as have accustomed themselves to be at every one's Call, they do it indifferently upon all, as well little as great Occasions; in that which nothing concerns them, as much as in what imports them most: They intrude themselves indifferently wherever there is Business, and are without Life, when not in the Buftle of Affairs. In negotiis funt negotii causa * They only seek Business for Business sake. It is not so much that they will go, as it is that they cannot stand still: Like a rolling Stone that cannot stop till it can go no farther. Business, in a certain Sort of Men, is a Mark of Understanding, and they are honoured for it. Their Souls feek repose in Agitation, as Children do by being rocked in a Cradle. They may pronounce themselves as serviceable to their Friends, as troublesom to themselves. No one distributes his Money to others, but every one therein distributes his Time and his Life. There is nothing of which we are so prodigal, as of these two Things, of which to be thrifty, would be both commendable and useful. I am of a quite contrary Humour, I look to myself, and commonly covet with no great Ardour what I do defire, and defire little, employ and bufy my felf but rarely and temperately, at the same rate. Whatever they take in Hand they do it with their utmost Power and Vehemency. There are therein so many dangerous Steps, that for the more Safety, we must a little lightly and superficially slide through the World, and not rush thro' it. Pleasure it self is painful at the Bottom.

* Sineca, Epist. 22.

-incedi

-incedis per ignes Suppositos cineri doloso *.

Thou upon glowing Coals dost tread, Under deceitful Ashes hid.

The Parliament of Bourdeaux chose me Mayor of their City, at a Time when I was at a great Distance from France, and much more remote from any such Thought; I intreated to be excused, and refused it. But I was told by my Friends, that I had committed an Error in fo doing; and the greater, because the King had moreover interposed his Command in that Affair. 'Tis an Office that ought to be looked upon fo much more honourable. as it has no other Salary nor Advantage than the bare Honour of it's Execution! It continues two Years, but may be extended by a fecond Election, which very rarely happens: It was to me, and had never been so but twice before; some Years ago to Monsieur le Lansac, and lately to Monsieur de Biron, Mareschal of France, in whose Place I succeeded, and lest mine to Monsseur de Matignon, Mareschal of France also. Proud of so noble a Fraternity.

Uterque bonus pacis bellique minister +.

Both of them Men of worthy Character. For able Ministers in Peace and War.

Fortune would have a Hand in my Promotion, by this particular Circumstance, which she put in of her own, not altogether vain; for Alexander disdain'd the Ambasfadors of Corinth, who came to make him a Tender of a Burgess-ship of their City; but when they proceeded to lay before him, that Bacehus and Hercules were also in the Register, he thankfully accepted the Offer. At my Arrival, I faithfully and confcientiously represented myfelf to them for fuch as I find myfelf to be; a Man without Memory, without Vigilancy, without Experience, and without Vigour; but withal, without Hatred, with-

^{*} Hor. lib. 2. Ode 2. + Aneid. lib. 10.

out Ambition, without Avarice, and without Violence. that they might be informed of my Qualities, and know what they were to expect from my Service. And being that the Knowledge they had had of my Father, and the Honour they had for his Memory, had been the only Motives to confer this Favour upon me, I plainly told them, that I should be very forry any thing should make so great an Impression upon me as their Affairs, and the Concerns of their City had done upon him, whilst he had the fame Government to which they had prefer'd me. I very well remember, from a Boy, to have feen him in his Old Age, tormented with, and folicitous about the Publick Affairs, neglecting the foft Repose of his own House, to which the Declension of his Age had reduced him for feveral Years before; the Management of his own Affairs, and his Health, and certainly defpifing his own Life, which was in great Danger of being loft, by being engag'd in long and painful Journies on their Behalf. Such was he, and this Humour of his proceeded from a marvellous good Nature. Never was there a more charitable and popular Man. Yet this Proceeding which I commend in others, I do not love to follow myfelf, and am not without Excuse. He had learnt that a Man must forget himself for his Neighbour. and that Particulars were in no manner of Confideration in comparison with the general Concern. Most of the Rules and Precepts of this World run this way, to drive us out of ourselves into the wide World for the Benefit of a publick Society. They thought to do a great feat, to divert us from ourselves, presuming we were but too much fixed at home, and by a too natural Inclination. and have faid all they could to that purpole: for 'tis no new thing for wife Men to preach things as they ferve. not as they are. Truth has it's Obstructions, Inconveniences, and Incompatibilities with us. We must be often deceived, that we may not deceive ourselves; shut our Eyes, and stupify our Understandings to redress and amend them. Imperiti enim judicant, & qui frequenter in boc ipsum fallendi sunt, ne errent; for the ignorant judge, and therefore are oft to be deceived left they should err. When they prescribe us to love three, four, and fifty Degrees of things above ourselves, they do like Archers.

who to hit the Mark, take their Aim a great deal higher than the Butt. To fet a crooked Stick strait, we bend it the contrary way. I believe that in the Temple of Pallas, as we fee in all other Religions, there were apparent Mifteries to be exposed to the People, and others more fecret and high, that were only to be shewn to such as were professed. 'Tis likely that in these, the true Point of Friendship that every one owes to himself is to be found; not a false Friendship, that makes us embrace Glory, Knowledge, Riches, and the like, with a principal and immoderate Affection, as Members of our Being, nor an indiscreet and effeminate Friendship, wherein it happens as with Ivy, that decays and ruins the Walls it embraces: but a found and regular Friendship, equally useful and pleasant. Who knows the Duties of this Friendship, and practises them, is truly of the Cabinet Council of the Muses, and has attained to the Heighth of human Wisdom, and our Happiness. Such a one exactly knowing what he owes to himself, will in his part find that he ought to apply the Custom of the World, and of other Men to himself, and to do this, to contribute the Duties and Offices appertaining to him to the publick Society. Who does not in some fort live to others, does not live much to himself. Qui sibi amius of, scito bunc amicum omnibus esse *; He who is his own Friend, is a Friend to every Body elfer. The principal Charge we have, is, to every one his own Conduct: And 'tis for this only that we here live. As he who should forget to live a virtuous and holy Life, and should think he acquitted himself of his Duty, in instructing and training others up to it, would be a Fool; even fo, who abandons his own particular healthful and pleafant Living to ferve others, takes, in my Opinion, a wrong and an unnatural Course. I would not that Men should refuse, in the Employments they take upon them, their Attention, Pains, their best Eloquence, and their Sweat and Blood, in time of need;

> non ille pro charis amicis Aut patrià timidus perire +.

* Seu. Epist. 48. + Hor. lib. 4. Ode 9.

He

He well knows how hard Want to bear, And fears a Crime more than his End; And for his Country or his Friend, To stake his Life he does not fear *.

But 'tis only borrowed, and accidentally; his Mind being always in Repose and in Health; not without Action, but without Vexation, without Passion. To be fimply doing, costs him so little, that he acts even sleeping. But it must be set on going with Discretion; for the Body receives the Offices imposed upon it, just according to what they are; the Mind often extends, and makes them heavier at his own Expence, giving them what Meafure it pleases. Men perform like things with feveral forts of Endeavour, and different Contention of Wit; the one does well enough without the other. For how many People hazard themselves every Day in War, without any Concern which way it goes, and thrusts themselves into the Dangers of Battles, the Loss of which will not break their next Night's Sleep? And fuch a Man may be at home, out of Danger, which he durft not have looked upon, who is more passionately concern'd for the Issue of this War, and whose Soul is more anxious about Events, than the Soldier who stakes his Life and Blood in the Quarrel. I could have engaged myself in publick Employments, without quitting my own Interest a Nail's Breadth, and have given myself to others, without abandoning myfelf; this Sharpness and Violence of Defires, more hinders than it advances the Execution of what we undertake: fills us with Impatience against slow or contrary Events, and with Heat and Suspicion against those with whom we have to do. We never carry on that thing well, by which we are prepofleffed and led.

> Male cuneta ministrat Impetus.

For Heat does still Carry on things very ill.

* Sir Richard Fanshaw.

He,

He, who therein employs only his Judgment and Address, proceeds more chearfully: He counterfeits, he gives way, he defers all Things at his ease, according to the Necessities of Occasions; he fails in his Attempts without Trouble and Assistances, ready and entire for a new Enterprize: He always marches with the Bridle in his Hand. In him who is drunk with this violent and tyrannick Intention, we discover by Necessity much Imprudence and Injustice. The Impetuosity of his Desire carries him away. These are rash Motions, and, if For-

That the Chaftifement of Offences ought to be performed without Anger. tune does not very much affift, of very little Fruit. Philosophy will, that in the Revenge of Injuries received, we should strip ourselves of Choler; not that the Chastisement should be less, but, on the contrary, that the Revenge

may be the better, and more heavily laid on, which it conceives will be by this Impetuofity hindered. For Anger does not only trouble, but of itself does also weary the Arms of those who chastise. This Fire benumbs and wastes their Force. As in Precipitation, festination tarda est*, haste trips up it's own Heels, fetters and stops itself, ipsa se velocitas implicat +. For Example: According to what I commonly fee, Avarice has no greater Impediment than itself. The more bent and vigorous it is, the less it rakes together, and commonly sooner grows rich, when disguised in a Vizor of Liberality. A very honest Gentleman, and a particular Friend of mine, had like to have crack'd his Brains by a too passionate Attention and Affection to the Affairs of a certain Prince, his Master; which Master has thus set himself out to me; that he foresees the Weight of Accidents, as well as another; but that in those, for which there is no Remedy, he prefently refolves upon Suffering: In others, having taken all the necessary Precaution, which by the Vivacity of his Understanding he can presently do, he quietly expects what may follow. And, in truth, I have accordingly feen him maintain a great Indifferency and Liberty of Actions, and Serenity of Countenance, in very great and nice Affairs. I find him much greater, and

* Proverb.

+ Seneca Epist. 44.

of

of greater Capacity in adverse than prosperous Fortune. His Losses are to him more glorious than his Victories, and his Mourning than his Triumph. Do but confider, that even in vain and frivolous Actions, as at Chefs, Tennis, and the like, this eager and ardent engaging with an impetuous Defire, immediately throws the Mind and Members into Indifcretion and Disorder. A Man aftonishes and hinders himself. He that carries himself the most moderately both towards Gain and Loss, has always his Wits about him. The less peevish and passionate he is at Play, he plays much more advantageously and furely. As to the rest, we hinder the Mind's Seizure and Hold, in giving it so many things to seize upon-Some things we are only to offer to it, to tie it to others, and with others to incorporate it. It can feel and discern all things, but ought to feed on nothing but felf; and should be instructed in what properly concerns itself, that is properly of it's own Nature and Substance: The Laws of Nature teach us what we are justly to have. After the Sages have told us, that no one is indigent according to Nature; and that every one is so according to Opinion, they very fubtilly diffinguish betwixt the Defires that proceed from her, and those that proceed from the Disorder of our own Fancy. Those of which we can see the End, are hers; those that fly before us, and of which we can see no End, are our own. The Want of Goods is eafily repair'd; but the Poverty of the Soul is irreparable.

Nam si, quod satis est homini, id satis esse potesset, Hoc sat erat: nunc, quum hoc non est, qui credimus porro Divitias ullas animum mi explere potesse *?

If what's for Man enough, enough could be, It were enough; but being that we fee Will not ferve turn, how I can e'er believe That any Wealth my Mind Content can give?

Socrates seeing great Quantity of Riches, Jewels, and Furniture of great Value, carried in Pomp through the City,

* Lucilius, lib. 5. apud Nonnium.
Vol. III. S

How

How many things, faid he, do I not defire! Metrodorus liv'd on the Weight of twelve Ounces a Day, Epicurus upon less: Metrocles slept in Winter abroad amongst Sheep, in Summer in the Cloisters of Churches. Sufficit ad id natura quod poscit *. Cleanthes liv'd by Labour of his own Hands, and boasted, That Cleanthes, if he would, could yet maintain another Cleanthes. If that which Nature exactly and originally requires of us for the Conservation of our Being, be too little, (as in truth what it is, and how very cheap Life may be maintain'd. cannot be better made out, than by this Confideration, that it is so little, that by it's Littleness it escapes the Gripe and Shock of Fortune) let us dispense ourselves a little more, let us yet call every one of our Habits and Conditions Nature; let us tax and treat ourselves by this measure, let us firetch our Appurtenances and Accompts fo far; for fo far I fancy we have fome Excuse. Custom is a fecond Nature, and no less powerful. What is want. ing to my Custom, I reckon is wanting to me; and I should be almost as well content that they took away my Life, as cut me fhort in the way wherein I have so long liv'd. I am no more in a Condition of any great Change, nor to put myself into a new and unwonted Course, not tho' never fo much to my Advantage; 'tis past time for me to become other than what I am. And as I should complain of any great good Adventure that should now befal me, that it came not in time to be enjoy'd;

Quo mibi fortunæ, si non conceditur uti +?

Might I have the World's Wealth, I should refuse it; What Good will't do me, if I may not use it.

fo should I complain of any inward Acquest. It were almost better never, than so late to become an honest Man; and well read in living, when a Man has no longer to live. I, who am ready to make my Exit out of the World, would easily resign any new Comer, who should defire it, all the Prudence I have acquir'd in the World's Commerce. After Meat comes Mustard. I

^{*} Sen. Epist. 90.

⁺ Hor. lib. 1. Epift. 5.

have no need of Goods, of which I can make no use. Of what use is Knowledge to him that has lost his Head; 'Tis an Injury and Unkindness in Fortune. to render us Prefents, that will only inspire us with a just Despite that we had them not in their due Season. Guide me no more, I can no longer go. Of fo many Parts as make up a perfect Man, Patience is the best. Assign the Part of an excellent Treble to a Chorister that has rotten Lungs, and Eloquence to a Hermit exil'd into the Deferts of Arabia. There needs no Art to further a Fall; the End finds itself of itself; at the Conclusion of every Affair my World is at an End, my Form expired; I am totally past, and am bound to authorife it, and to conform my Posterity to it. I will here declare, by way of Example, that the late ten Days Diminution of the The Abridgment Pope, have taken me fo low, that I of ten Days ofcannot well recover myfelf. I follow fered by the Pope. the Years wherein we kept another kind

of Account, so ancient, and so long a Custom, challenges and calls me back to it; fo that I am constrain'd to be a kind of Heretick in that point, impatient of any, though corrective Innovation. My Imagination, in spite of my Teeth, always pushes me ten Days forward or backward, and is ever murmuring in my Ears. This Rule concerns thole who are to begin to be. If Health itself, as sweet as it is, returns to me by Fits, 'tis rather to give me the Cause of Regret than Possession of it; I have no Place left to keep it in. Time leaves me, without which nothing can be possessed. Oh, what little Account should I make of those great elective Dignities that I see in such Esteem in the World, that are never confer'd but upon Men who are taking leave of it! Wherein they do not so much regard how well he will discharge his Trust, as how short his Administration will be; from the very Entry they look at the Exit. To conclude, I am ready to finish this Man, and not to rebuild another. By long Habitude, this Form is, in me, turn'd into Subflance, and Fortune into Nature. I fay therefore, that every one of us feeble Creatures is excutable in thinking that to be his own, which is compriz'd under this Measure; but withal, beyond these Limits, 'tis nothing but Confusion, 'tis the largest Extent we can grant to our own Claim. The

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more Business we create ourselves, and the more we amplify our Possession, so much more do we expose ourfelves to the Blows and Advertities of Fortune. The Career of our Defires ought to be circumscribed, and refrain'd to a short Limit of near and contiguous Conveniencies; and ought moreover to perform their Courfe, not in a Right Line, that ends elsewhere, but in a Circle, of which the two Points by a short Wheel meet and terminate in ourselves. Actions that are carried on without this Reflection, a near and effential Reflection I mean; fuch as those of ambitious and avaricious Men, and many more who run point blank, and whose Career always carries them before themselves, such Actions, I say, are erroneous and fickly: Most of our Business is Farce. Mundus universus exercet histrionem*. We must play our Part well, but withal as the Part of a borrow'd Perfon; we must not make real Essence of a Mask and outward Appearance, nor of a strange Person our own; we cannot diffinguish the Skin from the Shirt; 'tis enough to meal the Face without mealing the Breast. I see fome, who transform and transubstantiate themselves into as many new Shapes and new Beings as they undertake Employments, and who prelate themselves even to the Heart and Liver, and carry their Estate along with them, even to the Close-stool: I cannot make them distinguish the Salutations that are made to them, from those made to their Commission, their Train, or their Mule. Tanguam se Fortunæ permittunt, etiam ut naturam dediscant +; They so much give themselves up to Fortune, as even to forget their Nature. They swell and puff up their Souls, and their natural way of speaking according to the Heighth of their Place. The Mayors of Bourdeaux and Montaigne have ever been two, by very manifest Separation. To be an Advocate or a Treasurer, a Man must not be ignorant of the Knavery of such Callings; and yet ought not to refuse to take the Calling upon him: 'Tis the Custom of his Country, and there is Money to be got by it; a Man must live by the World, and make his best of it, such as it is. But the Judgment of an Emperor ought to be above his Empire, and the

* Petronius Arbiter. + Quint. Cur. lib. 3.

feeing and confidering of it, as of a Foreign Accident; and he ought to know how to enjoy himself apart from it, and to communicate himself as James and Peter to himself at least. I cannot engage myself so deep and so entire; when my Will gives me to deny any one, 'tis not with fo violent an Obligation that my Judgment is infeded with it. In the present Broils of this Kingdom, my Interest has not made me forget myself, nor the laudable Qualities of some of our Adversaries, nor those that are reproachable in those of our Party. They adore all of their own fide; for my part I do not fo much as excuse most things in those of mine: A good Speech has never the worfe Grace for being made against me. The Knot of the Controversy excepted, I have always kept myself in Equanimity and pure Indifference. Neque extra necessitates belli, præcipuum odium gero; And have no express Hatred beyond the Necessity of War. For which I am pleased with myself, and the more, because I see others commonly fail on the contrary fide. Such as extend their Anger and Hatred beyond the Dispute in queftion, as most Men do, shew that they spring from some other Occasion and particular Cause; like one, who being cured of an Ulcer, has yet a remaining Fever, by which it appears that the Ulcer had another more conceal'd Beginning; which is, that they are not concern'd in the common Cause, because it is wounding to the State and common Interest; but are only nettled by Reason of their private and particular Concern. This is the true Reason why they are so particularly animated, and to a Degree fo beyond Justice and publick Reason. Non tam omnia universi, quam ea, quæ ad quemque pertinent, singuli carpebant; Every one was not so much angry against things in general, as against those that particularly concerned themselves. I would have Matters go well on our fide; but if they do not, I shall not run mad; I am heartily for the right Party; but I do not affect to be taken notice of for an especial Enemy to others, and beyond the general Quarrel. I am a mortal Enemy to this vicious Form of Censure: He is of the League, because he admires the Duke of Guise. He is astonished at the King of Navarre's Valour and Diligence, and therefore be is a Huguenot. He finds such and such Faults in the

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King's Manners and Conduct, and therefore he is seditions in his Heart. And would not grant to a Magistrate himfelf, that he did well in condemning a Book, because it had placed a Heretick amongst the best Poets of the Time. Shall we not dare to fay of a Thief, that he has a handfom Leg? If a Woman be a Strumpet, must it needs follow that she has a stinking Breath? Did they in the wifest Ages revoke the proud Title of Capitolinus, they had before confer'd upon Marcus Manlius, as being the Confervator of Religion and the publick Liberty; did they therefore damn the Memory of his Liberality, his Feats of Arms and military Recompence granted to his Virtue, because he afterwards aspired to the Sovereignty, to the prejudice of the Laws of his Country? If they take a Hatred against an Advocate, he will not be allowed the next Day to be eloquent. I have elsewhere spoke of the Zeal that push'd on worthy Men to the like Faults. For my part, I can fay fuch an one does this thing ill, and another thing virtuously and well. They will likewise, that in the Prognoflicks, or finisher Events of Affairs, every one should in his Party be blind, or a Blockhead, and that our Persuasion and Judgment should be subservient, not to Truth but to the Project of our Defires. I should rather incline towards the other Extreme, fo much I fear being fuborn'd by my Defire: To which may be added, that I am a little tenderly distrustful of

Facility of Peothings that I wish. I have in my time ple in suffering themselves to be imposed upon.

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feen Wonders in the indifcreet and prodigious Facility of People, in suffering their Hopes and Belief to be led and governed which way has best pleas'd and serv'd their Leaders; above an hundred Mistakes one upon another; and above Dreams and Phantasms. I no more wonder at those who have been blinded, and seduced by the Fooleries of Apollonius and Mahomet. Their Sense and Understanding is absolutely taken away by their Passion; their Discretion has no more any other Choice than that which smiles upon them, and relieves their Cause. I had principally observ'd this in the Beginning of our inteiline Distempers; this other, which is sprung fince, in

imitating, has furpaffed it; by which I am fatisfied that it is a Quality inteparable from popular Errors. After

the first that rolls, Opinions drive on one another like Waves with the Wind. A Man is not a Member of the Body, if it be in his Power to forfake it, and if he do not roll the common way; but doubtless they wrong the just fide, when they go about to affift it with Fraud. I have ever been against that Practice. They are only fit to work upon weak Heads; for the Sound, there are furer and more honest Ways to keep up their Courages, and to excuse adverse Accidents. Heaven never faw a greater Animofity than that betwixt Cafar and Pompey, nor ever will; and yet I observe, methinks, in those gallant Men a great Moderation towards one another. It was a Jealoufy of Honour and Command, which did not transport them to a furious and indifcreet Hatred, and that was, though Hatred, without Malignity and Detraction. In their brifkeft and hottest Encounters and Exploits upon one another, I discover some Remains of Respect and Good will; and therefore am of Opinion, that, had it been possible, each of them would rather have done his Bufiness without the Ruin of the other, than with it. Take notice how much otherwise Matters went with Marius and Sylla. We must not precipitate ourselves so headlong after our Affections and Interest. As when I was young, I oppos'd the Progress of Love, which I perceiv'd to advance too fast upon me, and had a care lest it should at last become so pleasing, as to force, captivate, and wholly reduce me to it's Mercy: So I do the same upon all other Occasions where my Will is running on with too warm an Appetite. I lean opposite to the Side it inclines to, as I find it going to plunge and make itself drunk with it's own Wine; I evade nourishing it's Pleasure so far, that I cannot recover it without infinite Lofs. Souls that, through their own Stupidity, only difcern things by halves, have this Happinets, that they fmart least with hurtful things. 'Tis a spiritual Leprosy that has some shew of Health, and such a Health as Philosophy does not altogether contemn; but yet we have no reason to call it Wisdom, as we often do. And after this manner a Man mock'd Diogenes, who, in the Depth of Winter, and stark naked, went hugging an Image of Snow for a trial of his Patience; meeting him in this Equipage, Art thou not very cold, said he? Not at all,

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and wby.

replied Diogenes. Why then, faid the Diogenes patiother, What great and exemplary thing ent of Cold. canst thou think thou dost in embracing the Snow? A Man, to take a true measure of Constancy, must necessarily know what Suffering is; but Souls that are to meet with adverse Events, and the Injuries of Fortune in their Depth and Sharpness, that are to weigh and tafte them according to their natural Weight and Sharpness, let fuch shew their Skill in avoiding the Causes, and diverting the Blow. What did A rich Veffel King Cotys do? He paid liberally for purposely broken the rich and beautiful Vessel that had by King Cotys, been presented him; but being it was

exceeding brittle, he immediately broke it betimes to prevent so easy a matter of Displeasure against his Servants. In like manner, I have willingly avoided all Confusion in my Affairs, and never coveted to have my Estate contiguous to those of my Relations, and fuch with whom I coveted a strict Friendship; whence Matters of Unkindness and Falling-out do oft proceed. I have formerly loved Cards and Dice, but have long fince left them off, only for this Reason, that tho' I carry my Losses as handsomly as another, I was not well fatisfied and quiet within. Let a Man of Honour, who ought to be fensible of the Lie, and who is not to take a scurvy Excuse for Satisfaction, avoid Occasions of Dispute. I shun melancholick and sour-natur'd Men, as I would do the Plague. And in Matters I cannot talk of without Emotion and Concern, I never meddle if not compell'd by my Duty. Melius non incipient, quam definent *; A Man had better never to have begun, than to desist. The furest way therefore, is, to prepare a Man's felf beforehand for Occasions. I know very well, that some wise Men have taken another way, and have not feared to grapple and engage to the utmost upon several Subjects. Such are confident of their own Strength, under which they protect themselves in all ill Successes, making their Patience wrestle and contend with Difaster:

* Senec. Ep. 92.

welut

velut rupes vastum quæ prodit in æquor,
Obvia ventorum furiis, expostaque ponto,
Vim cunctam atque minas perfert cælique marisque,
Ipsa immota manens *.

He as a Rock amongst vast Billows stood, Scorning loud Winds and raging of the Flood, And fix'd remaining all the Force defies, Muster'd from threatning Seas and thund'ring Skies †

Let us never attempt these Examples, we shall never come up to them. They fet themselves resolutely, and without Trouble, to behold the Ruin of their Country, to which all the Good they can contrive or perform is due. This is too much, and too rude for our common Souls to undergo. Cato indeed gave up the noblest Life that ever was upon this Account; but it is for us meaner fpirited Men to fly from the Storm as far as we can; we ought to make Provision of Resentment, not of Patience, and evade the Blows we cannot put by. Zeno feeing Chremonides, a young Man whom he loved, draw near to fit down by him, fuddenly started up, and Cleanthes demanding of him the Reason why he did so, I hear, faid he, that Physicians especially ordered Repose, and forbid Emotion in all Tumours. Socrates does not fay, do not furrender to the Charms of Beauty, stand your Ground, and do your utmost to oppose it. Fly it, says he, shun the Sight and Encounter of it, as of a powerful Poison that darts and wounds at a Distance. And his good Disciple, either feigning or reciting, but in my Opinion rather reciting than feigning the rare Perfections of that great Cyrus, makes him distrustful of his own Strength, to refift the Charms of the divine Beauty of that illustrious Panthea, his Captive, in committing the vifiting and keeping of her to another, who could not have fo much Liberty as himself. And the Holy Ghost in like manner, Ne nos inducas in tentationem. We do not pray that our Reason may not be combated and overcome by Concupifcence, but that it should not be so much as

* Virg. Eneid. 1. 10. † Mr. Ogilby.

tried; that we should not be brought into a State wherein we were fo much as to fuffer the Approaches, Solicitations and Temptations of Sin; and we beg of Almighty God to keep our Consciences quiet, fully, and perfectly delivered from all Commerce of Evil. Such as fay that they have Reason for their revenging Pasfion or any other Sort of troublesom Agitation of Mind, do oft fay true, as Things now are, but not as they were. They speak to us when the Causes of their Error are by themselves nourished and advanced. But look backward, recal these Causes to their Beginning, and there you will put them to a non plus; will they have their Fault less for being of longer Continuance, and that of an unjust Beginning, the Sequel can be just? Whoever shall defire the Good of his Country, as I do, without fretting and pining himself, will be troubled, but will not fwoon to fee him threatning either it's own Ruin, or a less ruinous Continuance. Poor Veffel. that the Waves, the Winds, and the Pilot, toss and steer to so contrary Designs!

ventus, & unda trahunt *.

He who does not gape after the Favour of Princes, as after a Thing he cannot live without, does not much concern himself at the Coldness of their Reception and Countenance, nor at the Inconstancy of their Wills. He who does not brood over his Children or his Honours with a flavish Propension, ceases not to live commodiously enough after their Loss. Who does Good principally for his own Satisfaction, will not be much troubled to see Men judge of his Actions contrary to his Merit. A quarter of an Ounce of Patience will provide fufficiently against such Inconveniencies. I find Ease in this Receipt, redeeming my felf in the Beginning as cheap as I can; and find that by that Means I have escaped much Trouble and many Difficulties. With very little Struggle I stop the first Sally of my Emotions and quit the Subject that begins to be troublesom be,

* Buchanan.

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fore

fore it transports me. He who stops not the Start, will never be able to stop the Career. Who cannot keep them out, will never get them out when they are once got in; and who cannot crush them at the Beginning, will never do it after, nor ever keep himself from falling, if he cannot recover himself when first he begins to totter. Etenim ipsi se impellant ubi semel a ratione discossion est: ipsiaque sibi imbecillitas indulget, in altumque provebitur imprudenter: necreperit locum consistendi. For they throw themselves Headlong, when once they lose their Reason; and Frailty does so far indulge itself, that it is unawares carried out into the Deep, and can find no Port wherein to come to an Anchor. I am betimes sensible of the little Breezes that begin to sing and whistle in the Shrowds, the Fore-runners of a Storm.

Cum deprensa fremunt sylvis, & cæca volutant Murmura, venturos nautis prodentia ventos +.

And stop'd by Woods, a sudden Murmur send, Which doth a Storm to Mariners portend ‡.

How often have I done myself a manisest Injustice, to avoid the Hazard of having yet a worse done me by the Judges, after an Age of Vexations, dirty and vile Practices, more Enemies to my Nature than Fire, or the Rack? Convenio à litibus quantum licet; & nescio an paulò plus etiam quam licet abhorrentem esse. Est enim non modo liberale, paululum nonnunquam de suo jure decedere, sed interdum etiam fructuosum. A Man should be an Enemy to all Contention as much as he lawfully may, and I know not subether or not something more: For 'tis not only liberal, but sometimes also advantageous too, a little to recede from one's Right. Were we wise, we ought to rejoice and boast, as I one Day heard a young Gentleman of a good Family very innocently do, that his Mother had lost her Trial, as if it had been a Cough, a Fe-

* Cicero, Thuse, l. 2. + Æneid. l. 10. ‡ M. Ogilby.

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ver, or fomething very troublefom to keep: Even the Favours that Fortune might have given me thro' Relation, or Acquaintance with those who have fovereign Authority in those Affairs, I have very conscientiously waved; and very carefully avoided employing them to the Prejudice of others, and of advancing my Pretenfions above their true Right. In fine, I have fo much prevailed by my Endeavours, in a happy Hour I may speak it, that I am to this Day a Virgin from all Suits in Law; tho' I have had very fair Offers made me, and with very just Title, would I have hearkened to them: And a Virgin from Quarrels too. I have almost past over a long Life without any Offence of Moment, either active or passive, or without ever hearing a worse Word than my own Name: A rare Favour of Heaven. Our greatest Agitations have ridiculous Motives and Causes. What Ruin did our last Duke of Burgundy run into about a Cart-load of Sheep-skins! And was not the Graving of a Seal the first and principal Cause of the greatest Commotion that this Machine of the World did ever undergo? For Pompey and Cæfar are but the Off-fets and Continuation of two others. And I have in my Time feen the wifest Heads in this Kingdom affembled with great Ceremony, and at the publick Expence, about Treaties and Agreements, of which the true Decision did in the mean time absolutely depend upon the Ladies Cabinet Council, and the Inclination of some foolish Women. The Poets very well understood this, when they put all Greece and Afia to Fire and Sword for an Apple. Enquire why that Man hazards his Life and Honour upon the Fortune of his Rapier and Dagger; let him acquaint you with the Occasion of the Quarrel, he cannot do it without Blushing, 'tis fo idle and frivolous: A little thing will ingage you in't, but being once embarked, all Cords draw; greater Provisions are then required, more hard, and more important. How much easier is it not to enter in, than it is to get out? Now, we should proceed contrary to the Reed, which at it's first Spring, produces a long and strait shoot, but afterwards, as if tired and out of Breath, it runs into thick and frequent Joints and Knots, as fo many Paules; which demonstrates that it has no more

it's first Vigour and Constancy. 'Twere better to begin fair and coldly, and to keep a Man's Breath and vigorous Attacks for the Height and Stress of the Business. We guide and govern Affairs in their Beginnings, and have them then in our own Power; but afterwards when they are once at work, 'tis they that guide and govern us, and we are to follow them. Yet do I not pretend by this to fay, that this Counsel has discharged me of all Difficulty, and that I have not often had enough to do to curb and restrain my Passions. They are not always to be governed according to the Measure of Occasions, and often have their Entries very sharp and violent. So it is, that thence good Fruit and Profit may be reaped; except for those, who in well-doing are not fatisfied with any Benefit, if Reputation be wanting: For in truth, such an Effect is not valued but by every one to himself. You are better contented, but not more esteemed; seeing you reformed yourself before you came into Play, and that any Vice was difcovered in you: Yet not in this only, but in all other Duties of Life, also the Way of those who aim at Honour, is very different from that they proceed by ; who propose to themselves Order and Reason. I find some who rashly and furiously rush into the Lists, and cool in the Course. As Plutarch fays, That as those who through Bashfulness, being soft and facile, do grant whatever is defired of them, are afterwards as frail to break their Word, and to recant; so likewise he who enters lightly into a Quarrel, is subject to go as lightly out. The same Difficulty that keeps me from entering into it, would, when once hot and engaged in Quarrel, incite me to maintain it with great Obstinacy and Refolution. 'Tis the Tyranny of Custom, when a Man is once engaged, he must go through with it or die. Undertake coldly, faid Bias, but pursue with Ardour. For want of Prudence, Men fall into want of Courage, which is more intolerable. Most Accomodations of the Quarrels of these Days of ours, are shameful and false, we only feek to save Appearances, and in the mean time betray and disavow our true Intentions, We falve the Fact. We know very well how we faid the thing, and in what Sense we spoke it, and both all the Company

Company, and of them our Friends with whom we would appear to have the Advantage, understand it well enough too. 'Tis at the Expence of our Liberty, and the Honour of our Courage, that we disown our Thoughts, and feek Refuge in Falfities to Friends. We give ourselves the Lie, to excuse the Lie we have given to another. You are to confider, if your Word or Action may admit of another Interpretation; 'tis your own true and fincere Interpretation of, and your real Meaning in what you faid or did, that you are thenceforward to maintain; whatever it cost you. Men speak to your Virtue, Honour and Conscience, which are none of them to be difguised. Let us leave these pitiful Ways and Expedients to the Juglers of the Law. The Excuses and Satisfactions that I see every Day made and given to repair Indifcretion, feem to me more fcandalous than Indifcretion itself. It were better to affront your Adversary a second time, than to offend your felf by giving him so unmanly a Satisfaction. You have braved him in your Heat and Anger, and you go to appeale him in your cooler and better Sense; and by that Means lay your felf lower, and at his Feet, whom before you pretended to overtop. I do not find any thing a Gentleman can fay fo rude and vicious in him, as unfaying what he has faid is infamous; when to unfay it is authoritatively extracted from him, forafmuch as Obstinacy is more excusable in a Man of Honour than Pufillanimity can possibly be. Passions are as easy for me to evade, as they are hard for me to moderate. Exinduntur facilius animo, quam temperantur *. Who cannot attain unto that noble Stoical Impossibility, let him secure himself in the Bosom of this popular Stupidity of mine. What those great Souls performed by their Virtue, I inure my felf to do by Complexion. The middle Region harbours Storms and Tempelts, the two Extremes of Philosophers and ignorant Men concur in Tranquillity and Happiness.

* Juven.

Fælix

Fælix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas, Atque metus omnes, & inexorabile fatum Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis awari. Fortunatus, & ille, Deos qui novit agrestes, Panaque, Sylvanumque senem, Nymphasque sorores †:

Happy is he that hidden Causes knows, And bold, all Shapes of Danger dare oppose, Trampled beneath his Feet the cruel Fates, Whom Death nor swallowing Acheron amates; And he is blest who knows our Country Gods, Pan, old Sylvanus, and the Nymphs Abodes ‡.

The Births of all Things are weak and tender, and therefore we are to have an Eye to their Beginnings; for as then in their Infancy the Danger is not perceived; fo when it is grown up, the Remedy is no more to be found. I had every Day encountered a Million of Crosses, harder to digest in the Progress of my Ambition, than it has been for me to curb the natural Propensity that inclined me to it.

Latè conspicuum tolere verticem ||.

I did well
To shrink 'my Head into my Shell *.

All publick Actions are subject to various and uncertain Interpretations, for too many Heads judge of them. Some say of this City Employment of mine (and I am willing to say a Word or two of it, not that it is worth so much, but to give an Account of my Manners in such Things) that I have behaved my self in it like a Man not easy to be moved, and with a languishing Affection; and they have some Colour for what they say. I endeavour to keep my Mind and my Thoughts in Repose. Cum semper natura, tume etiam ætate jam quietus §. As being always quiet by Na-

+ Virgil. Georg. l. 2. ‡ M. Ogilby. | Horace l. 3. Ode 17. * Sir Rich. Fanshaw. § Cicero. ture,

ture, so also now by Age. And if they sometimes lash out on some rude and sensible Impression, 'tis in truth, without my Advice. Yet from this natural Heaviness of mine, Men ought not to conclude a total Inability in me; for want of Care and want of Sense are two very different Things, and much lefs any Ingratitude towards that Corporation, who employed the utmost Means they had in their Power to oblige me, both before they knew me and after. And they did much more for me in chusing me anew, than in conferring that Honour upon me at first; I love them entirely, and wish them all the Good that can befal so worthy a Society. And doubtless had Occasion offered, there is nothing I would have spared for their Service; I did for them as I would have done for myself. 'Tis a good, warlike and generous People, but capable of Obedience and Discipline, and of whom the best Use may be made, if well guided. They fay also, that my Administration was passed over without any great Remark, or any Record of Moment. 'Tis true, they moreover accuse my Cessation in a Time when every Body almost was convinced of doing too much. I am impatient to be doing where my Will spurs me on; but this Point is an Enemy to Perseverance. Let whoever will make Use of me according to my own Way, imploy me in Affairs where Vigour and Liberty are required; where a direct, short, and moreover a hazardous Conduct are necessary, I perhaps may do something; but if it must be long, subtle, laborious, artificial and intricate, they would do better to call in somebody elfe. All important Offices are not hard: I came prepared to carry myself a little more roughly, had there been great Occasion; for it is in my Power to do fomething more than I do, or than I love to do; I did not to my Knowledge omit any thing that my Duty really required; 'tis true, that I easily forget those Offices that Ambition mixes with Duty, and palliates with Title. Those are they, that for the most Part, fill the Eyes and Ears, and give Men the most Satilfaction. Not the Thing, but the Appearance contents them. They think Men sleep if they hear no Noise.

wading't delight to

My Humour is no Friend to Tumult. I could appeafe a Riot without Emotion, and chaffife a Diforder without Alteration. If I stand in need of Anger and Inslammation, I borrow it, and put it on; my Manners are heavy, rather faint than sharp. I do not condemn a Magistrate that sleeps, provided the People under his Charge fleep as well as he: The Laws in that Cafe fleep too. For my Part, I commend a gliding, folitary and filent Life. Neque submissam & abjectam, neque le efferentem. My Fortune will have it fo. I am defcended from a Family that has lived without Lustre or Tumult, and Time out of Mind particularly ambitious of Valour and Loyalty. Our People now a days are fo bred up to Buffle and Oftentation, that Good-nature, Modention, Equity, Constancy, and fuch quiet and obscure Qualities, are no more thought on or regarded. Rough Bodies make themselves felt, the smooth are imperceptibly handled. Sickness is felt, Health little, or not at all, no more than the Oils that foment us, in Comparison of the Pain for which we are fomented. Tis acting for a Man's Reputation and particular Profit, not for the publick Good, to refer that to be done in the publick Place, which a Man may as well do in the Council-Chamber, and to Noon-day, what might have been done the Night before; and to be jealous to do that himself which his Collegue can do as well as he. So some Chirurgeons of Greece used to make their Operations upon Scaffolds in the Sight of the People to draw more Practice and Profit. They think that good Orders cannot be understood but by the Sound of Trumpet. Ambition is not a Vice of little People, and of so mean Abilities as ours. One said to Alexander, your Father will leave you a great Dominion, easy and pacifick; this Youth was emulous of his Father's Victories, and the Justice of his Government; and would not have enjoyed the Empire of the World in Ease and Peace. Alcibiades, in Plato, had rather die young, beautiful, rich, noble and learned, and all this with Excellence, than to continue in the State of such a Condition. This Disease is perhaps excusable in so strong and o full a Soul. When these wretched and dwarfish Souls gull and deceive themselves, and think to spread their VOL. III.

Fame, for having given right Judgment in an Affair, or continued the Discipline of keeping the Guard of a Gate of their City, the more they think to exalt their Heads, the more they shew their Tails. This little Well-doing has neither Body nor Life; it vanishes in the first Mouth, and goes no farther than from one Street to another. Talk of it in God's Name to your Son, or your Servant; like that old Fellow, who having no other Auditor of his Prayers, nor Approver of his Valour, boafted to his Chambermaid, crying out, O Perret, what a brave Man hast thou to thy Master! At the worst Hand, talk of it to yourself; like a Counsellor of my Acquaintance, who having disgorged a whole Cart-load of Paragraphs, with great Heat, and as great Folly, coming out of the Council-Chamber to pifs, was heard very conscientiously to mutter betwixt his Teeth, Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam. Who can get it of nobody else, let him pay himself out of his own Purse. Fame is not prostituted at so cheap a Rate. Rare and exemplary Actions, to which it is due, would not endure the Company of this prodigious Crowd of little Performances. Marble may exalt your Titles as much as you please, for having repaired a Rod of a ruinous Wall, or cleanfed a publick Aqueduct, but not Men of Sense. Renown does not follow all good Deeds, if Novelty and Difficulty be not conjoined. Nay, so much as meer Estimation, according to the Stoicks, is not due to every Action that proceeds from Virtue; neither will they allow him bare Thanks, who out of Temperance forbears to meddle with any old blear-ey'd Hagg. Such as have known the admirable Qualities of Scipio Africanus, deny him the Glory that Penetius attributes to him, of being abstinent from Gifts, as a Glory not so much his, as that of the Age he lived in. We have Pleafures fuitable to our Fortunes, let us not usurp those of Grandeur. Our own are more natural, and by fo much more folid and fure, as they are more low. If not for that of Conscience, yet at least for Ambition Sake, let us reject Ambition, let us disdain that Thirst of Honour and Renown, so low and mendicant, that it makes us beg it of all Sorts of People: Quæ est ista laus quæ possit è macello peti? What Praile

athten notion that book by the book by the

Praise is that which is to be got in the Market? by abject Means, and at what cheap Rate foever. 'Tis Difhonour to be fo honoured. Let us learn to be no more greedy of Honour, than we are capable of it. To be puffed up with every Action that is innecent, or of Use, is only for fuch with whom fuch things are extraordinary and rare; they will value it as it costs them. How much more a good Effect makes a Noise, so much I abare of the Goodness of it; and enter into Suspicion that it was more performed for Noise, than upon the Account of Goodness: Being exposed upon the Stall, tis half fold. Those Actions have much more Grace and Luftre, that flip from the Hand of him that does them negligently, and without Noise: And that some honest Man after chuses out, and raises from the Shade, to produce it to the Light, upon it's own Account. Mibi quidem laudabiliora videntur omnia, quæ sive venditatione & sine populo teste fiunt. All Things truly seem more laudable to me, that are performed without Oftentation, and without the Testimony of the People. Says the proudest Man in the World, I had no Care but to conserve, and to continue, which are filent and infenfible Effects. Innovation is of great Lustre, but 'tis interdicted in this Time, when we are pressed upon, and have nothing to defend ourselves from but Novelties. To forbear doing, is oft as generous as to do, but 'tis less in the Light; and the little Good I have in me is of this Kind. In fine, Occasions in this Employment of mine, have been confederate with my Humour, and I thank them for it. Is there any one who defires to be fick that he may fee his Physician's Practice? And would not that Physician deferve to be whipped, who hould wish the Plague amongst us, that he might put his Art in Practice? I have never been of that wicked Humour, tho' common enough, to defire that the Trouble and Diforders of this City should elevate and honour my Government; I have ever willingly contributed all I could to their Tranquillity and Ease. He who will not thank me for the Order, fweet and filent Calm that has accompanied my Administration; cannot however deprive me of the Share that belongs to me by the Title of my good Fortune. And I am of fuch a Compo-

Composition, that I would as willingly be happy as wife; and had rather owe my Successes purely to the Favour of Almighty God, than to any Industry or Operation of my own. I had fufficiently published to the World my Unfitness for such publick Offices; but I have fomething in me yet worse than Incapacity; which is, that I am not much displeased at it, and that I do not much go about to cure it, confidering the Course of Life that I have proposed to myself. Neither have I satisfied myself in this Employment, but I have very near arrived at what I expected from my own Performance, and have yet much furpaffed what I promifed them with whom I had to do: For I am apt to promife something less than what I am able to do, and than what I am able to make good. I affure myself that I have left no Impressions of Offence or Hatred behind me, and to leave a Regret or Defire of me amongst them. I at least know very well that I did never much affect it.

mene buic confidere monstro, Méne salis placidi vultum, fluctusque quietos Ignorare *?

Wouldst thou I should a quiet Sea believe, To this inconstant Monster Credit give +?



CHAP. XI.

Of Cripples.

IS now two or three Years ago The Year cut ten that they made the Years ten Days shorter in France. How many Days Shorter. Changes may we expect should follow this Reformation! This was properly removing Heaven and Earth at once;

* Virgil Eneid. 1. 5. + Mr. Ogilby.

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