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UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

20 May, 1935.

I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under my supervision by Kathleen Ressler

entitled A Study of the Essays of Jeremy Collier

be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Approved by:

Robert Shafer.

F. W. Shumaker (acting chairman)

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CONTENTS

I. JEREMY COLLIER:HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS 1

II. PSYCHOLOGY.....37

III.SOCIAL THEORIES.....113

IV. ETHICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPTS 174

V. METAPHYSICS AND THEOLOGY.....245

VI. LITERARY CRITICISM.....307

VII.CONCLUSION.....384

VIII.BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Bibliography A 398
Bibliography B 403
Bibliography C 415

6 Mr 36

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JEREMY COLLIER: HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS

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JEREMY COLLIER: LIFE AND WRITINGS

> For if you kill me, you will not easily find a successor to me, who, if I may use such a ludicrous figure of speech, am a sort of gadfly, given by God; ... and all day long and in all places am fastening upon you, arousing and persuading and reproaching you. You will not easily find another like me, and therefore I would advise you to spare me.
>
> (Socrates, in Plato's Apology)

With uncompromising boldness, Jeremy Collier proved himself one to send his ironic barbs with sure aim at victims of note; a self-appointed dictator of morals, and no respecter of persons, he let fly his deadly shafts when and where conscience prompted. "He was formed for a controvertist; ...for contest was his delight, he was not to be frighted from his purpose or his prey."[1] Thus has Dr Johnson succinctly characterized one who belongs in his own humanistic tradition of learning

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1. Samuel Johnson, The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets. London, 1783, Vol. III, pp. 50,51.

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and moral discipline. As we glance backward from Johnson, we find it good to meet an equally sturdy figure at the turn of the seventeenth century. Essentially of the same temper, fiery and dogmatic, both Johnson and Collier were men of keen wit, trenchant tongues, and strong wills. The one is famous for his imperious rule of social clubs and literary tastes, and the other scarcely less so for his rout of Restoration playwrights, and his arousing of new attitudes in lethargic Londoners. But there was no Boswell to record the utterances, and the 'anfractuosities' of Collier. Accordingly, aside from three biographical accounts, none of them written by a contemporary,[2] our knowledge of him derives from two sources --his writings, and his appearances in certain controversial episodes of ecclesiastical and political history, and in the well-known battle over the stage. All biographies begin with the account which Collier drew up of himself.

> Collier (Jeremy) son of Jeremy Collier, was born at Stow Qui, or Quire, in Cambridgeshire, September 23, 1650. His father was a Divine and considerable Linguist, and some time Master of the free-school at Ipswich in the county of Suffolk. His

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2. The three accounts are those in the Dictionary of National Biography, and in the Biographia Britannica of A. Kippis, Vol. IV, 1789, and the "Life of Jeremy Collier", by Thomas Lathbury in Vol. IX of his 1852 edition of Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, London.

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> grandfather[3] likewise was a Clergyman, settled at Bradford in Yorkshire, where he lived in esteem for his function .... His mother was Elizabeth Smith of Qui in Cambridgeshire, where her family were possessed of a considerable interest, and related to the Sternes of that town ... . He was educated under his father at Ipswich, from whence he was sent to Cambridge, and admitted a poor Scholar (sizar) of Caius-college, under the tuition of Mr. John Ellys. His admission bears date April 10, 1669, in the eighteenth Year of his age. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1672-3, and that of Master of Arts in 1676, being ordained Deacon on the twenty-fourth of September of the same year, by Dr Peter Gunning, Bishop of Ely, and Priest Feb. 24, 1677, by Dr Henry Compton, Bishop of London. Having entered into Priest's orders, he officiated some time at the Countess Dowager of Dorset's, at Knowle in Kent, from whence he removed to a small rectory at Ampton, near St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk, to which he was presented by James Calthorpe, Esq; and instituted by Dr Anthony Sparrow, Bishop of Norwich, September 25, 1679. After he had held this benefice six years, he resigned it, and came to reside in London in 1685, and was some little time after made Lecturer at Gray's-Inn. But the Revolution coming on, the public exercises of his function became impracticable.[4]

The annals of Cambridge add the information that the father of Jeremy Collier was a sizar at Trinity in 1636, that he took the degrees of Bachelor, and Master of Arts, and that he was a Fellow of St John's, and usher at the Boston Grammar School. Further, he was Master of Aldenham School, 1649 to 1653, before going to Ipswich. His son

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3. He was born at Yeadon, near Bradford, and "descended from a gentleman's family of that name, seated at Thrusk in the same county, in the reign of Henry VIII." (From Collier's account.)

4. Quoted from the Biographia Britannica, Vol. IV, pp. 1406-7 (1789). With the exception of a few dates added by the editor, it stands as Collier drew it up.

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Jeremy was first admitted as a sizar to Caius College on 6 June, 1666, again on 10 April, 1669, and matriculated in 1670. While at Gray's Inn, he held the office of Preacher of the Rolls, in addition to the lecturership, a position that he does not mention in his brief autobiographical sketch. Nor does he mention his first publication --a volume of sermons[5] in 1686-7, which attracted much favourable attention. Collier was well set on the path leading toward high ecclesiastical honours.

Much lies behind Collier's last simple statement, that his public function had "become impracticable". From this point on in his life, the turbulent affairs of the crown and church serve as the impetus for many of his writings. With the schism in the Church of England, occasioned by the bloodless revolution of 1688, probably no other figure of equal importance in literary history is so closely connected as is Collier. The rash schemes of King James to establish Catholicism and to wrest power from the hands of the Anglican bishops caused this group increasing difficulties. From their staunch refusal to yield in principles grew several significant moves. After the flight of James, and so long as William and Mary were not seated on the throne, the clergy could continue their preferments with no scruples. But when the convention parliament voted

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5. One of these sermons, The Difference between the Pres-

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that James, "having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and ... the throne is thereby vacant", Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and high Tories held that through no crime could the crown be forfeited. When William and Mary, the first declining to be regent, and the other, to accept the crown alone, became joint sovereigns, division in the church resulted. Since the body of the clergy strongly believed in the doctrine of divine right, they could not conscientiously swear allegiance to the new rulers. Although both Whigs and Tories had supported Prince William on his arrival, as a welcome relief from James, the members of the Church of England generally concurred in looking to him as a mediator, but not as a king. By Act of Parliament all persons holding ecclesiastical and civil offices were required to take the oath [6] before 1 August, 1689, but they were allowed until February

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ent and Future State of our Bodies (London, 1686), reflects a sympathy with cabbalism, which permeates much of seventeenth-century literature; another, The Comparison between Giving and Receiving, was preached at Whitehall, 19 April, 1687.

6. The Oath of Allegiance, which in its original form implied the doctrine of hereditary right, was altered to suit the occasion: "I, AB, do sincerely promise and swear to bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary." (Lathbury's History of the Nonjurors, London, 1845, p. 44) Lathbury explains that the oath of supremacy consisted in two parts: "the one an oath of abhorrence of the

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before their preferments would be taken away. The entire bench of bishops resolved that parliament had no right to impose such an oath on Churchmen. Sancroft and many of the higher clergy refused the oath, regarded all who took it as schismatics, and, after their deprivation, considered themselves and their adherents the only true members of the Church of England. Thus originated the group of Nonjurors; of this body Collier was a prominent member, from the time when he was deprived of his post as Lecturer at Gray's Inn, until his death.

It was in defense of King James that Collier began his career as a controversialist. During the period between the landing of William and the convention parliament, Dr Gilbert Burnet,[7] a religious and political liberal in sympathy with William, issued An Inquiry into the present State of Affairs(1688), in which he declares James a deserter of the Crown. Collier, believing that a clergyman on the opposing side might take the same liberty to assert his views, replied with a piece entitled The Desertion Discussed,[8]

Pope's excommunicating power: the other a declaration, that no foreign prince or power had, or ought to have, any jurisdiction in this kingdom."

7. Later Bishop of Salisbury.

8. The Desertion Discussed in a letter to a Country Gentleman. London, 1688. In A Collection of State Tracts Publish'd on Occasion of the late Revolution in 1688 and during the Reign of King William III. Vol. I, London, 1705, p. 110 ff.

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written just after the throne had been declared vacant, and said to be the first pamphlet to defend this cause, and as well, the first direct attack upon the principles of the Revolution.[9] Collier tries to show that, since the king had been in danger before his flight, his removal was not an abdication, and the throne therefore not vacant; that it was impracticable for James to leave behind him any representative; that there were no grounds "either from Laws of the Realm, or those of Nature" to pronounce his kingship void.[10] "We are now", declares Collier, "fallen upon Times in which the most extravagant and almost impossible things are swallowed without chewing, and the plainest Truths outfaced and denied; as if Evidence was an Argument against Proof, and absurdities the only Motives of Credibility."[11]

Continuing actively to support his cause, Collier

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10. The Desertion Discussed, p. 111. An answer to this was written by E. Bohun, who says of Collier: "The author of it is my Acquaintance, and a Person for whom I have a great Esteem, both on the account of his Profession, and of his personal Worth, Learning and Sobriety; so that I cannot believe he had any ill design either in the writing or publishing of it: his Zeal for the Church of England's Loyalty, and the difficulty and unusualness of the present Case, having been the Occasions if not the Causes of his Mistake". Collection of State Tracts, p. 116.

Later in the article, however, he says, "when a Gentle-

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so offended the new govenrment that he was imprisoned in Newgate for some months on the charge of sedition, but was released without trial. This episode only added fuel to his flame; even during his confinement he kept busy issuing various pamphlets, some of them replies to supporters of the Revolution, and others, attacks on its underlying principles. In these he maintains the independence of church from state, and the inconsistency of swearing allegiance to civil powers.[12] This was only the beginning of a highly controversial career.

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man of the Church of England could thus harangue it against his own Party and Interest, we need not wonder if that Unfortunate Prince found some Jesuits about him, who would perswade him rather to abandon his Crown, Kingdom and People, than the Glorious design of forcing England once more to submit to the Yoke of Rome." (p. 119) Bohun remarks that, on reading Collier's defense, he had concluded "the Piece was written by a R.C." (p. 124)

11. The Desertion Discussed, p. 111.

12. Writings published during this time follow:

Vindiciae Juris Regni, or Remarks upon a paper entituled An Inquiry into the Measures of Submission to the Supream Authority. 1689.

Animadversions upon the Modern Explanations of 11 Hen. VII, cap. 1; or a King de Facto. 1689.

A Caution Against Inconsistency, or the Connection between Praying and Swearing, in relation to the Civill Powers 1690; 1703.

A Dialogue concerning the Times between Philobelgus and Sempronius. 1690.

To the Right Honourable the Lords, and to the Gentlemen convened at Westminster. October, 1690. (This, a half-sheet, was a petition for an inquiry into the birth of the Prince of Wales.)

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Had it not been for Collier's refusal to take the oath of allegiance, he might have remained at Gray's Inn, and in all probability would have received ecclesiastical honours.

As leader of the nonjurors, Collier became expecially obnoxious to state officials, and his enemies missed no chance to assail him. In 1692 they created an opportunity. When the Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State, was informed that Collier and another of his group, Newton, had gone to Romney March--supposedly to communicate secretly with foreign agents --, he had the suspects seized,[13] examined, and committed to prison on suspicion of correspondence with the exiled James. Both were freed, however, since the charge was too flimsy to be proved. But Collier, scrupling on the matter of giving bail -- since that would be a virtual recognition of the new government --, surrendered himself, and was committed to the Kings' Bench; however, on the application of friends to the lord chief justice, he was discharged after a week or ten days. And again, no evidence could be trumped up against him.[14] He uncompromisingly refused to acknowledge in any respect the government of William. As his biographer, Lathbury, has remarked, "Collier

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Dr Sherlock's Case of Allegiance considered, with some Remarks upon his Vindication. 1691.

A Brief Essay concerning the Independency of Church Power. 1692.

These pieces procured for Collier "the character both of a solid and shining writer." (Biog. Brit., p. 1407.)

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did nothing without assigning a reason for his conduct."[15] At this last seizure, as soon as he had been committed to prison, he wrote, in defense of his action, The Case of Giving Bail to a Pretended Authority Examined, dated from the King's Bench, 23 November, 1692.[16] This he followed in April of 1693 with A Reply to some Remarks upon 'The Case'. His next published piece was A Persuasive to Consideration tandered to the Royalists, particularly those of the Church of England (1693). Macaulay considered this "one of the best productions of the Jacobite press."[17]

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13. This happened on 8 November, 1692.

14. Biog. Brit., p. 1408; Lathbury's Life, p. vii.

15. Lathbury, Life, p. vii.

16. The preface bears the date of December, 1692. With the piece is also a letter to Sir John Holt, dated 30 November, 1692. (Lathbury, vii) In the next year he brought out a very bitter pamphlet, Remarks on the London Gazette, which discusses the loss of English property on the Spanish coast, and the defeat of the King at the Battle of Landen in Flanders. (Cf. Macaulay, Hist. of England, ed. by Charles Harding Firth. London, 1914. Vol. V, pp. 2368-72.) This pamphlet was one of those following the example of the fanatic Jacobite, William Anderton, who had just been executed for pamphleteering against the government.

17 Macaulay, ibid., Iv, p. 1722.

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No record indicates the pursuits of Collier during the next few years; he seems to have been comparatively quiet. That he was probably engaged in scholarly work is a safe guess in view of the immense productivity of certain later periods. His next connexion with public affairs has to do with the case in 1696 of Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend, who were accused of plotting the assassination of King William. At the scene of the execution, Collier, with two other clergymen, appeared on the scaffold, and, in the presence of thousands, absolved the accused men.[18] A considerable scandal ensued; both Tories and Whigs censured the conduct of the priests, since their act of absolution seemed to indicate that they did not think the attempted assassination sinful. The execution had occurred on the third of April, 1696; on the sixth, Collier's rooms were entered at midnight,[19] and his papers seized; on the ninth, Collier, who had been concealing himself, published a Defense of the Absolution, and on the following day the two archbishops, with ten bishops, brought out a

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18. Macaulay, in his account of the episode, says that the clergymen were in the cart under the gallows, and that "just before the hangman did his office", they "stood up, and laid their hands on the heads of the dying men who continued to kneel. Collier pronounced a form of absolution taken from the service for the Visitation of the Sick, and his brethern exclaimed 'Amen!'" (Ibid., V., p. 2612.)

19. Collier says in the Defence: "I confess having received notice that some Persons of Figure threatned me with Imprisonment. I took a little care of my self; and as it happen'd not without reason. For on Monday about Twelve at Night, six or

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paper remonstrating against "the Irregular and Scandalous Proceedings of Certain Clergymen."[20] They declared of Collier and his assistants that "their manner of doing this was extremely insolent and without precedent, either in the Church or any other that we know of .... The rubric in our office of the Visitation of the Sick ...gave them no authority nor pretense for absolving these persons."[21] By 27 April, the Court of Queen's Bench, moved by the Attorney-General and the decision of a jury, had issued an indictment against the three clergymen.[22] Collier absconded, not because he feared punishment, but because he was firm in his purpose not to recognize a court deriving its authority from a usurper. His companions were committed to Newgate on 8 May, on the charge of treasonable practice, but were later freed. Collier, however,

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eight Persons rushed into my Lodgings broke upen a Trunck, and seiz'd some Papers of Value, tho' perfectly Inoffensive, and Foreign to their Purpose. And since, I understand, there is a Bill found against me for High Misdemeanors. And now one would think I had done something very extraordinary."(p.1)

20. The title follows: A Declaration of the Sense of the Archbishops and Bishops now in and about London, upon the occasion of their attendance in Parliament, concerning the Irregular and Scandalous Proceedings of Certain Clergymen at the Execution of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins. Dated 19 April.

21. Quoted by Lathbury, Life, p. lx.

22. Another reference, obviously a superficial comment, speaks of the matter in a different light: "... but such was

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was given a sentence of outlawry. Under this he remained during his life. His Defence brought counter-defenses, and during the resulting controversy, Collier published A Further Vindication of the Absolution, A Reply to the Absolution of a Penitent, and An Answer to the Animadversions on Two Pamphlets lately published by Mr. Collier.[23] The fact that these pamphlets lack the name of the printer, and appeared without title-pages suggests either that Collier did not dare give any clue to his hiding place, or that no printer would risk bringing on his own head trouble with the government.

Collier obviously enjoyed some moments of peace and of what for him was comparative leisure. In 1697, the year after the "absolution" controversy, he brought out his first volume of Essays upon Several Moral Subjects,[24] some of which had earlier appeared separately, or as Miscellanies in Five Essays (1694). The second volume, or the third part,

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the lenity of the government, and his Grace of Canterbury's moderation, in interceding for the delinquents, that no manner of punishment was inflicted on them, and Mr. Collier was not so much as called in question, on account of his great endowments and parts, for justifying his practice in several printed papers. (Quoted from Life of Tennison, in Lathbury's History of Nonjurors, p. 171.)

23. These are dated respectively 21 April, 20 May, and 1 July, 1696. Together with the Defence, they amount to a small work of fifty pages. Lathbury gives an account of an episode like that of the Perkins Case. On 28 January, 1690-1, Collier had attended the execution of a certain Mr Ashton. He had included in the absolution the ceremony of the imposition of hands, and he accordingly cites this case in defense of his usage with respect to Perkins. Collier was suspected in this relationship of having drawn up a paper asserting the

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he published in 1705,[25] and the third volume, or the fourth part, in 1709.[26] An Essay upon Gaming,[27] a dialogue, printed separately in 1713, is bound with the 1720 edition of Volume III. A collected edition came out in 1722. These essays, declares one commentator, "were written with such a mixture of learning and wit, and in a style at once so easy and flowing, that, notwithstanding party prejudices, which are strongly against him, they were in general well received in his own day ..."[28]

In March, 1698, Collier published his Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage. Restoration drama had been causing no little concern to the soberer half of London, for the licentiousness of the comedy in vogue had grown to the point that fashionable taste could be satisfied only by the most profligate of performances. Genest tells us that women attended the playhouse if assured that their modesty would not be too much insulted; or, if overcome by curiosity, they donned masks--but attend they did.[29] Goaded by the wantonness of stage

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author's allegiance to James, and presenting "most malicious insinuations" against the present government. (State Tracts, ii, 105, 115.)

24. In two parts: Pt. I, Miscellanies in Five Essays and a sixth, "The Weakness of Human Reason"; Pt.II consists of seventeen essays. Other editions are : fourth, 1700; fifth, 1703; and sixth, 1722.

25. A third edition of this volume is dated 1720.

26. The second edition dates 1725.

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practices and plays, and their favorite ridicule of the clergy, Collier sharply assailed English dramatists in general, and even more fiercely levelled his satire at Dryden, Congreve and D'Urfey. His startling attack served to crystallize almost immediately the public opinion which up to now had amounted to little more than uneasiness among the stricter citizens, or had manifested itself in the various movements toward reform. This time Collier's cause was popular; he was thought now by many to have atoned for his "crime" of absolving the would-be assassins.[30] King William is said to have considered the work so laudable that he granted Collier a nolo prosequi, to stop any proceedings of the government against him. Colley Cibber observes that this strict calling to account of playwrights "had a very wholesome effect upon those who wrote after this time. They were now a great deal more upon their guard; indecencies were

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27. An Essay upon Gaming, in a Dialogue between Callimachus and Dolomedes.

28. Life, p. xix, prefixed to Pearls of Great Price; or Maxims, Reflections, Characters and Thoughts, on Miscellaneous Subjects: selected from the works of J.C., by the Editor of Sir W. Jones's Discourses, etc. (J.E.) London, 1838.

29. Genest's Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830. Bath, 1832.Vol. II.

30. "His Book had a great run...; the religious part of the Town cry'd it up, and some of the wealthy ones rewarded him, particularly a Presbyterian, Sir Owen Buckingham, an Alderman of London, and Member of Parliament for Reading, sent him 20 Guineas. The Leudness of the stage was in every one's mouth, not without reason, for both Players and Plays were so profane and filthy, that they were a Scandal to the Christian Name." (Oldmixon's History of England, II,p.192)

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no longer wit; and, by degrees, the fair sex came again to fill the boxes on the first day of a new comedy, without fear or censure."[31] King William renewed a previous order against "plays contrary to religion and good manners";[32] employing the very words of The Short View, he adjured the Master of the Revels to be more severe. And this official, then licenser of all plays for the stage, assisted the reformation with such zeal that he sometimes expunged entire scenes and even acts.[33] The accounts of persons--among them actors and actresses and playwrights --brought up for trial, and fined, run into vast numbers. D'Urfey, whose Comical History of Don Quixote Collier flays for its indecency and profane tone, was prosecuted on the charge of profanity in May, 1698.[34] But in reality, beyond certain superficial concessions, matters went on much as before; licentious plays still drew large audiences, and playwrights contiuned to portray the same vices, and to ridicule the clergy. Oldmixon, in his History of England, remarks of Collier's invective:

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31. An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber...written by Himself. Ed. by Edmund Bellchambers, London, 1822. p.265.

32. Oldmixon, History of England during the Reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne and King George I. London, 1735. Vol. II, p.192.

33. Cibber, op.cit., pp. 265,266.

34. E. Gosse, Life of Congreve, 1888, p.119. Cf. Joseph Wood Krutch, Governmental Attempts to Regulate the Stage after

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> Neither the actors nor the poets much regarded it. There was a little awe upon them at first, but it wore off, and this attempt to reform them was the sport of what wit they had in their plays, prologues and epilogues.[35]

Critics generally appear to have overlooked Collier's own admission of his inability to stem the libertinism of the stage. Five years later he wrote that "Poets have rallyed upon the Defeat, and made the most of their Matters"; yet, "finding the Cause too gross and defenceless," they "have since lay'd down, and left the Field".

> But this is not all; the Players have met with farther Instruction: The Laws have been let loose upon them; they have been disciplin'd at Westminster-Hall. However, ... they are Proof against Reason and Punishment, against Fines and Arguments, and come over again with their old Smut and Profaneness. One would think by their desperate Pushing, they were resolv'd to exterminate Religion, and subdue the Conscience of the Kingdom.[36]

Collier's attack brought out answers from Congreve, Van Brugh, D'Urfey, and Dryden, as well as a series of counter-attacks from Dennis, Drake, and Filmer, and defenses of the stage and plays.[37] The futility of, for example, the feeble defense of Congreve was revealed when Collier, again with his hammer-and-tongs method, in 1699 wrote his Defence of the Short View ..., being a Reply to Mr. Congreve's Amendments, and to the Vindication of

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the Jeremy Collier Controversy. p. 154.(P.M.L.A., Vol. 38, 1923)

35. Oldmixon, op.cit.

36. Mr. Collier's Dissuasive from the Play-House in

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the Author of the Relapse. Other opponents were, with no ceremony, served likewise. In reply to Drake's The Ancient and Modern Stages Surveyed, Collier published in 1700 A Second Defence of the Short View..., and eight years later, in response to Dr Filmer's Defense of Plays, A Farther Vindication of the Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage. Two short pieces of Collier's belong to the group of his writings that concern the stage: his Dissuasive from the Play-House; in a Letter to a Person of Quality, Occasion'd By the late Calamity of the Tempest (1703), and A Letter to a Lady concerning the New Play-House (1706).[38] The position of Collier in English criticism, his place in the tradition of Rymer, his opinions and the method of attack employed in The Short View --these, along with a more detailed account of the whole controversy, are deferred to Chapter Six of this Study. On the whole, the intrinsic value of this one work which has kept alive the name of Collier in English literature falls decidedly below that of several of his other productions, notably the Moral Essays and his Sermons.

A Letter To a Person of Quality, Occasioned By the late Calamity of the Tempest. 1703. 10 December. London. (Signed J.C.) p.9.

37. For complete list of the controversial writings, see Bibliography, p. 415.

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The industry and versatility of Collier as a writer are suggested by both the amount and the range of his productivity. In 1689, the year of his first imprisonment, he had snatched time from political controverting to publish his first piece of translation, Books IX,X,XI and XII of the Commentaries of Johannes Sleidanus, who was a sixteenth-century German annalist of the Reformation, and whose record has proved to be the most valuable contemporary history of the time. The original, which had come out in 1554, consists in parallel Latin and German versions. In Part III of Collier's Moral Essays are bound several translations from Latin; he includes here three pieces from St Cyprian:[39] "On the Plague", from the De Mortalitate, "Of the Manners of the Age", which is part of St Cyprian's Letter to his Friend Donatus, and "Of

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38. His attitude here is that exhibited in his other writings on the stage--one of condemnation for the licentious and blasphemous language and action. The Dissuasive followed the tempest which caused great destruction. Collier sees in this an instance of God's judgement, and a warning of further punishment. He comments upon the impression made at the theatre: "We may guess by their acting Macbeth with all its Thunder and Tempest, the same Day: where at the mention of the Chimnies being blown down (Macbeth, p.20) the audience were pleased to clap, at an unusual length of Pleasure and Approbation....Does it not look as if they had a Mind to out-brave the Judgment?" (p.15)

39. He explains in his preface to Pt.III something of the writers translated: Cyprian was a martyred Bishop of Carthage in the third century A.D.; St Gregory, Bishop of Constantinople, lived in the fourth century; and Salvian, of the fifth century, "was a famous Ecclesiastick at Marseilles." (p.v)

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Patience", from the De Bono Patientiae; from St Gregory Nazianzen, Oration 22, in Commendation of the Maccabees; and from Salvian, a selection which Collier has named "Of Unseasonable Diversions", taken from the sixth book of the De Gubernatori Dei; this particular section is a reprimand to the burghers of Treves for asking of the Roman Emporer public spectacles. In 1701 Collier brought out his translation of The Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, His Conversation with himself;[40] he says that, in doing this work:

> I have made use of the quarto edition published in 1677. In which, besides Gataker's annotations, I had the assistance of Monsieur D'Acier's remarks, turned into Latin by Dr. Stanhope. As for his French translation, I never saw it till some time after my own was finished, and part of it printed off.[41]

He notes that his single use of D'Acier concerns a matter of interpretation. Likewise in the year 1701 he produced the first volume of his Great Historical, Geographical, Genealogical, and Poetical Dictionary, which is based on his own translation of the French work by Moreri, with

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40. From the Greek, "Together with the preliminary Discourse of the learned Gataker, etc., to which is added, the Mythological Picture of Cebes the Theban, etc. Translated into English from the respective originals." There were further editions of 1708 and 1726, and in the nineteenth century, in 1887, 1889, 1891, in 1903 a private printing by Nathan Haskell Dole, Boston.

41. Preface to Collier's translation, xvi. The Meditations are in this edition bound with The Apology of Tertullian, trans. by William Reeve. London, 1889.

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numerous expansions and added original articles. The second volume appeared in 1705, and the third, or A Supplement, also in 1705, and again in 1727. The fourth volume, or An Appendix, he published in 1721. In all, these four closely-printed folio volumes must have been a prodigious labor; Lathbury says that "no similar work of equal merit had then appeared in the English language", and that "the articles on Church History and Ecclesiastical Biography are especially valuable" for their full and scholarly information.[42]

While yet engaged with the Dictionary, Collier, having been promised public support of the undertaking, completed and published his Ecclesiastical History of Britain, the first volume in 1708, and the second, in 1714. We find Lathbury commenting in 1852: "It is still amongst the most valuable of our ecclesiastical histories. Its place could not be supplied by any extant work, even though one hundred and thirty-two years have elapsed since the appearance of the second volume."[43] The honesty and impartiality of Collier, and his inclusion of material, some of it rare, have been selected for especial praise. The careful handling of sources indicates Collier's recognition of the need to substantiate historical accounts

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42. Life, xviii, xix. For comment upon yet another possible translation of Collier s, see p. post.

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with scholarly references. In the preface to Volume I, he makes note of a mistake "into which I was led, by the fault of the transcriber of Bede".[44] This mention of an erratum, and its correction are significant. Collier begins his history by depicting the inhabitants of Great Britain before the introduction of Christianity; he sets forth the opinions and practices of the Druids, moves over into the Roman conquest, all the while citing authorities copiously, and, with like procedure, traces English ecclesiastical events, in Book I, through the Norman conquest. The second volume treats the period of the Reformation to the close of the reign of Charles II. Because of Collier's views --and without doubt, also because of earlier political dissension --, he was attacked by Nicholson, Kennet, and Burnet, divines whose prejudices ran as strongly in an opposite direction. Never one to let a charge go unanswered, Collier replied,[45] in 1715 and 1717, with his usual vigour, proving that the alleged mistakes were not errors, and exposing his opponents to crit-

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43. Ibid., xx.

44. "In the 82nd page of the following history, I have reported Damanius Deusdedit's successor in the see of Canturbury. But this is a plain corruption of Bede's copy, for Theodorus succeeded Deusdedit. And as for Damianus, he was never archbishop of Canterbury, but died upon the see of Rochester." (Preface, xxii)

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icism. Many of the objections of these bishops hung upon questions relevant to nonjuring principles, and were probably motivated by ecclesiastical prejudice. Here again Collier is charged with popery, an accusation that now and again cropped up during his life, but one that was never justified.

After the accession of Anne to the throne, it was rather generally expected and hoped that Collier would waive his scruples, and swear to the oath of allegiance. In spite of the attempts to effect this --among them promises of church preferment—, he remained obdurate in holding to the principles that he had embraced at the start of the Revolution. Since his ejection from the post at Gray's Inn, he had supported himself largely by his writings; part of the time he lived in retirement, part of it in actual hiding. For some years he acted as minister to an independent nonjuring congregation, in a room two flights up in Broad Street, London. And it is said, too, that in these lodgings[46] he employed Thomas Carte, the historian, as his assistant, and Samuel Jebb as his librarian.[47]

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45. An Answer to some Exceptions in Bishop Burnet's Third Part of the History of the Reformation, etc., against Mr. Collier's Ecclesiastical History; together with a Reply to some remarks in Bishop Nicholson's Historical Library upon the same subject. 1715.

Some Remarks on Dr. Kennet's Second and Third Letters..., 1717, fol. (Included in Vol. IX, Lathbury's edition of Collier's Ecclesiastical History.)

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On some occasions Collier uses the pseudonym of J. Smith; once he signs this name in a letter to a publisher with respect to a forthcoming book, asking him to frame an advertisement in such a way as not to suggest to the public a "quarreling humor".[48]

To his persistent loyalty to ideals and his apparent genius for directing controversies, Collier owes his position as leader of the nonjurors. This particular aspect of his life constitutes in itself a lengthy chapter of ecclesiastical history. It may be briefly summarized; after the church schism, Sancroft, by delegating his archiepiscopal powers to another deprived Anglican bishop, provided the means of perpetuating the division, and of continuing the succession of bishops. In 1713 Collier was consecrated a bishop by Hickes, the only remaining nonjuror of that rank, and by two Scottish bishops, who henceforth joined forces with the English body. After Hickes's death, in 1715, Collier was the most eminent man among the

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46. Macaulay, telling of the necessity for nonjurors to meet congregations secretly, says: "Even Collier, who had all the qualities which attract large audiences, was reduced to be the minister of a little knot of malcontents, whose oratory was on a second floor in the city. But the nonjuring clergymen who were able to obtain even a pittance by officiating at such places were very few."(Hist. of Eng., Vol. V, p. 1729)

47. D.N.B.; also Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century; comprizing Biographical Memoirs of William Bowyer, Printer. London, 1812, Vol. II, p. 473.

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group, and acted as its leader until the nonjurors in turn split into two communions-- factions caused by a dispute over church ritual. In 1716 and in 1722 he joined in the consecration of others to the episcopal office, thereby emphasizing the separation from the Mother Church. The controversy among the nonjurors themselves centered about certain questions of prayer and ministration of the Eucharist, and is represented by a considerable number of writings from eminent ecclesiasts. With respect to Collier, one of the initial moves of his faction consisted in their demand for adherence to the Communion Office from the First Prayer Book of Edward (1549), as preferable to the altered version of 1552.

In 1717 Collier published his Reasons for Restoring some Prayers and Directions As they stand in the Communion Service of the First English Reform'd Liturgy.[49] He and

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48. In 1712 Collier was invited by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to write a treatise on the abuse of music, to be distributed among music-teachers, in an effort to dissuade them from teaching lewd songs, and composing music to profane ballads. He declined this on the plea of working upon his history.

49. Other writings of Collier growing out of this controversy are:

A Defence of the Reasons for Restoring some Prayers and Directions of King Edward VIth's First Liturgy: being a reply to a book entituled, No Reason for Restoring them. 1718.

A Further Defence; being an Answer to a Reply to the Vindication of the Reasons and Defence for Restoring, &c. 1736. (1719)

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his group pronounced as 'essential' four particular usages, and accordingly were termed 'essentialists'. In 1718 there was published the new communion office, which was chiefly

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A Vindication of the Reasons and Defence &c. Part I being a Reply to the First Part of No Sufficient Reason. 1718. Part II being a Reply to the Second Part of No Sufficient Reason. 1719.

A Communion Office, taken partly from Primitive Liturgies, and partly from the first English Reformed Prayer Book; together with Offices for Confirmation and Visitation of the Sick. 1718.

Further defenses of the restoration of the Usages were as follows:

Hickes, Unbloody Sacrifice

Johnson, Christian Priesthood

Brett, Tradition necessary to explain and interpret the Holy Scriptures, With a Postscript, in answer to that part of a book lately published, (called No Sufficient Reason,&c,) which seems to depreciate Tradition. 1718.

Campbell, The Middle State

Brett's Collection of the Principal Liturgies used by the Christian Church, in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, particularly the Ancient; viz. the Clementine, as it stands in the book called the Apostolical Constitutions, the liturgies of St. James, St. Mark, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, &c.; with a Dissertation upon them, showing their usefulness and authority, and pointing out their several corruptions and interpolations. 1720.

Works opposed to the restoration of the Usages follow:

Spinkes, No Reason for Restoring the Prayers and Directions of Edward VIth's First Liturgy.

..... No Sufficient Reason for Restoring some Prayers, ...By a Nonjuror. 1718.

(Spinkes?)No Just Grounds for introducing the New Communion Office, or denying Communion to those who cannot think themselves at liberty to Reject the Liturgy of the Church of England for its sake: in answer to a late Appendix, and to the Learned and Reverend Dr. Brett's Postscript. By a Nonjuror. 1719.

Anonymous, Mr. Collier's Desertion Discussed; or the Offices of Worship in the Liturgy of the Church of England against the bold attacks of that Gentleman.

Spinkes issued yet another answer to the Vindication of the Reasons and Defence,&c. Others who joined him in oppos-

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the work of Collier, and which was used at Easter of that year. A new schism resulted when communion with those who held to the Common Prayer-Book was forbidden; and Collier was again accused of sympathy with Roman Catholic doctrine. As we shall note later, he declares himself strongly against their beliefs, although at first view the usages of which he urges adoption seem scarcely removed from those of Rome.[50]

Meanwhile Collier was participating actively in yet another matter of ecclesiastical importance--that of an attempt to form a union with the Eastern Church. This activity followed a visit to England from the Archbishop of Thebais. The lengthy correspondence which ensued with the Russian Court, and which amounts to about thirty letters, was carried on between the Eastern patriarchs, chiefly through the Czar Peter I, and the four nonjuring bishops. Two of these Englishmen were even chosen to go to Russia, to trans-

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ing Collier were Gandy, Taylor, and Bedford.

50. Macaulay remarks that Collier "belonged to that sectionof the Church of England which lies furthest from Geneva and nearest to Rome". ("Leigh Hunt", in Critical and Historical Essays, ed. by F.C.Montague, London, 1903. Vol. III, p. 35.)

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act the affair; but the project was suddenly brought to an end in 1725 by the death of the Czar.[51] A study of these letters and tracts reveals at least two factors of interest with respect to Collier --the straitened circumstances of the nonjurors and the patent lack of grounds for the charge of Romish sympathy.

In the year before his death, Collier published a book of thirteen sermons, called Several Discourses upon Practical Subjects (1725); his last printed piece was another sermon, God not the Author of Evil (1726). Biographers emphasize the idea that, because during his latter years he was afflicted with very severe and prolonged suffering, his literary output was lessened; but it would be difficult to imagine a man of the activity of Collier who, with equal learning and research, could produce more of the same quality.[52] Obviously he was living his own admonitions to "bear pain decently", and "to be prudent to do something". He died 26 April, 1726, at the age of seventy-six, and was buried in London, in the churchyard of St Pancras.

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51. Cf. Lathbury's History of the Nonjurors, Chap.VIII, for an account of the affair, and for some of the letters promoting it. Collier signs himself as "Jeremias, Primus-Anglo-Britanniae Episcopus".

52. Cf. p.416,Bibliography, for complete list of Collier's writings.

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Collier's writings amount to over twenty volumes, besides a number of separate pieces --controversial pamphlets, sermons, "persuasives", letters, and prefaces. From this total there can be drawn a collection of essays, dialogues, and sermons which in themselves show a certain unity of purpose, and which serve as an index to the ideas of Collier. And as we see in his prose a clear expression of his thought --whether in some phase of psychology and metaphysics, of ethics and religion, or of society and the stage --, we find at the same time the reflection of current trends.

As a literary genre the essay had by 1700 arrived at one of its most prolific and useful stages of development. During the century, a practical spirit presaging the coming age of reason and common sense had gradually supplanted the earlier heavy tone of moralizing with a theological bent. At times there manifested itself a tendency to fuse the rational with mystical speculations, as in the discourses of the Cambridge Platonists. A rather steady characteristic of the essay--whether or not of theological coloring-- remained a love for treating the abstract: truth, fame, friendship, thought, anger --such as these intrigued the writer of the moral essay, which, at the last decades of the seventeenth century, was in a

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yet vigorous stage. Upon dissection, this form of prose is seen often to be an hybrid, an admixture of shorter pieces then so generally found as to merit the name of literary type: the character, the apothegm, the meditation, the paradox, all exceedingly popular after their flourishing revival among the Elizabethans. Especially did later writers depend upon a lavish sprinkling of epigrams both to give authoritative weight and to lend to their own reflection piquancy of flavor. Add the judicious interweaving of historical anecdotes and sententious utterances from the ancients, and one has the content of the seventeenth-century essay fairly well suggested. Classical influences, too, are obvious, sometimes in tone, often in style, sometimes the one growing out of the other. The Senecan tradition of the familiar letter, the pointed epigram of Martial, the satire of Juvenal, the plain rhetoric and common sense of Cicero --these were known through translations, through modified versions coming into England along with other Italian literary culture, and through direct acquaintance with the originals. A corresponding, though more restricted, influence is noticeable toward the closing years of the century in the cultivation of the French maxim, which had received its full polish and devel-

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opment in the salon of Madame de Sablé; here, near Port Royal, in her circle of cultured recluses from Paris, numbering among its great the nmaes of Pascal, La Rochefoucauld, and St Evremond, moral observations and worldly cynicism found clever expression in aphoristic prose.

The style, too, of the essay underwent a gradual change during the seventeenth century; the terse, rather labored manner of Bacon remained popular during the earlier decades, and even much later, writers adopted fantastic measures of antithesis and balance, and conceited diction, to achieve their effects. Under French influence this inclination lessened, to give prose less artificiality, and more natural ease, even at times a diffuseness.[53] The movement toward stylistic simplicity, away from affectation, aligns itself with the tendency toward practical ethics. The very fondness for the maxim and the pointed cleverness of the character helped to condition a style that steadily grew clearer, and less swaddled in verbosity.

In an estimate of the essay of this period, the widespread borrowing is not to be overlooked. Many a writer, utilizing -- often none too cleverly -- the ideas and, as well, the style and structure of forerunners,

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53. Df. E.N.S. Thompson, The Seventeenth-Century English Essay. 1926. Univ. of Iowa, Humanistic Studies, Vol. III, No. 3, p.119 ff.

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amounted to little more than a literary scavanger; and many a discourse depended for its seeming eruditeness upon the convenient commonplace-books of apothegms and examples. Both Bacon and Montaigne had leaned heavily upon such collections, and were in turn well-mined by their successors. A popular volume edited several times before Bacon's day affords an example in point: the Aphorismes Civill and Militarie of Francesco Guicciardini, maxims drawn originally from the writings of Machiavelli.[54] Bacon first copied after Guicciardini and others of the Italian group, and later turned to Montaigne and to French maxims.[55] That later essayists became the disciples of Bacon is an acknowledged fact; but it should not be forgotten that Bacon, too, served a discipleship, and that he therefore belongs in a tradition of shrewd borrowing and facile quoting of phrase, Scriptural and otherwise, to his own ends. The classics, then, the Bible, well-known essayists --Montaigne, Bacon, LaBruyère --, and such collections as the Apophthegms of Erasmus and the Maxims of La Rochefoucauld-- all fit into the pattern of the seventeenth-century essay.

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54. Cf. Thompson, ibid. One of these editions was translated in England by Robert Hitchcock in 1590, as the Quintessence of Wit. Other favorites were: the Factorum and Dictorum Memorabilium of Valerius Maximus; La Silvia di Varia Leccion, of Pedro di Mexia (trans. 1576), and the Theatrum Mundi of Pierre Bouaystuau (trans. second half of sixteenth century).

55. Thompson, ibid., p. 106.

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All these, and more too, went into the making of Collier's essays, and that he was well aware of the dangers of plagiarism, he indicates in a preface. Since he disapproved of the effusiveness and flattery involved in dedicatory epistles, he affixes but few comments to his volumes. In a brief piece To the Reader, Volume One of his Essays, he says, "I easily forsee some People will be disobliged with the Freedom of these Papers, and think themselves treated with too little ceremony." However, he adds, "to sweeten their Humour as much as may be, they may please to consider that there was no Good to be done in this Case without Plain-dealing." There are here "no particular Characters attempted; nor is there the least Intention to provoke, or expose any Person Living."

> Besides, when a Piece, like this, is drawn from so many different Faces; the mixing of Features and Complexions, will keep the Originals from being discover'd. In short, the Design of this small Discourse is only to make Men more Useful and Acceptable to Society, and more Easie to themselves then they generally are...[56]

The preface of Part Three he begins by remarking that, "the two former Parts being not unkindly receiv'd", he had been encouraged to bring out a new volume; "the Business of These Papers is to support our Spirits, to moderate our Censures, and our Passions, and help us to keep our Feet where the Ground is most Slippery". He goes on to explain

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56. To the Reader, p. 2. By "small Discourse" he refers to the first dialogue On Pride.

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the general moral purpose of the essays.

In the preface to the last volume, Collier declares that he had "almost resolv'd to go no farther in this Kind of Writing: for...'tis no very easie Business not to miscarry".

> The Ground is beaten, as well as slippery, and the Subjects either barren, or seiz'd. Theophrastus and Tully, Montaigne and Bacon, Bruyere and Bellegard, not to mention others, have exercis'd their Fancy this way.
>
> These are Names of Character, and most of them Authors of the first Class. Meno of their Genius and Improvement, are most likely to glean up the best Thoughts, and draw off the Spirit of the Argument. When the Mine has been work'd by such Hands, what need we wonder if 'tis almost spent.
>
> I grant, 'tis possible to raise New Notions out of an Old Theme: There's no constant Necessity of Borrowing, or Coincidence. Different Inventions, and later Discoveries in Philosophy and Religion, are some Relief this way. But then these Succours won't always do. I must confess, I found some Difficulty to gain fresh Quarters, and get into a Track by myself.[57]

Of the forty-six moral essays in the three volumes, exactly one half are written in the form of dialogue. This, says Collier, he "pitched upon" because "by this fiction of a Conference, the Reader's Fancy is sometimes better engag'd, and the Impression goes deeper im his Memory. Besides, where a question is to be argu'd on both sides,

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57. To the Reader, IV.

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the objections appear more naturally out of the Mouths of the contending Parties: And the Cause seems to have the fairer Tryal, when the Plaintiff and Defendant are in Court. However all Subjects won't so well bear this Method, and therefore for this reason, and for the sake of Variety, some of them are treated in a continu'd Discourse."[58] Since a treatment of Collier's essays with respect to form and style occurs elsewhere, it suffices here to characterize his dialogues as Ciceronian: the thought throughout is usually that of the author, and is so fully developed that speeches in the mouths of one character serve only for reiteration and emphasis of ideas, or for the posing of natural doubts that afford greater expansion of the argument.

Matters of style and form in the essays of Collier are, of course, suggestive of further development; so, too, is the fact that while about him clung the echoes of the passing century, there lay immediately ahead the era of Addison and Steele, with its amiable periodical. But these can here assume only a secondary importance. This study of Jeremy Collier has a twofold aim: first, to present a comprehensive view of his ideas and attitudes, as they are reflected in his essays and dialogues; and second,

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58. The Preface, III, p.iii.

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by affiliating these ideas with others of that age, to indicate contemporary trends of thought, and vestiges, or perhaps the renascence, of the intellectual life and values of the past.

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II. PSYCHOLOGY

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PSYCHOLOGY

Thomas Lipps has maintained that psychology is identical with philosophy in general, and that metaphysics, aesthetics, and ethics are its different parts.[1] In light of this broad interpretation, and with religion and social theory added, Collier's philosophy, analyzed as a progressive scheme, can be resolved into a definite pattern, each phase contributing to the whole, and that whole resting on its interest in the problem of *being*. This interest, expanded in its cosmological aspects, tends toward speculation in metaphysics; in its subjective aspect, it remains a problem in psychology. From Collier's conception of traits peculiar to human nature, there develop generalizations that lead to social theory and criti-

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1. Thomas Lipps, *Psycologie, Wissenschaft und Leben*, cited in Harald Hoffding's *Problems of Philosophy*, trans. by G.M.Fisher, New York, 1906. Cf. p. 12, ff.

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cism. A consideration of man's instincts and consciousness, particularly will, evolves a moral scheme, which the ethical side of personality demands. And finally, the part of being which realizes itself most intensely and most emotionally is represented in religion. For Collier, who is seldom moved by the purely aesthetic, the question of art becomes a rather necessary consequence of his moral and religious attitudes, a question well-nigh divorced from the problem of being.

A fundamental concept in the thought of Collier is that of an absolute dualism of spirit and matter. Dualism itself originates in the idea of a future life, and, as Professor Brett has expressed it, the mystical doctrine that the body is the tomb of the soul becomes, through Plato, the basis of all psychology that admits a hereafter, whether attained through transmigration or resurrection. A religious confidence in resurrection provides at least one limit, or rather, milestone, in the life of the soul.[2] As for the other extreme --the beginning or birth of the soul--Collier rejects the Platonic state of pre-existence, the Epicurean theory of atomic constitution, and the Stoic idea of the soul as a fragment of the 'world-soul' diffused

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2. George Sidney Brett, A History of Psychology, London, 1912, Vol. I, p. 43.

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throughout the body; in harmony with the Pauline psychology, he upholds creationism. The Scripture is unquestionably definite on this point.

Collier's dialogue A Thought[3] affords an excellent introduction to his scheme of psychology. There are two speakers: Lucretianus --obviously well-named in that he symbolizes the position of the believers in atomism and materialism--expounds the theory that thought originates in the mechanism of the body. Hylarchus, the mouthpiece of Collier, arguing for the immateriality of soul, and the consistency of matter as extension only, asserts his belief in the dualism of body and soul. He wholly overcomes the other's objections, and wins from him an admission of the error of the scheme. A more detailed examination of the dialogue reveals rather definitively the position of Collier in relation to his age, and the affiliation of his ideas with those of contemporary metaphysical writers. Hylarchus thus begins the dialogue:

> I Have often thought what it is to Think; and the more I press the Enquiry, the farther I am from Satisfaction. The Operations of the Mind are so peculiar, so foreign to all the other Appearances of Nature, that 'tis hard to assign them a proper Original. Without Thinking,

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3. Essays upon several Moral Subjects (1697-1713), 3 vols.; II, pp. 72 ff. All essays and dialogues used in this study are included in these three volumes; they will hereafter be designated in notes by volume and page.

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> we can have no Sense of Being;and with it, we are we cannot tell what. So that the same Faculty seems to make us acquainted with, and Strangers to our selves.
>
> Lucretianus. I am surpriz'd to find you entangled in so slender a Difficulty. Thinking every Body knows is the Work of the Brain: That is the Forge in which all the Speculations of the Understanding, and the Appetites of the Will, are hammer'd out.

He here launches out upon an explanation of the origin of ideas through the nerves, animal spirits, and brain-fibers. Hylarchus then describes the difficulties in the way of such a scheme, in the case of both sensation and imagination. He concludes with the assertion that any mechanical solution of the origin of thought is impossible: animal spirits and brain-fibers are matter, and matter does not possess sensibility, because it is "nothing but Extension variously figured":

> At present let me tell you, since both the Fibres, and Spirits, are Material, I think it impossible for them to produce Effects, so much above the Vigour of the Cause. You may as well expect that two Bowls should grow sensible by Rubbing? as that the Rencounter of any Bodies, should awaken them into Perception and Reasoning. The whole Force of Mechanism, consists in Matter and Motion. Matter is nothing but Extention, that is, Length, Breadth, and Depth. And Motion implies no more than a Change of Situation in the parts of Matter. Now these two Ingredients, though never so well mix'd, will not rise into the Composition of a Spirit. Thoughts, and Dimensions, are the most incompatible, unresembling Things in Nature. To make the first out of the later, is a harder Metamorphosis than any is in Ovid. Who ever

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> heard of an Ounce of Pain, and an Ince of Desire, or an Ell of Contemplation ....this I know, That all your Transmutations can never hunt a Body out of Extention. You may divide, or consolidate; alter the Superficies, the Bulk, or Place; quicken the Motion, or interrupt the Quiet; but after all 'twill have Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity, in spight of Fate. ...And what affinity has Thinking with such Attributes as these? No more than there is between a Syllogism and a Yard-wand.

Hylarchus then concludes that "because Extension and Cogitation are unallied in the Ideas, and this later is not implied in the Notion of Matter," the faculty of thought can not belong to what is material. He continues.

> That the full Notion of Corporeity is comprized within the Three Dimensions, is as clear as that Two and Two makes Four. To these Dimensions add what Dose of Motion you please, and then you have raised the whole Posse of Mechanism. And when you have disciplined it in all Postures, and Figures, 'twill be Matter and Motion still. For you may better suppose, That a Mouse may produce an Elephant, than that Matter and Motion should propogate out of their own Species. Now these Two Principles fall vastly short of the Notion of Consciousness; and are no more like Perception, than Colours resemble Sound.

The "functions of Life and Reasoning", then, proceed from "an immaterial substance", and body and soul are quite distinct; further, since a spirit has no extension, it can have no parts, and it is indivisible, and immortal. Lucretianus objects that by such a scheme "all Communication between Soul and Body is cut off"; but nothing is more certain than that these two interact --how, he does not un-

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derstand. Hylarchus admits his inability to explain bodily motivation. But he does offer a theory that will be seen to be a fundamental idea with Collier:

> I believe this mysterious Correspondence depends on the Laws of the Union; which by Sovereign Appointment are order'd to consist in a certain Reciprocation of Thoughts and Motions, and so vice versa.
>
> Lucretianus. You mean, when I would move my finger, God directs the Organ for such a performance: And on the other hand, gives me Ideas suitable to the Presence of sensible Objects, and to the State of the Union.
>
> Hylarchus. Right.[4] ...'Tis probable the Divine Oeconomy has setled such an interchangeable Train of Thoughts, and Motions, between Soul and Body, that as soon as the occasional Hints spring out, the other will as constantly follow, as if they were produced by the most immediate Causality...[5]

Earlier, in speculating on the nature of sensation, he has said:

> ...There is no natural Connexion between Thought and Matter and Motion: Or that the Soul and Body do not act by direct Force upon each other. 'Tis true, Sensations and Passions, seem to depend upon a particular Set of Motions: And the Body, on the other hand, seems to fall into different Postures by the Orders of the Mind; yet these Effects may not result from any mutual Agency, but meerly from the Will of a Third Power.[6]

Finally Hylarchus declares that his opponent, in view of

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4. Thought, p. 84.

5. Ibid., p. 87.

6. Ibid., p. 86.

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the liberty, extent, abstractions, and singularities of operation of thought, must "assign it a nobler Original than Matter and Motion;" thoughts, he says, "are conceived in full Maturity, and step into Perfection at first. They scorn the Gradations of Bodies, and the heavy Successions of Motion". Thereupon Lucretianus admits that he finds "the System of a Mechanical Soul wretchedly ridiculous", and Hylarchus concludes with a final thrust at materialists: "All the Branches of Scepticism are [ridiculous]. If the Success of our Hobbists were no better than their Reasoning, they would have few Disciples."[7]

These ideas, thus condensed from the dialogue, suggest a close relationship to several prominent trends of contemporary thought, both in England and on the continent. Here Collier, as the body of churchmen then did, takes his stand squarely against the materialism of Hobbes, the first great exponent of a mechanical philosophy. An equally strong force was the system of Descartes, the first to formulate complete and clear-cut dualism.[8] Thought to him is as real as matter, the essence of which is extension; opposed to this res extensa is the res cogitans, or thought. Each is subject to its own set of

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7. Thought, p. 90. Elsewhere, in speaking of the power of self-restraint, he points to this quality as proof of the distinction of spirit, and matter and motion; "For that Atomes should Discipline themselves at this rate,

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laws. In England the influence of Descartes began to be felt around the middle of the seventeenth century. It is pertinent here, inasmuch as Collier is in certain respects akin to the Cambridge Platonists, to mention the association of Descartes with that group. Henry More carried on with him, in 1648- 1649, an elaborate Latin correspondence, in which he implies that the Cartesian philosophy had already gained a footing in Cambridge.[9] It has been said that it was largely through John Smith that the French philosopher came to be studied there.[10] Certainly Nathanael Culverwel was familiar with Descartes. Yet another of the later group, Ralph Cudworth, as well as More, was beginning with the Cartesian basis of reason to effect a theological approach to truth.[11] Thus Descartes lent impetus

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check their own agreeable Progress, and clap one another under Hatches; is very unconceivable. Atomes don't use to be so cross as this comes to." (p. 196, Of Pleasure, II)

8. Cf. William C.D. Dampier-Whetham, A History of Science and Its Relations with Philosophy and Religion, New York. 1931. p. 149.

9. John Tulloch, Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century. London, 1874 . Vol. II, p. 17.

10. E.T.Campagnac, The Cambridge Platonists. Oxford, 1901. p. xii, Introduction.

11. Tulloch, op. cit., p. 18.

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and enthusiasm to a movement already in existence among the Cambridge Platonists, who, however, in certain respects pulled away from his influence. Hobbes, a nominalist, who condemned Cartesian dualism, and "took sensation, thought and consciousness as phantasms due to the action of atoms in the brain,"[12] was considered by the Platonists to be an alarming and formidable antagonist of the first order. They, in the words of an historian of science, recognized that "a theory which made extension and its modes the only real properties of bodies could not explain life and thought, and tried to reconcile religion and mechanical philosophy by an apotheosis of space. This process was carried further by Malebranche, who identified Infinite Space with God Himself, a substitute for the Aristotelian Pure Form or Absolute Actuality. ... God is thus the immanent cause of a pantheistic Universe, and the Cartesian dualism of mind and matter is resolved in a higher unity when viewed sub specie aeternitatis. In one shape or another,

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12. Dampier-Whetham, op.cit., p. 151.

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contemporary philosophers escaped from their growing difficulties by the appeal to God."[13]

Not the least of these difficulties was the attempt, after a recognition of the dualism in man, to unify the two forces--an attempt which in itself goes over into the metaphysical. Of the "Occasionalists" who developed the spiritualistic side of Cartesianism, Nicholas Malebranche (1638-1715) is probably the most noteworthy. A French priest, he has been characterized as an able exponent of the "mystical or Augustinian factor in Cartesian philosophy."[14] Combining methods of observation and mystical interpretation, he held that both spiritual and physical phenomena are directly produced by God, with no causal force operating between the two aspects of being--a belief illustrative of the tendency of certain thinkers who preferred to look to God, rather than matter, as the prime originator.

Through this very brief suggestion of lines of thought relevant to Collier, it is obvious that in the seventeenth century, even toward the end, psychology was still much a part of metaphysics, and that as a science it was only beginning to operate in the yet hazy light of con-

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13. Loc.cit.

14. Brett, op. cit., II, p. 226ff.

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trolled experiment. Collier's psychology bears a marked resemblance to the Cartesian scheme; and in certain particularized respects, it becomes affiliated with the ideas of Malebranche, perhaps more than with those of any other one contemporary.[15] In the latter's thought, the distinction between a material body and an immaterial soul is a basic tenet. To him insight is the essence of knowledge, which is bestowed by the direct action of God on the human mind. All knowledge becomes, then, a kind of intuition, only in part dependent upon our will to know. Thus, in saying that consciousness is a purely mental inner state, he is accepting the principle of Descartes, who by the term "consciousness" designates the powers of knowledge, willing, and perceiving, and accepts thought as proof for the existence of spiritual substance. Hence the famous "I think, therefore I am."[16] It is with this hypothesis that Collier opens his dialogue on Thought; minus thinking, we can have no sense of being. His use of this may

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15. English translations of De la Recherche de la Vérité (1674-5) were made by R. Gault, 1692, and T.Taylor, 1694. Malebranche's Méditations chrétiennes et metaphysiques appeared in 1683.

16. Cf. The Principles of Philosophy, Prin. IX, Vol. I, p. 222.(In The Philosophical Works of Descartes, trans. by E.S.Haldane and R.T.Ross, Cambridge, 1911.)

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of course be attributable to these French philosophers; and we find the idea also in the City of God, of St Augustine, whose writings Collier knew well, and whom he frequently cites. But what is the essence of the soul, of mind, of thought? Collier makes some very definite negations, but he comes ultimately to much the same conclusion as does Malebranche: we recognize the potentiality for knowledge, but that knowledge is actualized directly through God, not through any mediary cause.

Collier's idea that correspondence between body and soul depends upon "the Laws of the Union", directed by "Divine Oeconomy", finds an exact counterpart in Malebranche, who often employs the phrases "the Laws of Union" and "the laws of the conjunction of soul and body";[17] he deals particularly with that belief in his Twelfth Dialogue on Metaphysics, and also in his Treatise of Morality, and in his Recherche. The seventh Dialogue on Metaphysics presents a résumé of "the inefficacy of natural causes", and an exposition of the lack of union of body and soul except through God, to whom each of us is direct-

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17. Dialogues on Metaphysics and on Religion, trans. by Morris Ginsberg, New York, 1923. p. 297, ff; also A Treatise of Morality, trans. by James Shipton, London, 1699, pp. 93, 96.

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ly united. Here, as in Collier's similar piece on Thought, we find the argument in part revolving about the potentialities of matter, and the possible interaction of mind and body. Theodore, the voice of the author, says:

> Experience teaches me that I feel pain... when a pin pricks me. That is certain. But here let us stop, for experience does not teach us that a pin can act on our mind nor that it has any power ...
>
> Aristes. I do not believe ...that a pin can act upon my mind. But it might be said perhaps that it can act upon my body and through my body upon my mind in consequence of their conjunction, for I admit that matter cannot act immediately on a mind...
>
> Theodore. But your body, is it not matter?
>
> Aristes. Yes, certainly.
>
> Theodore. Your body, then, cannot act immediately upon your mind. Thus, if your finger be pricked by a pin, though your brain be disturbed by its action, neither the one nor the other can act upon your soul or cause it to feel pain; for neither the one nor the other can act immediately upon the mind, since your brain and your finger are nothing but matter.

Aristes then admits that it is not his soul which produces pain, for "it suffers pain despite itself"; the pain must come from some external cause. And that cause is God, who so acts "in consequence of the general laws of the conjunction of body and soul".[18] Collier reflects

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18. Dialogues, pp. 180,181.

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this same idea in a dialogue Of the Resurrection; it is completely out of our power to prevent pain. More directly he explains its origin in his essay entitled Pain:

> Since Pain is not the necessary result of Matter and Motion ... we may from hence infer,
> 1st, That we may be reach'd by Pain, tho' we were nothing but pure Spirit: For since Corporeity can never be refined to Thought, nor Atomes made capable of Consciousness, 'twill follow that the Soul, tho' never so much disengag'd, and uncompounded, may be as liable to dolorous Sensations, as if she had the Body of a Giant about her. Thus we may be hungry without a Stomach, rack'd without Limbs, and stabb'd without either the Instruments or the Organs of Pain: In short, all those troublesome Perceptions which now seize us through our Senses, may as intelligibly affect us without them; since the whole Process and Force of the Execution depends solely on the Pleasure of the First Cause. For to speak plainly, Matter and Motion are but bare Lookers on, the Sentiments both of Pain, and Satisfaction, being immediately bestow'd by God himself.
> 2ndly, If it be demanded whether a Thought can rack a Man as much as bodily Pain, it may be answered in the affirmative; For God who is perfectly Master of the Creature, can easily strike without the Intervention of Matter. Omnipotence needs no Assistance either to punish or to please. Besides, Body and Spirit are so very foreign, and unresembling, that they can neither act nor suffer reciprocally, or entertain any Commerce with each other, by virtue of their respective Qualities and Nature.[19]

The explanation thus far of mind and soul reveals largely an approach from metaphysical and theological viewpoints. As Professor Dessoir has said, "The facts

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19. III, pp. 22,23.

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of consciousness do not themselves permit of measurement, or even of accurate comparison." And "if they are to be scientifically understood, ... they must be referred to stimuli, and especially to the physiological system. A parallelism between mental and bodily processes cannot be proved metaphysically, but is an hypothesis indispensable to psychology."[20] The study of the mind had always been allied with that of the body, and interest in this relationship had become intensified by the time that Collier was writing. The shift in emphasis to man himself was a departure from the mediaevalists' concern chiefly for astronomy and optics. It is now a commonplace that to this shift modern biology and physiology owe their origin, and that there was then a corollary development of concern for mechanisms of animal motion.[21] The first person to break with the traditional Galenic physiology was Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564), who studied the human body at first hand,[22] with his primary interest in structure rather than functions. In 1628 Harvey made known his results from observing the circulation of blood in living animals when he published his Anatomical Studies on the Motion of the Heart and Blood. The natural result in the minds of those who accepted Harvey's conclusions was a tendency to divest of

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metaphysical trappings their theories of the body, and instead to reduce them to the more tangible level of mechanical processes. But it "remained for Descartes to formulate a statement which described the integrative activity of the animal in terms of automatic, self-acting mechanism."[23] His chief contributions to physiological psychology are contained in The Passions of the Soul, published in 1649, and in the Traité de l'Homme, 1662.[24] Descartes rejected in part Harvey's ideas concerning the circulation of blood. Instead he holds to a scheme of blood vapors which, passing through arteries into brain-ventricles, reach the pineal gland, the seat of the soul, there to cause perceptions, or, on more violent collision, emotions. He employs the current belief

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20. Max Dessoir, Outlines of the History of Psychology, trans. by Donald Fisher, N.Y. 1912, p. 99.

21. Franklin Fearing, Reflex Action, A Study in the History of Physiological Psychology. Baltimore, 1930. p. 15.

22. He published in 1543 the "Structure of the Human Body", said to be the beginning of modern anatomy. (Fearing, p. 16.)

23. Fearing, op. cit., pp. 15-18.

24. Of the latter, Fearing remarks that it is "probably the first attempt to present systematically a coherent description of bodily responses in terms of actual--or hypothetical--neuro-muscular structures." (Ibid., p19)

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in "animal spirits", which through motion within the nerves effect bodily action;[25] gaseous in nature, and derived from the blood by a process of distillation, they are "nothing but material bodies and their one peculiarity is that they are bodies of extreme minuteness and that they move very quickly like the particles of the flame which issues from a torch."[26]

The supposed relation of these particles to ideas is given treatment in the dialogue Thought when Lucretianus is made to support the theory:

> The Brain has a great many small Fibres, or Strings in its Texture; which according to the different Strokes they receive from the Animal Spirits, awaken a correspondent Idea, and give us Notices of Things which we call Thoughts ... Nerves, which are their Origin in the Brain, are branched out into a great many fine Subdivisions, and spread upon all the Surface of the Body, They are the Channels in which the Animal Spirits move: So that as soon as any foreign Object presses upon the Sense, those Spirits which are posted upon the Out-guards, immediately take the Alarm, and scower off to

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25. This concept is especially utilized in Elizabethan literature. The 'spirits' are a highly attenuated and lively form of matter, acting as the go-between for man's spiritual part, rational soul, and the body. Cf. pp. 317, 318, Edward Dowden's "Elizabethan Psychology", in Essays Modern and Elizabethan, (London, 1910), also Ruth L. Anderson's Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays. Humanistic Studies, Univ. of Iowa, Vol. III, No. 4, 15 March, 1927.

26. The Passions of the Soul, Article X, Vol. I, p. 336, Works, op. cit.

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> the Brain, which is the Head-Quarters, or Office of Intelligence, and there they make their Report of what has happen'd.

Information is conveyed by striking upon the brain-fibers, giving them a particular 'bent', and imprinting the character of the object upon the mind. Hylarchus (Collier) then fastens on a popular notion for ridicule:

> But I remember, some say the Spirits Tilt so violently, that they make Holes where they strike; which are no sooner open, but the Ideas run into them as fast as may be. And after they have lain there a little while, grow as drowsy as Dormice, unless they are rowsed by a new Summons.

Since animal spirits are a "kind of little Pellets, wrought off the fine Parts of the Blood", and therefore material, they may be "as Sleek, and well Timber'd, as those Atoms Epicurus made his Soul of", and yet not perform that function. Several difficulties prevent the acceptance of such a theory, one of them the impossibility of singleness of representation:

> ...Supposing a Bird sits before me; these Mercuries immediately run up to the Center of Sensation, to give an account of what is arrived. Now in doing this, either every single Animal Spirit must convey a whole Representation, which would multiply the Object, if not overload the Carrier; or else they must divide the Image among them, and so lug off every one his Share. ... But when they have taken the Object to Pieces, how they will set it together again, is hard to imagine. For they cannot strike all upon one Point; and if they could, they would jumble the Proportions, and run the Object all on heaps; where the latter Impression would go near to deface the former. But if they impinge upon different Parts, and make every Part sensible with the Stroke; 'Tis true then they have it among them, but which way the whole should emerge, is still incomprehensible. For suppose

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> the Image was painted in Order, without any Dislocation, vacant Intervals, or Interloping; yet the Parts of the Fibres being distinct, and impregnated by distinct Spirits, they can account no farther than their Share of Motion reaches. And therefore how they should club their particular Information into a common Idea, is inconceivable.

Another practical obstacle consists in the inevitable 'counter-motions' which would result: "if any of the returning Spirits should happen to fall foul upon others which are outward Bound,(which is not unlikely) these Counter-motions would overset them, or occasion a later Arrival; either of which Accidents would maim the Image, and make it imperfect." We find Glanvill voicing the same objection: "This motion would be quickly deadned even to an utter cessation by Counter-motions; and we should not remember anything, but till the next impression. Much less can this Principle give an account, how such an abundance of motions should orderly succeed one another."..."[27] Such difficulties as these, says Collier, lie in the way of sensation; but they are greater in the case of imagination, for "here are no external Impressions to begin the Motion". External objects force us to perceive them, whether "we will or not"; but "the Exercises of Imagination are oftentimes purely voluntary."

Here again we find Collier taking the stand of

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27. Joseph Glanvill, Vanity of Dogmatizing, New York, 1931, pp. 38, 39.

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Malebranche in rejecting the theory that ideas originate in this particular mechanical source, as well as that animal spirits serve as the causal link between body and soul. He ignores the Cartesian notion that the pineal gland is the seat of the soul, and he makes no more of an attempt to localize the soul than does Malebranche. The concept that the brain gives rise to motion is identical with Renaissance theory, but differs slightly in phraseology: an example is Collier's use of the term bent in speaking of the strokes made upon brain-fibers. Malebranche employs the term similarly: when the agitation of spirits is ceased, "the Imagination remains polluted by the Impressions which they have made on the Brain, whose fibres have been bent or broken by the violence of the Spirits which they have put in Motion."[28] And there is a frequent similar usage in Glanvill and other contemporaries interested in such speculation.

Without any doubt Collier reflects now and again certain elements of the older psychology of humours and spirits. At one time he apparently employs such terminology in all seriousness; at another, it would seem that he is but enriching his vocabulary with a figurative language, in the same way that modern diction savours of phrases picturesquely connotative of a once literal meaning. It is in relation to Collier's treat-

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ment of passions, affections, and emotions that we see his dependence on this fiction which still colours our speech. In the Elizabethan view, any operation of appetite is motion; responses that disturb the physical well-being, but remain "light", are affections; responses that disturb or excite violently are passions or perturbations. The latter concern processes of thought, and are therefore maladies of the soul, corrupting the judgment and seducing the will.[29] According to Elizabethan theory--carried over into Cartesianism--, passions are always accompanied by physiological changes; the humours are altered, and when the imagination has judged an impression made, animal spirits pass from the brain to the heart, where they announce whether the object is good or bad. Then, by the contraction or expansion of the heart, the appetite either calls in, or disperses the humours and the spirits.[30] To this stimulus the entire body, as well as the heart, responds. For example, moderate joy brings health because it enables the heart to

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28. Treatise of Morality, op. cit., p. 123.

29. Anderson, op. cit., p. 69.

30. Ibid., p. 80.

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concoct a store of spirits and to disperse them to other parts. If the feeling is vehement, it overheats the heart, and may even kill, because all blood is drawn from the organ. It shrinks when seized by such a passion as sorrow, and the natural heat, the spirits, and blood recede outward.[31] Thus grief proves more dangerous than joy, because it is "a malign, cold, and dry passion which wastes the humours" and gradually quenches natural heat. We are struck by the appearance of much of this background in later writers, and can glimpse even more that for interpretation can only go back to the same source. Descartes, for example, defines "passions of the soul" as "the perceptions, feelings or emotions of the soul which we relate specially to it, and which are caused, maintained, and fortified by some movement of the spirits".[32] And to Male-

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31. Ibid., pp. 81, 82.

32. The Passions of the Soul, op .cit., p. 344. Of this definition Professor Brett says:"They are, therefore, psychological events, and the definition is so far from being revolutionary that it may be regarded as giving, in concise terms what has been implied in every ancient or mediaeval view, namely that emotions belong neither to pure reason nor to mere matter. But the older doctrines were content to be negative and emphasize the antithesis between feeling and pure reason; the new doctrine was marked by new principles of classification and description." (History, II, p. 257.)

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branche passion means an agitation in the soul occasioned by a flow of animal spirits --"the Blood is impregnated ...with Particles fit to raise such a fermantation as may produce abundance of Spirits agreeable to the nature of those Passions."[33] He defines passions as

> Those Motions of the Soul which accompany that of the Spirits and the Blood, and produce in the Body, by the Mechanical Frame and Constitution of it, all the dispositions necessary to support ~~it~~ and keep up the Cause from whence they arise. At the sight of any Object which moves the Soul, ...the Animal Spirits which come from the Brain to the other parts of the Body, divide themselves into two Branches or Courses.[34]

Collier grants that "sensations and passions seem to depend upon a particular Set of Motions";[35] and that "the Powers of Sensation are contracted or enlarged, made keen or languid, according to the Temper of the Body."[36] Yet he keeps in mind that these "circumstances are no more than occasional Causes of this Variety,"[37] --another reflection

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33. Treatise of Morality, op. cit., p. 123.

34. Ibid., p. 120.

35. Thought, p. 86.

36. Ibid., p. 85.

37. Ibid.

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of his denial of mutual agency between spirit and matter, and of his dependence instead upon supernatural will. He uses the term "affections", in reference to bodies, to mean "the Effects which may result from all the possible Combinations of Matter, and Motion."[38] What all these possible affections are, he admits that he does not know; and further, that knowledge, he avers, is unnecessary for one to be sure that thinking has a non-material origin. Frequently by "affection" he suggests simply a "liking for", and by "disaffection", "dislike". His interpretation of "passions" will become obvious in his use of the word; and he, as well as many a well-known scientist in this age, still attributes passional violence to animal spirits.

The passions of despair and desire Collier names as two of the strongest causes of unhappiness. Pointing to the bad psychological effect of anticipating failure, he terms despair "an uneasy passion" which "preys upon the Vitals, like Prometheus's Vultur; and eats out the Heart of all other Satisfactions."[39] It "descends from a mean Original"--it is the "Offspring of Fear, of Lazi-

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38. Ibid., p. 79.

39. Against Despair, p. 129, II.

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ness, and Impatience", and argues partially for a "defect of Spirits".[40] But hope, a vigorous principle "furnished with light and heat", fences off anxiety and spleen.[41] Desire Collier defines as a "conscious emptiness, an unsatisfied capacity". When a desire remains ungratified, it is only because the object remains out of reach; this is quite like the Platonic notion that desire arises from a lack, painful in itself and so combined with a conception of the state needed to supplant it, that volition becomes active. Since our wishes are the consequences of imperfection--our own indigent natures and lack of power--"they are naturally enlivened to awaken our Industry, and make us pursue our Advantage".[42] Yet it is unfortunate that desires increase with the ability to gratify them. That appetite and reason are wholly irreconcilable man reveals in his reaction: his failure to gain a wish "puts his Fancy into a Fever; it drinks up his Blood, and fires his Spirits; ...stupifies the Sense and spoils the Palate; and makes the remaining Satisfaction of Life flat and insipid."[43] Fears resulting from this anxious state intensify man's nervous condition, and

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40. Ibid., p. 122.

41. Ibid., p. 131.

42. Eagerness of Desire, p. 41.

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"every cloud (is) o'ercasting with the spleen."[44] Fear, which usually dulls the understanding, is often the strongest of passions, since it is rooted in the instinct of self-preservation.[45] Envy is the most ungratifying passion of all; equally despicable are ambition and covetousness. Surprise is a passion of a neutral character. But the emotion of anger is the one about which Collier has most to say, and here his conception seems closely related to a traditional attitude.

To the Elizabethan psychologist, the appetite is either sensitive or intellective--on the one hand common to man and brute, and on the other, possessed by man alone, and controlling the sensitive,[46] which has two inclinations, concupiscible and irascible; should the first fail to provide sufficient energy, the irascible unites with it, to yield added force to the soul in difficulty. Accordingly the affections resultant from such a conjunction prove more dangerous than those spring-

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43. Riches and Poverty, 93, III, and Spleen, p. 44.

44. Spleen, p. 44.

45. Fortitude, pp. 213, 214, IV.

46. Cf. Dowden, op.cit., p. 323, and Anderson, p. 72.

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ing from concupiscence alone.[47] Collier points to anger as the most forcible of the passions, because it arises immediately from a very active sense of self-preservation and the associated instinct to throw off that which annoys us. He describes the arrival of the emotion:

> Other passions make their Approaches by Degrees, and so giving us Notice of their coming, we have thereby an Opportunity of checking them before they grow too powerful: Love, Hatred and Desire, precisely consider'd, are not immediately at their Highest Pitch; these Passions usually improve under Thought and Reflection; their Objects must be made familiar to the Mind by frequent Representation before they grow to any considerable Obstinacy: But Anger, on the contrary, is often perceiv'd to be in its full Strength, when first born. 'Tis a Tempest at the first Blast, and like Gunpowder discharges its Fury all together.[48]

Physiologically, it "commands great Numbers of the animal Spirits to press in to its Assistance, which would never obey the Summons of cool and sedate Reason"; this violence of action results in "an unusual commotion of the Blood and Spirits". Thus if we fail to exercise our power of reason over anger, we shall command, and consequently

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47. Anderson, pp. 95,96.

48. Sermon VI,p. 192. In Several Discourses upon Practical Subjects, London, 1726, 2nd edition. Except in the case of one sermon published separately, all sermons referred to hereafter are bound in this volume, and will be designated only by number and page.

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keep "our Bodies almost always in an Uproar": for "whenever Occasions of Dislike return, it will not then be in the Power of the Mind to command the Motions of the Body, but the Blood will immediately boil up, and the whole Frame of Nature within us will be put into a Combustion."[49] Collier says that "choler is compounded of several Passions, ...some of them, the most vigorous." To him anger, or choler, is the old irascible appetite, which with the Elizabethan was, however, the direct result of one humour. La Primaudaye, for example, defines anger as a vehement motion of the soul arising because a possessed good has been contemned.[50] The enraged heart swells up, and the blood rises and boils around it. Charron observes of anger that it has many symptoms and signs, more visible than those other passions, and so strong that they alter the whole temper and frame, body and soul, of a man:

> Some of these Changes and Symptoms, are outward and apparent: Redness and Distortions of the Face, Fieryness of the Eyes, a wild and enraged Look, Deafness and Insensibility in Ears, Foaming at the Mouth, Palpitation of the Heart; Quickness and Unevenness of Pulse,

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49. Ibid., p. 196; cf. pp. 170, 171, 200.

50. Cited by Anderson, op. cit., p. 85.

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> Swelling and Bursting Fullness of the Veins, Stammering in the Tongue, Gnashing and Setting of Teeth, Loudness and Hoarseness in the Voice, The Speech thick and indistinct; ... The whole Body is set on Fire, and in a perfect Fever.[51]

Collier thus describes the appearance of those possessed by anger:

> What wild Discomposure it causes in those who are under its Power, is easy to observe. What a furious and ill-natur'd Air does it paint the Face with? The Eyes are flaming out in Revenge; the Voice loud and boisterous, like a Storm; the Joints tremble by the tumultous Motion of the Spirits; and when the Course of Nature is thus set on Fire, the tongue, that unruly Member, will be sure to put in for its Share of Extravagancy, and speak proud and foolish things...[52]

Anger is primarily designed to support reason, to supply us with resolution, and to aid in dispelling harmful influences. Collier observes that "they who are transported with this Passion, are considerably stronger than they are at another time; and therefore, as in other Cases, in a just War especially, this Passion is of considerable Use to animate and enable the Soldiers to take Satisfactions for former Injuries, and defend their Lives and Liberties against the Encroachment of an Enemy."[53]

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51. Pierre Charron, Of Wisdom, trans. by George Stanhope, London, 1697. Bk. I, p. 208. Quoted also by Anderson, ibid., p. 88.

52. Sermon VI, pp. 199, 200.

53. Ibid., pp. 170, 171.

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Another advantage of experiencing anger lies in the fact that it lends a certain intuitive power: "it makes us retreat from Danger sooner than otherwise we should do; for when we believe ourselves unable to resist the Harm which threaten'd us, the warm antipathetical Impression, which is Part of the Nature of Anger, puts us upon a speedy avoiding the Thing which disgusts, and consequently is a Means for providing for our Security."[54] But these effects seldom stop at the point where they remain advantageous to man; instead, anger usually overrides reason and will, with disastrous results. This weakness of permitting passion to disorder judgment is a trait almost universally found in human nature. Too often, Collier notes, in others there can be observed remorse, guilt, desire, envy -- mental states which "enflame a Distemper, envenom a Wound, and boil up the Blood to a Fever." But when "the Passions are not violent, we may check or quicken, change or extinguish the Operation as we please", he believes.[55] Descartes had declared that there is no soul so feeble that it can not acquire an ab-

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54. Op.cit.

55. Thought, p. 77.

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solute dominion over all passions, if sufficient industry is applied in training them.[56] In the light of physiological comment, we can well understand Collier's seemingly paradoxical admonition to "form our desires in cool blood".[57] In a phrase he is putting succinctly what Descartes elaborates in a lengthy passage at the end of his Passions of the Soul; in part, he advises as a remedy against emotional excesses:

> when we feel our blood to be thus agitated, we should be warned of the fact, and recollect that all that presents itself before the imagination tends to delude the soul and causes the reasons which serve to urge it to accomplish the object of its passion to appear much stronger than they are, and those which serve to dissuade it to be much weaker. And when the passions urge us only toward things the execution of which necessitates some delay, we ought to abstain from pronouncing any judgment on the spot, and to divert ourselves by other thoughts until time and rest shall have entirely calmed the emotion which is in the blood.[58]

Even conceding that passional impressions are in part "contrived for advantage", to "awaken our Industry, and

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56. Passions of the Soul, op. cit., Pt. I, pp. 355-6.

57. Honesty, p. 60, IV.

58. Op.cit., p. 426.

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make us pursue Interest with the greater Vigour", Collier insists that they are more harmful than helpful, as they are commonly managed.[59] They are doubly dangerous; they wear out bodily substance and usurp the place of reason.

It will be remembered that Collier disclaims belief in any correspondence between body and soul, except through the divinely established "laws of union". But he observes certain contrary states in eternal conflict: the spirit strives to subdue the flesh; appetites war against the yoke of reason; the experiences of pain and pleasure intrude themselves to shatter a hard-won spiritual calm. And whether or not a third factor is essential, the interaction of physical and mental forces, to a great degree, undeniably exists. In his recognition of this, Collier employs the traditional phrases of the older psychology. For example, the humours cause "bias and precipitancy", and inflict upon the body numerous inconveniences or actual illness. As guides in forming ideas they are not trustworthy; and "unless we are careful, our Belief will have a complexional Tincture; bend toward the Passions, and follow the Bias of the Body". Thus "a Man of a Melancholick or gloomy Temper, will be in some

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59. Resurrection, p. 403, IV.

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Danger of disturbing his Imagination with unreasonable Fears concerning God Almighty; ...Now such a Person if he gives Way to the Spleen, may be more easily misled to the Doctrines of Supersittion, or Despair: Whereas another of a bolder, and more sanguine Constitution, will rather be tempted to the other Extreme, presume upon God's Goodness, and carry the Notion of his Mercy too far. And if his Books, or his Company happen to be Ill, he'll be disposed to reform his Creed to his Humour, and reconcile it to Complexion and Liberty."[60] Similarly, illness may so "spoil the temper of the blood and the Spirits" as to "impair Judgment and dull the Senses, which should give us Intelligence",[61] an idea drawn from Pascal. Courage and ingenuity depend partly upon a physiological source: the latter consists in the heat of the blood, and the "plenty and fineness of the spirits", and courage arises for the same cause and dies down when the spirits cool. Thus, when an army captain hears the beat of a drum, his courage is seen in his vigorous motion, and erected posture: "His Blood charges in his Veins, his Spirits jump like Gunpowder, and seem impatient to attack the Enemy".[62] In Gaming[63] Collier tells of a strange revolution in the blood over either victory or ill luck; the spirits are virtually stirred up into a

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60. Op.cit., pp. 411, 412.

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storm, a "train" of them takes fire, they kindle and flash,--and the passions are rampant. The psychological reaction gamesters know, and use to their own advantage: watching the current of passions, they observe when a man's head "grows misty" and "spleen overcasts his understanding", for "playing deep sets the spirits on float, strikes mud strongly into the Face, and discovers a Man's Weakness very remarkably". But easy thoughts and an even temper "work kindly upon the Spirits, and throw Balsam into the Blood".[64] On the other hand, guilt works contrarily, to affect the constitution by "flatting" the senses. Such an ailment as the spleen, which may proceed from "natural causes" like "fumes of indigestion, abatements of health, sudden changes of weather", and folly or remorse, may affect the brain, though perhaps with no sensible impression elsewhere, and it may promote variability of temper and conduct;[65] it disturbs the imagination and results in melancholy, so driving its victims to excesses that "they become lost in a mist", to be relieved

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61. Of Human Reason, p. 238, I.

62. Of Music, II, p. 21

63. Vol. III.

64. Of Peace, IV, p. 356.

65. Of the Spleen, p. 36, II.

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"only by physick or company".[66] Not only spleen, but fear and anxiety "darken the understanding, strike a damp upon the Heart, and clog the Spirits: Thus People become lifeless and desponding, languid and perplex'd".[67] It is such a state that Collier has in mind when he speaks of an inward malignity that "breaks out upon the Body, shoots into the Veins, and poysons the Constitution".[68]

Collier says that, as the race has developed, the power of mind has increased, and that of the body diminished, until now the mind of civilized man, like gunpowder, "when once enflam'd, discharges the corporeal Mass with greater Force".[69] One thought alone may set the blood on fire, the spirits in action. This he takes to be evidence "that the Mind has a great Command over the Body; that it can rouze, or lay it asleep at Pleasure; that Motion is either begun or stopp'd, check'd, or reinforc'd, according as the Will directs", and as Reason dictates.[70] Yet obviously there is an over-balance of flesh and blood, else we could harness sensual pleasures to our will. In his dialogue Of the Resurrection, Collier paints the ideal state, attainable only if

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66. Cf. Of the Spleen, 45, and Of Solitude, 266.

67. Of Solitude, 356.

68. Of Peace, 355, IV

69. Power, p. 71, III.

70. Ibid.; cf. Sermons, 383, and Of Religious Temper, IV, 114.

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"Reason was more lively and enterprizing". He wishes that we "were quick enough to discover without being pricked forward by Passion", and that "the Thinking Part could make a Stand upon the Mechanism, and suffer nothing by the Heat of the Blood, and the Hurry of the Spirits". Then, he declares, "we might raise, and check, and counter-change the Passions, at the beck of Thought"; and as the dominance of passion declined, reason could flourish, and we might even enjoy strong delights without the usual attending violence. Ideally, this state should be reached in old age. Youth, more than any other period of life, affords a full and delightful use of the senses; and as the physical vigour declines, gradually violent passions disappear, since, in old age, "the current of the blood moves more gently, and the Heart of the Spirits abate". This constitutional change makes the mind more absolute, and results in fewer excesses of anger and desire; then the slow-moving blood becomes "cool and dispirited" and "less florid" than in younger persons. But there is an attendant disadvantage: "The Flower of Youth does not only go off quickly, but... the Fruit of

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it too... The Decay strikes through, and the Flatness of the Senses is usually follow'd with an Abatement of Strength. Thus Life, when once fermented to the height, draws towards a Turn: And the Spirits are continually flying off, till it grows in a manner insip'd."[71]

We have seen earlier that the soul would perceive pain, even if dissociated from the body; since, however, there is a mysterious union of the two, both suffer from ills incident to the body. Because the will is not absolute in its control of the physical, mere resolution to feel no pain is futile. In his essay Upon Pain Collier defines that sensation as "an unacceptable Notice arising from some Disorder in the Body"; the mind receives this "grating information" when "the Nerves(are) discomposed, and the Muscles forced into a foreign situation; when there's a stop upon the Spirits, when the Parts don't keep their Ranks ..."[72] Pain is to be distinguished from "uneasie Passions, or the more immediate Rackings of the Mind", on the score that in both cause and sensation it is "consequent upon the Union with the Body".[73] In addition to the suffering entailed, pain proves an impediment to mental development:

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71. Resurrection, IV, p. 401; cf. Of Old Age, II. Malebranche writes of the physiological changes of the three ages of man, Recherche, op.cit., II, Chap.VI, p.53.

73. Resurrection, p. 406, IV.

72. III, p.1.

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> Pain discomposes the Mind, and disables it for Meditation: The Thoughts are call'd in to the affected Part, spent in the Sensation, and fix'd upon that which troubles us. And when the Anguish is over, the ill Effects sometimes remain: The Crasis of the Blood, or the Texture of the Brain is alter'd to a Disadvantage. Thus it may be the Memory suffers, and the Head grows Muddy; the Imagination rambles, and the reasoning Faculty is impair'd.[74]

Thus the soul, passively allied with the body, and tied down by sensations, is aware of pain, and forced to a sympathetic state, that it may fence off decays; yet in spite of such divine provision, the body is often the worse for the negligences and disorders of the mind.[75] Collier, in this attitude toward the dualism of spirit and matter, exhibits the theory of interactionism that we see in Descartes and Malebranche, with the notable exception that he rejects the Cartesian dependence upon animal spirits as the intermediary force. But to point to this is not to declare a "borrowing" of a century-old idea from French thought. To cite merely one case, we find that Tertullian,[76] one of Collier's favourites among the Church Fathers, emphasizes the dual nature of man and the interaction of the two halves:

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74. Ibid., p. 413.

75. Ibid.

76. Lived 160-220, A.D.

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> But the soul certainly sympathizes with the body, and shares in its pain, whenever it is injured by bruises, and wounds, and sores: the body, too, suffers with the soul, and is united with it (whenever it is afflicted with anxiety, distress, or love) in the loss of vigour which its companion sustains, whose shame and fear it satisfies by its own blushes and paleness.[77]

Yet another traditional idea--one that with Renaissance writers became a stock motif --is seen in Collier's suggestion that we study the face if we would see man's emotions and underlying motives. This is a modification of the Platonic concept that the body mirrors the soul, and that there is a correspondence between external beauty and virtue. He begins his essay Of the Aspect with a direct reflection of this: "The Countenance seems designed not only for Ornament, but Information. The Passions there displayed make way for Commerce and Communication; and help to let one man into the Sentiments and Affections of another."[78] Elsewhere he says, "Sometimes a Consciousness of Worth; a Nobleness and Elevation of Mind; together with Fineness of Constitution, gives Lustre and Dignity to the Aspect; and makes the

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77. From Tertullian's Treatise on the Soul. (In The Classical Psychologists, compiled by Benjamin Rand, Boston, 1912. p. 118.)

78. II, p. 113.

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Soul...shine through the Body".[79] Fortunately--else much of the business of living would be impracticable--the "Soul is not altogether Discovered"; yet, though it "can't be all forced into the Face", no small part of it does appear, especially if little control is exercised. Here "the Passions ebb and flow...and are much better distinguished in their Progress, than the change of the Air in a Weather-Glass."[80] The revelation of joy, grief, fear, resolution, modesty, conceit, and anger is most noticeable in children and in persons unpractised in the hypocrisies of conversation. Then Collier, with his usual curiosity, brings in the moot problem of causality. Why is this variety of changes confined to a single part of the body?

> What is the Reason a Man's Arm won't smile and frown, and do all the intellectual Postures of the Countenance? The Arm seems to have a finer skin than the Face: 'Tis less exposed to the Weather; the Veins are larger, and more visible, and the Pulse beats stronger. In short, If Matter and Motion would do the Business, the Arm, excepting the Eye, seems to have the Advantage, and might put in for the Index and Interpreter of the Mind. And yet we see 'tis strangely uniform and unaffected upon every Accident and Turn of Thought; and Nothing but a Blow, or a Pinch, can make it change Colour.

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79. Of Confidence, p. 102, II.

80. Op.cit., p. 116.

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The reason, of course, is that God designed the face to be "uncloath'd", and has there "fix'd the Seat and Visibility of the Passions..."[81] Still, "to metamorphose the Blood and Spirits thus extempore, is not a little strange. It argues an amazing Fineness and Curiosity in the Parts; that the least Touch of the Imagination can alter them into almost what Appearances it pleases... What can be more significant than the suddain Flushing and confusion of a Blush, than the Sparklings of Rage, and the Lightning of a Smile? The Soul is as it were visible upon these Occasions."[82] Expressions vary; a dignified air seems natural to one person, good humour to another, nobility to a third. "Face well furnish'd out by Nature and a little disciplined, has a great deal of Rhetorick in it", declares Collier, who continues: "Of all the Appearances, methinks a Smile is the most extraordinary. It plays with a surprizing Agreeableness in the Eye; breaks out with the brightest Distinction, and sits like a Glory upon the Countenance."[83] This flashing out of the soul in the face indicates an inner sun which suddenly shoots out rays with great vigour, a symbol of the divine essence within man.[84] The aspect is as obsequious to the

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81. Ibid., pp. 114,115.

82. Ibid., pp. 115,116.

83. Op.cit., p. 124.

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mind as is the dial to the sun; sentiments are painted immediately and exactly, "drawn by the Life within". The meaning of speech and sounds may be uncertain, and "tyed to particular Times and Places"; but the language of the face is fixed, universal, comprehensive: "'tis the Short-hand of the Mind", and "a Man may look a Sentence, as soon as speak a Word".[85] But Collier believes that the rules of physiognomy fail when one attempts to discover a man's honesty or dishonesty in the countenance. Singularities of features may make the innocent look like knaves, and knaves like honest persons. While one can command diverse passions, he has little or no control over their reflection, once they are felt. In his essay Of Lying, however, Collier declares that a man's countenance may be untrue to him, and that he may "look a Lye, as well as speak one".[86] Bacon is suggested here by this opinion of man's tendency toward dissimulation, and Cicero talks of one's inability to measure honesty by facial expression. But there is one more step in deciphering the expression: "when the Mind is thoroughly tinctured, the Face will hold the same Colour", and the

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84. Ibid., p. 126.

85. This recalls Locke's figure, similarly applied, of a "candle that is set up in us, (and) shines bright enough for all our purposes". (Essay concerning Human Understanding, Introduction, from Locke: Selections, ed.

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key lies in the recognition that "Peoples Opinions of themselves, are commonly legible in their Countenances."[87] The last ideas Collier quotes from Malebranche.

If Collier's psychology carries over from a body of traditional thought certain notions long-held, it shows likewise an acceptance of some modern ideas then foremost in scientific speculation. While marvelling at the delicacy and complexity of bodily structure, he reveals his correct ideas of the circulatory process and his knowledge of Harvey's system:

> What can be more admirable and commodious than the Circulation of the Blood? This vital Liquor is discharg'd from the Heart as from an Engine, and convey'd to the extreme Parts: Thus Warmth and Motion is spread thro' the Body, and the Functions of Life kept up. And when the Blood has gone the length of the Arteries, and begins to grow cool and disabled, 'tis received in the Capillary Veins, and brought back to the Heart and Lungs: From hence, after a recruit of Speed and Spirits, 'tis thrown out into the Arteries for the Purposes above-mentioned. And before we take leave of the Heart, we may observe the Valves of this

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by S. P. Lamprecht, New York, 1928. p. 93.)

86. IV, p. 176.

87. Of Confidence, II, p. 96.

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> Muscle are wonderfully surprizing: They secure the Blood from returning the wrong way. Like Sluices they open for Use, and shut against Inconvenience.[88]

He is surprisingly accurate here in his tracing of the blood stream, and in his conception of the heart-valves as "sluices",[89] and the heart itself as a muscle. As for the introduction here of "animal spirits", it is understandable in remembering the very late rejection of this theory, even among physiologists. The position of Harvey himself is somewhat uncertain on this score. He was unable to find "spirits" anywhere, and he several times breaks out in exasperation at the impossibility of their existence. Yet we find such a passage as this--one which, however, is not representative of his general position:

> Spiritous blood is none the less blood, as no-one denies that the blood, even that which flows in the veins, is filled with spirits. Even if the blood in the arteries is very gorged with spirits, it is still believable that these spirits are as inseparable from the blood as those in the veins. The blood and spirits comprise a single fluid (as whey and cream in milk, or heat in hot water) with which the arteries are filled, and for the distributing of which from the heart the arteries exist. This is nothing else than blood.[90]

Even though Harvey's theory appeared in 1628, it was not

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88. Of Goodness, IV, p. 15.

89. Descartes, too, compares heart-cavities to sluices. (Passions of the Soul, op.cit., p. 334.) His saying that

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generally accepted for some time, and throughout the century "animal spirits" still rather embarrassingly remained a factor somehow to be reckoned with. Collier writes of the business of nutrition as a "stupendious Operation", and tells of the many turns and passages in the action of the chyle. Now and again he remarks about the continual physiological change that goes on in the body, and in "the furniture of the head".[91] We see a comment on this so-called"furniture of the brain" in the dialogue A Thought when Hylarchus declares that the brain has an unpromising aspect for such business as thinking: to him it seems an "odd sort of Bog for Fancy to paddle in", and he adds, "When I see people tread sense out of mud, as they do eels, then I may be inclined to believe that brains and reasoning are of a kin."[92] Similarly, Glanvill, in his Vanity of Dogmatizing, expresses his

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the spirits are excited by the beat of the heart amounts to the same thing as Collier's "recruit of speed".

90. Harvey's Anatomical Study of the Movement of the Heart and Blood, trans. by Chauncey D. Leake, Baltimore, 1931, p. 12.

91. Hobbes likewise says that "the constitution of a man's body is in constant mutation". (The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, ed. by William Molesworth, Bart., London, 1839, Vol. II, pp. 40,41.)

92. Of Thought, p. 73, II.

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disbelief in a physiological origin for thought: the brain is "of such a clammy consistence, that it can no more retain it then a Quagmire."[93] Elsewhere, apropos of movements of animal spirits in the brain, he observes that "the making of one hole in the yeelding mud, defaces the print of another near it."[94] Such remarks as these upon the 'muddy' consistency of the brain suggest the writers' notion of its state--perhaps gained from an examination of a brain begun to disintegrate.

Collier has some general comment on the senses, aside from his treatment of sense perception in relation to his theory of knowledge. Although to him the operations of all the senses are "in some respect incomprehensible", he holds those of hearing and sight superior to the others.

> The Manner of the Conveyance of Sounds,... is unintelligible. For what can be more strange, than that the rubbing of a little Hair and Catgut together should make such a mighty Alteration in a Man that sits at a Distance? But this Wonder of Perception is not peculiar to the Ear...(Hearing) commands a Satisfaction at a greater Distance, strikes a finer Stroke, and makes a single Object divide it self without lessening. For Instance: A Man may see the Light of a Candle, and hear a Voice or Instrument, as well if there be Ten in the Room, as if he was there alone. The Stream of Sounds,

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93. Glanvill, op. cit.

94. Ibid., p. 35. He elsewhere speaks of "the fluid and pliable nature of the Brain". (Sermons, p. 5.)

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> though cut into several Rivulets, comes as full to the Ear as if it had but one Channel to feed. The Taste and Touch are, if one may say so, more narrow spirited. They engross an Object to themselves, and won't let the Company share with them. They take faster Hold 'tis true, but then they do not salute so ceremoniously. They are, comparatively, a Sort of robust, peasantly Senses: And those who indulge them are, in Reality, of the lowest Rank of Mankind.

The senses seem "not to be built strong enough for any great Force of Pleasure":

> A sudden Excess of Joy has sometimes prov'd Mortal. 'Tis as dangerous as Gunpowder, charge too high, and you split the Barrel. It flashes too hard upon the tender Organ, and stupifies more than it pleases.[96]

Pascal, whose writings Collier knew thoroughly, has a similar comment:

> Our senses will not admit anything extreme. Too much noise confuses us, too much light

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95. Of Musick, II, pp. 19,20. In the same essay, having discussed the strong power of music over the soul, he considers whether "there may not be some Counter-Sounds which may give the Mind as high a Disgust, as the other can a Pleasure ... . I believe 'tis possible to invent an Instrument that shall have a quite contrary Effect to those Martial Ones now in Use. An Instrument that shall sink the Spirits, and shake the Nerves, and curdle the Blood, and inspire Despair, and Cowardice, and Consternation, at a surprizing Rate. 'Tis possible the Roaring of Lions, the Warbling of Cats and Scritch-Owls, together with the Mixture of the Howling of Dogs, judiciously imitated and compounded, might go a great Way in this Invention..." pp. 23, 24.

96. Of Pleasure, II, p. 195.

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> dazzles us, too great distance or nearness prevents vision,...too much pleasure gives pain, too much accordance annoys.[97]

But, whatever their defects, the senses are primarily of importance because of their function in the process of learning.

It will be remembered that Collier virtually posits the Cartesian theory that "thinking equals being". Malebranche asserts that, because thought can be conceived of as existing independently of sense and volition, "Thought alone, then, is the essence of the soul, as extension alone is the essence of matter".[98] And thought originates in God. Thus, although Malebranche begins with this same principle of inner certainty, it is not for him as meaningful or as definitive of truth: one must add, not alone intuition itself, but as well an intuition of God; accordingly one can have no distinct idea of the existence of self, and our only reason for regarding as true any clear perception is based upon a vision of the reality of God. Once fully aware of this, we realize the nature of cognition; know-

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97. General Knowledge of Man, from Pascal's Thoughts, trans. by E. Craig, Boston, 1849, pp. 83, 84.

98. Recherche, op. cit., Vol. I, Bk. III, Pt. I, Ch. I, pp. 282, 283. Also quoted by R.W. Church, in A Study in the Philosophy of Malebranche, London, 1931, p. 44.

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ledge thus becomes pure perception, or vision.[99] This exalted power of intuition is not, in Collier's scheme, the inception of knowledge; but the ultimate stage that he holds most desirable is made more intelligible by this interpretation of Malebranche. What mind is, what the mainspring of the spiritual phenomen is --these, says Collier, are questions that probably will never be well answered in this life. He is intensely aware of the mystery of the human soul and of human failure to penetrate that mystery, beyond certain points. But on these he is definite. In his essay Of Goodness, he attributes mind and spirit to a divine source:

> The Mind is Heaven-Born, and comes immediately out of the Hands of God: So that to speak properly, we are nearer related to the Supreme Being, than to Father or Mother; Nemo est tam pater, says Tertullian. For tho' Bodies may multiply, there's but one Origin of Spirits: And as the Soul is the immediate Product of the first Cause, so 'tis made in his Likeness. Reason and Choice and Immortality, are images of the Divine Nature. 'Tis true the Lustre is faint, the Qualities diluted, and the Portrait drawn in little; but still there is a Resemblance....[100]

Elsewhere Collier says that the powers of the soul[101] are reducible to understanding and will; that when these two

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99. Cf. Church, ibid., p. 259.

100. IV, p. 10.

101. Collier maintains that souls are created equal

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faculties are "fix'd upon the noblest Object, and exercis'd in the most perfect manner, then the Mind is completely happy."[102] The "noblest Object" is God, but the fullest knowledge of him must be reserved for a future existence in this life; one may achieve a certain intuitive perception toward that complete state. The understanding encompasses not only material things, but universal and divine truth as well. The will is free: it is the wellspring from which proceed all of man's purposed acts. Collier declares that we "are to be commended or discommended for nothing but the right Use or Misemployment of this Freedom", because "nothing is properly our own, except the Government of our own Wills; ... Now when a Man ... finds in himself a sincere and steady Resolution of doing that always, which his Conscience is assured ought to be done ... this makes him reckon nothing valuable but what is in his own Power. This Opinion, together with a suitable Practice. as it's the greatest Privilege of Human Nature, so it lies within the Power of all Persons,

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in being immaterial and immortal, but that they are unlike in other ways. (Infancy and Youth, III)

102. Of Religious Temper, IV, p. 125.

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of what Rank or Condition soever."[103] Although God's own power of choice is sufficient authority and satisfaction to him, he has so condescended in his dealing with men "that he is pleased to appeal to our Reason, and make our own Consciences the Judge ....He will not over-rule our Plea by his irresistible Sovereignty, nor resolve our Fate into any absolute and irrespective Decrees."[104]

The power of will is stronger than that of reason. Because it is impelled by physical nature to act, it helps to direct motion. Plus understanding, it intensifies the power of the soul. A certain determinism toward good pervades: "The Appearance of Good moves the Will by natural Necessity", ultimately to seek the summum bonum --God himself.[105] To Malebranche, will is the divinely inspired inclination toward Good, its freedom the power by which the soul checks this inclination toward good in general, and fixes it upon a particu-

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103. Sermon VI, p. 212.

104. Sermon II, p. 47.

105. See Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Bk.I, p.223; "Goodness doth not move by being, but by being apparent;" and following, on will: "The object of will is that good which reason doth lead us to seek;..."p.224. (Seventh edition, revised by the Rev. R.W.Church, Oxford, 1888.)

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lar object.[106]

Chief among human faculties, says Collier, stands reason, the "top-distinction of human nature".[107] Its purpose is to govern the appetitive part of man, and, thought as well, and it may even be necessary, imagination. This faculty is semi-dependent upon physical states and sensory impressions, and yet must rule over the latter. The idea of the liability of reason to external irritants and bodily ills is developed in the essay Of the Weakness of Human Reason, which in structure, and in use of example Collier has drawn almost wholly from Pascal's chapter on the "Weakness of Man, and the Uncertainty of his Natural Understanding".[108] One example will serve to illustrate the closeness of Collier's borrowing. Pascal expounds:

> Set the greatest philosopher in the world upon a plank, even broader than the space he occupies in walking on plain ground, and, if there is a precipice below him, though reason convince him of his safety, his imagination will prevail; the very thought of it would make some perspire and turn pale. I will not relate all the effects of it. Who does not know that there are persons whom the sight of a cat or a rat, or the crushing of a bit of coal, will almost drive out of their senses.[109]

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106. Church, op.cit., p. 240; cf. Morality, op.cit., p.93.

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Collier expands this slightly:

> An Instance of the Impotency of Reason, may be taken from the Prevalence of Fancy. For Example, Let a Bridge, somewhat Broader than the space a Man usually takes up in Walking, be laid over a Precipice, or deep River; desire some eminent Philosopher to take a Turn or Two upon it for Meditation sakes; I warrant you for all the Strength of his Notions, he begs your Pardon. For though he can demonstrate himself as safe as if he was upon a Bowling Green; yet he is so Ridden by his Imagination that he dares not venture. And some are so struck, that the very Thought of such an Undertaking, will make them turn Pale, and fall a Sweating. ... 'Tis well known, that the Sight of a Cat, or the scratching of a Plate, will discompose some People almost into an Agony; and throw their Reason quite off the Hinges.[110]

Other than the effects of illness, old age, emotional states, and sensory impressions, weather and climate may impair reason, and disturb the imagination. "A Cloud is enough to overcast thought and good humour"; they "rise and fall with the Mercury in the Weather-Glass," and some men can "scarcely talk Sense, unless the Sun shines out. Understanding requires a kind

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107. Cf. Cicero, De Finibus: reason is the most exalted of faculties, and the soul of man is consummate in his rational power. (Translation by S. Parker, London, 1702. p. 309.)

108. Thoughts, Part I, op.cit.

109. Op.cit., p. 100.

110. Of the Weakness of Human Reason, I, pp. 236, 237.

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Climate, as well as Plants." Further, says Collier, "One may almost tell in what Latitude, Season, and Circumstances, a Book was writ. Generally speaking, Northern and Southern Wit differ almost as much as Fruits; by Consequence, Summer and Winter must have a proportionable Influence."[111] This recalls Milton's complaint that the English lack the sun which "ripens wits as well as fruits".[112] This lifelong opinion that the chill English climate was unfavourable to his muse he reflects again in his poem Mansus,[113] and elsewhere in his prose. In Collier's scheme, conscience, as well as reason, obviously stands as one of the auxiliary powers of mind, or higher understanding. It may drive man into such agonies that the mind becomes disordered, and logical thought impossible. Collier quite apparently does not regard imagination, or fancy, as one of the higher faculties of the soul, which may alone experience thought and willing. Imagination, which rather proceeds out of the con-

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111. Of the Spleen, II, p. 35.

112. The History of Britain, in The Prose Works of John Milton, ed. by J.A.St John. London, 1853. Vol. V, p. 240.

113. Cf. Reason of Church Government, Preface to Bk. II, on adversity of climate. For treatment by Elizabethan psychologists, see Anderson, Elizabethan Psychology, Chap. III.

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nections of the soul with the body, becomes relegated to such sensuous operations as instinct, and certainly imagination and reason stand opposed insofar as they seem to effect different end-results. For example, Collier says that, "The Object is over-flourished by the Fondness of Imagination, which usually paints beyond the Life, and sticks in the outward Varnish, without having either Leisure or Capacity to Discover the Coarseness underneath."[114] He refers to a "fantastick pleasure", which is a 'kind of flushing of the Imagination, and kept up by a confus'd superficial way of Thinking." This he contrasts to "genuine" pleasure, which "is founded in the Nature of things", and "will stand the Test of Reason."[115] Only the latter "is agreeable to the Powers of the Mind rightly constituted".[116] This attitude has something of the same implication as that of John Smith, to whom imagination is a faculty that obscures and dims a higher kind of perception. In his Discourse of the True Way or Method of Attaining to Divine Knowledge, he has this passage:

> We cannot here see ... in speculo lucido; here we can see but in a glass, and that darkly too. Our own imaginative powers, which are perpetually attending the highest acts of our souls, will be breathing a gross dew upon the pure glass of our understandings, and so sully

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114. Eagerness of Desire, II, p. 41.

115. Sermon X, p. 339.

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> and besmear it, that we cannot see the image of the Divinity sincerely in it.[117]

Descartes had likewise considered imagination a sensuous operation, and limited it to arising only in the case of corporeal things. And Malebranche, who devotes all of the second book of his Recherche to a discussion of this faculty, names as a human fault the tendency to be ruled by "sensation or imagination" rather than by reason or by pure thought. This entire attitude in its essence seems not far removed from the conception of such earlier psychologists as La Primaudaye, John Davies of Hereford, Coeffeteau, Burton, and Phineas Fletcher, all of whom considered imagination, or fantasy, along with common sense and memory, as internal senses. Although there was among these writers much confusion and disagreement as to the function and points of location of these powers, they apparently were one in thinking imagination the faculty of continuing to handle the images collected through the rudimentary perception of "common sense",[118] Collier has little to say of the functioning or mechanics of memory.

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116. Ibid.

117. John Smith, Select Discourses, London, 1821. Discourse I, Section III, p. 25. This passage is also quoted by Basil Willey, The Seventeenth-Century Background, London, 1934, p. 141.

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In Collier's theory of knowledge, sense perception is of first importance. In "infancy", he says, --meaning "youth". -- "the Soul looks thro' a Mist, the Medium is disturb'd, and Things don't always appear in their proper Qualities: We take Objects upon Content as they strike upon the Organ, and have nothing to trust to but our Senses."[119] During this period, "in this state of the Union, there's no Working without something of Mechanism. And when the Correspondence emerges, when the Senses begin to bear, and the Memory catches in some measure; we pronounce upon the Quality of Things, according to the Pleasure or dislike they are receiv'd with by the Body. In the State of Childhood, smooth or rugged Perceptions, are the only Test of Good and Evil. Now...Matters are wholly referr'd to our Senses, for several Years at first; since we find them in Possession for deciding the question concerning Choice or Aversion..."[120]

Gradually understanding and reason develop. And another type of perception enters into the process of gaining knowledge; here the term means, not sensory perception, but recognition, or realization, of, ideas.

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118. Anderson, pp. 13-17.

119. Resurrection, IV, pp. 410,411.

120. Ibid., pp. 397, 398. He says elsewhere that we like things only as they strike "smooth, or rough upon the sense."

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Collier asks:

> For how can the Distinction of Substances be known, but by the different Properties and Operations which proceed from them; and which way can these be discovered, but by the distinct Notions, and Sentiments, we have of them?[121]

Again, perhaps this inner certainty is to be reached through reasoning:

> If clear and distinct Perception, is not the infallible Mark of Truth, 'tis impossible to know any Thing. For all Reasoning is at last resolved into Self-evident Principles: Now these Magisterial Propositions don't dispute for Belief, but demand it: They flash Conviction so powerfully that there is no resisting them, unless you will suppose our Faculties are false: And then it will be Madness to argue about any Thing.[122]

Collier points to revelation as another means of gaining knowledge; and of those "who are taught by Revelation", even the unlearned "are capable of understanding" these "supernatural Discoveries".[123] Thus Collier takes into

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121. Thought, p. 80.

122. Ibid., p. 81. Swammerdam, a contemporary scientist, expresses very similarly part of this same perception: "I believe we shall find it not unjust to dignify with the name of reason that faculty of our minds, by the assistance of which, we form clear and distinct notions of things..."(Quoted by Fearing, op.cit., p. 52.)

123. Upon Pride, I, p. 21.

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account three types of cognition: sensory perception, which at first is the only means of receiving ideas; a later perception, which may be reached through reasoning, or intuition, or reflection; and revelation.

Out of Collier's theory of knowledge grow certain recommendations for education, a subject which he regards with a psychological, rather than a social interest, in that his concern is with the development of the child himself. He deplores the static condition of mind and soul during the adolescent growth of the body, so that "we are conceal'd from our selves for some time: We move slowly, and ripen by degrees; and our Limbs and Understanding come as it were by Inches."[124] Thus, in youth when the brain is weak, we form wrong judgments and impressions which battle against reason:

> In our Infancy, unpleasant and frightful Things make a deep Impression: During this Period, the Fibres are weak, and the Texture of the Brain unusually yielding. And over and above this Disadvantage, we have neither Judgment to discover, nor Strength to resist an unacceptable Object: And thus thro' our own Weakness, and the

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124. Of Infancy and Youth, III, p. 74. This idea is found likewise in Cicero: we fail to understand ourselves until several years of ignorance have gone over our heads; not until maturity do we learn in what our souls consist. And in the first part of life we are spiritless and "tender", incapable of judging. He says that the mind is given sensories, whereby it is accommodated with perceptions, to work itself up to the use of its powers. (De Finibus, op. cit., pp. 314,328,329.)

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> Indiscretions of those we happen to converse with, we are apt to be prepossess'd with odd Prejudices, and seiz'd with unaccountable Fears: Now these Mormo's, and Impositions sometimes engage the Fancy so far, and strike so deep into the Constitution, that the Reason of our whole Life finds it impossible to deal with them.[125]

Collier mentions the desirability of an objective view of ourselves:

> If we had a double and distinct Capacity, if we carry'd the Man and the Child about us at the same Time; if we had one Soul, little more than a Blank, without any Characters of Knowledge in it, and another, grown to its full Maturity of Judgment and Experience,;.. the Folly, the Servitude, and insecure Condition of the Infant Part would be exactly observed, which without Doubt would be no pleasant Speculation to the other: If we could criticise upon our selves in our Childhood, if we could consider how slowly we emerge out of the State of a Brute, by what insensible Degrees Understanding dawns upon us, and what little and laborious Steps we take toward Improvement, we should think we made but an odd Figure in the World.[126]

There is wide variety in the humours of children. Those tempered in "a finer Mould than others" are "particularly generous and disinterested, mild and governable, and eas-

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125. Of the Resurrection, pp. 398, 399, IV. This term "mormo" meaning "terror", or "bugbear", seems to have been used very rarely. John Smith, in his Select Discourses (1660), speaks of "frightful apparitions of ghosts and mormos". (Of Superstition", p. 37.)

126. Sermon III, pp. 67,68.

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ily gain'd by gentle Usage. And some are no less remarkable for Qualities of Disadvantage. Now tho' some slender Dispositions to this Difference may take their Rise from Nature, and grow out of Constitution, yet Manners are generally the Result of Education. 'Tis the Advantage or Neglect of Discipline, the Difference of Management, and the Force of Example, which produces this Variety, and makes the Children succeed or miscarry."[127] Such excuses as "unconquerable Stubbornness in the Blood" and "Fatality in the Humours" belong to none but the weak-principled, and vanish in the face of due application and strength of philosophy. Further, since much depends upon education,

> great Care should be taken to form Children to the Principles of Religion: The Bias should be set right at first; and the Mind prepossess'd as it were, for the Interest of Virtue. This is the way to smooth the Passage to a happy Life; to reconcile Appetite to Reason, and make the Affections more manageable afterwards. For the Motion is strongly directed, and the Bent taken from the first Impression; and Custom will make a good Practice as easy as a bad one... For this Reason, Children should be treated with great Caution and Reserve: See or hear nothing that may sully the Fancy, and prove dangerous in the Imitation; nothing that may give a wrong Turn to Choice, and make them coarse, or little in their Manner...Childhood ...is the best time for Improvement. Now the Memory is strong, and the

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127. Infancy and Youth, III, p. 76.

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> Body capable of Application, there's no need of Long Intervals of Refreshment, of putting into Port to Careen, or waiting the Leisure of a weather-beaten Constitution. As yet the Mind is not over-charg'd with Cares, the Power of Interest is not grown up, and the Baits of Pleasure hang somewhat out of sight. Now, if ever, the Paper is blank, the Scales even, and the Affections most indifferent.128

But Collier warns against over-educating the child:

> For without Care we may polish away the Substance, and file things till they are ready to snap in pieces: 'Tis not best to be always in the Wheel at first. Before the Muscles are firm, and the Bones well knit together, Weight and Pressure are very unseasonable...Health...ought to be consulted. Without this, the Measures for Education are broken, the Instruments of Thought are lost, and the Progress of Knowledge impracticable.129

He observes that a common fault of parents is their tendency to insist that the child go beyond his capacity, and to doom him to a profession or trade from his cradle.

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128. Op.cit., p. 76, ff.; on p. 79, he points to the case of Pascal's over-driving his energy through study, and exclaims: "As if 'twere honourable to fall a Sacrifice to Sense, and die for Love of the Muses! ...'Tis not good to strain too much, and set Nature upon the Tenters. A Man may be too covetous of Understanding, and a Miser in his Head as well as in his Pocket." (p.80) Further comments on education are scattered; in Sermon III, he writes of the difference between "the advantages of art", and "uncultivated nature", and the value of enlarging natural capacities through learning. (pp. 72,73.)

129. Ibid., p. 79.

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He recommends that his aptitudes be examined, lest the child be planted in the wrong soil, and that some potentialities be discovered before a profession is joined. The opposite view is, for example, reflected in Bacon's Of Parents and Children, in which he concedes that, if a child shows certain extraordinary inclinations, it is good not to cross it. But generally the precept that he advises is: "Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take; for then they are most flexible; and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to."[130] Montaigne says, however, "If, by being overstudious, we impair our health and spoil our good humour, the best pieces we have, let us give it over."[131] It is of interest to know that the "Advice" of William Petty (1648), a letter on education, considers the natural dispositions of children, and insists on the need to follow "natural propensions".[132] Much earlier, Roger Ascham, in his Scholemaster (1570),[133] had recommended that the scholar's "natural aptness" be taken into account.

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130. The Essays of Francis Bacon, ed. by Mary A. Scott, N.Y., 1908, p. 31.

131. The Essays of Montaigne, trans. by E.T.Trechmann, London, 1927, Vol. I, p. 243.

132. Brett, op. cit., p. 249.

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It is obvious that Collier rejects the theory of innate ideas. His belief in perception through the senses, reasoning, and revelation, and his implications of a "blank soul" sufficiently establish his acceptance of the mind as a rasa tabula. This phrase suggesting the mind before experience to be a "smooth tablet" or "blank paper", is a familiar figure in contemporary writings. Glanvill remarks that "our initial age is like the melted wax to the prepared Seal, capable of any impression from the documents of our Teachers."[134] And earlier, Comenius,[135] aware that psychology bore a relationship to education, had considered, in his The Great Didactic (1657), that the mind is a blank tablet awaiting the reproductions of textbooks. Descartes had held the theory of innate ideas,[136] but Malebranche had rejected this view, on the score that the soul can not alone establish the correspondence between an idea and its object.[137] To cite more contemporary instances, other than Locke,

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133. Written between 1563 and 1568.

134. Glanvill, op. cit., p. 128.

135. John Oreas Komensky; cf. Brett, p. 248.

136. Works of Descartes, op. cit., Vol. I, Principles of Philosophy, pp. 222,223; also Passions, p. 255; Notes directed against a Certain Programme, etc., pp. 434-6.

137. Church, op.cit., p. 122.

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would be only wearying. His Essay concerning Human Understanding appeared in 1690, after he had worked on it for ten years. Primarily interested in the study of perception, he postulated that ideas arise out of experience from two sources, sensation and reflection, the second including the processes of perception, reason, judgment, and willing. He suggests that we "suppose the mind to be...white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas."[138] He says of intuitive knowledge that by it "the mind perceives the agreement or disagreement of two ideas immediately by themselves, without the intervention of any other":

> For in this the mind is at no pains of proving or examining, but perceives the truth, as the eye doth light, only by being directed towards it....Such kind of truths the mind perceives at the first sight of the ideas together, by bare intuition,... and this kind of knowledge is the clearest and most certain, that human frailty is capable of. This part of knowledge is irresistible, and like bright sunshine forces itself immediately to be perceived, as soon as ever the mind turns its view that way; and leaves no room for hesitation, doubt, or examination, but the mind is presently filled with the clear light of it. It is on this intuition that depends all the certainty and evidence of all our knowledge.[139]

Thus, for Locke, the rasa tabula, by virtue of the bare

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138. Locke, op. cit., p. 111.

139. Ibid., pp. 228, 230.

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intuitive power inherent in it, becomes the medium for establishing between the reason and its object the connection which Malebranche believed impossible, but which Collier implies in his acceptance of the compelling claims of certain "self-evident principles", derived from the immediate reactions of the mind in contact with experience.[140] By the resolution of the reasoning process into the terms of sense-experience intuitively perceived, Collier in this respect allies himself to the British school of empirical philosophy, of which Locke was the founder.

Psychology, considered in relation to educational theory, is seen to have value for its subjective interest in human nature. That same interest, expanded toward a more complete self-scrutiny and in turn into an observation of one's fellowmen, early proved so fascinating a source of speculation as to foster "character" writing and such varied forms of sententious expression as the maxim and epigram. This phase of the study of psychology Professor Dessoir has termed "psychognosis", and he defines it as the "practical and artistic knowledge of the soul, which is concerned with the riddle of character."[141] Tracing the growth of its representative lit-

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140. Cf. p. 94, above, quotation from Collier.

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erature from the gnomic poets of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., he here includes Aristotle for his Rhetoric, and, chief among the early scholastics, Augustine for his Confessions; particularly during the Reformation and Renaissance was there a tendency toward spiritual self-analysis. It is undeniable that seventeenth-century English literature owes an often unrecognized debt to continental writers of this type. Dessoir remarks that in Pascal and in Balthasar Gracian the pessimism already seen in Montaigne and Charron " comes to full expression". La Rochefoucauld's Sentences and Maxims (1665), in which the emphasis veers away from the religious, are "a serious attempt at practical psychology, a reduction of carefully observed facts to concrete principles..."[142] La Bruyère's Les caractères de Théophraste[143] was one of the most influential of such books. All these mentioned, from Aristotle, through the scholastics, and the moderns, bear a direct relation to Collier; he was especially familiar with Pascal, La Rochefoucauld, and La Bruyère. These influences will be treated more explic-

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141. Dessoir, op. cit., Intro., xiii.

142. Ibid., xxi.

143. First edition 1688. In 1592 in England there had appeared Isaac Casaubon's Latin translation of the extant Characters of Theophrastus. (Felix Schelling, Eng.Lit. during the Lifetime of Shakespeare, N.Y., 1927, p. 331) Collier, however, makes use of Bruyere's version.

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itly, however, in a consideration of his ethics.

Collier thoroughly and curiously noted the instincts and characteristics of men. His observations, which are not consciously worked into a scheme, but are scattered throughout his essays and dialogues in maxims and characters, present man as a creature of varying capacities and of imperfections. In the hierarchy of created beings, he is accorded a position lower than that of angels, and higher than that of brutes. Angels are endowed with soul-powers, mystically intensified, faculties of which man now has only a glimmering, and toward which he, consciously or unconsciously, strives; the rational soul is the faculty distinguishing man from animal. Collier exhibits great scorn for the sub-rational: the meanest of things is the "rational Brute", because he stupidly lives beneath his own powers; other creatures act only by instinct, and direction of Providence, and enjoy merely sensuous satisfactions.[144] It is knowledge, next to goodness, that proves the highest exaltation of human kind, and which removes it farthest from brutes.[145] Common to both man and lower animal is

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144. Resurrection, pp. 436, 437, IV.

145. Ibid., p. 410; also Drunkenness, p. 167, III.

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the instinct of self-preservation, which Collier recognizes as the most powerful principle motivating both passional and actional life. He speaks in pessimistic tones of the small hope for a materially improved condition of the race, since man is governed to such an extent by selfish interest that any ideal state is unlikely.[146] In his social contacts he reveals a general tendency toward folly, pride, covetousness, anger, excesses, and crassness.[147] He sets up obstacles for himself by his petty humours, sense of self-importance, and jealousy, defects to be noticed in those of even the best character.[148] But Collier grants it to be impossible to remain "even", and remarks that a "Paradisiacal Temper is not to be expected from Postdiluvian Mortals".[149] His ideas as to man's natural state of benevolence are contradictory. At times he credits him with an inherent goodness,[150] which he defines as "an Inclination to promote the Happiness of another", and again, as "largeness of Mind and sweetness of Temper".[151] But this spirit often fails, as, for example, when partiality overrules, or when,

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146. Honesty, IV, pp. 92,93.

147. Old Age, p. 169; Sermons, pp. 38, 167; Goodness, p. 18 ff.; Solitude, p. 273, III.

148. Theft, p. 36, III.

149. Friendship, p. 65, II.

150. Of Power, p. 63, III.

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deprived of future reward, one refuses to drudge for "an unknown good".[152] Collier in several instances attributes to man the instinct of self-love, which he calls "the most intimate and inseparable Passion of human Nature."[153]

Selfishness causes the common disagreements among human beings, and creates through the resulting social strife the need for laws. The entire theme of Collier's essay on General Kindness, however, consists in an argument to prove universal benevolence "an acknowledged and practicable Disposition".[154] Because of our "community of nature", he says, "if we leave Nature to her Original Bias, if we hearken to the undepraved Suggestions of our Minds, we shall wish the same Convenience to others (as we wish to ourselves). For the apprehending a Being so like our own, in prosperous Circumstances, must be an Advancement of ourselves: By this we see as it were our own Nature pleased, and Flourishing in another."[155] A second proof is that universal benevolence is agreeable to human nature, and a third, that it is in keeping with the attributes of God to suppose that he would create man

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151. Of Goodness, IV, p. 1.

152. Of Theft, IV, p. 274.

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with an innate concern for the happiness of others.[156] It would be contrary to the generous spirit of God to instill into his handiwork mean principles; and generally, a lack of benevolence is owing to a lack of reason. Collier points to educational prejudices, poor environment, acquired traits, and to covetousness and pride as the factors causing men to reject their natural spirit of kindness. But self-love is not to be considered a fault if one is just, and generous; it is a fault, however, if it becomes immoderate. In general,

> The excesses of Self-Love, to which they(men) are naturally prone, make them value others who resemble their Persons, Temper, or Condition, whether they are good or bad: They are often unreasonably kind to their own Children, to their own Notions and Conceptions of Things, and sometimes to their own Follies and Deformities.[157]

Further,

> Almost all intelligent Beings, especially those which are generous and kind, are naturally prone

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153. Pride, I, p. 5; Revenge, pp. 32-35, III.

154. p. 151, ff.

155. Ibid., pp. 151,152.

156. Ibid., p. 153.

157. Sermon II, p. 38.

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> to esteem those who are like themselves. And if they are furnish'd with Ability, they never fail to demonstrate their Affection in the most sensible and obliging Instances; for Conformity of Humour and Disposition is observed to be one of the most endearing Motives to Friendship and Love.
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This same idea Collier expands in his essay Of Friendship, where he remarks that "Nature, like Narcissus, is strangely taken with its own Reflection", and again in A Short View ...of the English Stage:[159]

> People love to see their Passions painted no less than their Persons: And like Narcissus, are apt to dote on their own Image. This Bent of self Admiration recommends the Business of [stage] Amours, and engages the Inclination.

Linked with, or perhaps growing out of, the selfish instincts of human nature is an inherent love of property--"a strange Relish in calling something one's own".[160] And man is cursed by other desires, by various cravings for the unpossessed. A forward-looking animal, he has, as a consequence of his state of dependence and insufficiency, had imposed upon him a concern for the future. Still another trait of man is his tendency toward gregariousness; the poverty and frailty of his nature render him unfit for

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158. Ibid., p. 57.

159. p. 184.

160. Of Theft, p. 272, IV.

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solitude, and therefore happiness becomes impracticable without society. The average man is conservative and distrustful of innovations; he is lamentably lacking in plasticity. People are slow to see the virtues of others, "because such a Discovery brings them under a Disadvantage of Comparison."[161] Conceited persons tend to magnify others' faults beyond all proportion, to exaggerate any small offense, but, in turn, to judge themselves too leniently. The vain--and the majority of human beings are complacent admirers of themselves --carry their self-approval to the point of folly, are thus laid open to flattery, permit their imaginations to be "swollen", and, as a result, suffer dire effects. Commendation is at times serviceable, in that it reveals our own benevolence and acts as a spur to improvement. But Collier considers that nourishment too strong for the average digestion; merit should be ignored, that self-pride not go beyond all bounds. Men differ in their powers of reason, in "fate of birth, natural impotence, and unavoidable defects, either in body or mind", and none of these is a just ground for contempt. Varying humours constitute one kind of possible natural weaknesses; again, anvironmental factors may effect warped conditions. Human beings, then, may differ widely, because of the determinism of forces outside their control.

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Some of these ideas immediately suggest Hobbes, who postulates as a basic concept in his psychology the instinct of self-preservation. But it would be ridiculous and short-sighted to fall upon as Hobbesian a reflection of this theory because it is contemporary (as eager source-hunters frequently tend to do), or to infer that to begin with this assumption would be to end with Hobbes's materialistic scheme. Here Collier probably is indicating an attitude of common sense and practical observation; and he had encountered the notion in Cicero and other writers. Aside from his attacks in the stage controversy, Collier's voiced disapproval points toward Hobbes more than any other contemporary. Much of his dialogue on Pride consists in a refutation of Hobbesian theory. Certainly in their general positions the two men had no real affinity of thought. We have seen one of Collier's references to Hobbes. Again, in the dialogue Of General Kindness, man is declared to be a beast "without the Modesty to own it". Thereupon Collier's spokesman characterizes the other: "Mr. Hob's Ghost! No less than a Satyr upon your whole Kind."[162] Yet Collier can quote Hobbes to his own pur-

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161. Upon Revenge, III, p. 32.

162. I, p. 146.

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pose: doubting the widespread use of natural reason, he cites the latter in saying, "When Reason is against a Man, a Man will be against Reason". And certain other elements of Collier's analysis smack of Hobbes' conception of human nature: the attribution to man of an instinctive self-love, of deceit and dishonesty, these in turn creating a need for laws; the characterization of him as vain, forward-looking, bereft of altruism, actuated by petty motives, and desirous of wealth and property, which to Hobbes were accessories to power. We should mention here that Cicero --with Collier a chief source for citations-- in his De Finibus[163] evolves his whole discourse on what constitutes the summum bonum from a recognition of the natural principles of self-love and self-preservation. The same viewpoint is found in his De Officiis: there is a long passage[164] concerning the distinction between man and brute on the basis of reason and sensual pleasure, which similarly characterizes the attitude of Collier. In summary of Collier's ideas, we find an amazingly varied reflection of seventeenth-century trends, a reflection that suggests on the one hand an alliance with Cartesian dualism that expands

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163. Pp. 295,301,316 of the 1702 translation, op.cit. Collier wrote a recommendatory preface to this edition.

164. Cicero, De Officiis, trans. by George B. Gardiner, London, 1899, pp. 16, 51-53.

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to the almost unexpressible mysticism of Malebranche; on another, much that is most modern in certain scientific matters and in empirical philosphy, at times markedly differing with older beliefs, and even perhaps unconsciously echoing Hobbism. All of these diverse aspects of contemporary thought fuse with a background of classical and Renaissance learning to indicate the wide intellectual curiosity of Collier.

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III. SOCIAL THEORIES

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SOCIAL THEORIES

The body of Collier's social criticism is an admixture of his comments upon institutions, manners, amusements, and current evils, and a vigorous arraignment of much in contemporary society. Keenly aware of the libertinism and hypocrisy about him, he saw his age as one characterized by licentiousness, debauched by ignoble principles and by loose practices. Distinctions between good and evil were almost buried; the notoriously wicked prospered, and the virtuous suffered dire calamities. The court, camp, and bar were mercenary; wills were forged and broken, and the defenseless robbed; tradesmen were ruined through dishonest competition; crime flourished, and daily there was heard in the streets complaint of theft and murder.[1] The degeneracy of the times was such, declares Collier, that

> We are now fallen back to Pagan Liberty. There's not only Impunity, but Reputation in being Vitious. 'Tis with some People counted an Argument of Brains,

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1. Such generalizations are, of course, based upon various essays; cf. particularly Of Goodness, IV, p.22.

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> and a Test of Quality. To be afraid of being damn'd is a vulgar Fancy, and Conscience passes for Cowardice.[2]

Although Collier, ironically setting forth current evils, finds them partially rooted in human nature, he does not stop there; he sees the world for what it is, but, with respect to society in a larger sense, as a manifestation of age-old tendencies, he reflects certain basic ideas that writers of all time have held. Man was not made for solitude;[3] and, declares Collier, "from the Faculty of Speech, we may conclude the Institution of Society":

> Had we been made for Distance and Separation, and not to intercommon with any Mortal, these Organs for Entertainment, these Distinctions of Sounds, this articulate Pronunciation were in vain: for to what purpose should a Man have a Tongue to talk only to himself?[4]

Man, says Aristotle, in his Politics, "is the only animal whom she [Nature] has endowed with the gift of speech":

> And whereas mere voice is but an indication of pleasure or pain, and is therefore found in other animals ... the power of speech is intended to set forth the expedient and inexpedient, and therefore likewise the just and the unjust. And it is a characteristic of man that he alone has any sense of good and evil, of just and unjust, and the like, and the association of living beings who have this sense makes a family and a state.[5]

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2. Ibid., pp. 23, 24.

3. Collier in his dialogue Of Friendship, like Bacon, quotes from Aristotle's Politics: "he who is pleas'd with Solitude must be either a wild Beast, or a God". (Cf. p.242, post.)

4. Of Solitude, III, p. 273.

5. The Works of Aristotle, ed. by W.D. Ross. Oxford, 1921. Vol. X, p. 1253a. On the same page, he says, "A social instinct is implanted in all men by nature ...".

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Cicero, in the De Officiis, concurs in this idea:

> Let us go to the root of the matter and seek in nature the first beginnings of society. The first is seen in the brotherhood of the entire human race. The bonds of connection are thought and speech, the instruments of teaching and learning, of communication, discussion, and reasoning, which unite man to man and bind them together by a kind of natural league.[6]

Similar passages are to be found in Seneca, and, of more modern writers, Hooker and Grotius.[7] The design of society, avers Collier, is to make men the better for each other's company;[8] consequently, happiness derives largely from social intercourse, whether one be in pleasant or poor circumstances.[9] He looks back to agree with Seneca, Cicero, and Tacitus in the view that "the furniture of the mind must be brought out" for comparison, that too much seclusion is not good, inasmuch as man is so constituted that his poverty-stricken nature cries out for companionship.

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6. Cicero, op. cit., p.25; he says elsewhere: "Nature with the aid of reason likewise binds man to man, unites them by the bond of language and of social life, inspires them with a strong love of offspring, and impels them to multiply the occasions of meeting and consorting with their fellows." (Ibid., p. 6.)

7. Cf. Seneca's Epistle 6, Letters to Lucilius, trans. by E. Phillips Barker; Oxford, 1932. Vol. I, p. 6. Hooker, op. cit.; "The chiefest instrument of human community therefore is speech, because thereby we impart mutually one to another the conceits of our reasonable understanding .... Civil society doth more content the nature of man than any private kind of solitary living, because in society this good of mutual participation is so much larger than otherwise". (Bk.I, p. 250.) Cf. also p. 239,Bk.I.

8. Of Lying, IV, p. 142.

9. Of Solitude, III, p. 258, ff.

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A question basic to the consideration of human institutions, their origin, their function, and their evils, is that of the relationships existing among the classes of society. Here, Collier, although his attitude is essentially aristocratic, also reveals democratic sympathies. As offspring of God, he says, men are primarily equal, with common advantages and disadvantages. Thus a prince lacks the power to levy a subject's brains, tamper with his understanding, or incorporate his force with that of his own.[10] That there are no innate distinctions among men is likewise proved by the affinity of human kind, by the similarity in thoughts, and by reactions to pain, pleasure, and emotions. One of the speakers in the dialogue Of Honesty supports the statement that "all men are naturally equal" by explaining that, since they are all derived from the same divine source, their bodies are constructed of the same materials, their souls possessed of the same privilege of reason and immortality.[11] Inasmuch as one man is as closely related to God as another, all look back to a single pedigree; accordingly, "the best part of the Nobility is common to the whole Kind".[12] All descend from the same human

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10. Of Honesty, IV, p. 66.

11. Ibid., p. 65.

12. Ibid.; cf. also Upon Pride, I, p. 17.

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stock, and, just as "the Grand Advantages are common, the Disadvantages are so too: The Weakness and Indigencies of Nature, the Shortness, and little Offices of Life are generally Incumbrances, and no Condition is exempted from them".[13] He continues, nevertheless, to discuss the classes of society on the assumption that they are the result of a natural cleavage which should not be tampered with by artificial means. Collier, himself consistently a Tory in conduct, finds room for criticism of both nobility and peasantry. He censures class aspirations, partially because of the underlying reasons why people strive for superiority: "they want drudges to work for them ... to favour their Ease, and supply them with Conveniences ... to have Vassals to flatter their Vanity", and humour their passions; because "they fancy the Value of Greatness consists in Comparison".[14] By the common man nobility is rated far too high. The Masses themselves "make Quality", and realize that in comparison lies their advantage, since often the greatness of one will depend upon the smallness of another. This tendency, in turn, causes their superiors to affect reserve, and to widen the distance between themselves and their inferiors. Yet "those Underneath are tempted to take no Notice. ... They are strongly for the levelling Humour, for melting down all Distinctions"....[15]

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13. Ibid.

14. Of Religious Temper. IV, p. 119.

15. Of Honesty, IV, p. 83.

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Of the two kinds of nobility, hereditary and acquired, the first, says Collier, because it is borrowed, is not just ground for commendation.[16] He scoffs at the claim of antiquity as a means of gaining high social position. In a passage from A Moral Essay Upon Pride, Philotimus asks:

> Don't you think it is a great addition to ones Birth, to stand at the Bottom of a long Parchment Pedigree, and be some Yards removed from the first Escutcheon? Is not that Family substantially Built which can stand the Shock of Time, and hold out against all Varieties of Accidents?

Philalethes answers:

> ... if you go but one Inch farther than the Gentleman at the Top you spoke of, it is ten to one but you take old Goodman, etc. by the Leathern Breeches ... And as for the Antiquity of a Family, ... I fear it will abate upon Examination... . I conceive the Antiquity you talk of, is commonly nothing but ancient Wealth; and therefore the chief Commendation of this Privilege consists in the long continued Frugality of the Family; who after they were once possessed of an Estate, had the Discretion to keep it ... And as to the holding out against so many Accidents, and Alterations of State, I am afraid it sometimes proceeds from shifting and indifferent Principles; and from a servile Compliance with whatever is uppermost."[17]

But Collier admits that the "precedence of quality" carries force, and that nobility affords certain practical advantages: it disposes others toward imitating worthy examples, serves to check insolence, and proves advantageous when one is undeservedly in public disgrace; finally, it may claim various offices and titles.[18] Collier believes that aristocratic

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16. Upon Pride, I, p. 56.

17. Ibid., pp. 59, 60, 61.

18. Ibid.,pp. 92, 93.

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position entails responsibility; that this notion was held lightly, he often observes in his essays. In the dialogue Of Riches and Poverty, Philotimus says:

> I thought a Gentleman might have indulg'd a little more, and given his Fancy a Loose farther than other People:

Philalethes retorts:

> You are strangely out: Heraldry is no Protection to Immorality. Persons of Condition have no unlimited Range, no Exemption from Duty, no peculiar License for Folly and Distraction: So far from this, that Dissolution of Manners is more criminal in such Persons than in Peasants.
>
> Why so?
>
> Because they are more indebted to God and the Government for their Distinction; because they miscarry under a better Education, and are more infectious in the Example.[19]

A gentleman is supposedly better acquainted with the laws than is a peasant; accordingly his breaking them amounts to a greater fault.[20] The person of figure and position is obliged to observe public regulations, since "Quality is a Distinction settled by Law",[21] and he thus shares in the privileges of government; "A Man that enjoys Honour and Estate by a Society, has greater Engagements to Regard it,

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19. Of Riches and Poverty, III, p. 111.

20. Ibid.

21. Of Duelling, I, p. 129.

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than he who receives only a Common Protection. One has perhaps a 1000 L. per Annum for keeping the Laws; and the Other, nothing but his Labour for his Pains".[22] The gentleman is likewise to be condemned for setting examples morally bad:

> ... if none but the Vulgar were licentious, the Sin would look clownish and despicable, and the Barrenness of the Soil would almost starve it. But when the Weeds take root in a rich Mould, they shoot up amain; when Appetite and Mode meet, the Infection spreads, and the Disease becomes Epidemical.[23]

Collier condemns the "easy religion of the privileged classes, who demand humility in priests, and who "enjoy their Sins without Trouble".[24]

In respect to the relationship between aristocracy and peasantry, he affirms that the latter should be treated with tenderness; for "men are apt to fancy the lower Ground a disadvantage at the best: But if you insult their Fate, and trample upom them, they'll certainly grow sour ... Power, unless managed with Gentleness and Discretion, does but make a man more hated."[25] Collier exhibits contempt

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22. Ibid.

23. Of Whoredom, III, p.135.

24. Of Theft, IV, pp. 344,46.

25. Of Power, III, p. 68.

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for majorities, and disapproves of conformity to standards set up by them. Especially does he consider majority rule inapplicable to divine and moral law. He remarks that universal applause is seldom less than two thirds of a scandal -- that a man may almost swear he is in the wrong when he is generally "Cryed up".[26] Either Incapacity or Prejudice, Negligence or Imposture, disorders the Judgment of the Multitude. Their Understandings are often too Weak, or their Passions too Strong to Distinguish Truth, or pronounce upon the Right of a Case."[27] Common man, then, frequently lacks reason, emotional control, and the ability to comprehend abstractions;[28] further, the "Amusements of Learning, the Researches into Nature, and the Entertainments of Reason, are not the Inclination of the Generality. They have neither Capacity nor Relish, for Diversions of this Kind."[29] Therefore they indulge sensual appetites, with resulting immorality and licentiousness. Accordingly,

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26. Of Popularity, II, p. 71.

27. Ibid. Collier says elsewhere: "The Majority of Mankind is seldom the wisest. The Multitude are more smitten with Appearances, than Things." (Of Confidence, II, p.97)

28. Of Religious Temper, IV, pp. 111, 112.

29. Of Theft, pp. 324, 325.

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God has made manual labor necessary to the greatest part of mankind,[30] to avert in some measure the ills to which human nature is liable when it finds itself in a state of leisure. At the same time that Collier considers poverty a social evil, he realizes that, through the distribution of nature's goods, and the necessity for man to work to receive them, general opulence has been made impracticable.[31] This inequality of wealth he sees to be the cement of society, in that the rich and poor are made interserviceable.[32] He admits that

> ... it is no Sin to be rich and powerful; we may make use of the Conveniences of life when they are fairly laid in our Way; nay, in this Degeneracy of Mankind, large Fortunes and Grandeur are in some sort necessary to Persons in publick Stations, to put the Vulgar in Mind where they ought to pay their Obedience, and keep up the Reputation of the Government...[33]

Wealth consists in money or lands,

> for all other Subdivisions may be reduc'd to these two. Now if all People were equally rich, and could go on without Working; who would you get to till the Ground, or dig the Mines? ... An Equality of Estates would bring on an Equality of Conditions; confound Degrees, and melt down the Distinctions of gentil and simple. And when Things were thus brought to a Level, People would be too proud to serve any Body but themselves; and thus no mutual Assistance could be expected.[34]

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30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid., pp. 318, 319.

33. Sermon III, p. 88.

34. Ibid., pp. 318, 319.

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The majority, however, accept the imposed dependence in ill fashion. This same aristocratic bias is again seen in the essay Of Riches and Poverty:

> I grant, to feel the Extremity of Want, and be always under Discipline and Mortification, must be very uncomfortable: But then we are to consider, that the World will either mend, or wear off; that the Discharge will come shortly, and the Hardship turn to Advantage; that the Contest is commendable and brave, and that 'tis dangerous and dishonourable to surrender. But tho' Poverty is sometimes more creditable than Riches, tho' as such 'tis never any Disgrace; yet I must needs say, it often lies too much under Neglect. 'Tis the Poor that provide the Necessaries, and maintain the Splendor of Life. 'Tis they that give Ease, Leisure and Observance to the Wealthy, and make them relish their Circumstances.35

These observations are tempered by Collier's conclusion that the poor, having spent themselves in drudgery, should be cared for after their usefulness disappears. Plus the utilitarian advantage in the very existence of the lower class, there would be, Collier implies, a cultural value in a rule by pedigree over that of purse-strings--unless, of course, a degenerated aristocracy has permitted its wealth to pass into bourgeois control that will be more sturdy and more intelligent.

Convinced that inevitably there must be distinction of class, Collier is definitely opposed to schemes for or-

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35. Of Riches and Poverty, III, p. 107.

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ganizing society upon a communal basis, and he generally disapproves of "levelling projects". Complete abolition of private property is not practicable, he believes, because it is incompatible with the primary instincts of human nature. Referring at some length to the ideal republics of Plato and Sir Thomas More, he concludes:

> But their Reasonings upon this Subject I take to be no better than pretty Amusements, and a sort of philosophical Romance... 'tis plain they did not sufficiently Consider the Condition of Mankind, the Imperfections of Nature, and the Bent of the Passions...There will always be a Disproportion as to Strength, Industry, and Consumption. Some will labour less, and some spend more than comes to their Share...The Active, the Skilful, and the Strong, will expect a Preference; the Unserviceable, will be grudg'd their Maintenance, and the Old and Infirm look'd upon as a publick Grievance. This jumbling of Fortunes, and throwing all into Plato's Hotch-Potch, would make way for a civil Chaos, and produce nothing but Strife and Confusion. The more Pretensions are intermix'd, the more they are entangled; and the farther we retire from Property, the nearer we border upon Disputes... When all's done, separate Right, and single Enjoyment is the best Expedient for Peace and Quietness.[36]

It has been noted earlier that Collier suggests the psychology of Hobbes in emphasizing self-love as a determining force in the behaviour of men. As the philosopher of Malmesbury has said that "Every voluntary act has for its end some good to the Self",[37] so Collier writes that "where there's most to be gotten or lost, 'tis natural

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36. Of Theft, IV, pp. 269, 270, 271.

37. Hobbes, op. cit., p. 138.

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to attend closely, and provide accordingly. Upon this account we are generally most affected at Home; Sense exceeds Sympathy, and we are apt to love those things best, which belong to ourselves."[38] It is not conceivable, then, that men should evince as much concern for possessions held in common as they show for privately owned ones; and in a state based upon shared wealth, the old social cleavages would soon reappear. Collier has a greater sympathy with Aristotle's theory of politics than he has with that of Plato. Aristotle cites many disadvantages attendant upon a community of possession, and concludes that

> the present arrangement, if improved as it might be by good customs and laws, would be far better, and would have the advantage of both systems. Property should be in a certain sense common, but, as a general rule, private; for, when everyone has a distinct interest, men will not complain of one another, and they will show more progress, because every one will be attending to his own business.[39]

Private ownership results not only in harmonious relationships among men, but also in the development of certain social virtues. When everything is jointly held, there is no opportunity for a display of benevolence or of generosity, for one man has no greater need than

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38. Of Theft, IV, pp. 269, 270, 271.

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another; but in a state which is not communistic, these qualities may flourish without being stifled by the impulses of self-love, since the latter will, at the same time, find satisfaction in personal possessions willingly, but not enforcedly, shared. Collier agrees with Aristotle that the only community which is ethically significant springs from friendship, and not from mere political organization.[40]

The views of Collier regarding social classes and the impracticability of levelling schemes also are related to those of Cicero. The latter asserts that it is the first duty of a statesman to "provide for the security of private property and prevent it from being alienated by public authority"; and socialism he calls "the most pernicious system that can be conceived."[41] Private property, he explains, originated in an ancient occupa-

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39. The Works of Aristotle, op. cit., pp. 1262,1263. Collier alludes to Aristotle's views at this point, but does not quote him.

40. Of Theft, p. 271. Cf. Aristotle, op. cit., p. 1263: "And yet, by reason of goodness, and in respect of use, 'Friends', as the proverb says, 'will have all things common'." It is the duty of the legislator, he affirms, to foster benevolent disposition at the same time that he protects provate property.

41. De Officiis, op. cit., p. 117. Grotius, whom Collier often cites, in his De jure belli ac pacis, quotes the words of Seneca: "Ad reges potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietas." (Cf. J.K.Bluntschli, The Theory of the State. Oxford, 1901, p. 243 n.)

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tion of land, once belonging to all, but later apportioned to individuals; and "now since by this partition the individual secures as personal property a part of that which at first belonged to all, he ought to rest content with his share ...."[42]

After he has shown that the primary qualities of human nature preclude a satisfactory communal government, Collier states that the example of the early Christians, who shared all possessions, cannot be offered to prove the advisability of such a plan. Their socialism arose from the peculiar nature of their circumstances: while they were being persecuted and driven, homeless, about the earth, there was some advantage in individual self-abnegation; but once they were established upon a recognized legal basis, and once their prosperity had increased, the former community of goods no longer persisted. And, in any case, "a Precedent of good Men falls short of a Divine Law ... and does not bind to Imitation."[43]

Collier indicates a familiarity with most[44] of the well known communal schemes, ideal and real -- those of Lycurgus, Plato, and Sir Thomas More --, but none of them does he look upon as feasible. Once the wealth of the group has been pooled, it always becomes necessary to

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42. De Officiis, p. 11.

43. Of Theft, p. 275.

44. Strangely enough, Collier makes no mention of Bacon's New Atlantis.

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re-apportion it in some fashion, and, practically, then, the socialistic structure has crumbled. "Indeed," he concludes, "absolute Community is incompatible with the Necessities of Mankind: And therefore even Plato and More, are forc'd to clog this Freedom with Restraints and Provisoes."[45]

Collier's Toryism, notably manifested in his undeviating loyalty to James, is clearly shown by his reflections upon kingship. The divine origin of the monarch is apparent, not only in the express words of God, but also in a reasoned observation of nature:

> Indeed, if God had not so plainly declared the Persons of Princes Sacred and Inviolable, and made the resisting their Authority Penal in the highest Degree; we might in great measure have inferred his Commands from the Reason of things: And that He expected we should continue firm to our Engagement, tho' under the greatest Discouragements: For without Steadiness in this Point, Societies must break up; and the Foundation of the Earth be put out of course... . To suffer therefore in Defence of Authority and Government, is both a necessary and a noble Instance of Fortitude...[46]

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45. Of Theft, p. 276. Sir Thomas More shows himself to be aware of some of the difficulties in the way of successful communism when he has his questioner in Utopia say: "...it seems to me that men cannot live conveniently, where all things are common: how can there be any plenty, where every man will excuse himself from labour?" (Utopia, included in Ideal Commonwealths, ed. by Henry Morley, London, 1889, p.86).

46. A Persuasive to Consideration tendered to the Royalists, particularly those of the Church of England, London, 1695. p.6. James I, "A Speech to the Lords and Commons of the

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If it were lawful to worship any being below God, Collier says in a sermon, Kings would deserve that homage more than the angels:

> Now, because we are certain God has given the Prince Authority over us, but we have no assurance that we are Subjects to the Angels; therefore though the Prince falls short of the Perfection of those glorious Spirits, yet he deserves a greater Respect from us, because we are under his Jurisdiction.[47]

Subjects have no right to depose rulers nor to incite rebellion,

> For if deposing of Kings, and dispensing with Oaths, and resolving Conscience into Public Good, that is, Convenience, are not Tenents of a flaming Malignity, the Distinctions of Right and Wrong are unintelligible.[48]

Likewise, that subjects have no justification for creating new kings is Collier's thesis in his Animadversions upon the Modern Explanation of ...a King de facto, an attack upon the legitimacy of William's claim to the throne of England. He refuses, moreover, to regard the departure of James as an abdication, inasmuch as "his Majesty before his withdrawing, had sufficient grounds to make him apprehensive

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Parliament at Whitehall", 1609, (in The Political Works of James I, p. 307.): "The State of Monarchie is the supremest thing upon earth: For Kings are not onely Gods Lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon Gods throne, but even by God himselfe they are called Gods ... In the Scripture Kings are called Gods, and so their power after a certaine relation compared to the Divine power." In Sermon VIII, p. 262, Collier says that the emperor is "promoted to his Authority by God".

47. Sermon VIII, p. 263.

48. A Persuasive, op. cit., pp. 15,16.

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of danger... ."[49] In the king alone lie the power and responsibilities of government, and "no wise Prince will trust so vast a Concern as a Kingdom with the Honesty of another, especially when many of his Subjects are disaffected and in a ferment."[50] And yet, elsewhere, Collier contradicts this declaration when he observes concerning "any civil Right", that it is

> in the Power of the Parliament either to limit, or take it away; because the whole Power and Authority of the Kingdom is there, either Personally, or by Representation; and therefore they may deprive any Person of his Honour, or Estate, (the Right of the Succession to the Crown excepted) as far as they please: Not that 'tis impossible for them to act Unjustly, but only that what they Determine hath the Force of a Law; because every Man is supposed to have given his Consent to it.[51]

This passage occurs in his defense of curates, in the attempt to distinguish between civil and ecclesiastical rights and obligations; but that Collier's real position was one of sympathy with the notion of divine right is obvious from his own conduct. He looks with dubious eye at the state of kingship in his day, in which

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49. The Desertion Discuss'd, In a Letter to a Country Gentleman, p. 111. Collier reflects Sir Thomas More's view regarding the personal responsibilities of kingship: "... for the springs both of good and evil flow from the prince, over a whole nation, as from a lasting fountain."(Op.cit., p.89).

50. Ibid., p. 114.

51. The Office of a Chaplain, I, p. 205.

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> the Power of Princes...is little more than imaginary: The Crown gives no proper Strength to those that wear it. If personal force was proportion'd to their Station, and reach'd as far as Prerogative, 'twould be a mighty Advantage... . As the Case stands, their Empire consists chiefly in the Submission of other Men's Wills; which is in a manner but reigning by Courtesy.
> [52]

Their position is not independent, but "borrowed from little People".[53]

Consistent with Collier's monarchism is his distrust of rebellious multitudes and of the followers and flatterers of princes, hangers-on who endanger the power and reputation of majesty:

> What can be more destructive to crown'd Heads than a Libertine Favourite? A Creature that shall blow up their Passions, and poyson their Pleasures? A Man that shall make a Jest of Conscience, and whisper Licentiousness in their Ear? ...But as bad as such People are, they are no Rarities in History: They find their Account too often to be discourag'd: Like some Sort of Meat, they shine in Putrefaction, make a Figure out of foul service, and grow rich upon Infamy.
> [54]

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52. Of Power, III, p. 67.

53. Of Religious Temper, IV, p. 121.

54. Of Flattery, IV, p. 256. Sir Thomas More, in his Utopia, points out that it is a common practice of kings to favour those who flatter, and fawn upon them; he generalizes, "Nature has so made us, that we all love to be flattered, and to please ourselves with our own notions." (Op.cit., p. 59.)

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In his Defense of the Short View of the Stage, Collier, answering Congreve's charge that kings have for years and without complaint been punished on the stage, retorts that princes

> are used agreeably to their station...They are never represented insignificant, treated with Contempt, and play'd the Fool with in Comedy. If they were thus used, I question not but that the Poets and Players would quickly hear on't.
> 55

Although generally Collier reflects the absolutist principles of divine right enunciated by James I, he does not hesitate to write freely concerning limitations of royal authority. He censures compliance with a prince's opinions, especially if that would be to override justice and prudence; and the strong implication is that the justice of the law has a more compelling claim than the personal prerogatives of the ruler. In various ways he restricts the policies of the king. The prince, he says, has no right to use spies; he disapproves of a sovereign's receiving deserters, and managing intelligence with an enemy's subjects. Instead, he should resort to ambassadors, merchants, and travelers for information. A king must not neglect the duties of church and religion; for

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55. Defense of the Short View, p. 243. (Bound with A Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage, &c., With the Several Defences of the Same in Answer to Mr. Congreve, Dr. Drake, &c., London, 1738).

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a Christian peasant is more noble than a heathen prince. Finally, any tendency on the part of the monarch toward tyranny is to be deplored.

The hopelessness of the political situation in his own day Collier describes in the Persuasive to Consideration:

> We see in what a Tempest the Nation is tossed. What a Torrent over-bears all Regards, both Human and Divine. Neither Nature nor Obligation, Crown nor Mitre, Law nor Gospel, can stand before it. No Moral Difficulty can stop its Passage. It breaks through all the Opposition of Blood, Heights of Station, and Defences of Right. So that now, if ever, we may make the Prophet's Complaint, Truth is fallen in the streets, and Equity cannot enter.... And when this Civil Chaos will settle, He only knows who brings Light out of Darkness, and Order from Confusion. And a Consideration no less sad than the rest, is the Infatuation which lies upon Men's Spirits,... How they dote on their Delusion, and are enamour'd of their Disease, and like those stung with a Tarantula, expire in Pleasure.
> 56

Below the king stands the magistrate, about whose office Collier has little to say. His power is vested in him by consent of the people. It is, therefore, none of his business to inquire who keeps or transgresses the law of God, since the latter extends to many cases with which magistrates have nothing to do. But it does lie within his power to punish those who transgress the law of the

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56. Persuasive, op. cit., p. 17.

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land, and disturb the peace of the commonwealth. He must perform all acts which appear necessary to the preservation of the public good, provided that he do nothing contrary to the known commands of God. Collier observes that, in human governments, defections are made safe by the bulk of the party, but that numbers are no security when God wreaks vengeance. The laws themselves, over which the magistrate presides, were chiefly invanted to "meet with the Insincerity, and restrain the unaccountable Passions of Men... .The Design of these public Provisions being to make all Injustice and Encroachment an uncreditable, as well as an unprofitable Practice... ."[57] These strictures, however, prove inadequate, since "many Vices are always overlook'd, and lie out of the Verge of the most comprehensive Laws", and "even those Crimes which are mark'd with Vengeance in the Sanction, often escape the Execution... ."[58] Consequently, God must at last take justice into his own hands.[59] Collier's account of the origin of law is similar to that of Hobbes, since both are based upon the theory that human nature is fundamentally selfish and given to unrestrained passion, which qualities necessitate a strong external control, to be

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57. Sermon I, p. 2.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., p. 3.

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lodged most satisfactorily in a monarch.[60]

Both the law of magistrates and that of religion act to curtail the freedom of men.[61] Civilization, on the whole, depends much on law enforcement: "Discipline is as necessary in Government as Lancing and Burning in Surgery. If the Sword of Justice was always in the Scabbard, the World would be strangely out of order."[62] The laws of each country, insofar as they are consistent and are precepts of Revelation, should serve as guides; actually civil laws are obligatory, says Collier, because God speaks through them.[63] But they will not be comprehensive, because legislators cannot foresee difficulties. The little that Collier has to say of the profession itself is condemnatory of the malpractices of lawyers: he points to the frequency with which the size of the fee alters the complexion of the cause; to the torturing of statutes to protect rich clients; and to the tampering with wills, and the betraying of trusts in court.[64] He ganeralizes upon the meting out of sentences:

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60. Hobbes, op.cit., Chap. 17, p. 153, ff.

61. Both James I and Hobbes recognize that complete freedom of subjects is anomalous in a monarchy, which is the best form of government.

62. Of Goodness, IV, p. 3.

63. Of Honesty, IV, p.57; cf. Hooker, Ecclesiastical Polity, Bk. I, on civil law as one expression of Divine Law.

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> There are three Things which hinder Justice from taking place: 1. When the Judge is misinform'd concerning the Fact. 2. When he is byass'd by Partiality or Prejudice. 3. When he wants Power to put his Sentence in Execution. So on the contrary, when the State of the Cause, and the Measure of Right and Wrong are exactly understood, where the Judge is above the Influence of Favour or Disaffection, and has Force enough to maintain the Award given, there it's impossible for Justice to fail.[65]

As for the function of "the Bench, the Bar, and the rest, they are not the Makers, but the Ministers of Law; they are the Servants of the Government; and their Methods of Proceeding are chalked out by their Superiors: And when the Reason of Things is good, 'tis not material though the Latin proves otherwise."[66] Collier disapproves of the attitude often assumed in the practice of duelling, whereby, contemptuous of referring his differences to law, one makes himself his own judge:

> ...by thus taking the Business out of the Hands of the Government, you both reproach, and in Effect, renounce it at your Pleasure. The Laws very well suppose, that People are apt to be too partial and passionate in their own Concerns; and therefore remit them to a publick Decision. Now 'tis a kind of Maxim with us, That No Man should be wiser than the Laws.[67]

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64. It may be noted that John Selden censures the corruptness of the legal profession in his day: "The king's oath is not security enough for our property, for he swears to govern according to law; now the judges they interpret the law; and what judges can be made to do we know." Table Talk, Oxford, 1892. p. 95.

65. Sermon II, p. 33.

66. Of Duelling, I, p. 120.

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And Collier recommends that they be accepted reasonably, for one not only owes that responsibility to his government, but at the same time may smooth out or avert his personal difficulties.

Civil law is supreme within its own limits, according to Collier, for he advocates the absolute separateness of church and state; it is, he says, no more in the power of the state to deprive church leaders of purely spiritual authority, than it is in the power of the church to remove the magistracy, or disincorporate the state.[68] In secular matters, then, the clergy are responsible to civil authority, for church jurisdiction extends only to things spiritual, and in matters not purely so is alterable with changing conditions.[69] For example, the allowance or prohibition of usury should be entirely "a Civil Question, concerns a Branch of Meum and Tuum, and by Consequence belongs wholly to the Cognisance and Regulation of the State".[70] The institution of the church, in its social aspects, says Collier, was intended as one of the forces composing the "cement of society", but he acknowledges with indignation how grievously that plan

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67. Ibid., I, p. 121.

68. The Office of a Chaplain, I, p. 217.

69. Of Usury, III, p. 211. Cf. Hooker, op.cit., Bk. II.

70. Ibid., p. 212.

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has failed.

Collier, a strong champion of curates, established his position with respect to them in the preface to his Upon the Office of a Chaplain. He considers the office itself one liable to neglect and mistreatment through having fallen into wrong hands; and the curate, subject to erroneous notions in admiring wealth and greatness at the expense of regard for his own station. Collier intended the essay to arouse self-respect in the curates themselves, and to cause others to regard them with deference befitting their profession. This arrangement, he remarks, quoting from Eikonoklastes, had been treated with much contempt by Milton, who had said:

> The Scripture owns no such Order, no such function in the church...Bishops or Presbyters we know, and Deacons we know, but what are Chaplains?[71]

Collier adds, "He might have answered in his own Words, That they were Household Priests; and given an Instance from the Old Testament."[72] A chief assertion that he devotes specific argument to proving is that in reality curates are not servants: they have received their commission from God,[73] and should be accorded more freedom, and less contempt than they as a rule receive. In A

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Short View of The Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage, the third chapter, "The Clergy abused by the Stage", amounts to a defense of the profession, as well as an attack upon those playwrights who, Collier considers, have scurrilously represented the clergy. He endeavours to show upon three grounds the right of the latter group to fair treatment: because "of their Relation to the Deity, because of the Importance of their Office", and because of their having "Prescription for their Privilege". Traditionally, priesthood has held high esteem in all ages, and in all countries.

> The holy Order is appropriated to the Divine Worship, and a Priest has the peculiar Honour to belong to nothing less than God Almighty. Christian Priests are the Principal Ministers of God's Kingdom. They represent his Person, publish his Laws, pass his Pardons, and preside in his Worship. To expose a Priest, much more to burlesque his Function, is an Affront

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71. Collier here quotes in his preface, I, p. 175, from Eikonoklastes, shortening it inaccurately. Milton adds to this passage the answer, "In state perhaps they may be listed among the upper serving-men of some great household, and be admitted to some such place as may style them the sewers, or the yeoman-ushers of devotion, where the master is too resty or too rich to say his own prayers, or to bless his own table." (Eikonoklastes, Patterson's edition of The Student's Milton, New York, 1930, p. 845.)

72. "To the Reader," Ibid.

73. The Office of a Chaplain, I, p. 199, ff.: The clergyman receives his authority "from God himself, whose Deputy he is in Things pertaining to Religion; He is not entertain'd upon any secular Account; or to manage any other

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> to the Deity. ...To outrage the Ministers of Religion is in effect to deny the Being, or Providence of God; and to treat the Bible like A Romance: As much as to say, the Stories of another World are nothing but a little Priest-craft;...[74]

There is, moreover, an immediately practical reason for respecting the clergy:

> The Functions and Authorities of Religion have a great Influence on Society. The Interest of this Life lies very much in the Belief of another. So that if our Hopes were bounded with Sight and Sense, if Eternity was out of the Case, general Advantage, and publick Reason, and secular Policy, would oblige us to be just to the Priesthood: For Priests, and Religion always stand and fall together.[75]

No worse form of injustice exists, Collier asserts, than the oppression of curates. Especially does he advocate higher salaries, which would improve generally the learning and creditable status of the profession; for poverty exposes them to contempt and to "scurvy temptation". Further, he recommends that, out of holy revenues, one-

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Business but what relates to another World; and is Consecrated to this Function by the Divine Warrant and Appointment; and consequently he is God's Minister not Man's."(p. 194)

74. A Short View, p. 83.

75. Ibid., p. 84.

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half should go to the curate, or, if the living be small, two-thirds to him who supplies it.[76] He condemns as uncanonical and sacrilegious the tendency of clergymen to enrich themselves through the labours of others of their own order. The priest is only a trustee to give away, not keep, the money given him.[77] Those curates living in private homes Collier warns against yielding to compliance and flattery, since that would be to cheapen their trust. Servility in them is not necessary, and, in fact, he believes that they are often barred from promotion and acceptance of patronage by their very decency and integrity, by their failure to flatter pride, and to court greatness. He implies that clerical advancement depends on qualities not admirable, and that it should amount to more than mere mechanical succession.[78] He suggests that preferments should be held by tenure of knight's service, and that pensions should be granted curates for disability through age. In brief, he presents in his essay Upon the Office of a Chaplain what is a veritable guide-book for clergymen who would remain unmercenary, and who would "prefer a homely, unornamented Liberty, to a splendid Servitude".[79] He never tires of emphasizing the contemptible

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76. Upon Pride, I, pp. 51,52.

77. Office of a Chaplain, I, p.220.

78. Ibid., p. 244, ff.

79. In Office of a Chaplain (p. 230) Collier cites from George Herbert's Country Parson a passage advising proper conduct on the part of the clergy.

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sordidness and meanness in those consecrated to the church, if they betray honor for "handfuls of barley". This essay has a special importance in view of the fact that he himself had held such a position, and an historical significance in that it casts light upon the conditions among a large class of stipendiary clergymen, who at that time were as a group poorly used by their superiors. Some of his ideas are found in the writings of Swift, who was likewise aware of the social need of a higher regard for prelates. In his Project for the Advancement of Religion, he says:

> It so happens that the men of pleasure, who never go to church, nor use themselves to read books of devotion, form their ideas of the clergy from a few poor strollers they often observe in the streets, or sneaking out of some person'of quality's house, where they are hired by the lady at ten shillings a month; while those of better figure and parts, do seldom appear to correct these notions. And let some reasoners think what they please, it is certain that men must be brought to esteem and love the clergy, before they can be persuaded to be in love with religion.[80]

Collier does not limit his attacks upon dishonesty and sordidness to the secular-minded clergy: he has much to say concerning the frequency of these vices in other

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80. A Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Manners, in The Works of Jonathan Swift, ed. by Sir Walter Scott, London, 1883. p. 92.

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phases of social life; and his criticisms are founded always upon his conception of the importance to organized society of peace, and certain cardinal virtues, chiefly honesty and justice. He quotes at length from Cicero's De Officiis,[81] and refers to Plato's Republic as the basis for his ideas on the social importance of honesty and justice. Peace, Collier believes, adds to the significance of all things -- agriculture, property, natural phenomena. War, although it is just when necessary, is usually injurious: it prevents the proper enforcement of law, and results in the dissolution of manners. Even in war the aim is peace, which is a condition universally desired. He advocates gentleness of behavior and general

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81. Cicero held to the Stoic doctrine that "everything that was Honest, was for a Man's Interest, and that nothing unjust could possibly be serviceable"; he writes that "for one Man to take anything from another, and serve himself by damaging his Neighbour, was a greater Contradiction to Nature, than to suffer Pain, Poverty, or Death itself .... such a Liberty, would make Society impracticable: For if Plunder was the main Point, and everybody might rob another to enrich Himself, the common Confederacy of Mankind, ... must break up of course... So in the Body Politick, if we should all lie at catch upon each other, and carry off what we could get, Society must of necessity fly in pieces.... And what is Nature in this Sense but the Maxim of Reason, the Law of God and Man? Justice is the Cement of the World, all Societies stand upon this Basis, and therefore Fraud and Violence are every where punish'd." (De Offic., Lib. 3, as quoted by Collier, pp.46,47, Of Honesty, IV.) Cicero elsewhere similarly says that "in every circumstance of life justice must be respected". (De Officiis, p.32.)

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kindness as securities of public peace, and the latter, in turn, as a means of furthering the common good and of strengthening the state. Military heroes he condemns for being anti-social and savage in temper, and for making a trade of soldiering.[82] Public measures, he points out, are disconcerted by feuds and faction, and lose accordingly in effectiveness and force. Collier presents a picture of the dire effects of war upon both peasant and prince; he condemns it further, beyond the resulting famine and tragedy, on the score that hatred, disgust, and national animosity have become almost immortal, as in the case of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, the Dutch and the Spaniards. Thus history is marred by traditional enmities, by barbarity and disgrace, for in war all humaneness and tenderness disappear.[83] Peace, on the other hand, affords a freer course for laws, and governmental and magisterial authority are recognized; vice can better be suppressed at a time when justice may strike boldly. A state of peace is likewise desirable in that it furthers trade: by opening the means to commerce, it not only supplies needs of countries, but it also encourages industry, plenty, and sociability, and becomes,

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82. Of Peace, IV, p. 381.

83. Ibid., p. 379.

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perhaps, a way of importing truth and religion along with commodities. In short, then, "the cement of the commonwealth" consists in general kindness and good will, both of which promote prosperity; and without which public union is loosened. Collier adds, in more practical vein, another very necessary basis for running the body politic, that of sufficient money, to be handled with wisdom and moderation, and not to be lavished in foolish expenditures. He advocates severe punishment of him who holds with doctrines destructive to the commonwealth, and condemns those who, in either policy or act, would steal from their sovereign or state. This attitude again echoes Cicero, who, in a passage condemning the vice of cupidity in eminent men, declares that "It is infamous, outrageous, execrable to exploit the state".[84]

Stealing from one's sovereign is hardly more despicable than personal advancement at the expense of one's fellowmen; and Collier rails against making the desire for wealth an excuse for dishonest conduct in business. He warns against considering mere riches adequate reason for supposed merit, until we are assured of the honesty of the ancestors involved. "Covetousness and Circumvention make no good Motto for a Coat",[85] but, unfortunately,

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84. De Officiis, op. cit., p. 119.

85. Of Pride, I, p. 70.

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tradesmen are too often motivated by both. Collier grants much generosity and good faith among this class, and admits that such persons are necessary for the convenience of life; yet, he observes, their handling of small coins[86] is likely to make them contract a narrowness of spirit. He sees clearly the petty practices of his day, and the skill in "over-reaching customers";[87] he declares that only too frequently is the mystery of trade the mystery of iniquity,[88] but that in reality commerce can depend for its existence upon truth and honesty alone. The "vendibleness of the commodity", he insists, cannot justify ill practices, for "the Pretence of Trade"is not enough to warrant a disregard of probity.[89] In this connection, he particularly censures booksellers who, for gain, publicize "vicious authors"; he writes:

> ... in my Opinion this is so horrible a Practice, that had these Men kept Shop in the Sickness Year, they had better have retail'd the Plague, sent it into the Countrey by all the Carriers, and given it Vent and Passage to the best of their Skill.[90]

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86. Cf. Cicero:"Business on a small scale is despicable; but if it is extensive and imports commodities in large quantities from all the world, and distributes them honestly, it is not so very discreditable..." De Officiis, p.73.

87. Of Covetousness, II, p. 131.

88. Of Goodness, IV, p. 22.

89. Upon Authors, III, p. 56.

90. Ibid., p. 54.

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He sarcastically points out that "we are a Trading People... and must have no interfering between Business and Religion. If the Pulpits and the Exchange will not agree, we must Live, and there is an End on't."[91]

It is in Collier's observations upon trade and business that the reader may see an interesting reflection of conditions at the turn of the century. Boldly setting forth his theories, he seasons them with a strong moralistic element. Having asserted that peace and truth must stand as the foundations of society, he is equally sure of the same need for commerce. Trade is designed, he says, to spread friendship and kindly feeling.

> 'Tis Trade which imports the Growth of distant Countries, furnishes Life, and cements Society. Without this Assistance, the Pleasure of an Estate, the Grandour of Courts, and the Equipage of Authority, would shrink almost to nothing. In a word, we are polish'd, and subsisted upon Commerce; and every thing that's Useful, is so far Honourable.[92]

Collier describes certain methods of cheating in business: the use of false weights and measures; the selling of one quantity and the delivering of less; and the overvouching for goods. Such dishonesty amounts to folly as

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91. Of Popularity, II, p. 68.

92. Of Theft, IV, p. 278.

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well as knavery, since shops employing these tricks become known, and avoided. He comments on the deception of using artificial means to improve wares, by placing the goods under false lights, and applying varnish and gums, and clouding the shops with perfumes and incense. The buyer then purchases a "picture" rather than the substance of what he expected: "This is perfect Imposition and Legerdemain; and the Seller wants nothing but a little Jargon to make him a Juggler."[93] Still worse is the adulteration of commodities by coarse, often unwholesome, ingredients that result in poison, illness, and even death.

> Thus a Man buyes a Sickness instead of Provision. His Table is made a Snare to him. His Satisfaction is balk'd, and his Blood poison'd: And in short, he loses Health and Life sometimes as well as Money, by the same Bargain.... They that can put Death into the Pot, and prey upon the Vitals, what Mischief are they not prepar'd for? What if their Trade is not as mortal as a Bullet? What if they work like an Italian Dose, and take some Time to send a Man into the other World? ... Are People's Constitutions to be practis'd on, are they to suffer in their Health, to enrich Injustice? Must they be treated like a Mountebank's Man, and take off unfriendly Draughts, for the Benefit of the Tavern or the Brew-house? Nay in one respect they are used worse: For here's no Preservative.... But the Poyson is given without the Antidote.[94]

In short, he would ask, with Mandeville:

> But who can all their Frauds repeat?
> The very Stuff, which in the Street
> They sold for Dirt t'enrich the Ground

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93. Of Theft, IV, p. 284.

94. Ibid., pp. 285, 286.

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> Was often by the Buyers found
> Sophisticated with a quarter
> Of good-for-nothing Stones and Mortar;
> Tho' Flail had little Cause to mutter,
> Who sold the other Salt for Butter.[95]

In such Cases, exclaims Collier, is "all Regulation impracticable...? Is it not in the Power? Is it not in the Business of some Persons to redress the Grievance?"[96] He condemns the miserly treatment of apprentices, mere dupes in the hands of rascally masters; in fact, he says "except an Apprentice is fully instructed how to Adulterate, and Varnish, and give you the Go-by upon occasion, his Master may be charged with Neglect;[97] and sued for not Teaching him his Art, and his Trade."

Jonathan Swift also has summed up this attitude of protest:

> I believe there is hardly a nation in Christendom, where all kind of fraud is practised in so unmeasurable a degree as with us. The lawyer, the tradesman, the mechanic, have found so many arts to deceive in their several callings, that they far outgrow the common prudence of mankind, which is in no sort able to fence against them. Neither could the legislator in anything more consult the public good, than by providing some effectual remedy against this evil, which, in several cases, deserves greater punishment than many crimes that are capital among us. The vintner, who, by mixing poison with his wines, destroys more lives than any one disease in the bill of mortality; the lawyer, who persuades you to a purchase which he knows is mortgaged for more than the worth, to the ruin of you and your

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95. Bernard Mandeville, The Fable of the Bees, Oxford, 1924, Vol. I, p. 23.

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> family; the goldsmith or scrivener, who takes all your fortune to dispose of, when he has beforehand resolved to break the following day, do surely deserve the gallows much better than the wretch who is carried thither for stealing a horse.[98]

Any kind of commercial deception Collier unequivocally terms stealing. He advocates an established price for all buyers; it is dishonest, he says, to fit the price to the customer's purse, for a man's need does not improve the quality of the merchandise, nor make the gain less, although necessity may bring one to any terms. The buyer is likewise guilty if he offers the seller less because the latter is in pressing circumstances.[99] Collier recommends a modest profit, and the policy of being alert, circumspect, honest, and just; and if one still is robbed, he must accept his misfortune, with the expectation of receiving compensation in the next world. The worth of a thing is to be determined by a general estimate, the usual rate of sale, unless a price is fixed by the government.

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96. Of Theft, p. 286; it is of interest to note a comment of Cicero: "In the law of real property, our code ordains that the seller shall declare all the defects known to him."(De Officiis, p. 158.)

97. Upon Pride, I, p. 71.

98. Swift, op. cit., p. 101.

99. Selden, in Table Talk, declares, "Every tradesman professes to cheat me, that asks for his commodity twice as much as 'tis worth." (p. 182)

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As a rule, scarcity increases the value of a commodity. But rarity should not be artificially increased; Collier cites with disapproval the "barbarous custom" of Dutch traders, who had destroyed in the East Indies all the possible exports that they had not brought away.[100] It is his theory that justice both at home and abroad is a necessity. He condemns the principle of "engrossing", as contrary to the design of commerce, the true meaning of which, he says, is general Advantage:

> 'Tis not to make one Man rich at the prejudice of many. Trade is design'd ... to carry Convenience to every Quarter, and furnish our Wants, upon a reasonable Exchange. Now these Ends are best secur'd by keeping Business in a great many Hands, To draw this Stream into a private Channel, is to be an ill Commonwealth's-man: 'Tis to baulk the publick Interest; 'Tis to disserve the Society, to which as Members we are bound to be true.[101]

The "engrossing" of provisions works upon the poor a severe hardship, and"thus there's a lamentable Disproportion between the Purse and the Stomach of a great many People.[102] If this practice effects a wrong that is contrary to the

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100. Of Theft, IV, p. 303.

101. Ibid., pp. 308, 309.

102. Ibid., p. 309.

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ends of trade, so also does a state of war defeat the purpose of the commerce of nations; it proves a paralyzing deterrent, but peace acts as an impetus to flourishing trade. Finally, in connection with Collier's attitude toward these practical matters, there is his firm conviction that God's love rules even commerce, an idea that gives rise, and lends unity, to his theories and advice.

Closely related to trade are the problems occasioned by usury; and in his dialogue Of Usury, Collier defends, upon practical grounds, the taking of interest on loans. When Misochrestes attempts to prove that it is unlawful because of the "barren and unpropagated Nature of Money",[103] Alphius, who is Collier's spokesman, asserts that it is no more unreasonable to expect rent from a borrower of money than from a tenant on land. The land, which is purchased with gold, is merely another form of wealth; why, then, is it not as legitimate to make a profit from the guineas themselves as from the pastures bought with them? The borrowing of money may be turned to quite as good an account as the investment in land, for trade is often more lucrative than husbandry:

> And therefore Silver and Gold is by no means so barren a Commodity as you suppose. Money

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103. Of Usury, III, p. 181.

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> is a strange fruitful Thing, provided the Soil and the Season hits; carry it but to Turkey or the East-Indies, and it commonly exceeds the Product of Grain.[104]

Concerning usury in general and the multiplying power of gold in particular, Collier echoes the views expressed by John Selden in Table Talk;[105]

> I see no reason why I may not as well take use for my money as rent for my house. 'Tis a vain thing to say, money begets not money; for that no doubt it does.[106]

When the borrower augments his wealth by resorting to usury, it is no more than fair, Collier believes, that the lender should share in the gain; and whether the borrower succeeds in making wise use of the loan or not, his benefactor deserves some guarantee against possible loss of his principal, and some requital for making his gold temporarily unserviceable to himself.[107]

Closely paralleling the words of Bacon, who, before pointing out the advantages of usury, suggests possible disadvantages, Misochrestes proffers another objection:

> I affirm then, that were it not for this grasping at Interest, Money would not lie so long in the Miser's Coffers; 'twould circulate farther in Trade, and flow more freely

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104. Ibid., p. 182. Bacon also discounts the argument that it "is against nature for money to beget money". Bacon, op. cit., Of Usury, p.188.

105. Published in 1689

106. Op cit., p. 188.

107. Of Usury, III, p. 185.

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in the Veins of the Commonwealth.[108]

But Collier is of the contrary opinion:

> For those who won't venture their Cash upon an Advantage, would never lend gratis. At this rate, Money would sleep and rust in the Bag... For, who will run Hazards without Profit, and help other People to get Estates for nothing? Who will set his Fortune a sailing, and lend it over the Line, without a Farthing Consideration? If the Owner's Money will earn nothing in a Voyage, he'll make it keep the House, and not ramble about the World to no purpose. Consider, on the other side, how Trade subsists upon Credit, and sets up with Crutches: So that take away the Allowance of Interest, and you stop the Course of Traffick, shut up part of the Exchange, and lay an Embargo on the Merchant-men in the River.[109]

Like Bacon, he finds a basis for usury in the selfishness of men's natures. Bacon had said that the giving of interest is "a concessum propter duritiem cordis: for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted";[110] and Collier, accepting his assumption that lending makes money more liquid and thereby facilitates trade, is willing that the private individual should profit in order that public

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108. Ibid., p. 186. The phrasing of a similar passage from Bacon (op. cit., p.188) suggests that Collier was indebted to his predecessor:
> For were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon merchandizing; which is the vena porta (gate-vein) of wealth in a state.

109. Ibid., p. 186.

110. Bacon, op cit., p. 188.

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property may be increased at the same time. He is in agreement on the point with Bernard Mandeville, who attempts to show, in The Grumbling Hive, that private vices and public prosperity are necessarily concomitant.[111]

Were usury to be forbidden, moreover, too much wealth and too much land would be concentrated in the hands of "your Money'd Men", who, if they expected no return on their loans, would be likely to foreclose mortgages when the term expired, without regard to the exigency of the borrowers. The mortgagee, in such a case, would face economic ruin, and the mortgager would acquire an undue amount of worldly goods. At this point Collier quotes directly from the essay of Bacon, agreeing with him that the total suppression of money-lending is "fit only for an Utopian Government".[112]

Having defended usury on the basis of personal and social advantage, Collier maintains, with a somewhat less practical tone, that it is grounded upon a law of nature -- gratitude; for

> Are we not bound to acknowledge a Benefit, and return an Obligation? And is not the lending

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111. ... Fools only strive
To make a Great an Honest Hive ...
Without great Vices, is a vain
Eutopia seated in the Brain.
Fraud, Luxury and Pride must live,
While we the Benefits receive ...(Mandeville, op. cit., p.36)

112. Of Usury, p. 187. He quotes inaccurately from Bacon.

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> Money a considerable Kindness?...Then, I would gladly know, how a Man can make his Acknowledgment without something of an Overplus? For if I return'd no more than I borrow'd, I only just stand clear of Fraud and Stealing: But the first Notion of Gratitude reaches farther, and implies something more than the bare Acquital from so coarse an Imputation: And now pray remember, that Gratitude is a Branch of Justice.[113]

The principle, he thinks, is consistent with the rule of doing as we would be done by.[114] With Bacon, he discounts the objection that usury entails sabbath-breaking because the interest accumulates on that day as well as on week-days; for, he points out, tenants pay rent for holy days, and on them the land continues to be productive.[115]

Collier, turning finally to an historical survey of the practice of usury, cites the ancient law of the Hebrews, commands of Scripture, canons of the Church Councils, opinions of the Church fathers, statutes of the English constitution, customs of other governments, and views of such modern writers on the subject as Beveridge, Selden, Hammond, and Grotius.[116] His purpose is to show that wherever money-lending has been frowned upon, either by Church or by civil law, the disapproval was rooted in the peculiar circumstances of the time and not in evils permanently in-

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113. Ibid., pp. 189,190.

114. Bacon, op. cit., p. 187.

115. Of Usury, p. 184.

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separable from usury itself. With the same tolerance shown by Hooker when he justifies change in religious customs pertaining to matters unconnected with salvation, Collier declares man's right to be free from the strictures of tradition and to formulate laws in accordance with present need:

> Now if the Discovery of Countries, the Settling of Factories and Plantations, and the Enlargement of Commerce, has alter'd the Case, why should the old Rigour continue? If Money be a much Livelier Commodity than formerly, why must the Right and the Advantage be parted? Why must the borrower engross the Profit, and the Owner be ne'er the better? In short, why should the Mosaick Restraint oblige, when the Circumstances are so much changed, and the Practice be the same, where the Reasons are different?[117]

The requirements of his own time seemed to Collier to demand the service of money-lenders. He recommends, however, that the rate of interest be reasonably low, and that special allowance be made for those who are too poor to pay "for the Use".[118]

Usury, then, profits both the individual and the economic advancement of the state; and censure would be more properly directed, Collier feels, toward a second

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116. Ibid., p. 190 ff.

117. Ibid., p. 205.

118. Of Usury, pp. 197,222.

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practice involving money--that of gaming, a vice which has neither personal nor social justification. Gambling he opposes as being "commonly scandalous in the Motive, foul in the Management, and frightful in the Consequence."[119] He condemns it because it indicates covetousness in the participants, and because it leads to disturbed passions, quarreling, brawls, murder, and even madness and suicide. He describes a scene when the dice "are snatch'd too quick," and "the Loading and Legerdemain is discover'd";

> Upon this they run to Arms, and after some Artillery discharg'd in Swearing, come to a close Encounter. And thus one of them is run through the Lungs, and left agonizing upon the Place: Or, as it happen'd not long since the Gamester is knock'd down with a Pint-pot, and his Skull broken! He is forced to be Trepan'd, and then relapsing into Play and Drinking, dyes of a Frenzy.[120]

Collier censures ladies who, fond of gambling, dissipate their husbands' funds, and, by wild betting, strip their studies of books. All this is bad in itself; but, what is worse, men are thus challenged "to go farther in Danger, and appear more brave in the Methods of Ruin."[121] He decries the neglect of business, the licentiousness consequent to dicing, and the sureness of ruin if such a course is long pursued. Flaying the morals of rakes, he remarks that it is their business to spread infection. Plus the

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119. Of Gaming, III, p. 13.

120. Ibid., pp. 21, 22.

121. Ibid., p. 22.

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corrupting influence of ill company met in dicing circles, from a practical standpoint the custom is vicious, because of the effects upon family, business, and oneself. Gambling, Collier declares, is --unlike drinking or debauchery --an incurable evil. He describes the methods of players in fleecing their victims --"bubbles"--, and the bad end of the old gambler, his day over, his luck and fortune vanished.[122] Collier insists that his drawing is only too realistic-- that it is indeed a black picture which common sense will avoid.

Equally pernicious in its effects is the custom of duelling. No slave of tradition, Collier condemns this practice on the grounds that "'tis not improved into common law",[123] and that it is both dishonourable and dangerous:

> For when you have given the best Proof of your Sufficiency, and killed your Man, you are seized into the Hands of Justice; treated like Assassins; and condemned to Die with Circumstances of Ignominy. You are not Indicted for acquitting yourselves like Gentlemen; but for disturbing the Publick Peace, and murthering the King's Subjects.[124]

Duellists are by principle murderers, and often act "without any Provocation; except the Vanity of complying with a barbarous Custom. As if it was as indifferent a Thing to cut

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122. For a similar picture, cf. Burton's The Anatomy of Melancholy, ed. by the Rev. A.R. Shilleto, London, 1926. Vol. I, pp. 336, 337.

123. Of Duelling, I, p. 115.

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a Man's Throat, or let it alone, as to wear a broad or narrow brim'd Hat; And that these little Concerns of Blood ought to be perfectly governed by the Fashion."[125] The antiquity of the custom avails nothing; a practice malum in se, it should be expelled. The willingness of the seconds and thirds, who assist in complete ignorance of the matter, ready to fight they know not whom, argues for their contempt of humankind. In the mind of Collier it amounts to nothing more than the philosophy of a butcher, and makes beasts of enemies. Allied with pride, passion, and revenge, the whole affair is tempestuous and absurd, absolutely without claim to reason and good nature. "'Tis as contrary to the Tendency and Temper of Christianity, as Hob's Creed is to the Apostles; as Light is to Darkness, as God is to the Devil."[126] Courts would throw out a resulting plea as ridiculous, and grant no damages, for, says Collier, the methods of highwaymen and duellists are alike in the eye of justice. In his dialogue Of Duelling, however, the libertine scoffs at legal procedure:

> Do you think a Parcel of starched Lawyers, with a Jury of Haberdashers, and Chandlers, are proper Judges in the Case? Are such Pedants, and Mechanicks as these, fit to give Rules to Men of Honour?[127]

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124. Ibid., p. 119.

125. Ibid., p. 120.

126. Ibid., p. 143.

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It is the French whom Collier holds up as examples worthy of emulation; not bound to false notions of honour, they absolutely suppress the practice of duelling, and refer their grievances to the government.[128]

Besides duelling and gambling, Collier censures still other matters of mode, which have their roots perhaps in personal conduct, but which spread infectiously to corrupt society. Libertinism he condemns in both sexes, for its ill effect upon the manners and morals of those not yet given over to debauchery and immorality; again, he points to licentious living as tending to loosen standards of marriage, which he considers a basic human institution, the very beginning of social regularity. Holding the marriage contract to be a mutual agreement, he defends its sanctity, the disgrace in the event of any violation of the compact not to be lessened in the case of either partner. He even recommends putting the honour of families under legal protection, or constitutional guard. Especially pleading for peace in domestic relations, he pictures a unified house, undisturbed by pettiness, quarrels, and jealousy. Viewed from such security, the accidents of life, age, and

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127. Ibid., pp. 116,117. Cf. John Selden, Table Talk, XXXV, pp. 58,59, for a lightly cynical attitude toward duelling.

128. Ibid., p. 133.

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poverty could better be endured. He points to the practical disadvantages of family hostilities: the participants gain notoriety, fortunes are dissipated, business is neglected, and liberty and extravagance dominate. With respect to the position of women in the social scheme, Collier has but one comment, and in that rallies to their defense:

> They have not so fair a Trial to discover their Worth. They are by Custom, made Incapable of those Employments, by which Honour is usually gain'd. They are shut out from the Pulpit and Barr; from Embassies, and State Negotiations; so that notwithstanding (as I believe it often happens) their Inclinations are generous; and their Abilities Great, to serve the Publick; yet they have not an Opportunity of shewing it.[129]

Collier's sympathetic estimate of the possibilities of womankind represented a modern attitude similar to that expressed three years later by Defoe[130] and still later by Steele.

Upholding a high ideal of womanhood, as well as a high moral tone for marriage, Collier finds all the more reason for deploring such evils as libertinism, sodomy, and whoredom. Whoredom constitutes one of the worst of social evils, one from which yet another problem is an outgrowth--that of illegitimate children. Their maintenance is no trifle: it amounts to feeding an adulter-

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129. Upon Pride, I, p. 82.

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ous brood which, like suckers, starve the main stock, and impoverish the worthy family.[131] Again, there is the evil done the bastards themselves; Collier advises them not to boast of their birth, for that would be to glory in the shame of their parents, but at the same time he points to the misery and disgrace which they suffer through no fault of their own. As for other glaring "social vices", he in one breath condemns balls, romances, and sodomy, the last of these the worst of sins: "such Monsters [Sodomites] ought to be the Detestation of Mankind, pursued by Justice, and exterminated the Earth."[132] He as sternly censures drunkenness, particularly in the clergy and in tradesmen; he sees no need for the "social glass", because "there's

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130. The Education of Women (1697) in Later Stuart Tracts, ed. by George Aitkin, New York, n.d. Defoe says: "I have often thought of it as one of the most barbarous customs in the world...that we deny the advantages of learning to women...If knowledge and understanding had been useless additions to the sex, God Almighty would never have given them capacities; for he made nothing needless...The capacities of women are supposed to be greater, and their senses quicker than those of the men; and what they might be capable of being bred to, is plain from some instances of female wit, which this age is not without." p. 282. (Collier's essay Upon Pride first appeared in Miscellanies in Five Essays, 1694.)

131. Of Whoredom, III, p. 121.

132. Ibid., p. 154. Collier cites four statutes, to show that "this wickedness is Felony, without Benefit of Clergy". (p. 154)

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a great deal of Business done upon the Exchange without a Bottle."[133] Likewise he suggests an unfavourable attitude toward the taking of opiates.[134] In general, Collier disapproves on moral grounds of these contemporary evils; but that he reflects here, as elsewhere, his aristocratic attitude, may be deduced when he makes such a remark as this, of gentlemen:

> If they must run counter to the Vulgar in every Thing, I wonder they don't leave off Swearing, Drinking,&c. These, by their Assistance, are grown Plebeian Vices: Insomuch that Porters and Footmen are as perfect in them as themselves.[135]

None of Collier's attitudes is better known than that concerning the immorality of the contemporary stage. It is sufficient to say here that, in his category of social evils, plays and playwrights occupy a prominent place for their lewdness, profanity, and blasphemy. He is convinced that "nothing has gone farther in Debauching the Age than the Stage Poets and Play-house."[136] Another current tendency toward which he is particularly vitriolic is one already mentioned --flattery; and he is similarly contemptuous of affectations of manner: he grants that salutatory gestures, graceful conversation, and "address in the Modes" are pretty enough accomplishments, but

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133. Of Drunkenness, III, p. 157.
134. Of Gaming, III, p. 35.
135. Of Duelling, I, p. 132.

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these are a veneer to be gained through custom and education, and are not to be over-valued:

> these little Formalities are often magnified beyond all Sense and Reason; And some People are so Fantastically fond of them, as if they were the top Perfections of Humane Nature; and that it were in Reality a more valuable and gentile Quality to dress well, and come handsomely into a Room, than to take a Town, or to be fit to discharge the Office of a Privy Counseller... I am not of their Mind in this Matter, but think it much better for a Man's Parts to lie in his Head, than in his Heels.[137]

Collier is fond of asserting that "to act without thinking is beneath a Man", and he adds here that what is beneath a man is beneath a gentleman. These ideas are, of course, allied with his disapproval of a blind following of customs established by the whims of the majority.

As noted above, Collier recommends careful spending of money, and is disgusted at the squandering of excessive amounts upon clothes and lavish ornament. No public person, he declares, has any reason to value himself on the possession of "Gold Chains, Velvet Caps, or Sables"; such compliance with the weakness of the masses is "an innocent Stratagem to Deceive them into their Duty; and to Awe them into a just Sense of Obedience."[138] Richness of habit is both unnecessary and insufficient to

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136. Preface, A Short View, of March 5, 1697.

137. Upon Pride, I, p. 58.

138. Concerning Cloaths, I, p. 99.

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keep up the distinctions of degrees, and a great man will contemn this sort of finery. A prudent magistrate possessed of power need not doubt his own influence, and "A Gentleman's Mien and Behaviour is sufficient to discover him, without any great Dependance upon Shops and Taylors".[139] A rich habit is at best only a sign of wealth, and argues no more for the wearer's worth than it does for the contrary;[140] it amounts to a ridiculous vanity which often robs a family of necessities, and lends credit to only one person--the tailor. Even the common man, observes Collier, furnishes his house and person as luxuriously as do his superiors. Those of low station should not dress well, for it "looks like an illegal Aspiring into a Forbidden Station".[141] Persons of true refinement and culture exhibit great delicacy in their tastes; "They pitch upon nothing that is tawdry and mechanick, staring, or ill matched. One may know a Gentlewoman almost, as well by seeing her chuse a Mantua, or a Ribbon; as by going to Garter or Clarencieux."[142]

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139. Ibid., p. 101.
140. Ibid., p. 104.
141. Ibid., p. 112.
142. Ibid., p. 107.

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Cicero similarly advises that "the care of our person should not be carried to the extreme of obtrusive refinement... .The same principle applies to our dress; here, as in most things, moderation is best."[143]

For men to expect to attract notice through their attire, says Collier, argues that they are conscious of their small worth, and that "the greatest Part of their Quality comes out of their Dressing Room."[144] Rich clothing is unsuitable for old age, which, reputedly wise, should go attired in plain garb; and for "old people to set up for Mode and Dressing, is a nauseous Piece of Vanity."[145] Some excuse may be offered for youth, who are "apt to divert themselves with the Amusements of Sense"; but in those of maturer years, "to dote upon Trifles, is a shrewd Sign that our Minds are no less decay'd than our Bodies. It looks as if we were ashamed of making any Pretences to Wisdom, and betrays an impotent Desire of returning to the Extravagance of Youth."[146] Further, women do not escape their bit of advice: they will do well not to "wear their finery in their Head"; if they are once "smitten with their Drapery", then "Religion is commonly laid aside".[147] Other ornamentation

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143.De Officiis, p. 63.

144.Concerning Cloaths, p. 107.

145.Ibid., p. 109.

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is equally to be deplored:

> To see Gold and Scarlet condemn'd to Liveries, the Coach-Box furnish'd like the Council Chamber, and the Horses wear as good Velvet as the Company,... This Prostitution of Finery, is enough to make it nauseous; and to ruin it's Reputation to all Intents and Purposes.[148]

Collier elsewhere points to the folly of excessive spending of money on magnificent buildings, and on furniture and equipages.[149] Again, he is at one with Cicero, who recommends employing funds for useful improvements, not for ornamental colonnades and theatres.[150]

Collier frowns upon luxurious living. In the dialogue Of Riches and Poverty, Philalethes rebukes a friend:

> I'm sorry to find you dwell so much upon the Table: What, was your Philosophy dissolv'd

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146. Ibid., p. 110.

147. Ibid., p. 111; St Augustine's statement that "fine Cloaths ought not to be forbidden married women; who are obliged to please their Husbands", Collier terms an indulgence. (p. 112)

148. Ibid.,p. 103.

149. Sermon X, p. 334.

150. De Officiis, p. 110.

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> there, like an Anchovee, and is your Soul slip'd down into your Palate? Pray, have a care of Epicurism; Don't let Niceness and Luxury get the Ascendant: ... such Sensuality will lay you open to Disappointments, ... and oblige you to creep after a great many Humours you won't like.[151]

Rather than be "thus meanly Palat-ridden", he would continue with but four senses. What, he asks,

> does all this Variety of Dishes, these High Sauces, this Learned Pother in the Kitchen, signify? ... unless to make Appetite stronger than Digestion, to kidnap your Constitution with a Sugar-plum, and betray you to some Distemper or other? What does it tend to, unless to make dissimilar and disagreeing Juices, and unfriendly Fermentations in the Blood? Whereas, would you give your self leave to be hungry, a plain uncompounded Diet, cleanlily dress'd, has as much Pleasure and more Health in't. Besides, expensive and luxurious Eating generally takes up a great deal of time, clogs the Spirits, and clouds the Understanding ...[152]

Here, moderation and common sense as a rule are advocated in the place of truckling to appetite and social foibles.

Mandeville satirizes luxury that

> Employ'd a Million of the Poor,
> And Odious Pride a Million more: ...
> Their darling Folly, Fickleness,
> In Diet, Furniture and Dress,
> That strange ridic'lous Vice, was made
> The very Wheel that turn'd the Trade.
> Their Laws and Clothes were equally
> Objects of Mutability;
> For, what was well done for a time,
> In half a Year became a Crime; ...[153]

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151. Of Riches and Poverty, III, pp. 94, 95.

152. Ibid., p. 95.

153. Mandeville, op. cit., p. 25.

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Collier, in his scrutiny of the existing conditions of society, sees much about him to condemn, and he does it in no half-hearted fashion; he does not stop with this, moreover, but proceeds to suggest certain reforms. One has been noted, in connection with his protest against the adulteration of foodstuffs, and his advocacy of control of their sale. Another is that he would provide for the poor by housing them in comfortable retreats. He alludes to the systems of the Athenians and those of the French and the Dutch, the latter having hospitals for soldiers and seamen in old age. Further, he recommends that provision be made for laborers and tradesmen. Especially when he considers the total absence of beggars in other countries, as in Holland, does he hope for an intelligent means of handling poverty and need. "It might not be amiss", he suggests, "if Parishes in great Towns were carefully inspected, Vice and Necessity better discover'd, and the Impotent distinguish'd from the Lazy."[154] Admitting the problem involved in telling actual want from counterfeiting, he advises generally a beneficent attitude. Still, charity should not be given indiscriminately; the treatment of the poor should depend upon the cause of their indigence -- whether debauchery, extravagance, conscience, or casualty.[155] And by all means is it

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154. Of Riches and Poverty, III, p. 109.

155. Ibid., p. 110.

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wrong for one to be haughty in dispensing his alms. This is essentially the attitude of Cicero:

> Let us therefore give of our substance to the deserving poor, but with thrift and moderation. For many have run through their patrimony by indiscreet giving. ... Besides, robbery often follows profuse liberality.[156]

He later adds that "A form of generosity advantageous to the State is the ransom of prisoners and the relief of the poor".[157]

In his essays, Collier comments upon an array of social interests, from kingly duties, trade, and current amusements, down to immoderateness in diet and sumptuous livery for horses. Viewing his age with independence, he lashes out at the perpetrators of vices and foibles, sparing none who chances to evoke his righteous indignation, whether through immorality, irrational conduct, or failure to observe simple Christian rules of guidance. His treatment of social evils includes, as we have seen, duelling, gaming, libertinism, affectation of manner, luxurious living, the stage, the romance, lavishness in expenditure, wine-bibbing, and sodomy. Employing enough of current parlance to lend a flavour suggestive of contemporary

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156. De Officiis, op. cit., p.106. He elsewhere says: "It is unquestionably the highest privilege of wealth to be able to do good without sacrificing our patrimony,"(Ibid.,p.112)

157. Ibid., p. 111.

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life, he brings into his dialogue certain types -- the rake, the gallant, the drunken sot, the "bubble". Yet, along with his rather inclusive condemnation and unequivocal plain-dealing, he frequently exhibits a vein of tolerance and geniality, even humor. We note the utilitarianism characteristic of his century in his defense of usury, his reflections upon trade, and, again, upon certain practical advantages of nobility, and his justifying the existence of social classes. Almost consistently an aristocrat, he writes of the necessity to maintain class-levels, and avoid communal schemes. He contemns the masses as unintelligent, given to worship of opinion and titles; with a certain smugness he declares them to be the means of furnishing necessities. And yet he recommends measures for their protection. There can be no question, of course, as to Collier's own high Toryism; we see it in his stubborn loyalty to James and the principle of divine right, at the expense of his own academic post and comfort. Under the ban of outlawry, he hesitates not a whit to set the limits of royal and magisterial duty; he also has criticism for the nobility, whose very position entails responsibility -- through their example ill behaviour infectiously becomes the mode. With no reverence for titles and genealogy, Collier rips these away, to inspect the honesty of the ancestral line. Another attitude of especial interest in Collier is one growing out

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of the times, one which reveals his feeling of protest at certain prevalent conditions; here we see the modern quality of his ideas, manifested in a number of respects: his insistence upon the need for international trade and credit, distribution of wealth, constant circulation of money, weeding-out of hoarding, and elimination of rascally methods of business; his advocacy of established prices, of regulation of food laws, of controlled charity, of pensions and institutional care for the indigent and aged; the suggestion that woman, with training and opportunity, might have a place in public life. Collier would unquestionably say with Samuel Butler, "Never for Satyr was there better times"; but his criticism does not rest here. Tending strongly to pull away from what is traditional, he, particularly in his forward-looking suggestions, offers sound, constructive advice.

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IV. ETHICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPTS

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ETHICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPTS

When Henry More writes of his "inordinate Desire after the Knowledge of things", he is but voicing the insatiable curiosity of his day for what was both new and old in thought. He and Whichcote and others of the Cambridge group were setting students "much on reading the ancient philosophers, chiefly Plato, Tully, and Plotin";[1] Glanvill exulted because, "through the ingenuity of this age", the "more excellent Hypotheses of Democritus and Epicurus" had been disinterred;[2] in another direction, Hobbes and Locke were coldly dissipating long-cherished "false chimaeras". To the writers of this period, nothing was more certain than that, intellectually, "the world was all before them, where to choose".[3] Much earlier, ethical

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1. Burnet, History of My Own Time, ed. by Osmund Airy,
2. Joseph Glanvill, op. cit., p. 146.
3. Paradise Lost, XII, l. 646.

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doctrine had become increasingly absorptive of Stoical concepts, and by the later seventeenth century an almost imperceptible fusion of Stoicism with traditional Christianity had well-nigh blurred distinctions between the two systems.

It is chiefly from a blending of Roman Stoicism and Christian doctrine that Collier evolves his system of ethics and his philosophy of life; and there is as well in him an attitude that is definitely Epicurean in its hedonistic estimate of values. There can be no question as to his familiarity with classical thought; on the whole, his scholarly knowledge came through first-hand contact, not through mere acquaintance with maxim-books. His translation of the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, and his annotations of the text are cases in point; another is his recommendatory preface to a contemporary translation of Cicero's De Finibus; this he makes a short critique of the translation itself and a review of the contents of the work. To set aside for the moment Collier's use of Church Fathers and Greek philosophers, one may point to Cicero as the writer among Roman Stoics to whom Collier most frequently turns. Other than the De Finibus, Collier draws from Cicero's De Officiis, The Laws, Paradoxa Stoicorum, Tusculan Disputations, and the essays On Old Age

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and On Friendship. Cicero, through his exposition of earlier Stoic doctrine, made of his writings a veritable well in which invaluable material is to be found -- invaluable because nowhere else have certain older fragments been preserved. Knowledge gained through acquaintance with the philosophic scope of Cicero and Marcus Aurelius was augmented for Collier by his dipping into Seneca, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, and Epictetus.

A neo-Stoic doctrine embodied in Collier's essays is that of self-sufficiency, the end toward which all reasoning men must strive. He, however, as we should expect of an Anglican divine, recommends this state, never as the means of ultimate happiness, but as one advisable for coping with the vicissitudes of life. True felicity has to do with God and the eternal -- not with the mundane here and now. The earthly span of years must be lived creditably; and the right use of reason and the avoidance of excess will aid one's approach toward the desired self-sufficiency. It is an infallible proof of a "poor" spirit not to be contented with little:

> For Desire is always a Sign of Want, because it supposes the Absence of the Thing desir'd; and consequently those who desire most Things, must in themselves be most indigent and mean. To

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> draw our Desires into a small Compass, as 'tis the best way of keeping our Happiness within our Power, so it puts us into a Condition which has less Dependence, and consequently more of true Greatness in it. 'Tis a Sign such Persons draw nearer to self-sufficiency than others; and that they are well furnish'd at home, when they look so little abroad.[4]

Not alone in idea, but in phrase as well, does Collier's writing frequently have a true Stoic ring. Thus "to desire with eagerness" denotes "a beggarly condition":

> It argues a keen Sense of Want, and makes the Mind run strolling after foreign Objects, and grow Clamorous and Importunate.... A wise Man should be satisfied with himself, and live upon the Fund of his own Sufficiency. He should keep his Inclinations within the Compass of his Power, and wish himself always just what he is. There is a Freedom, and Greatness, and Pleasure, in such a Management as this.[5]

In his essay Of Fortitude, Collier upholds that Stoic "virtue" as a first requisite for purposeful living. He begins the piece by describing this quality:

> Fortitude implies a Firmness, and Strength of Mind, which enables us to do and suffer as we ought. It puts us into a condition to maintain our Reason, to stand by our best Interest, and act up to Decency and Conscience. It keeps a Man steady to a wise Resolution and gives Life and Perfection to all great Designs. 'Tis a vigorous and enterprizing Virtue, and won't be beaten off by a brave Action, by any Menaces whatever. When the Cause is good, Fortitude is rather animated, than discourag'd by Difficulty.[6]

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4. Sermon X, pp. 328,329.

5. Of Eagerness of Desire, II, p. 40.

6. Of Fortitude, IV, p. 205.

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Cicero calls fortitude "that great and sublime spirit which scorns the chances of life".[7] It is, he adds, "admirably defined by the Stoics as the virtue which fights for equity"; "fortitude or strength of character must be joined with goodness and candour, love of truth and hatred of deceit: qualities which are the very marrow of justice".[8]

True fortitude, according to Collier's concept, has as a "main ingredient" innocence; it must be guided by reason and maintained through prudence --like all other virtues -- from degenerating "into Folly and Excess". It will consider the justice and merits of any undertaking, as well as the end, and it will examine "the Feasibleness of the Attempt".

> A Person truly brave, never ventures at any thing ill, or impossible. To be bold in an indefensible Enterprize, is brutish Impetuousity, and no Part of the Credit which belongs to a Man. Courage, without Conduct and Conscience, is one of the most pernicious Things in the World. He that rushes on blindly without Consideration, and makes desperate Efforts to ill purpose, is no more heroick than a Hurricane.[9]

But "to be unalterably determin'd against Yielding and Misbehaviour, is the most likely Expedient to break through a Difficulty, and open a Passage to Success. To resolve to stand the Shock, is a good Omen upon the Event, and to fancy a Thing Practicable, is to make it so".[10] To be fully

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7. Cicero, op. cit., Bk. I, p. 30.
8. Ibid., p. 31.
9. Of Fortitude, IV, p. 207.
10. Ibid., pp.216,217.

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armed against the worst that may lie in store for us, we must forsake worldly things. And to arrive at the right "pitch" in fortitude, "'twill be necessary to draw towards an Indifferency, to discipline our Fancy, and keep our Appetites low".[11] But even here we must guard against extremes: the body is to be indulged only insofar as is needed to put it "into the best condition to be employed by the Soul; for as it should not be tyrannized over, that being the way to make it both troublesom and unserviceable; so on the other side, we should be careful to maintain the Sovereignty of the Mind."[12]

Collier not only advocates Stoic doctrine; he censures failure to heed the wisdom of that philosophy:

> Indeed, your learned Coward makes a wooden Appearance: For a Man to converse with the Hero's of former Ages, and to be bred to the Notions of Fortitude. To have the Memory furnish'd with the Reason and Rhetorick of the greatest Philosophers, and like Achilles, to feed as it were upon the Marrow of Lions: To fail under all this Force of Education; this Discipline and Demonstration, must look very untoward? What? To have Armour of Proof and not dare to use it: To get no Heat by the Warmth of Plato's Dialogues: To desert from Epictetus, and Tully; and make Seneca and Antoninus cry Quarter! To manage in this manner is double Infamy.[13]

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11. Ibid., pp. 228, 229.

12. Sermon, Difference between the Present and Future State of our Bodies, London, 1686. p.28.

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Collier does not "make Seneca and Antoninus cry quarter;" his prose is clothed in the "armour of proof" of both. In the preface to his translation of the Meditations, he compares the two. As for Marcus Aurelius, his thoughts "are noble and uncommon, and his logic very true and exact". he "generally flies his game home, seldom leaves his argument till he brings it to a demonstration, and has pursued it to its first principles."[14] But "Seneca has a different manner, and moves more by start and sally. He flashes a hint in your face and disappears, and leaves you to carry on the reasoning and master the subject as well as you can."[15] This, says Collier, "looks like an apparition of philosophy, and it is sometimes more surprising than instructive."[16] He praises the comprehensive view, the just reasoning, and the serviceableness and convincingness of the morality of Marcus Aurelius, who has "drawn up an admirable scheme of natural religion."[17]

It is the temper found throughout the Meditations with which Collier argues for a certain contented passiveness, an acquiescence in the status quo. Discontent is use-

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13. Of Fortitude, IV, p. 218.
14. Preface to M. Aurelius's Meditations, op.cit., xiii.
15. Ibid., xiii, xiv.
16. Ibid., xiv.
17. Ibid., xv.

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less, and only indicative of a weak mind.[18] Resentment over one's lot implies either a reflection upon providence, or a decay of reason.[19] It is mere folly to aggravate our condition, for our fears are often as vain as our hopes, and calamity reaches us soon enough without our running to meet it. God expects us to supply our wants through prudence and industry; therefore, advises Collier, seize the opportunities that present themselves, trust in providence, and submit to the unalterable. It is our privilege to put our concerns in the most likely way for success. Despair is futile; it is not so inviting or rapturous a companion that a man is bound to torment himself with it. Hope keeps one working to the utmost, and fences off anxiety. And no amount of vexing ourselves at another's knavery will make him honest, for our fears cannot alter nature.[20]

This acquiescent spirit is to be buoyed up by the remembrance that lasting life out is only a matter of endurance, and that it is but a comparatively short while until death comes. This view is essentially that of both

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18. Of Discontent, III.

19. Of the Value of Life, II.

20. Sermon IV, p. 104.

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Epicureans and Stoics, whose attitudes, in this respect as in several others, are strikingly similar. Both Epictetus and Seneca concur in the notion that if pain can be borne, it will be light; if not bearable, it cannot be long.[21] Epicurus utters the hope "that when we come to the point of death, and are even at the last gasp, either we shall feel no pain, or such as will be very short; for as much as no pain that is great, can be long: and so every man ought to be confident, that though the dissolution of his Soul and Body be accompanied with some torment; yet after that's once past, he shall never feel more."[22] Varying this later in saying that "Great pain cannot be Long; nor Long pain Great", he adds:

> and so, we may consolate our selves against the Violence of pain, by an assurance of the shortness of it; and with the Remissness against the Diuturnity of it. ...The only way to heighten pain to the degree of intolerable, is to exasperate it by impatience, and oppress and wear out nature by effeminate Complainings; whereas, on the other side, nothing doth so alleviate, mitigate, and blunt the edge of any pain, as Constancy, and Custom of suffering; since thence it comes, that a Wise Man, who hath been used to diseases and pains, doth very often rejoyce and smile even in the highest fury of his sickness.[23]

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21. Cf. Seneca's Letters to Lucilius, op.cit., Vol. I, Letter 24, p. 83.

22. Epicurus, Morals, Collected Partly out of his own Greek Text, in Diogenes Laertius, And Partly out of the Rhapsodies of Marcus Antoninus, Plutarch, Cicero, & Seneca. London, 1670. p. 131.

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Likewise, "to bear Pain decently", declares Collier, "is a good sign of inward Strength, and a handsome proof of a great Mind."[24] In Stoic tones he goes on to add that virtue must be supported by courage, and tempered by endurance.

> He that can't stand the Shock of Pain, and part with his Limbs, or his Life upon Occasion, can never be firm in his Duty... . I grant 'tis no easie Task to come up to this Pitch of Fortitude: However, the force of Custom and Principle, Vigour of Thought, and Nobleness of Resolution, will go a great way in the Matter.[25]

But some feeling or emotion is permitted. In fact, Cicero and Seneca "will give us leave to groan a little in the Case." Yet "we must not cry Craven; the Noise must be bold, and surly; it must be only to throw more Spirits into the Muscles, and help us to repel the Attack with greater Vigour."[26] Generally a fair instance of firmness of philosophy, with no suggestion of abjection or impatience, sufficiently indicates character. In the orthodox Stoic view, the dogma that "pain is no evil" stands as a primary postulate, one to be fortified by vigorous resolution and strength of mind. True Epicureanism

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23. Ibid., pp. 138, 139.

24. Of Pain, III, p. 10.

25. Ibid., p. 12.

26. Ibid., p.20.

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found pain--the antithesis of pleasure--the only evil in nature. Collier flouts both attitudes:

> The Stoicks were so fanciful, as to maintain that Pain was nothing of an Evil:...Nothing, say they, but what's scandalous and immoral, ought to be reckon'd an Evil. And thus by begging a Principle, equivocating in the Terms, and chopping a little Logick, they think to disarm the Impressions of Violence, and make the Patient insensible of his malady. You tell me there's no Vice and Wickedness in Pain: A Mighty Discovery! Who knows not that there's nothing of moral Turpitude in the Headach, and that the Cholick is neither Felony nor Treason?

The Stoick philosophers' declaration that "virtue is of itself a sufficient fund for happiness" Collier meets by insisting that their very description of pain is that of an evil, and that it is wrong "to maintain an impracticable Post," "or to give Sense and Experience the Lye."[27] Such "swaggering of the Stoicks" reminds him of the anecdote of Possidonius, who, while afflicted with the gout, was visited by Pompey, and from his couch harangued in a fit of suffering that he would not admit, crying out, "Gout, you'll not carry your Point, for tho' you are impertinent and troublesome, I'll ne'er own you to be an ill thing while I have Breath to draw."[28] "Now this Rhodomon-

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27. Ibid., pp. 7,8.

28. Ibid., p. 9. Cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, trans. by J. E. King in the Loeb Classical Library. London, 1927. p. 49.

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tade is but a ridiculous piece of vanity",[29] declares Collier. To give clear signs of discomfort and yet deny the state to be ill is "mere Foppery and Canting". Collier derives from Cicero's Tusculan Disputations[30] a twisted meaning of Epicurus's declaration that even on the rack would the wise man be happy.

> I wonder Epicurus could be so extravagant as to affirm that his Wise Man would caress the Rack,[31] and be in Raptures with Phalaris's Bull: As if Brains could make a man insensible! As if a lucky Thought could stop the Rage of Fire, or make Pleasure emerge out of Torment! ...To bray at this rate, becomes Epicurus the worst of any Body living: For he is not ashamed to tell us that Pain is the only Evil in Nature, and the strongest Object of Aversion. And after all this, can he be so hardy as to make a Wise Man take Satisfaction in being roasted?[32]

To Cicero, the "backboneless, effeminate view" of Epicurus that pain is the chief evil, is laughter-provoking:

> For in one passage he asserts that if the wise man be burnt, if he be tortured — you are waiting perhaps for him to say, "he will submit, will endure, will not yield" ... but this is

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29. Ibid., p. 9.

30. Tusculan Disputations, op. cit., pp. 163, 165.

31. The reference is to Phalaris, a tyrant of the sixth century B.C., who burnt victims in a brazen bull. Collier refers more than once to the story, which was borrowed by Cicero from Epicurus. Cf. Epicurus, op.cit., p. 12.

32. Of Pain, III, p. 19.

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> not enough for Epicurus, that stern hard spirit; if the wise man finds himself inside Phalaris' bull, he will say: "How sweet; how indifferent I am to this!" Actually sweet? ... For my part I do not require you to describe pain in the same words as Epicurus, that devotee ...of pleasure. Let him, if he likes, say the same inside the bull of Phalaris as he would have said, had he been in his own bed: I do not attribute to wisdom such wonderful power against pain. It is enough for duty if the wise man is brave in endurance.[33]

The same attitude in Cicero is illustrated when he says in his De Officiis that "no one can be brave who declares pain the greatest evil, or temperate who maintains pleasure to be the highest good."[34] Collier holds with the first half of this dictum; to him, the evil lies not in the recognition of pain, but in the cowardly bearing of it, since the divine purpose back of the imposition of suffering is to test our integrity or to punish our misdemeanours. Though pain proves an incumbrance, a far worse misfortune is, for instance, an ill deed, which reflects upon our faculty for rational conduct.

As Edwyn Bevan says of the ideal Wise Man of the Stoics, "he was not to concern himself with his brethren--... he was only to serve them."[35] He was to have benevolence--but not love. He was to engage in action, shrink

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33. Tusculan Disputations, op. cit., pp. 163, 165.

34. Cicero, De Officiis, op.cit., p. 3.

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from no pain or hardships, but his success must be to him a matter of indifference. According to Epictetus, he may sigh, but only if the sigh is superficial, not from the heart. His inner peace, his tranquillity, must remain intact. Here, pity, in that it is a feeling aroused by the suffering of another, becomes a vice.

Collier recommends an attitude approaching this Stoical indifference:

> A wise well-wisher will consider there is a necessity of Discipline; both to secure the Orderly, and reclaim the Evil. Goals and Gibbets are as useful in a State, as great Places, and Patents of Honour. Where Goodness is mutable, and Reason unabsolute, there must be Rigour to fence in Duty; and check the Abuse of Liberty. As things stand, 'tis not conceivable how Providence can Govern without Punishing. Upon this Contemplation, a good Man will no more be disturbed at the Methods of Correction, than by seeing his Friend take unpalatable Physick; which he knows to be proper for his Health.[36]

The last statement, removed from its context, would sound antithetical to the Christian idea of service to, and sympathy for, fellow man. But Collier, in saying this, is

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35. Bevan, Stoics and Sceptics, Oxford, 1913. Cf. pp. 66 and 67 for this quotation and the characterization following.

36. Of General Kindness, I, p. 174.

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deducing the notion from his idea of divine methods: God punishes and guides through discipline; therefore man, patterning after the perfect example, should do likewise. The necessity for self-control, he says, is "not a Sign of Neglect, and Stoical Indifference",[37] and the objection that it is, "runs into an absurd Inference."[38] A more specific comment occurs in Collier's criticism of duelling:

> I can't understand a Combatant that can kill in cool Blood; and shew the utmost Effects of Rage without Passion! ...This Stoical Improvement, is the Philosophy of a Butcher. It makes a Beast of an Enemy; and knocks him down with as little Concern as if he were an Ox.[39]

Here we see the modified, and far less rigorous, attitude that is characteristic of Cicero, and especially of Marcus Aurelius, whose reflections are imbued with a strongly humane spirit, one of social sympathy. Thus these Roman Stoics were rejecting in its entirety the ideal of the man who could only feign benevolence and emotion. This rejection has significance in relation to Collier in that his philosophy looks for its model figure to Christ, the man of passion and of suffering. And, likewise pointing away from Stoicism, there arises the question of the

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37. Ibid., I, p. 174.

38. Ibid., p. 172.

39. Of Duelling, I, p. 140.

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individual's innate power to achieve happiness.

About the admonitions to "know thyself" and to "look to the deity within" for strength, so gently emphasized throughout the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, and more strenuously advocated by other Stoics, is built the idea that sovereignty of human will and reason permit the inner governing principle to make what it will of all that befalls, and that man should by independence of circumstances, find his true good in himself. Here, at this point of the complete power of an "inner citadel", Stoic and Christian values differ. And here, however much he may argue for self-reliance, Collier points to the necessity for complete faith in God, and looks, through an ultimate knowledge of him, to realize true happiness. Thus he stands in the same tradition as, for example, Hooker and Pascal, the one voicing a reasoned, the other a mystical faith. In Pascal there is this passage:

> The Stoics say: Turn in upon yourselves, and there you will find your repose. This however is not true. Others say: Go forth from yourselves, and seek for happiness in diversion. Neither is true. Disease will come. Alas! happiness is neither within us, nor without us. It is in the union of ourselves with God.[40]

And Richard Hooker asserts that man's chief good is communion with God, that human desire looks always toward the infinite:

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40. Pascal, op. cit., p. 87.

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> No good is infinite but only God; therefore he is our felicity and bliss. Moreover, desire tendeth unto union with that it desireth. If then in Him we be blessed, it is by force of participation and conjunction with Him. ... Then are we happy therefore when fully we enjoy God, as an object wherein the powers of our souls are satisfied even with everlasting delight; so that although we be men, yet by being unto God united we live as it were the life of God.
>
> Happiness therefore is that estate whereby we attain, so far as possibly may be attained, the full possession of that which simply for itself may be desired, and containeth in it after an eminent sort the contentation of our desires, the highest degree of all our perfection. Of such perfection capable we are not in this life ... Complete union with him [God] must be according unto every power and faculty of our minds apt to receive so glorious an object.[41]

Only through divine grace can man become invincible against all events; without supernatural aid, the mind and the senses fail to reach their full strength, and fear clutches the spirit. Even the "heathens" were aware of this truth:

> Homer makes the Bravery of his Hero's an Effect of the Countenance of Heaven. 'Twas the Gods which breath'd a noble Ardour into them, fired their Blood, and made them overlook Death. Tully and Seneca, tho' they would gladly stand upon their own Legs, and make Virtue the Growth of Nature; yet they are forc'd to confess, that the Mind is not strong enough for moral Improvement, and that no great Man was ever finish'd without Divine Interposition,[42]

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41. Hooker, op. cit., Bk. I, p. 255.

42. Of Fortitude, IV; Collier footnotes here to Seneca, Epistle 73, p. 235.

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Collier sees physical frailty in man as serving a purpose in itself: God designed our bodies to be vulnerable in order that our ideals might rise above them, and our aims encompass spiritual attainment. To the same end, our soul-powers are incomplete, and they of necessity find a complement in the divine soul. That virtue itself is often insufficient is proved, for instance, in the lack of protection afforded the morally good in times of famine and plague. There must be an appeal to some external force. And thus the Stoic virtue breaks down; Collier, even as many a professed Stoic, depends upon the supernatural.

Generally, in contrast to the negative acquiescence which he recommends, Collier's philosophy is definitely positive in spirit. An important phase of his thought that well illustrates this temper is his embracing of pleasure as the purpose of life, "the last end of action and desire".[43] His essay Of Pleasure is, in both tone and expression of values, obviously Epicurean. He begins in his usual direct manner:

> That Pleasure, precisely consider'd is an Advantage, must be granted by the most severe Philosophy: 'Tis the principal Intendment of Nature, and the sole Object of Inclination. Everything Good, is so far desirable. And why is it so? Because it affords

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43. Of Friendship, II, p. 50.

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> a Satisfaction to him that has it. The only Reason why Being is better than Not Being, is because of the agreeable Perceptions we have in the first, which are impossible in the latter. Without Pleasure either in Hand, or in Remainder, Life is no Blessing, nor Existence worth the owning. Were I sure never to be pleased, my next Business should be to unwish my self, and pray for Annihilation. For if I have nothing which delights me in my Being, the very Sense of it must be unacceptable; and then I had better be without it. He that can prove himself Something, by no other Argument than Pain, will be glad to be rid of the Conclusion. For to suppose that Misery is preferable to Not Being, is, I believe, the wildest Thought that ever entred the Imagination.[44]

Epicurus, emphasizing the doctrine that "pleasure in the General is the end of a happy life, or the Chiefest Good", distinguishes between "two kinds of pleasures", those spiritual, and those physical.[45] That pleasure, "wherein Felicity doth consist, is only the Former"; it consists in "the Indolency of Body, and Tranquillity of the Mind". To defend himself from "wrongfully expounding" of his words, he makes it clear that he has not in view the joys of feasting, drinking, and love-making, those pleasures "which are so much admired, courted and pursued by men wallowing in Luxury, or any other pleasures that are placed in the meer motion or action of Fruition".[46]

Collier makes the same distinction: the "general

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44. Of Pleasure, II, pp. 177,178.

45. Epicurus, op. cit., p. 24 ff.

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Division of Pleasure, is into that of the Mind, and the other of the Body". The first is "The more valuable upon several Accounts". Of these he names three: The causes of spiritual satisfaction are more "reputable" than those of physical pleasures; satisfactions of the mind are more at command than those of the body; and intellectual delightsare "nobler" than others.[47] Collier makes use of the same psychological arguments as that of Epicurus: desire supposes a lack, or want, which is painful. Accordingly, we act, to remove the pain, and thus gratify our desires. He observes of corporeal pleasures, which he characterizes as "comparatively ignoble":

> They seem founded in Want and Imperfection. There must be something of Uneasiness to introduce them, and make them welcome. When the Pain of Hunger is once over, Eating is but

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46. Ibid., p. 25. Epicurus describes the "two kinds of pleasure"; One, that may be considered as dependent upon, or radicated in Quiet; and so is nothing else but a constant Placability, Calmness, and Vacuity or Immunity from all perturbation and dolour; and Another, that may be considered as resident in Motion; and so consisteth only in a certain sweet affectation, or pleasant titillation of the sense, as may be exemplified in joy, hilarity, eating and drinking when we are hungry and thirsty, the pleasures of all which doth arise only from a pleasant motion in the Organs." (Morals, p. 24.)

47. Of Pleasure, pp. 180–182.

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> Heavy Entertainment. The Senses are some of them so mean that they scarce relish anything but what they beg for.[48]

On the other hand, "rational" delights, "have a better original" in that they spring out of "noble speculations, or generous Actions; from Enlargements of Knowledge, or Instances of Virtue; from Something which argues Worth, and Greatness, and Improvement".[49] The clearness of mental perception, and the weakness of senses under strong impressions point to the superiority of thought processes over any comparable physical action.

> When the Mind is well awaken'd, and grown up to the Pleasures of Reason, they are strangely affecting. The Luxury of Thought, seems no less than that of the Palate. The Discovery of a great Invention, may be as moving as Epicurism. The Entertainments of Plato were as high-season'd, as those of Apicius.[50]

History, according to Collier, yields other examples that just as surely prove this point.

The being, or existence, of pleasure is precarious, for one reason because it is liable to the incursions of pain. When these two meet, pain always gets the better. There is no middle ground between happiness

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48. Ibid., p. 180; cf. Collier's definition: "Desire is a conscious Emptiness, an unsatisfied Capacity". He adds, "It implies want in the very Notion, and supposes the Absence of the Thing desir'd". Eagerness of Desire, II, p. 39.

49. Ibid., p. 180.

50. Ibid., p. 183.

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and misery; one or the other must be experienced. For instance, that which "some Philosophers call Indolence, is, declares Collier, "properly a state of Pleasure. For though the Satisfaction may be somewhat Drowsie; yet, like the first Approaches of Sleep, it strikes smooth and gently upon the Sense."[51] After all, it is pleasure as an end which reconciles us to pain. "Who would submit to the Nauseousness of Medicine, or the Torture of the Surgeon; were it not for the Satisfaction of receiving our Limbs, and our Health?"[52] This same purpose of ultimate pleasure may motivate the most ascetic regimen:

> Pleasure is pursued where it seems most renounced, and aimed at even in Self-denial. All voluntary Poverty, all the Disciplines of Penance, and the Mortifications of Religion, are undertaken upon this View. A good Man is contented with hard Usage at present, that he may take his Pleasure in the other World.[53]

Satisfaction is the common aim to which honour, power, and wealth are but complementary. Any kind of pleasure is nothing but an agreement "between the object and the Faculty", a description, observes Collier, that may be used as a measure to suggest our true height and size.

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51. Ibid., p. 178.

52. Ibid., p. 179.

53. Ibid.,

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"If little Things will please us, we may conclude we are none of the biggest People".[54] So may children and those of "vulgar" judgment be known by their tastes and diversions. Although health may be improved by certain amusements that are thereby rendered tolerable, to make them our profession is the way to become "useless and ridiculous".

Collier declares the "last and farthest Meaning" of every reasonable action to be pleasure, the end of which generally is to "support the Offices of Life; to relieve the Fatigues of Business, to reward a regular Action, and encourage the Continuance."[55] It is natural for every one to aim at perfection. And since "Contemplation is the Delight of the Deity, we may be assured the Flower and Exaltation of Bliss, lies in the operation of the Mind."[56] None is allowed this privilege, however, but "such as keep within the Order of Nature". Here again Collier is voicing a tenet of the philosophy of Epicurus. He sees that pleasure, if given a light interpretation, may be valued too highly, and that herein lies a danger. "He that buys his satisfaction at the Expense of Duty and

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54. Ibid., pp. 184,185.

55. Ibid., p. 187.

56. Ibid., p. 182.

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Discretion, is sure to over-purchase."[57] Further, "when Virtue is sacrificed to Appetite, Repentance must follow; ... All unwarrantable Delights have an ill Farewel, and destroy those that are greater."[58] Religion itself forbids few actions "but such as are naturally prejudicial to Health, to Reason, or Society."[59] And the "Heathen Philosophers, excepting some few of the Cyrenaicks, and Epicureans, were all agreed in the folly of forbidden Pleasure".[60] Excessive means to gain satisfaction are proscribed, then, by certain divine laws which man has, of course, the freedom to abuse. Now the senses "turn upon Capacity and Proportion, not upon Justice..."[61]; and a stolen dinner tastes as delicious to the thief as if it had been his own. Thus virtue is placed on trial. Everyone is adjured not to "Riot in the liberalities of Providence", for "all Excesses and Misapplications are Usurpations of Pleasure, and must expect an after Reck-

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57. Ibid., p. 187.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., p. 180.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., p. 187.

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oning."[62] God has not been pleased to make "a sensual man's capacity" equal to either his wishes or his health; and, Collier demands, "how is it material whether he quenches his Thirst at the Ocean, or at the smallest Brook"?[63]

It is obvious from marginal references and comments on Epicurus that Collier knew his writings, but in what form it is difficult to say. He may have read a Greek version; again, he possibly was familiar with some such collection of Epicurean thought as the Morals, the contents of which were drawn from both the original, and use in Marcus Aurelius, Plutarch, Cicero, and Seneca. This collection was translated in 1670.[64] A somewhat obvious suggestion that Collier's knowledge came by way of Cicero is negated, for one reason, by the latter's almost consistent disapproval of Epicurean doctrine; but if he does in some passages carry over Cicero's attitude, Collier generally is independent in his treatment. His derogatory reference to 'Epicurism' indicates that he distinguishes to some degree between its true meaning and the popular notion, or

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62. Ibid., p. 188.
63. Sermon X, p. 332.
64. Epicurus, op.cit.

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pseudo-Epicureanism. In the insistence upon pleasure as the end of life, and the identification of happiness with pleasure, Collier's philosophy rests on the hedonism of Epicurus. When from the doctrines of human self-sufficiency, of virtue, of attitudes toward pain and pleasure there are sloughed off the misleading and garbled expansions, little fundamental discrepancy remains between the basic tenets of Stoicism and Epicureanism. Accordingly, to find in Collier honest sympathy with both is not to uncover an inconsistency of thought. Rather does he select what he likes from the two systems, and harmonize these elements without unnecessary quibbling over labels.

Thus far these phases of Collier's philosophic thought suggest the subjectivity that a man of meditation and of introspection would instinctively emphasize in evolving his attitudes; and such ideas can be safely taken over only by one who has strength of mind and self-control. But the 'generality' cannot, or do not, find completion within themselves; they stand in dire need of specific ethical guidance. And Collier, recognizing this, has made his prose rich in practical advice for right conduct. He consistently advocates the use of reason and the avoidance of excess. Deeds must be our first consideration. Good actions

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he describes as being either agreeable to the nature and mutual relations of "persons and things", or expressly commanded by God. We must look farther than the immediate results of our acts, for it is a damning thing to do evil that good may result. In short,

> We must endeavor to preserve a Superiority of Reason, a Command of Appetite, an Independance of Thought. The Possession of an Object does not make it eligible, if any ill consequence hangs upon it. Before we determine our Choice we should look forward to the Issue, and compute upon the Profit and Loss...[65]

Plus the ever-present injunction to moderation, this is essentially the counsel given by Cicero:

> Whatever you undertake, there are three rules to be observed. In the first place, it is necessary to subject appetite to reason, for that is the surest means of fulfilling your duty; again, you must estimate the importance of the object you wish to accomplish that the effort you bestow upon it may be neither greater nor less than the case demands. Finally, observe moderation in all that concerns the aspect and dignity of a gentleman; and moderation is best attained by observing...decorum. ...But the most important of these three rules is to subject appetite to reason.[66]

The approach of Collier to the problem of ethics is generally like that of Cicero, inasmuch as he could declare along with the Roman moralist that every question of duty

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65. Of Religious Temper, IV, p. 98.

66. De Officiis, op. cit., p. 68.

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has two sides, one relating to the "sovereign good", the other to practical and detailed rules for governing our conduct.[67]

The broad aim of pleasure as an end is made more specific by certain limitations. Collier argues on two scores that happiness does not consist in"Abundance, or in being the Owner of large Possessions": "from the nature of the things possess'd", and "from the Attributes of God".[68] Happiness does, however, depend upon power. With something of the utilitarianism of Hobbes, Collier declares that when power goes, happiness leaves with it, since the want of power is the immediate cause of all misery.[69] It is weakness, not will, that causes suffering; human beings lack the strength to dismiss what they abhor or seize what they like, and their very impotence blasts their wishes. Collier generalizes thus:

> Power is a noble and majestick Attribute, and gives Life and Perfection to all great Designs; wise Contrivances and virtuous Dispositions, without correspondent Force to back them, signify nothing. Wisdom and Goodness unfortify'd by Power, are but vain Speculations and charitable Dreams. A kind Wish relieves no

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67. Ibid., pp. 4,5.

68. Sermon X, p. 329.

69. Cf. Of Power, III, p. 64.

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> Man, for it's one Thing to think, and another to effect; without Power we can neither oblige our selves nor others, neither prevent an unforeseen Evil, nor pursue an Advantage. The most virtuous Mind, if it has no Strength but that of Zeal and Inclination, can never keep the World in Order...[70]

Elsewhere Collier modifies this concept by declaring that our wishes are not always good when we consider them so, and that in reality, since power is best lodged with the supreme being, its very lack among mankind amounts to a blessing to all created beings.[71] Collier again echoes Hobbes[72] in saying that "knowledge is power in a great measure," because "it puts us in a Capacity to make Nature serviceable, and to command the Creation: If one could go no farther in Business than the Force of our Limbs would carry us, Life would very heavy and ill furnish'd."[73]

It is in the same practical spirit that Collier advocates a vigorous, meaningful existence. His recommendation to cultivate an attitude of acquiescence does not mean that with him it precludes an active life. Typical of his realism is his idea that experience and theory should

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70. Sermon II, p. 42.

71. Of Power, III, p. 63.

72. Cf. Hobbes, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 61.

73. Of the Resurrection, IV, p. 410.

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balance. Life is a season for trial and enterprise, and its dangers are to be met squarely. Collier concurs in the neo-Stoic theory that virtue alone is insufficient, and that health and strength are of importance to living. The old orthodox Stoic of the school of Zeno had maintained that the Wise Man would be indifferent to pleasure and pain, as well as to health and wealth. But in the new eclectic Stoicism preached in Rome by Panaetius of Rhodes,[74] this rigid teaching became softened to include these attributes as essential to happiness.[75] Since Cicero's De Officiis is based upon a lost treatise of Panaetius, we find in this guide-book the expression of doctrines not too severe and rigorous to be of practical benefit. Cicero holds that "in the food we eat and the care we bestow on the body we should aim at health and strength, and not at sensual pleasure."[76] And to Collier, health is desirable, not chiefly "for the sake of Pleasure, and the Benefit of the Senses", but because "we are then in the best Condition to serve God, and be useful to Society."[77] This attitude has back of it the same social interest that Marcus Aurelius

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74. Born 185 B.C., he was the founder of the new and considerably less severe Stoicism.

75. De Officiis, op. cit., Intro., xi.

76. Ibid., p. 51. 77. Of the Resurrection, IV, p.439.

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reveals. Collier advises against too great solicitude for the body:

> To make it our main Concern therefore to keep our Bodies in Repair; To Avoid Business, and doze over Life, for fear of wearing them out too fast, is an inglorious Management. Some People are wonderful cautious in this affair: Any thing extraordinary in Thought or Action, is a dangerous Experiment! Accidents may break in; the Blood and the Humours may be disturb'd this Way. They dare scarcely move out of their Pace, or venture to speak Sense, for fear of spending their Spirits, or making their Pulse beat too fast.
> [78]

But this "is to be a Cypher in the World":

> I grant Straining above Strength, Rashness, and unnecessary Hazards, are indefensible Sallies: Prudence and Precaution are good Things: But then our Care should not carry us to Insignificancy: Let us be prudent to do something: To shrink from Business, to slumber in the Shade, and lie always under Shelter, is to mistake the Point, and overrate our present Security.
> [79]

If, in the "laying out" of one's physical vigour to improve reason and exercise virtue, our bodies decay while in service, then "they'll fall with Honour, and rise with Advantage."[80] The best way to assure the future of our

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78. Ibid., p. 439.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.

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bodies[81] is not to dote on them now, by indulging them in ease; we must decline no "proper Austerities in their Favour...nor preserve their Agreeableness at the Expence of Duty."[82] In brief, "we must employ them generously, and to good Purpose, suffer in them with Patience, and please them with Temperance, and Reserved-ness."[83]

Collier condemns the setting up of selfish interest and pleasure[84] as criteria for determining good and evil. Should our desires justify our conduct, in an erroneous judgment by conscience there would then lie no fault. There then could exist no fixed values, no steady principles to determine the extent of social virtues, and the moral scheme would be as variable as human fancies and prejudices. Here is an implication of absolute standards of good and evil, however contradictorily they may seem to operate. Sometimes a man appears to fare the worse for his integrity, or the better for his wrongdoing.[85]

> What is more common than to see those who have the least Godliness carry off the greatest Gains, thrive upon their Vices, and have their

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81. For significance of the phrase to Collier, see his explanation of immortality, pp. 273-277, "Metaphysics and Religion".

82. Ibid., p.440.
83. Ibid.

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> Success encreased proportionately to their Guilt? ... Nature seems to wait upon them, and the happey Event of Things surmounts not only their Expectations, but their Wishes too.[86]

There is in the world "a great Deal of Darkness and Perplexity upon the Faces of Things, and Virtue and Vice are utterly uninterpretable by Success. The Fate of the Righteous and the Wicked is shuffled in common and promiscuous Events, as if the Distinctions of Good and Evil were nothing but empty Names, and Terms of Philosophy."[87] But this does not mean that the force of "the first Decree" is suspended: "God does not think fit to alter the Coarse of Nature, and break through a Chain of Causes, to punish every Mismanagement."[88] All will be rectified at the Last Judgment.

Right and wrong are not merely "empty names":

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84. Although he does not qualify the term here, he obviously means "excessive" pleasure, or sensuous pleasure; otherwise, he is contradicting his own expression of hedonistic doctrine.

85. In Chapter Nine of his Meditations, Marcus Aurelius expresses the same idea.

86. Sermon II, p. 51.

87. Ibid., p. 50.

88. Of Pleasure, II, p. 187.

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> The Lines of Virtue and Vice are struck out by Nature in very legible Distinctions; they tend to a different Point, and in the greater Instances the Space between them is easily perceiv'd. Nothing can be more unlike than the original Forms of these Qualities: The first has all the Sweetness, Charms, and Graces imaginable; the other has the Air of a Post ill carved into a Monster, and looks both foolish and frightful together. These are the Native appearances of Good and Evil. And they that endeavour to blot the Distinctions, to rub out the Colours, or change the Marks, are extreamly to blame.[89]

Evils proceed from two sources--some from "the Niceness of our Imagination", others from a "real Foundation in Nature".[90] The good or evil--that is, the degree, not the essence of either in its absolute form--becomes variable: it is "very much raised by the Novelty and Rareness" of occurrence, and, similarly, while the unusualness of an experience may at first so strike the passions as to make them dominant, "a daily Converse abates very much of the Dread and Delight",[91] until the bias disappears, and judgment returns to a reasonably objective state.

Collier, in pointing to the "infallible Mark of Truth",[92] and the validity of an inner conviction of such,

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89. A Short View, op. cit., p. 91.
90. Sermon V, p. 151.
91. Ibid., p. 145.
92. Cf. above, p. 94, "Psychology".

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again implies an absolute standard. He is fully aware that it is not easy to define exactly what truth is, or what it is not. He borrows here a passage from Pascal to explain that if a man

> thinks too Little upon Things, he overlooks Truth; and if too Long, he is too much dozed to perceive it. He that views his own Handy-Work just as it comes off the Anvil; is apt to be too favourably prepossessed to pronounce: And if he stays till 'tis Cold, and the Model is decayed in his Memory, 'tis odds but some of the Finer Parts will escape him. There is but one precise point proper to shew a Picture in: The rest Misrepresent by Nearness, or Distance; by being too High, or too Low. Perspective will tell us this Nice place in Painting; but in Thinking and Morality 'tis not so easily fixed.[93]

The last idea Pascal couches in a question: "Perspective fixes this point precisely in the art of painting; but who shall fix it in regard to truth and morals?"[94] In 1712, Shaftesbury, in Italy, used the same figure to write of beauty: "The rules of perspective lie hid (under the je ne sais quoi) like the rules of morals, right and wrong, equity and inequity, etc."[95] Collier, by

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93. Of the Weakness of Human Reason, I, p. 234.

94. Pascal, op. cit., Chap. VI, "Weakness of Man", p. 95.

95. Plastics, An Epistolary Excursion in the Original Progress and Power of Designatory Art. In Second Characters, ed. by Benjamin Rand, Cambridge, 1914, p. 177.

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his recognition of the comparative state of morality and perspective, would thus save himself from being condemned as barbaric in the eyes of Shaftesbury, who fastens upon Hobbes and Locke as exemplifying aesthetic numbness: they declare that "beauty is nothing", "virtue is nothing", and so "perspective nothing", and "music nothing".[96] But "these", says Shaftesbury, "are the greatest realities of things", and accordingly "these philosophers together with the anti-virtuosi may be called by one common name, viz. barbar[ians]..."[97]

To return to Collier's treatment, he warns against bias in the search for moral truth, because, until reason is well developed, the senses "want Force to reach and distinguish" between right and wrong judgments.[98] Again, one is often too lazy to discover the truth, or too prejudiced by personal interest to confess it. And all too frequently, in settling the value of an object or idea, one accepts a

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96. Ibid., p. 178. Taken from fragmentary notations by Shaftesbury, and therefore not quoted in more coherent form.

97. Ibid. The completion within the brackets is mine; from the context the inference is obvious.

98. Of the Resurrection, IV, p. 411.

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decision on trust, or follows the leaders of fashion. On such a basis is erected opinion, which stands in opposition to reality. Opinion, or common sentiment, deceives the more wrongly because it does not deceive always. Collier observes that usually opinion dominates, and that unfortunately the success of a truth depends upon the force and popularity of the advocate's report. All these concepts are drawn from Pascal's "Weakness of Man".[99] One citation will serve to indicate the borrowing from the French philosopher:

> We see scarcely anything, just or unjust, which does not change its quality with the climate. Three degrees of latitude upset all the principles of jurisprudence; a meridian, or a few years of possession, determines what is truth. Fundamental laws vary. Right has its epochs.[100]

Collier's rendering is but slightly expanded:

> And which is more surprizing, the Standard of Just and Unjust, is often alter'd with the Climate; Two or three Degrees of Latitude, is enough to Ruin a Lawyer; to make the Twelve Tables Useless; and Repeal the Statute Book. A meridian upon the Globe, or a few Years of Possession, decides a Cause; for it seems Right as well as History, has its Chronological Epoch's.[101]

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99. Op.cit.; cf. pp. 95,96.

100. Ibid., p. 98.

101. Of the Weakness of Human Reason, I, p. 236.

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Observing that moral standards seem to vary with notions and ages, he remarks that "the Rules of Decency, of Government, of Justice itself, are so different in one Place from what they are in Another, so Party-coloured and contradictious", that one might believe the species of men to change according to their climates. This again echoes Pascal, as does the following:

> One would almost think, that Right and Wrong lay rather in the Fancies of Men, than in the Reason of Things; and was bounded more by Seas and Rivers, than by any unalterable Limits of Nature; that Virtue and Vice were minted by the Civil Magistrate.[102]

In one of his sermons, Collier expands in detail the idea that both the nature and the degrees of virtue and vice depend upon numerous "nice circumstances":

> To determine how far a Man is good or bad, it's necessary to be thoroughly acquainted with his whole Nature, the Constitution of his Body, and Qualities of his Mind must be examin'd; the Force of Education, the Reluctance, the Indifferency or Inclination of the Will, and the Frequency of Action must be inquir'd into: If the Action be bad, the Circumstances of Surprise or Deliberation, of Fear, or Presumption, of Necessity or Ill-nature, must be critically adjusted. If it be good, the Value of it can never be understood 'til the

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102. Upon Pride, pp. 21,22.

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> Principles of it are thoroughly scann'd, whether Religion, Generosity and Good-nature, or else Interest, bodily Temper or Vanity, were the chief Motives to it.[103]

All these considerations for judging point to the ultimate decision of Collier that any lesser understanding than divine is insufficient to pass adequately and competently on human acts. He notes how widely "heathen philosophers" have differed in matters of ethics, how they have debated the criteria of truth and falsehood, and have disputed whether "the Government of the World was Casual, Fatal, or Providential":

> How many Summum Bonums have they Presented us with; Some of them only fit to entertain a Brute; others Noble enough for A Spirit of the highest Order? It were tedious to recount the diferrences one Sect had with another; their Inconsistencies with themselves, and the ridiculous and ill-supported Tenets some of the most famous of them have held; Insomuch that Tully takes notice, that there was no Opinion so absurd, but was held by some Philosopher or other.[104]

However much Collier himself may have learned "of moral evil and of good" from the sages, he advises that for personal direction we depend upon reason and recognition through inner certitude of right and wrong. Ideas of honour are to

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103. Sermon II, p. 37.

104. Ibid., p. 22.

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be formed, not from a private group of persons, but from laws and government. Collier recommends precepts as better guides than precedents; and he emphasizes the idea that conscience is not to be overruled by custom, for custom and traditions themselves prove inadequate. As a rule, it is a "cramping thing" to be tied to a "set of notions".[105] One wonders if Collier had not realized the full force of this in his non-juring experiences. Generally he advises the cultivation of Christian virtues--kindness, humility, charity, tolerance --with firm insistence upon social sympathy and aim. But in more specific rules for conduct, we see a distinctly utilitarian attitude. We should develop our most useful qualities; it is well to remember that "to endeavour not to Please, is Ill-nature; altogether to neglect it, Folly; and to overstrain for it, Vanity and Design."[106] And again, "To decline any trouble which leads to advantage or accept a satisfaction with misery annexed is folly."[107] It is lawful for a man to defend his property, to recover what is rightly his, but to do harm, even to an enemy, is unnecessary to self-protection. The Golden

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105. Of Covetousness, II, pp. 138, 139.

106. Of Popularity, II, p. 71.

107. Of Religious Temper, IV, p. 98.

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Rule, according to Collier, is not a primary law: its validity is dependent upon the rationality of our desires.[108] It is a good guide, but is not to be looked upon as an absolute standard; therefore one should follow it advisedly, and apply it reasonably. As he looks at the world about him, and sees the glitter and empty pretense, Collier cynically concludes that "'tis good to move warily, and not Trust without Reserve; to believe People Honest, and manage as if they were otherwise."[109]

Collier exhibits a fondness for abstract subjects that is characteristic of the seventeenth-century moral essayist. Goodness, power, popularity, envy, fame, friendship, discontent--these are typical of the subjects that amply suggested to versatile writers opportunities to set forth practical ethics, and, as well, to display the literary wares of richly retentive minds. Two of Collier's dialogues, one Of Honesty over sixty pages in length, and the other, Of Lying, even longer, are illustrative of this prose so peculiarly characteristic of its period. For Of Honesty he looks chiefly to three sources, Scripture, Plato, and Cicero, all to support the contention that hon-

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108. Of Usury, III, p. 197.

109. Of Lying, IV, pp. 175, 176.

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esty is advisable; the preferring of interest to honesty is a principle that falls short even of "pagan morality". From Cicero's De Officiis Collier draws an account which points to justice and honesty as the "Cement of the World", and the basis for all society.[110] Plato's Republic he uses to the same end; honesty is not only just but also practicable, and socially necessary. The dialogue is not lacking in a tinge of expediency. The mouthpiece of Collier declares:

> The Commonness of Insincerity, and unfair Practice is no Reason for Imitation: Would you endeavour to catch a Disease, because 'tis Epidemical? I grant Distrust, and Vigilance, and Skill, are necessary from what you say: And with these defensive Arms, I believe we may maintain our ground, and shift tolerably well, And that you may not think me too strait-laced; I'll allow in some Cases a Man may indemnify Himself, and return untoward Usage: for instance, if I can pass Brass Money where I received it, I know no harm in the Dexterity.[111]

In the dialogue Of Lying, this'vice', just like deceit, is treated as a social evil. Since the design of speech is to render human beings sociable and inter-serviceable, if truth fail, commerce and society die. Collier cites

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110. Of Theft, p.290, ff.; De Officiis, op.cit., Bk.III, pp. 150, 161.

111. Of Honesty, IV, pp. 34, 35.

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both Plato and Cicero in declaring "truth in language a Branch of Justice".[112] He quotes Scripture widely, particularly the opinions of St Paul, and he here finds considerable stimulation for dialogue-argument in the writings of St Augustine;[113] nor are Plato and Cicero avoided after one citation. Other authorities whom Collier uses to bring out all manner of inferences in the moral and social aspects of lying are: Aristotle, Plutarch, Livy, St Thomas Aquinas, St Chrysostom, St Hierom, Philo-Judaeus, Cassiodorus, St Ambrose, Theodosius, Gregory the Great, Mamertinus, Erasmus, Montaigne, Grotius, Burnet, and a general reference book or two. Further, during one phase of the discussion, Collier, to prove the "loose Casuistry of several of the Jesuits", includes his own translation of four pages from Pascal's Provincial Letters;[114] this passage consists in a dialogue between Pascal and one of the

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112. Of Lying, IV, p. 136. Collier has drawn the idea from discussions of truth in relation to justice from De Officiis, Bk. I, and The Republic, Bk.X.

113. Particularly his contra Mendacium, a tractate (420 A.D.) on moral and theological problems.

114. Of Lying, pp. 178-181. Translation of The Provincial Letters, pp. 204,206,V, Ninth Letter, Paris, 1914 edition.

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Jesuits, in which the latter supports the doctrine of equivocation, and Pascal disapproves of this "whispering Truth, and Lying aloud." On the whole, Collier makes apt use of his sources, and their introduction does not entangle the thread of thought. Here and there throughout the discourse, Collier neatly interweaves a "character" of liars. Perhaps the briefest is this:

> Your Liars are wrap'd in a cloud: They dance in a Net: They have Gyges's Ring, and are invisible to every Body. Thus they fancy themselves privileg'd Persons, and go cover'd from Seizure and Arrest. Thus guarded they may take their Liberty, and move as they please. What wonder is it then, to find them make use of their Talent, and put their Privilege in Practice?[115]

Yet another subject that Collier is ethically concerned over is flattery. His essay of that name condemns it as a social vice, and elsewhere he frequently warns against yielding to its wiles. It is evil wherever found, but more so when it contaminates the robes of the church or magistracy, when it infringes upon public right or ecclesiastical duty.[116] Such an attitude naturally grew out of

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115. Ibid., p. 190. Collier refutes the idea that one may lie to children and madmen; there was a well-nigh universal tendency in older literature to link together a 'cradle' and a 'phrensy', since neither had judgment.

116. Cf. p. 181, above, "Social Theories".

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a feeling of protest against the widespread use of flattery as a means to preferment, to patronage, to anything that could be gained by cajoling words and obsequious demeanour. The topic was a favorite among essayists of this period. In a character of the flatterer, Collier pictures his methods and his success, and suggests tests for detecting flattery. He points his observations with amusing illustrations out of history. The flatterer, for instance, feigns the imperfections, even the diseases, of his victim:

> He won't sometimes endure to have either more Health or more Senses than his Patron. Thus when Denys of Sicily grew Dim-sighted, his Courtiers pretended 'twas an Epidemical Distemper; tumbled upon one another, as if they were almost blind, and threw down the Sideboard and the Dishes. This was Dawbing in Flattery, and laying it on with a Trowel.[117]

In brief, Collier uncovers all the tricks of the blandishing trade, the means toward, and reasons for its all too-frequent success, its pernicious results in society, and the types of victims usually won over with ease. By way of "preservative" against succumbing, we must "discharge the Excesses of Self-Love", and examine the "Pro-

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117. Of Flattery, IV, p. 243.

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bity, the Sense, the Circumstances of other People, before we swallow their Commendation."[118] But we must guard against the other extreme in conduct:

> Chagrin and Moroseness, Ill-natur'd Jests, coarse Admonition, and contradictious Humour, are Vices of an opposite Kind. To which we may add, a Rustick Affectation, a Levelling Negligence, and a Failure in customary Regards. We may stand clear of Flattery without censuring, and falling foul upon every Thing that comes near us: Sincerity does not oblige us, to be always clashing, to justle every Body we meet, and take our Freedom without Reason or Reserve. Such Singularities proceed from Ignorance and Pride. ...To manage rightly, there must be nothing of Spleen or Neglect in Conversation. No appearance of envying those above, or contemning those Beneath us. To entertain with Humour, to make our Friendship visible, and throw our good Wishes into our Face, is what People may fairly expect from us.[119]

One may conclude from Collier's deprecatory remarks on the moral looseness of his age that he saw flattery to be but a swift and easy step to gain the favour and "surprize the Vertue" of women. Here, he declares, "the Application is driven to the last Excess; and every Advantage is magnified out of all Proportion."[120] Even

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118. Ibid., p. 260.

119. Ibid., pp. 261, 262.

120. Ibid., p. 251.

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the less licentious, those with some shreds of conscience left, and perhaps with more serious intent, utilized this same easy step to marriage. As we have earlier observed, Collier is interested in the subject of marriage largely from a social viewpoint; he believed that it, as an institution, should serve as a stable moral force to regulate inevitable human relationships, and to establish and protect the family. Accordingly, he condemns a light view of marriage ties, and recommends for both sexes the single standard of morality, a standard which would give neither the right to live loosely. Thus, held in line by the one inflexible measuring-rod of propriety, neither husband nor wife has the right to disrupt a marriage; and neither is to be freed from censure for immoral conduct. Collier's single comment on the nature of marriage is to the effect that it "creates a peculiar and incommunicable Friendship. These Rights are not to be invaded, nor the Affections drawn off, nor the Quiet of either Party disturb'd. Those Familiarities which give Umbrage, and carry the Countenance of Design, are ill-natur'd, and unjust, tho' they go no farther."[121] It is surprising that Collier does not

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121. Of Whoredom, p. 120.

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more sharply flay the existing licentiousness and immorality. What condemnation he has is centered in his treatment Of Whoredom; here, by clever use of dialogue, he represents the views of the moralist, Sophronistes, and the libertine, Erotion. The latter, who troubles himself "with no Lines, excepting those in a good Face", is abroad to manage with gallantry an amorous intrigue. To Sophronistes, gallantry is too "ceremonious", too "soft and well-bred" a term for what is plain whoredom.

Erotion characterizes his group, the libertines:

> We seldom trouble our Heads about the Distinctions of single or married. Fancy is our Rule; and as that directs, our Motions are govern'd. Only this I must add, that Difficulty and Danger heighten the Success and make the Conquest more entertaining.[122]

He boasts, "Tho' I am not Master of my Passions, I think I have gotten my Conscience pretty well under".[123] He would resent any doubt of his justice and honour; but he would unscrupulously rob a wife of her virtue, and the husband of his reputation. Yet when like misfortunes fall upon "town sparks", they fly into a rage, and resolve upon revenge. How, demands the moralist, can there be two such standards of conduct, and how can the one be reconciled with

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122. Of Whoredom, pp. 114,115, III.

123. Ibid., p. 115.

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fair-dealing ? Erotion, with no adequate answer, complains that his opponent makes "an Amour look hideously black", and "no better than downright Knavery".

Sophronistes sketches the ill effects of the rake's philandering:

> The Wife grows a Nusance; and no Ruggedness or Barbarity is too coarse for her; or at best she's but the Lumber of the House. The Promises of Courtship, and the Engagements of Marriage, are quite forgotten. The Title of Respect is transferr'd, and all the Breeding and good Humour made over to the Wench: She is Mistress of the Man and the Money. Her Apartments, and her Equipage, are all Curiosity and Expence. She makes her Progress in State, and Travels with her Postillion; when, it may be, the poor Lady in Town, can hardly compass a Hackney to remove her from one Street of Smoak to another.[125]

Erotion declares that he and his ilk are 'kinder Casuists' to themselves: "We take this Holy League and Covenant"of marriage "upon the Scottish view, only for Interest and Power. The Solemnities of the Form serve handsomly to deceive, give us a Title to the Bride's Fortune, and make us Tenants by Courtesy, and that's the meaning of the matter".[126] He charges women to be faulty in this respect; they should set good examples.

Sophronistes grants the truth of the charge.

> When a Woman can prevail with her Self, to set her Conscience and her Honour aside, to rush through her Native Modesty, and the Reserv'dness of her Education, she is strangely degenerated, and mightily alter'd from what God has made her. She that's untrue to her Husband, and has broken the Covenant of her God, is all Bane and Blemish.[127]

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124. Ibid., p. 116.

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He admits this to be taxing "several good Gentlewomen". But it is "a great Blot in their Scutcheon. Lewdness, like Treason, degrades a Woman's Quality, and makes her despicable and cheap ..." [128] She must decline "all airy Liberties, and especially all Correspondence with a married Man".[129] Nor do men enjoy exemption from virtue: that is the privilege of only a brute. "Liberty is not entailed upon the Issue Male; they have no Charter to live at large, and run riot. They are under the same Duties of Religion, and oblig'd by the same Laws of Sobriety with the other Sex." [130]

Woman is to be censured when she boldly angles for marriage, and employs deceit and artifice to ensnare a husband: the whole basis for the relationship is then false, and the foundation laid for future quarrels, after her true self is discovered. Collier strongly disapproves of the use of "paint and washes", because "there's Falsehood

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125. Ibid., p. 117.

126. Ibid., p. 118.

127. Ibid., p. 118.

128. Ibid., p. 119.

129. Ibid., p. 120.

130. Ibid., p. 121.

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in the Expedient."[131]

> To wash a Complection is like <u>washing</u> of Money, and always implies Counterfeiting and Coarseness. She that manages in this manner, designs to impose on those that see her, and make her Face pass for more than 'tis worth.[132]

Cosmetics lead to vanity and conceit, and render the wearer "more likely to do Mischief and receive it." An attractive woman must resign herself to her fate; but even for her has Collier a bit of advice:

> 'Tis true, when a Woman is born to Beauty, she can't help it. Her Business then is to manage with Sobriety and Reserve; to guard her Virtue, and make her Face as harmless as may be. But when <u>Providence</u> has fix'd us on firmer Ground, and thrown less Temptation into our Person: In this case, to strain for Accidents, and make our selves more dangerous, is next to Distraction.[133]

St Chrysostom had called woman a "desirable calamity".[134] Obviously Collier would not soften the epithet with even a 'desirable'. In seizing the opportunity to moralize upon the superficiality of beauty, he suggests an association between it and a lack of virtue; here his reaction seems instinctive, and independent of his loftier notion of the Platonic reflection of the soul through the body.

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131. <u>Of Lying</u>, p. 176.

132. <u>Ibid</u>.

133. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 177.

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If Collier--who remained single throughout his life -- exhibits little interest in marriage, this is scarcely true of his attitude toward friendship, even though, for the most part, his ideas on that subject are not original with him. His treatment of this stock theme-- a favourite in classical and Renaissance literature -- is worth noting because the handling of sources is fairly representative of the borrowing so prevalent in prose of the seventeenth century. The material in Collier's essay Of Friendship he has neatly interwoven from the versions of Bacon and Cicero. Like Cicero in his De Amicitia, Collier casts the ideas into a dialogue, and he begins with the same situation: Sophronistes grieves over the death of a friend, although he knows that the dead friend is now in a better state. He is aware that such grieving looks like self-love, rather than friendship; for "to be sorry a Friend is not with us, when he is better from us, is a Sign we rate our Convenience highest, and Mourn more for the Living than for the Dead."[135] Cicero, in the person of Laelius, laments the death of Scipio, but, believing that ill has befallen, not to his friend, but to himself instead, remarks that

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134. Lecky, The History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe. New York, 1925. Vol.I, p. 78.

135. Of Friendship, II, p.44.

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"great anguish for one's own inconveniences is the mark of the man who loves not his friend but himself."[136]

Collier quotes from Aristotle's Politics the saying that "he who is pleas'd with Solitude must be either a wild Beast, or a God,"[137] a maxim which, unacknowledged however, occurs in the first sentence of Bacon's essay. From this point Collier expands the conception of friendship as growing out of the imperfections of human nature; this idea, he declares, is not disparaging to so noble a relation, for "a Man has not everything growing upon his own Soil, and therefore is willing to Barter with his Neighbour. This Exchange of Offices, when 'tis managed with Frankness and Fidelity, excites native Generosity, and improves into Confidence and Affection." It is "almost humanly impossible to live pleasantly without Friendship", since man's nature in itself lacks "Fund enough to furnish out a Solitary Life." A second basis for the relationship lies in similarity of tastes, opinion, and business.

> Men love to see their thoughts and Inclinations approved. This confirms them in the Good Opinions of themselves: And therefore they seldom fail of being grateful to the Occasion. Nature, like

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136. Cicero, Laelius on Friendship, trans. by W.A Falconer, London, 1923. The Loeb Classical Library. p. 119.

137. Aristotle, op. cit., Bk. I, p. 1253[a].

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> Narcissus, is strangely taken with its own Reflection. A Conformity of Opinion and Desire, looks like a Multiplication of ones Self. A Man sees his own Being, as it were, doubled and extended in his Friend; and then 'tis no wonder if he loves him, [138]

who actually is an alter idem. Cicero declares that friendship springs from nature rather than need, and "from an inclination of the soul joined with a feeling of love rather than from calculation of how much profit the friendship is likely to afford."[139] He elsewhere says that everyone is dear to himself on his own account, and "unless this feeling were transferred to friendship, the real friend would never be found; for he is alter idem, another self."[140] Bacon, however, interprets this phrase with his usual utilitarian attitude:

> The best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the antients, to say, that a friend is another himself; for that a friend is far more than himself.[141]

This suggests one of Bacon's three "fruits" of friendship: a man cannot, for instance, commend himself with

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138. Of Friendship, p. 52. Cf. Glanvill, op. cit., pp. 119, 120.

139. Cicero, Laelius, op. cit., p. 139.

140. Ibid., p. 189.

141. Bacon, op. cit., Of Friendship, p. 128.

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modesty; he cannot always supplicate as he would like, nor speak for himself as effectively as his proxy can.[142] Other "fruits" are peace in the affections, and support of one's judgment; the friend serves as the vent in relating misfortunes, and, since the grief is halved by the telling, the friendship is doubled; thus conversation is of psychological benefit. Faithful counsel and assistance in the execution of a plan are invaluable aid. Collier takes over into his essay these three advantages, sometimes scarcely changing the words, and using the same examples. Thus Bacon writes:

> It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his first Master, Duke Charles the Hardy; namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none; and least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on and saith that towards his latter time that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding.[143]

Collier shortens the illustration:

> 'Tis somewhat Remarkable what Commines observes of Charles Duke of Burgundy: This Prince was so very reserv'd, that he would impart his Se-

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142. Ibid., p. 129.

143. Ibid., pp. 122, 123.

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> crets to No-body; especially those which troubled him most. Whereupon the Historian tells us, that this Closeness did Impair and a little Perish his Understanding.[144]

"Those who have no Friend", says Collier, "to discharge their Cares, and their Grievances upon, are (if one may use so hardy an Expression) a sort of Cannibals to themselves; and prey upon their own Vitals".[145] But friendship "relieves our Cares, raises our Hopes, and abates our Fears. It doubles our Joys, and divides our griefs. A Friend who relates his Success, talks himself into a new Pleasure", for "friendship, like some universal Medicine, works contrary Ways; but always to the Benefit of Nature".[146] Bacon had employed the same striking figure: "Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts".[147] The communicating of emotions "redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in half. For there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more: and no man that imparteth griefs to his friend,

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144. Collier, Of Friendship, p. 59.

145. Ibid., p. 60.

146. Ibid.

147. Bacon, op. cit., p. 123.

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but he grieveth the less. So that it is in truth of operation upon a man's mind, of like virtue, as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone for man's body; that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature."[148] Finally, "in a word", says Bacon, "a man were better relate himself to a statua or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother."[149] This Collier varies by declaring, "In a Word, the Advantage of Conversation in such, that for want of Company a Man had better talk to a Post than let his Thoughts lie Smoking and Smothering in his Head."[150]

Other ideas to be found in Collier's dialogue are drawn from Cicero: virtue is the measure of friendship, and affection will develop between correspondingly virtuous men; life is almost impossible without this relationship;[151] great men, as well as others, want friendly support. This point Collier illustrates by alluding

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148. Ibid.

149. Ibid., p. 125.

150. Op.cit., p. 61

151. Collier, p. 50; Cicero, p. 167.

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to 'Laelius'(Cicero) and Africanus. Neither contrasts in age nor disparity in wealth should prevent friendship. There is no justification for sinning in behalf of a friend, nor should one be asked to do a dishonest thing.[152] Collier's position is that of Cicero rather than of Bacon in condemning the sacrifice of virtue to expediency, and in implying that friendship should not be regarded in a mercenary light.

Prudence and justice must guide our frankness. In the matter of limiting our confidences, one may be allowed a corner of his soul for himself; a secret can hurt no one when lodged at home. A friend should know what concerns him, and one must stand the hazard of telling the other. There are certain requisites for friendship: a sense of honour, conscience, largeness of mind, agreeableness of temper, courage, constancy, freedom from passion and self-conceit;[153] "Cowardice will betray friendship; and Covetousness will starve it. Folly will be nauseous; Passion is apt to ruffle; and Pride will fly out into Contumely and Neglect."[154] Further, "though not nice and

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152. Collier, p. 56; Cicero, pp. 149,151.

153. Generally, these are the virtues which Cicero recommends.

154. Collier, Of Friendship, p. 53.

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exceptious, yet [it] must not be coarsely treated, nor used with Distance or Disdain", for, if through necessity the relationship continues, "the Man may be kept for some time, but the Friend is lost. Friendship, to make it true, must have Beauty as well as Strength: Charms to endear, as well as Power to Supply."[155] There must be a willingness to receive a kindness, as well as to do one, for "he who always refuses, taxes the Proferrer with Indiscretion".[156] Collier recommends an "inoffensive pleasantness" as a way of conveying advice with "better Success than naked Reprehension", because "this guilding of the Pill, reconciles the Palate to the Prescription, without weakening the Force of the Ingredients".[157] A friend should not be subjected to exactness, observation, or distrust; we should even prevent his desires and "scarce give him time to think he wanted an assistance". There can be no room for passion or base motives or insincerity. "Friendship is one of those few things which are the better for the Wearing."[158] And to break up such a connection is "unreasonable Levity": caprice, chagrin, curiousity, "an ambiguous Expression" -- none of these is sufficient cause. Nothing

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155. Ibid., p. 54.

156. Ibid.

157. Ibid.

158. Ibid., p. 58.

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but "plain Malevolence can justify Disunion."[159] And in that case, advises Collier, the way "is to draw off by Degrees, and not to come to an open Rupture, Let the Acquaintance be Decently buried; and the Flame rather Go out, than be Smother'd. For as Cato well observes, though in the phrase of a Taylor, Friendship ought not to be Unrip'd,but Unstitch'd."[160] Cicero had said that "our care should be that the friendships appear to have burned out rather than to have been stamped out".[161] In fact, there is little in Collier's essay in the way of idea that is not borrowed. There remains for mention one passage which in slightly changed forms appears every now and then in literature -- a quotation that has been erroneously attributed as original to another seventeenth-century writer, Sir William Temple. Collier cites Alphonsus the Wise as saying "That all the Acquisitions and Pursuits of Men, excepting Four, were but Bawbles; i. e. old Wood to burn, old Wine to drink, old Books to read, and old Friends to converse with."[162] This dialogue, with

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159. Ibid., p. 65.

160. Ibid., p. 65; Laelius on Friendship, op. cit., p. 185. Laelius quotes Cato in saying that the ties of friendship "should be unravelled rather than rent apart" -- dissuendae magis quam discindendae.

161. Collier, Of Friendship, p. 64.

162. E.N.S. Thompson, in The Seventeenth-Century English

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the exception of the material taken from Pascal on *The Weakness of Human Reason*, can be pointed to as the most glaring case of "borrowing" in Collier. As a rule, he uses marginal references and annotations, or suggests in the context the source. And when he is guilty of omission, he is but doing what one of the most notorious "borrowers" of them all did -- except that Bacon calmly and unscrupulously inserted quotation after quotation with no indication of its origin, and thereby gained a reputation for clever aphorisms culled from others' wit. With respect to Collier's development as an essayist, it is significant that *Of Envy*, which shows resemblance to Bacon's *Of Envy*, and the dialogue *Of Friendship* appear in his first volume of essays, as does *Of the Weakness of Human Reason*. Obviously the stylistic influence of Bacon was

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Essay, selects for praise a passage in Temple's prose which contains this particular quotation woven into the context. (*Op. cit.*, p. 113.) One of the *Apothegms* of Bacon varies this slightly: "Alphonso of Aragon was wont to say in commendation of age, that age appears to be best in four things, -- old wood to burn, old wine to drink, old friends to trust, and old authors to read." The sentiment is found likewise in collections of Spanish apothegms. Goldsmith employs it in *She Stoops to Conquer*: "I love everything that's old -- old friends, old times, old manners, old books, old wine." (Mr. Hardcastle, I:29, 30.) A version a bit earlier than Collier occurs in Shakerley Marmion's *The Antiquary* (1640-41).

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expanded into that of thought as well; but in the latter Collier was no disciple of Bacon. And in writing these first essays, he probably was just as aware then as later, when, in the Preface of Part IV, he frankly comments upon the "slippery", well-beaten ground, and "subjects either barren, or seiz'd", that "there's no constant Necessity of Borrowing, or Coincidence".[163] There is, incidentally, in Collier's Of Friendship nothing of Montaigne, except that a slight similarity exists in the latter's partial dependence upon Cicero. The general view given in Plato's Lysis and the slighter summary in Plutarch's treatment in his Moralia must have been known to Collier, who frequently cites other writings from these two authors. But he turned, and wisely, to the piece of classic Roman prose in which the views of the ancients upon friendship found their culminating expression, and upon which, in turn, moderns have since been drawing for ideas to clothe their own attitudes.

Another ever-recurring literary theme holding steady fascination for writers is that of the ages of man, from "mewling" infant to "second childishness and mere oblivion". Especially did the possibilities for

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163. To the Reader, IV.

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drawing analogies appeal to the Renaissance love of figure and conceit; and later, essayists found the topic rich for moralizing. Of Collier's two essays, Of Infancy and Youth and Of Old Age, the first relies upon Bacon's Of Youth and Age .[164] The dialogue Of Old Age deserves to be known. The mellow tone, the tolerant observation of human foibles, the advice -- all combine to produce a piece of Collier's best prose. In contrast to his close reliance upon Cicero's ideas on friendship, Collier has here drawn only generally from the De Senectute, On Old Age,[165] and, through that, upon Plato's Republic. Describing the weak state of old

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164. An example of Collier's dependence upon Bacon, in his treating this subject, follows: Bacon remarks that certain dispositions are more graceful in youth than in age, as instanced by a fluent and luxurious speech, and he quotes "Tully's" comment upon Hortensius, Idem manebat, neque idem decebat. Whereupon Collier, expounding upon the tarnished reputation of Hortensius, attributes the cause to his not suiting his style to his age. "That Floridness which look'd sprightly and agreeable in his youth, was disrelish'd as over-fanciful, and affected when he grew old. ["He remained the same", says Cicero, "but the same was not becoming",](Of Infancy and Youth, III, p. 89.) This sentiment also occurs in La Rochefoucauld's Moral Reflections: Vivacity which increases with old age is not far removed from madness. Moral Reflections and Maxims, London, 1706. No. 416, p.74.

165. De Senectute, A dialogue between Cato and Laelius, sometimes also known as the Cato Maior, Bound with the De Amicitia, op cit. Cicero depends for some of

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age, he contrasts it with that of youth; physical debility is inevitable, but moral imperfections can be warded off. The characteristics of old age are three: a forwardness to be displeased, a tendency to rest on the privilege of years, and covetousness.[166] All of these prudence may obviate, for

> A brave Mind is always impregnable. True Courage is the Result of Reasoning. A just Sense of Honour, and Infamy, of Duty, and Religion, will carry us farther than all the Force of Mechanism. ... Innocence of Life, and Consciousness of Worth, and great Expectations, will do the Business alone. These Ingredients make a richer Cordial than youth can prepare.[167]

There are three chief privileges of old age: it is remarkable for knowledge and wisdom; it is free from violent passions; and the aged are supposed to have managed well their time and talents, and to have reaped the benefits. Cicero, who points to these same advantages, quotes from Plato the speech of Sophocles: asked, when he was old, if he still indulged in the delights of love, he replied,

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his ideas upon Plato's Republic, the introductory passages of which concern a discussion between Socrates and Cephalus on old age. (Plato's Republic, in the Dialogues of Plato, trans. by Benjamin Jowett. Oxford, 1871. Vol. II, p.147.)

166. Cicero names this characteristic.

167. Of Old Age, II, pp. 160,161.

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"Most gladly, indeed, have I escaped from these pleasures, as from some furious and savage master."[168] In spite of the privileges of age, youth tends to be discourteous and thoughtless; but two factors remain that offer consolation--the slow, almost unnoticeable declension of vigour, and the opportunity so to live as to prepare for a pleasant old age. "We walk down the Hill so gently, that the Change of Situation is scarcely perceiv'd, till we are near the Bottom"; in reality there is a daily lessening of strength and satisfaction. "To go to bed at Thirty," says Collier, "and rise with all the Marks of Eighty, would try one's Patience pretty severely."[169] The second advantage depends upon conduct. We "must take care to be regular and significant in our Youth":

> This is the way to make both the Mind and the Body more easy. I say the Body, for Intemperance antedates Infirmities, and doubles them. It averages its own Excesses, and plunges us sooner and deeper in the Mire, than otherwise we should fall. He that would have his Health hold out, must not live too fast. A Man should husband his Constitution, and not throw it away till he has done living, if he can help it. Not

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168. Republic, op.cit., p. 3; De Senectute, op.cit., p.59.

169. Of Old Age, p. 170.

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> to provide thus far is to betray our Senses, and prove false to the Interest of Ease and Pleasure.[170]

The mind as well will reap the rewards of a carefully managed life. The more "disengag'd from the Entertainments of Sense", the less one will be troubled by impracticable wishes, since "strength and desire will fall off together."

> In short, if we would be well provided we must begin betimes. Habits of Virtue, and handsome Performances, are the best Preparatives. Let's lay in a Stock of good Actions before-hand. These will secure our Credit <u>without</u>, and our Peace <u>within</u>.[171]

So to the last, reason and moderation must serve as ethical guides. Throughout the dialogue there runs a tone of acquiescence, and a desire to bear trouble "with decency"--both essentially of the spirit of Cicero and Marcus Aurelius.

> He that charges an Enemy, doesnot shew himself more brave, than he that grapples handsomely with a Disease. To do this without abject Complaints; without Rage, and Expostulation, is a glorious Combat. To be Proof against Pain, is the clearest Mark of Greatness: It sets a Man

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170. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 171.

171. <u>Ibid</u>.; cf. Marcus Aurelius: "The best provision for a happy life is to dissect everything, view it on all sides,

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> above the Dread of Accidents. 'Tis a state of Liberty and Credit. He that's thus fenced, needs not fear nor flatter any thing. He that distinguishes himself upon these Occasions, and keeps up the Superiority of his Mind, is a Conqueror, though he dyes for't; and rides in Triumph into the other World. And when we are...proving the most formidable Evils to be tolerable; are we Insignificant all this while?[172]

No, answers Collier: "Thus to teach Resignation and Greatness, and appear in the Heights of Passive Glory, is, I hope, to live to some Purpose." Other performances may be more agreeable, but "none more useful". Besides, not everyone has to bear the trials of sickness; the hope of a future like is sustaining, for"the more we sink into Infirmities of Age, the nearer we are to immortal Youth".[173]

> All People are young in the other World. That state is an Eternal Spring, ever fresh and flourishing. Now to pass from Midnight into Noon on the sudden: To be decrepid one Minute, and all Spirit and Activity the next, must be an entertaining Change! Call you this Dying? The Abuse of Language! To fly thus swiftly from one Extream to another; to have Life flow in like a Torrent, at the lowest Ebb, and fill all the Channels at once; this must be a Service to the Case in hand. For this Reason old People will go off with Advantage.[174]

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and divide it into matter and form; to practice honesty in good earnest, and speak truth from the very Soul of you: and when you have done this, live easy and cheerful, and drowd one good action close to another, that there may not be the least empty or insignificant spaae between them." (Meditations, op. cit., p. 268.)

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In short, "to be afraid of growing Old, is to be afraid of growing Wise, and being Immortal."[175] The things of this world ultimately fail; none yet was ever fully satisfied with it. "And", declares Collier, in one of his truest utterances, "as long as Thoughts are too big for Things, we shall always be craving."[176] Would God create an appetite without an object? The "Being of Happiness is more than a Dream", one not to be realized here. But it is so well worth our inquiry that "Curiosity should almost carry us into the other World."[177] To be unwilling to embark upon even the most unknown paths in search of so sure and noble a state "is to be over-fond of our Native Country, and to hang about Life a little too meanly."[178]

Suffering and death must be met resolutely be-

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172. Collier, ibid., p. 173.

173. Ibid., p. 174.

174. Ibid.

175. Ibid., p. 175.

176. Ibid.

177. Ibid., p. 176.

178. Ibid.

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cause both are in the providential scheme. Death is our last scene to be enacted, and it behooves us to make it our best performance on the earthly stage. All life is but a preparation for this moment, which serves as a gratifying release from pain and trouble. Therefore he who has lived well will know how to die well. This entire attitude is one of pure Stoicism. In a letter on death, Seneca writes to his friend Lucilius:

> The man who fears death ... is as much a fool as the man who fears old age, for as age follows youth, so death follows age. He who's shy of dying has been shy of living, for life's given subject to the discount of death; to death we go. Only a madman, then, fears death; anticipation is for certainties, fear for uncertainties. Death's an impartial and invincible Must. Who can grumble at being on the same terms as everybody else? ...A man sometimes goes to meet death in anger: the only man who welcomes his coming cheerfully is one who has long prepared himself for it.
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And Marcus Aurelius asks, "Where is the hardship if Providence, that planted you here, orders your removal?"

> You cannot say that you are sent off by a tyrannical and unrighteous sentence; no, you quit the stage as fairly as a player does, that has his discharge from the master of the revels. ...He that appoints the entertainment is the

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179. Seneca, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 102, 103.

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> best judge of the length of it; and as he ordered the opening of the first scene, so now he gives the sign for shutting up the last. ...therefore retire in good humour, for he by whom you are dismissed means you no harm.[180]

In admonitions for right conduct, the manner of death is the final limit for advice that Collier can bestow; beyond that, it becomes speculation in the realm of theology.

There is in Collier's essays a not inconsistent admixture of Stoic and Epicurean philosophy, and Christian ethics; of all these he makes intelligent use. The Stoicism that we find is not the rigid self-denial of the earlier school, but rather that reasonable element remaining in the eclecticism of Cicero, the softened, sometimes gentle, teachings of Marcus Aurelius, the sturdiness of Seneca. Although some of their doctrines, in all their rigorous sternness, are voiced by Collier, now and then they become modified by Christian charity and sympathy. Collier is mindful of a three-fold duty--to God, to himself, and to his neighbour. Marcus Aurelius, too, had named three relations for "every man to acquit himself in", his body, his Deity, and his neighbours."[181] Usually, however, the

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180. Meditations, op. cit., p. 270.

181. Ibid., p. 218.

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Stoic ignored this third duty, or directed it, as Cicero did, toward the state. Thus Collier, as strong an individualist as the average Roman Stoic, holds to a morality which rests on a social basis. The dominant tone of his teaching is one of assurance and vigour, emphasized, perhaps, by his ready acknowledgment of realities. However stern his attitude is, there is little of asceticism in it. He recommends, if there be any withdrawing of self from the world, that it serve not merely to preserve one's spiritual integrity, but to afford the necessary taking stock of shortcomings. Such temporary seclusion is not an end in itself; it is a means of reinforcement for the inevitable struggles of one living among men. Ideally one strives for strength to withstand the onslaught of worldly temptation, and to emerge triumphant through a steady buffeting of evil. Collier is truly not above the utilitarian age of Hobbes when he admits into his scheme of values a practicality that leans toward the expedient. And at the same time that he, like Johnson later, preaches to others the "vanity of human wishes", he confidently and frankly expresses the eudaemonism of his own philosophy.

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V. METAPHYSICS AND THEOLOGY

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METAPHYSICS AND THEOLOGY

At the turn of the seventeenth century, not the easiest problem still left for the intellectual to solve was that of harmonizing the traditional doctrines of theology with the newer philosophy of reason. From whatever point of interest the serious writer took his departure -- metaphysical, religious, or ethical --, he ultimately found himself confronted with this disturbing matter, and, with increasing readiness to utilize the now-revived "light of reason", sought to work out his own scheme. In the phase of his thought that has most to do with metaphysical and religious beliefs, Collier is as firm in declaring his ideas as he is in setting forth his ethical system -- that is, insofar as mortal mind can reach, and then there is supernatural aid to rely upon. Generally, he erects his beliefs upon an intellectual basis; and, rationalizing, unless he finds the path surely marked by divine law, he

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supplements by leaning rather heavily upon tradition and Scripture. In the case, for example, of the matter of the visible world, it is equally reasonable to suppose it coexistent with God from the beginning, or produced by him from nothing. The latter Collier chooses as preferable, since it is more to the credit of God, who accordingly steps into the role of creator of all things. That there could be two Supreme Beings is in itself a contradiction made obvious by reason. And the Deity in whom the universe has its beginning and end is a self-sufficient and independent God, omnipotent and omniscient. Collier further rationalizes to postulate an endlessly good Deity from the order and the beauty of the universe, and from the mirroring in the human soul of such divine attributes as reason and free will. We find this same intellection among the Platonists: as an instance, John Smith, in his discourse Concerning the Nature and Existence of God, arrives at his conclusions by way of observing the clear imprint of divinity on the soul, and the providential workings in the physical world.[1] Both writers emphasize the Goodness of God, the attaining and sharing of which constitutes the summum bonum. That Collier believed the real essence of

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1. Select Discourses, op. cit., pp. 133-178. Smith remarks that "the whole fabric of this visible universe (is)

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future happiness to lie in such a realization has been seen in his philosophical scheme.

In this Goodness the reasons for creation have their being: from the "inexhaustible Fullness in the Divine Nature the Benignity of it" may be inferred. "God could never have any need of any thing without him":

> He was always happy in himself; Infinite admits of no Addition; he wanted no World to entertain him, no Subjects to support his Greatness, no Creatures to keep him Company: Besides, the Plan of Nature was always before him; the whole Creation lay in his Mind; he saw the Properties and Scales of Things from all Eternity; for nothing could have any Form or Force but what he intended to give it; for 'twas his Wisdom which design'd, his Will which order'd, and his Power which produc'd the World.[2]

The act of creation grew, then, out of a supreme goodness overflowing in order that others might partake thereof:

> Now since God has no empty Spaces, no unsatisfied Desires, nothing to project for himself; what could dispose him to create the Universe? Must

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whispering out the notions of a Deity," and cites St Paul, as Collier does: "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmamnet sheweth his handy-work." (Psalms, 19:1) Smith is concerned more with that "copy within ourselves" than with externals; he adds, "The schoolmen have well compared sensible and intelligible beings in reference to the Deity, when they tell us that the one do only represent vestigia Dei, the other faciem Dei." (p. 136.)

2. Of Goodness, pp. 7,8, IV.

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> it not be for foreign Advantage? And is not this the Property of Goodness? Why were conscious Beings struck out of the Idea, and Thought and Perception thrown into Spirits? Did not God do this to make a new Seat of Pleasure, and give the Creatures a share in his own Happiness?[3]

This conception is essentially that presented in the Timaeus[4] of Plato, who had borrowed it from ancient Pythagorean doctrine. Here again, resemblance between the ideas of Collier and the Cambridge Platonists may be seen by citation from John Smith's treatment of "some deductions and inferences which naturally flow from the true Knowledge of the divine nature and attributes":

> And the first is this, That all divine productions or operations that terminate in something without him, are nothing else but the free effluxes of his own omnipotent love and goodness, which always moves along with them, and never willingly departs from them. When God made the world, it was not out of a piece of self-interest, as if he had had any design to advance himself, or to enlarge his own stock of glory and happiness; for what beauty or perfection can be in this whole creation which was not before contained in himself as the free fountain of all? or what could he see out of himself that could add any thing to his own stature, which he found not already in himself? ... 'It was not for any need, or that he might gain some honour to himself from men, archangels or angels, as the tribute or rent to be paid to him from his creation", as Clemens Alexandrinus observes out of Plato.[5]

Ralph Cudworth, a later writer of the Cambridge school, likewise reflects that "the reason why God made the

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3. Ibid., p. 8.

4. Dialogues, op. cit., pp. 525,526.

5. Smith, op. cit., pp. 151, 152.

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world, was from his own overflowing and communicative goodness, that there might be other beings also happy besides him, and enjoy themselves."[6]

Nor does this Divine Goodness, once it has spilled over to make man and his world, withdraw to celestial regions to look from a distance upon struggling creatures below. There is an emanation of this throughout the universe. And in its vastness it still descends to particularities: its manifestations we see in the fruitfulness of nature, in the largely designed serviceableness of plant and animal life; in the ordered round of seasons, the movements of heavenly bodies, the "diurnal course" of material renewings; in the structure and mechanism of the human body and its preservation; and, last, in human relationships that have required God's endless patience through the ages. All these are prolonged through divine

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6. Cudworth, The True Intellectual System of the Universe (ist ed. 1678), London, 1845. Vol. III, p. 486. Cf. p. 487, note I, for editor's thorough treatment of the idea; he traces the Platonic concept to the version of creation presented by the Pythagorean, Timaeus Locrus, in his De Anima Mundi. The occurrence of this belief in St Augustine's Confessions and De Civitate Dei is suggestive of another source of contact for Collier, who uses both of these works, not here, however, in his treatment of creation.

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power:

> 'Tis his Omnipotence that makes his Wisdom and Goodness effectual, and succeed to the length of his Will. Thus his Decrees are immutable, and all his Councils stand. ...'Twas his Power which made his Ideas fruitful, and struck the World out of his Thought. 'Twas this which answer'd the Model of the Creation, gave Birth to Time and Nature, and brought them forth at his first Call: ... 'Tis the Divine Power which is the basis of all Things; which continues the Vigour of Second Causes, and keeps the Sun and Moon in repair. This holds every thing constant to Appointment, and true to the first Plan. Thus the Revolutions of Seasons, the Support of Animals, the Perpetuity of Species is carried on and maintained. Without this, things would soon run Riot, and ramble out of Distinction, the Succours of Life would be cut off, and Nature drop into Decay.[7]

Richard Hooker has expounded the same argument: the obedience of creatures to the law of nature is the stay of the whole world, and the "rule of natural agents that work by simple necessity, is the determination of the wisdom of God..."[8] If in lesser matters divine benevolence may seem to be withheld, it is because God does not intend every desire to be satisfied. Possibly individual cases are receiving punishment; in that case, their rescue would prove their ruin, and "to take off the Hardship, is to lessen the Reward." Thus, "if our good Nature

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7. Of Power, pp. 64,65.

8. Hooker, op. cit., p. 228; cf. also p. 207.

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was always gratified, the Schemes of Providence might he disturb'd, and the Measures of Justice broken."[9]

As a part of this whole system, physical laws are perpetuated through "second causes." Collier's specula-on such problems as the duality of spirit and matter has been remarked as corollary to his psychological interest in soul and body. And, expanding that interest, he again concurs in Malebranchian theory: it is, for example, not impossible for spirit to move matter, else motion would not exist; matter is "nothing but extension variously figured". And extension itself "implies no Necessity of being moved: It supposes no more than a bare Capacity for such an Event."[10] All matter is the same --none thinks, none is sensible--; and that "the full notion of Corporeity is comprized within the three Dimensions is as clear as that Two and Two makes Four".[11] Therefore the possibility of action cannot lie in insensible matter; the power of motion is somehow transferred by supernatural agency: it is "either an incommunicable Perfection of the

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9. Of Power, pp. 64,65.
10. A Thought, II, p. 84.
11. Ibid., p. 80.

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Supreme Being, or else a sort of Prerogative Royal, which he is pleased to keep in his Hands, that we may be the more sensible of our Dependance."[12] Generally, Collier concludes,

> The Regularity of Motion, visible in the great Variety and Curiosity of Bodies, and the constant and even Revolutions of some of them, is a Demonstration that the whole Mass of Matter is under the Conduct of a mighty Intelligence.[13]

We find reflection of a Cartesian principle when Collier explains that "all Motion is perform'd by Resistance, and Resistance supposes Contact, and Contact requires a Superficies, and this implies Extension; so that where Extension is absent, the other Requisites must fail of course."[14] These comments are indicative of the current

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12. Ibid., p. 85.

13. Ibid., p. 84.

14. Ibid., p. 83. It is no solution of the problem of how matter and spirit cohere, declares Collier, to say that the greater fragments of matter are connected with hooked particles. This theory he holds as ridiculous, especially as an explanation of the soul.

Another Greek concept reappearing in seventeenth-century speculation was that of an "inter-planetary aether", used by Kepler, for instance, to explain movements of other planets by the sun. (Dampier Whetham, History, op.cit., p. 161.) Collier speaks of the belief of the Stoics and

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interest in the theory of motion.

In Collier's mind, a materialistic explanation does not suffice for forces that are illimitable, and therefore incomprehensible to human intellect. "No Conclusions can exceed the Evidence of their Principles; you may as well build a Castle in the Air, as raise a Demonstration upon a Bottom of Uncertainty." And what man is "so vain as to pretend to know the Extent of Nature, and the Stretch of Possibility, and the Force of the Powers invisible?"[15] Certainly now we see in a glass darkly, but we gaze with the hope that sometime the obscurity may be lightened.

Perhaps less mysterious than the external manifestations of the divine are the attributes of man, which fit into the large metaphysical scheme no less neatly than

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Church Fathers in animation of the sun and stars; if this be true, he says, the sun would fully perceive itself. "And supposing the Union not Vital, yet if there is an Intelligence seated in the Centre of these luminous Bodies; if there is a Regent Spirit posted in the Sun to govern his Motion, to recruit the Consumptions, and keep the Balance even: If the Matter stands thus, such a Superintendent must be pleased with the Dignity of the Charge, and the glorious Effects consequent upon't." (Goodness, IV, p. 8)

15. A Short View, p. 124.

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the "prerogative-royal" of motion. God, in creating man, immediately bestowed upon him mental powers: we recall that "the mind is Heaven-born"; coming directly out of the hands of the Deity, so that "we are nearer related to the Supreme Being than to Father or Mother".[16] But what of man's exact relation to his Maker? Is he determined by God in all respects? Here, in this matter of metaphysical as well as ethical significance, Collier, partly because of his intense interest in the moral life of man, stoutly asserts the doctrine of Free Will; he still recognizes, however, that one's existence is open to the many moves of chance--an element that seems to serve as a kind of "second cause" to effect the larger ends of the deified Free Will --the only Will that does, after all, enjoy liberty. But when man exercises his faculty for rational conduct, he is exemplifying the fact that he is not a toy in the hands of fate --he is a being divinely endowed with the power of intelligent choice, impelled, however, toward Good![17] Similarly the powers of reasoning and of perception, the sentiments of pleasure and pain, the direction of the mystical "laws of union"[18] of body and soul--all these proceed immediately from God.

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16. Cf. p. 85 above, "Psychology".

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Collier reminds us that the words of St Paul --"In Him we Live, Move, and have our Being"[19] -- bear a more literal interpretation than is usually imagined. John Smith, too, declares that our minds admit of only "One Infinite source of all that Reason and Understanding which themselves partake of, in which they live, move, and have their Being."[20] Malebranche similarly believed that upon God our souls depend in all manner of ways:

> For as it is He who makes them feel Pleasure and Pain, and all the other Sensations, by the Natural Union He has instituted between them and their Bodies, which is no other than His Decree and General Will: So it is He, who by Means of the Natural Union he has plac'd be-

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17. Similar views, already referred to in the section on Psychology, are expressed by Hooker and Malebranche.

18. These seem to work to a limited extent; bodily functions proceed on the whole without "thought and inspection of the soul". In the case of digestion, for instance, "If the Soul was order'd to superintend the Work, to assign the Route, and convey the Nourishment to its respective Quarters; if this was the Case, 'twould spend a great deal of time and give us almost a full Employment. But all this Trouble is taken off our Hands: The Body directs it self; the affair goes on by the Scheme of Providence, and the Force of the Machine." (Goodness, IV, p. 16)

19. Acts. XVII, 28.

20. Smith, op. cit., p. 168. Cited also by Willey, op.cit., p. 142.

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> tween the Will of Man, and the Representation of Ideas, included in the immensity of the Divine Essence, gives them to know all that they know: Nor is this Natural Union anything but his General Will. ... Let us persist then in our perswasion ... that 'tis from His power they [souls] receive all their Modifications; that 'tis in His Wisdom they discover all their Idea's; and 'tis by His Love they are influenc'd with all their regulated Motions: And ... let us believe with St Paul, that He is not far from every one of us, and that in Him we live, and move, and have our Being.[21]

So strong is the essence of divinity infused into men that, according to Collier, there results a "community of being":

> We are all cast in the same Mould, allied in our Passions, and in our Faculties... All Mankind is as it were one great Being, divided into several Parts; and every Part having the same Properties and Affections with Another.[22]

Collier repeats this conception again in his dialogue Of Honesty: the same attributes "run thro' the whole Mass of Mankind", and, if there is no natural affinity felt, it is because of "the Sameness of their Natures",

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21. Recherche, op. cit., Vol. I, Bk. III, Pt. II, Ch. VI, pp. 121, 122.

22. Of General Kindness, I, pp. 149-150.

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because "they are so much one Being, that they can be no more related, than a Man can be of Kin to himself." He adds some curious speculation:

> So much alike they are, that, it may be, 'tis not easy to assign the Reason why one Man is not another: or to speak more strictly, how the whole human Nature, can make any more than one Person: Motion often travels a great Way, and drives thro' a long Extent of Matter, now Thinking is as quick as Lightning; how comes it about then, that the Communication of Spirits is no more enlarg'd; that Consciousness should be confin'd to a single Body, that Thoughts should not pass from Man to Man, and like Flames catch upon each other? If there was such mutual Penetration among human Minds, all Mortals would be like several Pieces of the same Cloth tack'd together. This would be an incorporating Union with a Witness, and one Soul would be as it were the Limb of another. But God who has thought fit to multiply Spirits, has bounded their Activity, stop'd the Progress of Sentiment; and not suffer'd Parts of the same Nature to run into each other.[23]

That such a fantastic condition of "mutual penetration" --with flame catching upon flame--might prove desirable, Collier implies by carrying over into his vision of immortality this figure of "community of being":

> Union and Alliance, and good Will, are so intimate, and active among the Blessed, they grow in a manner into a single Being, and constitute

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23. Of Honesty, p. 69, IV.

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> a Mass of Happiness, and one Person is as it were a Limb of another.[24]

But however much we may presage a future state, or discover the faciem Dei, we must remain aware of human limitations, of the fact that "no finite or derived Excellency is any deifying quality".

> No Perfection, which is not unalterably fix'd in its Subject, and absolutely sui juris, can be divine. Independency is the only sovereign and distinguishing Prerogative, and the Line which cuts between God and a Creature.[25]

Here we see in Collier a reflection of the Platonic "copy" idea: perfection exists only with God, where "'tis lodged in the Spirits of just Men made Perfect, and shines out in the Angelick Orders."

> All created Goodness is but Copy, and Communication: 'Tis originally in the Supreme Being; there 'tis possessed in a Sovereign Degree, without Limits or Alloy, without variableness, or shadow of turning.[26]

In view of such definite assertions, one may well

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24. Of Religious Temper, IV, p. 124.

25. Sermon IX, p. 304.

26. Of Goodness, IV, p. 5.

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ask the source of Collier's religious certainty. In so doing, we discover his changing opinion of the respective merits of revelation, reason, and supernatural guidance as personal aids to be something of an index to the religious temper of his age. With his calm disregard for any difference between "natural" and "revealed" religion, he takes an attitude characteristic of John Smith's Discourses, in assuming that the "revealed" is "natural", or that there is no need for distinguishing between the two as values. Collier reiterates the necessity for the right use of reason. "But still we are to remember, that the Laws of God, discover'd either by natural Light, or the Inspir'd Writings, are the grand Rule..."[27] Again, in a plea that man cultivate a noble spirit, supported by faith in God, he avers that "we have the Light of Nature, and Revelation to direct us in our Journey". He believes that the Scriptures are indisputably the Word of God, and that the "Christian religion, as contained in the New Testament, is the last Revelation which God intends to make to the world."[28] In Collier's dialogue Of Honesty he reflects the current interest in Scriptural

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27. Of Honesty, IV, p. 61.

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interpretation. One speaker, having agreed "that there lies an Appeal from the Court of Conscience, and that the Inspir'd Writings are the infallible Guides", queries, as many a one was likewise doing:

> Now since the Reasonableness of our own Desires must be examin'd by the Law, and the Testimony ... if I must after all try the Lawfulness of my Desires by a higher Rule; I had better have done this at first: This had been the shortest Way. If my own Inclinations are not the Measure of Equity, to what purpose should I enquire into them? Why am I bidden to consult myself?

Philalethes, or Collier, explains:

> Under favour, tho' the Law of God is the only warrantable Direction; tho' the Doing as we would be done by, must be try'd by this Touchstone; it does not follow from hence, that the subordinate Rule is of no Use. For the Scriptures speak often in general Terms: They don't descend to every Case, nor point upon every Circumstance. Thus in some Emergencies a Man must determine for himself, and be left to the Guidance of his own Reason. 'Tis true, we are bound to follow the Scriptures where they declare themselves, and decide upon the Question. But when the Holy Oracle is silent,

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28. Sermon V, p. 137. In one of his prefaces, he reremarks his borrowing aid "from Reveal'd Religion" to "reinforce Morality and make the Motives to Virtue more prevalent" in the ensuing essays. ("To the Reader", IV, vi.)

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> when the Voice of Heaven cannot be heard, we must look to the Light within us, and make the most of our Understandings. Now when Revelation does not interpose, when there's no Resolution from the Court above, when the Law does not come up to the Case; what better Expedient can there be than to suppose ourselves in our Neighbour's Condition?[29]

But people "are somewhat backward in making foreign, unrelated Enquiries":

> They don't love to trouble themselves with searching for unprofitable Truth: It must shine with a strong Light, and come full upon their Understandings; otherwise 'tis odds if they take any Notice of it.[30]

And later Philalethes continues:

> Tho' the Scripture ought to be the Measure of our Practice, when it decides the Question; yet we can't always consult this Rule: Our Occasions are sometimes sudden; Business won't stay, and we are oblig'd to resolve upon the Spot. This Case may frequently happen in Journeys, in Company, in Commerce. But tho' a Man does not always carry a Bible about with him, he is never without his Thoughts: Tho' his Memory may fail him; tho' he can't recover the Text, to clear his Doubt; yet he may read his own Mind. And here, if he'll take any Pains, he may spell out his Duty, and find the Work of the Law written in his Heart.[31]

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29. Of Honesty, IV, p. 80.

30. Ibid., p. 81. Hooker generalizes in the same fashion on the general lack of interest in truth. (Ecclesiastical Polity, op. cit., p. 198.)

31. Ibid., p. 86.

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Why, then, are the "Law and the Prophets" necessary?

> For if every Man has a full Idea of Justice in Himself; if his own Desires are so certain a Guide, what need is there of a Revelation? What occasion for Miracles and Messages from Heaven, to instruct him in that which he knows already?[32]

The Laws of Nature were proclaimed on Mount Sinai and handed down to "secure them from oblivion":

> 'Twas to revive them upon the Soul, to refresh the Memory, and maintain the Direction of Conscience: 'Twas to preserve the Notion of Virtue clear and uncounterfeited, ... to prevent the Principles of Equity from being perverted. ... Thus, if our Desires are unlawful, if Ignorance misleads us, if our Judgment misses the Mark; this test will discover the Error, this infallible System will set us right.[33]

Scriptural interpretation remains open to the discretion of the reader, except for factual knowledge: "to doubt the Meaning of some part of the Bible may be done without a Fault, but "to question any Facts in Scripture would be to renounce Christianity"[34]-- all of which leaves hanging the problem of the freedom with which one may handle traditionally accepted information. An instance of Coll-

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32. Ibid., p. 87.
33. Ibid., p. 88.
34. A Short View, p. 264.

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ier's application is his considering as true the "facts of Christ's life", since they are based on written evidence.

Yet another attitude is seen in a sermon of Collier's which he concludes with a discourse pointing to the necessity of supernatural aid. If men exercised impartial judgment, and reason, then the mere "showing forth" of religion would be enough for "belief and practice."

> But when we consider what Blindness there is in our understandings, what Perverseness in our Wills, how we are often entangled with Prejudices, and byass'd with sensual Affections, we shall find that bare Nature is very insufficient to conduct us to Truth and Virtue. If we consider, that as Men are willing to believe any thing upon slight Proofs which is agreeable to their Wishes, so they are hardly brought to yield their Assent to unacceptable Truths; to Truths, which rise up in Opposition to their strongest Inclinations. Now the Doctrines of Christianity pressing hard against favourite Vices, makes Men not willing to allow it a fair Examination; and to catch at any shadow of a Reason for a Disproof. ... When our Thoughts are so busily employ'd about this World, we should be in great Danger to forget the other ... unless we were often admonish'd of our duty by a more vigilant Reason, and aided in the Performance by a greater Strength than our own. From whence it follows, that a bare Proposal of the Reasons of Christianity, are not sufficient for Practice, unless they are fortify'd, and the Weight of Things press'd by a supernatural Power. ...This animates our Resolutions, regulates our Choice, and sublimates our Pleasures. By this Assistance, Reason stands upon

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> its guard, and the Affections are call'd off from Folly. Without this inward Teaching, the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, would be much an Over-match for the best Instructions: Without this, written Revelation would fall short, and the Ministrations of Men prove ineffectual. ... Nothing but a supernatural Force can overbear the Prejudices of Flesh and Blood; nothing can reform the Will, and mollify the Heart, but he that made it.
> [35]

This attitude is essentially that of the Cambridge Platonists: in the words of Basil Willey, revelation had "not ceased after the Apostolic Age, and consequently it was not confined to the pages of Holy Writ. God is the perpetual source of illumination to all who can live the life of Reason, and the function of Scripture is to confirm the truths which are discoverable by the light of Nature."[36] This dependence upon an "inner certitude" strengthened by revelation finds its full development in such rationalists as Herbert of Cherbury, John Smith, and Ralph Cudworth, who, in accepting the Platonic primacy of ideas, gave body to their mysticism, and vindicated their rejection of any element in theology that they could not intellectually justify. That the subjective assurance to be

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35. Sermon XI, pp. 367-370.

36. Willey, op. cit., p. 137.

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received from the inner-engraved "work of the law" has been traditionally relied upon is evinced in its expression by Hooker: men carry written in their hearts the universal law of mankind, the Law of Reason, whereby they judge as by a rule that God has given for that purpose. Divine law alone teaches how to glorify God, and in supernatural matters it guides; in "moral actions, divine law helpeth exceedingly the law of reason to guide man's life."[37]

For all of Collier's ostensible acceptance of an inner principle as guide, he is yet not quite clear of the theological fence that separated such camps as the more extreme Cambridge Platonists on the one side, and the Scriptural literalists on the other. By no means does he reject written Revelation; yet to fit the experience of the man of reason, he obviously uses the term to mean a personal revelation-- an inflowing that strengthens natural reason; and, again obviously, he feels that there is an harmonious fusing of these two principles of enlightenment, the one to validate the other. He is at one with Pascal when the latter declares that the mind of man

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37. Ecclesiastical Polity, op. cit, p. 281.

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is too weak to arrive alone at the true principles of theology, and that he must be led to such knowledge by supernatural power. But, when we recall other utterances of Collier -- and herein lies his inconsistency --, we see that he cannot go on with Pascal to say that such principles "are above nature and above reason."[38]

Collier is truly a man of his time when he recognizes that the Scriptures were, after all, written by men for men; accordingly, precepts must be clothed in sensuous imagery to meet "vulgar apprehensions". Hence the gorgeous trappings of scenes such as those that depict a brilliant setting for the life hereafter; only the stronger, purer intellects can evolve from cold ideology, stripped of concrete images, concepts of an immortal life. And the "generality" must utilize Scriptural teaching, since they are lacking in imaginative stretch, and are unable to rely upon reason. Their understanding of God is limited:

> The Vulgar have but a strait Notion of Infinity. Their Philosophy is most likely to conclude that he who knows all the Concerns of our World, may know all Things: So extensive a Perfection as this looks like the Ocean to

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38. Thoughts, Op. cit., Pt.I, Chap.I, p. 40.

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> them; they cannot see over it, and therefore are apt to imagine it has no Bounds. So that 'tis most convenient for them to believe, that such transcendant Degrees of Knowledge belong to none but God himself.[39]

Collier recognizes the large part played by the emotional, subjective element in the maintenance of certain traditional doctrines; we see an instance of this in his treatment of the final judgment, which he considers in two sermons written in sweeping style. The certainty of this judgment is universally agreed upon, acknowledged alike by "Jews and Gentiles, and Greeks and Barbarians." Collier cites Josephus, Plato, Cicero, Justin Martyr, and Tertullian as authorities. He rationalizes to explain that the doctrine "may be in a great Measure made out from the Remorse and Applauses of Conscience, and has gain'd Ground where there was nothing but natural Reason, and the Attributes of God to prove it."[40] And since the entire race of man is to be judged, "this Decree of Providence should be either discoverable by the Light of Nature, or reveal'd to our first Parents, and so kept

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39. Sermon IX, p. 305. This attitude toward the "vulgar" understanding, and the need to "doctor" presentation for it, is seen in John Smith's Discourses.

40. Sermon I, p. 9.

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up by a general and uninterrupted Tradition."[41] He describes the complete ruin of the world, when all harmony of nature shall cease, and the foundations of the earth are literally put out of their courses, a picture that is powerful in its vividness to smite with terror the "vulgar apprehension"; here Collier is evidently mindful of his own remark that the "greatest Part of Mankind must have remote Truths ... conveyed by sensible objects", and their understandings struck forcibly through the sanse organs.[42] This felt need to clothe ideas in language appealing to mundane experience is, perhaps, partially the reason for Collier's version of immortality.

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41. Ibid., p. 9.

42. Sermon IX, p. 289. He narrates, pp. 12-28, Sermons, the events of Judgment Day, in all its horror and solemnity, when all things will unravel into their first chaos, into a confusion finally to be ended by fire. The The heavens will kindle into flame, springs of fire will burst out of the earth, and in the eruption whole countries will be rent through. Collier suggests something of a Dantesque notion for the punishment of sins, the intemperate to be punished in those senses abused, the imposter to have his lot with those who are ready to deceive, and so on.

43. Resurrection, IV, p. 391.

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The doctrine of Resurrection he characterizes as one "of pure Revelation", that "Natural Light and human Reason could never reach."[43] His ideas on this subject are contained largely in his dialogue Of the Resurrection, an expansion of an earlier sermon entitled The Difference Between the Present and Future State of Our Bodies.[44] Collier here cites the Platonic belief that the body is a dark prison, a twilight, from which the captive spirit is ultimately released.[45] The nearer the soul approaches death, and the less confined it is to "two yards of Flesh and Blood", the more clear is its vision. Part of the Platonic account of the soul Collier rejects --that of its state of pre-existence. But he does retain the Platonic elements that have been infused into Christian doctrine: the spirit is weighed down and corrupted by the

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44. Licensed 23 April, 1686, London. The dialogue stands last in Part IV of the Moral Essays, 1709. To avoid the repetitions in the conversational style of the dialogue, quotations here are taken from the sermon, unless the expanded treatment in the later piece includes new ideas.

45. He reviews other pagan conceptions that have come to be part of the mythological history of the soul.

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flesh during its earthly sojourn, and is refined and purified after reaching the skies; and there is the implication in Collier of stages, or degrees, in the process of soul-refinement, before it attains perfection --a suggestion of the elaborate scheme of purification found in the Timaeus.[446] In this new state both the mind and the senses will enjoy God: in the account in Revelation, "the Senses are plainly invited". And why not?

> Has God made this Material World only for a State of Imperfection? Unless the Soul can reach some Satisfaction through the Senses, as far as we can understand, Capacity must sleep, Happiness be maim'd, and the Body rais'd to no Effect. Abstracted Notions and Spiritual Delights, all subtiliz'd and sublimated to Thought, are apt to fly over the Understandings of the Generality. Such a nice Happiness, without a Mixture of sensible Advantage, might possibly be too fine for the Affections to take hold of at present. For this Reason, 'tis probable, Heaven is describ'd by a state of Pleasure suited to our Apprehensions, and by Images of Greatness we are acquainted with. Thus in Holy Scripture, 'tis call'd Paradise, and a Kingdom; Crowns, Thrones, Splendid Solemnities, are Part of the Representation. And as these Expressions are not to be strain'd to a literal Accomplishment, so neither are they to be expounded out of all affinity and Resemblance. For since the Soul has suffer'd in the Body, why should it not be pleas'd under something of the same Circumstances? Since

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46. The soul is made to advance from star to star, in various reincarnated forms, until the original state of

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> Matter has been instrumental to Virtue, why should it not be productive of Delight? [47]

After death, the soul enters at once into a state of paradise not yet complete -- a period of "separation" from the body.

> Whether the Soul in the State of Separation acts independently of Matter, purely by the Strength of her own powers, or whether in order to the better understanding her self and other Beings, she makes use of a Body of Air shaped out into such Limbs and Sences as she hath occasional employment for; whether or no the want of her old companion is supplied this way, is uncertain. But whatever abatements of happiness the pious Soul may suffer for want of a suitable Body between the time of Death, and the General Judgment, then we are sure this inconvenience will be removed, and it will be repossessed of its antient Seat out of which Violence or Nature had forced it. [48]

This doctrine, Collier explains, "helps the meanest understanding to conceive the Nature of Happiness of the other World": the "generality", always "used to dwell in these houses of clay, ... would not have been so well able to

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perfection is reached; but a completely virtuous soul is at once purified after death, and returns to its first image of God. (Dialogues, op. cit., pp. 535-536.)

47, Of Religious Temper, IV, pp. 111, 112.

48. Sermon of the Difference Between the Present and Future State of Our Bodies, op. cit., p. 1.

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apprehend the happiness of pure and uncompounded Spirits", but would tend to think themselves deprived of "no small part" at the loss of their bodies. From the verse, "And as we have born the Image of the earthy, we shall also bear the Image of the heavenly", what "can we more rationally infer" than that our visible selves shall be quitted but for a time and then restored? To show the advantage of assuming the "heavenly", Collier develops the sermon in three stages: he enumerates the present inconveniences to which bodies are subject; he tries to prove the "qualities of glorified bodies" opposed to those defects; and he draws certain "practical conclusions" from these differences. Our bodies are inconvenient in their 'earthy' state on five counts, each of which Collier treats with respect to the evil done the soul--the physical uselessness in infancy, the short continuance of 'their best condition', our liability through them to pain and to passion, and their interference with the pursuit of the mind after truth. Some curious speculation occurs on the fourth, the liability to pain:

> It must be confessed that the state of separation does not exempt us from having ungrateful perceptions, but in some respects makes us more obnoxious to them if we lye under any moral indisposition: For when the Soul is disengaged from the oppression and soil of the body,

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> it will act upon itself with greater vigour, and make the Springs of Thought go much smarter than they do now; so that ill men will be made much more powerful to torment themselves; insomuch that it may be a question whether all the Fire, and Feinds in Hell, are a greater punishment to the wicked than the guilt of their own Consciences.[49]

For three chief reasons, we may rationally conclude, God has made the Soul sensible of pain: that we may be more careful to prevent physical decay; that the virtue of the soul may "have the fairer tryal"; and that we may correct our vices. God has mercifully "bound the Soul so gently to the Body" that a short struggle, if "boisterous", will loose it.[50] But the "glorified body" will suffer no inconveniences: it will be greatly refined, and consequently "fitter for the Soul to act with", and it shall be changed into an "exalted and vigorous condition":

> All grossness and feculency which adheres to it now, shall be purged off; all unevenness and roughness of parts will then be filed into an exact serviceableness, and the Soul will no longer labour under the disorders of an unwieldy

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49. Ibid., pp. 11, 12.

50. Collier here cites the maxim of Epicurus: "it is impossible for that pain which is violant to continue long". Ibid., p. 17, (Epicurus, op. cit., p. 131.)

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> and uncompliant constitution... .That quality which we call Heaviness, which hinders our Motion, ... will then no more molest us ...[51]

At this point Collier is more explicit in his dialogue Of the Resurrection: In this "glorified" body, "the Parts will be rang'd in a Figure, and agitated with a Motion, exactly fitted to Activity and Ease." And because the heaviness confining us to earth, through gravitation, will be removed,

> The Body will be refin'd to a nearer Resemblance with the Ambient Air; the Activity of the Spirits will be improv'd; and the Soul, in all Likelihood, have greater Force to set them at work.[52]

The senses will be "larger" -- comprehending more objects at once, and farther-reaching; and they will be quicker in that "whatever Notices they convey to the Mind, will be more intimately and vigorously communicated."[53] The organs of sight and hearing will be continued, and "probably that of Smelling too"; perhaps even new senses will be formed. Celestial bodies will be graceful and august, and fortified against disease and accidents. How this metamorphosis will come about is open to speculation:

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51. Ibid.

52. Of the Resurrection, IV, p. 426.

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> Possibly the Bodies of the Saints may have such an advantagious change from the Laws of Motion, from the Figure of their Parts, or the Temperature of the climate, as may preserve them from suffering any Alteration, or Loss of Parts: Or if the Parts fly off, as they do now, 'tis easie with God to furnish a Supply, without the preparatory Use of Eating, or Concoction ....Whether this Privilege will result from new Mechanism, or Supernatural Succour, from settled Providence or Miracle, is neither material to dispute, nor possible to determine. That glorified Bodies will continue thus everlastingly undecay'd, we are sure.[54]

This concept of immortality grows partly out of the conviction that no matter perishes: it reverts instead to the use of the First Cause. And "there will be old Matter enough reserv'd for the Business of Identity".[55] Ralph Cudworth, in his Intellectual System of the Universe (1678), similarly speculates upon the state of the soul after death. He asks, like Collier, does it not continue to use a "vehicle", or body? The belief that the soul

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53. Ibid., pp. 426, 427.

54. Ibid., p. 433.

55. Ibid., p. 393. This explanation is offered when one of the speakers asks, "Don't you consider, when a man is dead, the Parts unclasp and fly off, the Atomes remove to great Distances, run into several Forms, and make part of the Bodies of other creatures"? (p. 392)

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"is by no means stripped of all bodily shape" Cudworth holds "to be plainly the teaching of the 'old philosophic Cabala' "; the "gross, earthy part" is shed, but a "vestment" remains "to give to the departed soul locality and capacity of motion".[56] Cudworth goes on to harmonize this doctrine with that of the Christian Resurrection; they agree on two points: "that the supreme happiness of the soul is not to be found in disjunction from all body", and "that its future bodily investment cannot be of a gross, earthy nature". "The spiritual resurrection-doctrine of St Paul is an inspired affirmation of the Neo-Platonic dream of a 'luciform' and 'celestial' vehicle for the purified soul." Cudworth finds a close parallel to exist between certain corollary ideas and those of the "Pythagoric cabala". The change in the habiliments of the soul, as he sees it, "will consist not in merely 'gilding and varnishing over of the outside',

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56. Cf. Tullock, op. cit., p. 280. He has here summed up admirably the greatly expanded discussion in the Intellectual System. Vol. III, p. 310, ff.

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but in a spiritual transformation, whereby we shall be fashioned in the likeness of Christ's glorious body."[57] Collier emphasizes this same Scriptural inference[58] to build up his vision of the new bodies --Christlike, though perhaps faintly tinged -- with "no Marks of Age or Imperfection, of Obscurity or Meanness, ... all Beauty and Brightness... . There will be no disfiguring Blemish, no Scars remaining, excepting those of wounds receiv'd in their Master's Cause, which may then shine out with a more orient, and distinguishable Lustre."[59] Collier makes no mention of Cudworth or of any current interest in the theory which he expounds; he gives no indication of knowing that in 1654 Henry More had published his work on the Kabbalah. But he does reveal elsewhere, if not here, an acquaintance with Pythagorean doctrines. In this dialogue he draws his citations that pertain to this idea from Tertullian's De resurrectione carnis, and

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57. Ibid., p. 281.

58. Philippians, 3:21. Christ "shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body..."

59. Of the Resurrection, p. 431.

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from Minucius Felix.[60] The Kabbalistic philosophy seen in Milton constitutes yet another very possible seventeenth-century influence.[61]

If Collier at one point in his theology seems to glance backward to ancient doctrines, so does he at another, look to what is fairly modern. In consideration of the verbal fire that he looses upon evils of one kind or another, his attitude toward the Fall, and his treatment of the Devil are noticeably lacking in violence; in fact, he has little to say of either; and Collier's was no tongue to be silent had these topics, always fruitful grist for the ecclesiastical mill, intrigued him with as sure a fascination as they did many another divine

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60. The earliest Latin apologist for Christ. Nothing is known of him, except that his book is dated about 160.

61. Cf. Denis Saurat's treatment of Milton as a Kabbalist in his Milton, Man and Thinker, (N.Y., 1925), and as well his Literature and Occult Tradition (London, 1930.).

A voicing of a belief in the future expansion of "earthy" faculties is seen in Timothy Nourse: When the soul soars to God, "Fruition will not exclude appetite, because the Faculty will still be enlarg'd to receive greater Measures of untasted Joys,... and so by an infinite Progress and Succession of New Beauties, 'twill ever advance itself into Perfection..." (A Discourse Upon the Nature and Faculties of Man, in Several Essayes: With some Considerations upon the Occurrances of Humane Life. London, 1686. p. 180.)

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of the century. True, Collier on occasion seems to accept literally the "curse of Adam", as when he remarks that our first parents "before the Fall, were much higher, and more happy, than the biggest of their posterity".[62] But was Adam "expell'd Eden" into a wretched, sinful state of knowledge? No:

> He found a comfortable Banishment: He was not thrown into a Dungeon, condemn'd to Darkness, and exposed to Starving and Stench. 'Tis granted, He was sadly reduced; the Communication with Heaven was cut off; He lost the honour of conversing with his Maker; He was not supply'd as formerly without Trouble; He was under a necessity of Labour; He was obnoxious to Pain, brought under the Force of Time, and Death and Diseases were let loose upon Him. But after all, this was rather an Abatement of Happiness, than a State of Misery: The Divine Bounty was far from being withdrawn: There was a large Remainder of Blessing; a noble Provision for Pleasure and a Convenience left behind...[63]

This passage, occurring as it does in an essay that extols God's goodness, actually is part of the proof of divine benevolence. Collier again rises to the defense of his Creator to point a scornful finger at moral weaklings who

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62. Of the Resurrection, p. 419.

63. Of Goodness, IV, p. 12; in Of Religious Temper, (p. 128), he says that "Happiness without abasement, has taken her Leave of this World ever since Adam".

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would lay "the Blame of their Disobediance on the Defect of their Nature":

> They think they are safe enough; they imagine they have no less than the Justice of God for their Security ... Now that no Man might fix himself in a wicked Life by such a fatal Mistake, and aggravate his Crimes by accusing God Almighty; the Apostle expressly affirms, that God is far from placing us in an unavoidable state of Sin; that giving the least Countenance to it, is utterly inconsistent with the Notion of such a Being.[64]

Man is tempted to evil, not to satisfy the divine curiosity, to be caught in a snare laid for innocence and thus betrayed into wrongdoing, but to show God "the Integrity of his Servants", and to improve his own virtue.[65] The frequent excuse that man is saddled with a body is pointless:

> ...a Body is no more capable of sinning than a Stock or Stone. 'Tis a senseless inanimate Thing, without any manner of Thought or Apprehension; and therefore can't be under the Direction and Censure of a Law. But Sin is seated in the rational Part, and supposes Judgment and Consent: But these are Faculties the Body has nothing to do with...[66]

Collier does believe that there has been "natural light

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64. Sermon XI, pp. 378, 379.

65. Ibid., p. 380.

66. Ibid., pp. 382, 383.

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left to the sons of Adam since the Fall",[67] and accordingly lifts the problem of sin to something more of an ethical question to be solved rationally than the traditional orthodox view would have it. Here again he aligns himself with the Platonists, who, to quote Basil Willey, "were opposed to many of the implications of the Fall doctrine, in particular to the customary depreciation of human nature and human Reason..."[68] Collier is but showing the rationalistic tendency of his day toward belief in the "innocence of error" and the tolerance to be accorded it. Again, perhaps he was rejecting a theological tradition repellent to his first interest--morality.

The doctrines of the Fall and of Original Sin are corollary to a belief in the importance of Satan as a living force. Collier gives him but small space in his pages. His few references are lifted in their literal sense out of common Scriptural usage, or are such catch-terms as fall from a pen facile in Biblical phraseology. But rarely does he bring out the traditional devil-machinery that contemporary divines exulted to drag with them

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67. Cf. Willey, op. cit., p. 137.

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into the pulpit. Satan, although "busie in all places", chooses solitude as his vantage ground, "from whence he plays his Batteries with most Success"; the prime example of attack is that made upon the Saviour in the wilderness. In the words of "the Apostle", "we have more formidable Enemies to encounter than Flesh and Blood, ... we wrestle with Principalities and Powers, and ... the Kingdom of Darkness is in Arms against us".[69] The devil works his ends by lying and stratagem, "being not allow'd to exert the Strength of his Nature".

> What is it but false Suggestions, wrong Reasoning, and deceitful Colours, which gave force to his Temptations, and bring Mankind within his Power... His Business therefore is to throw Lies into the Mind, to paint an imaginary Scene, and draw Things out of Feature and Complection. 'Tis to mis-state the Case and the Consequence; To extend the Advantage, to heighten the Pleasure, and conceal the Danger of an ill Action: This is the Devil's Business, and his Diversion too, is he has any ...[70]

The very absence of more pyrotechnics against the "Prince

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68. Ibid., p. 136.

69. Of Solitude, III, 2. 267.

70. Of Lying, IV, p. 195.

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of Darkness" suggests Collier's approach toward a lack of sustained "Satan-consciousness" --an attitude representative of the vanishing importance of this mythological figure: for the influence of Satan, as a really powerful force in theology, slipped more and more as the century waned. On the whole, Collier tends to be unimpressed by demonology; to give full credence to that or other superstitious beliefs would be to outrage sanity and the God-given "light of nature". Rationalizing one element out of, or into, a given system is not a far cry from rationalizing yet others in, or out, of it. But Satan still remained too much on a par with his Maker to be ignored unceremoniously; and "the vulgar" were not alone in feeling that to reject one was to reject another.[71] We note, for instance, the prominence given the devil by such men as Glanvill, Brown, More, and Smith.

If, in some of these attitudes mentioned, Collier seems to interpret broadly, and even to lend a ready ear to, ancient pagan conceptions, it is just as characteristic of him to insist upon literal meanings, and to dogmatize

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71. Cf. Willey, op. cit., p. 55.

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fiercely, perhaps narrowly, as he has been charged with dling. He was well equipped to fight his battles of doctrinal controversy, not alone by his daring spirit and merciless pen, but by his aptness at turning his wide knowledge to his own good use. His exact and broad learning in the history of theology and comparative religion is attested to by references in his essays, by his citations, often translated, and, in a larger way, by the then almost unparalleled scope of his Ecclesiastical History. Similarities between Collier and others of like position have been noted, not in an attempt, however, to "trace" his ideas to a particular source. This comment is particularrelevant to the mention of Richard Hooker, in whose opinions Collier concurs with respect to certain basic Anglican tenets. The fact that he makes no allusion to Hooker in the Moral Essays might prove misleading, added to his use of citations from such figures as Selden, Grotius, Burnet, and Salmasius, men to whose principles on general scores Collier stood in opposition. Hooker is referred to here because of the general importance of his Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; standing as the most

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reasoned treatment of his subject, and drawing together as it does trends of mediaeval scholasticism and later theology, it has come almost traditionally to be looked upon as the ultimate source for writers of the Anglo-Catholic faith, and the classic expression of that thought.

We have seen that Collier, like Hooker, draws a sharp distinction between the legitimate grounds for the operation of civil and ecclesiastical authority. In his Reply to the Absolution of a Penitent, defending his action in the case of Sir William Perkins, he declares that, contrary to a present tendency, he

> dare not say any thing that looks like Burlesqing the Authority of the Church, and Drolling upon the Power of the Keys. I believe the Church a more noble Society than the State: that her Original is as Divine, her Commission as Unquestioned, her Powers as Significant, and the Ends of her Institution more Important: ... For those Reasons I shall always desire to have a great Regard for Ecclesiastical Laws, and the Orders of my Spiritual Superiours.[72]

He conceives of the Church as a Society, with Christ at the head, and its members under obligation to live in a state of fellowship, not in submission to a visible ruler of the Church on earth. The same view is expressed by

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72. Collier, A Reply to the Absolution of a Penitent, London, 1696.

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Hooker: as a society, the church has for its basis "the natural inclination which all men have unto sociable life, and consent to some certain band of association", that belonging to the Church of God being "a law supernatural, which God himself hath revealed concerning that kind of worship which his people shall do unto him."[73]

The authority of the Church is two-fold: that invested immediately by God, and that conferred by the laws of the Commonwealth --the latter a civil authority, since it is derived from civil power. That granted by God consists in the right to preach the gospel, to persuade men to receive it, and to exclude from the Church those persons not professing true faith. Just as the origin of the Church is divine, so too is that of apostolic succession:[74]

> ...The Constitution of the Church is founded in the Appointment of Christ; in that Commission which he gave the Apostles and their Successors: and consequently, does not derive its Authority from any Earthly Power. The Civil Magistrate never yet made a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon; nor ever can...[75]

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73. Hooker, op. cit., p. 274.

74. This doctrine Collier treats particularly in his Of An Apostle, III, and Upon the Office of a Chaplain, I.

75. Upon the Office of a Chaplain, I, p. 205.

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The Apostles, before they departed this life, "took care to perpetuate their Authority, and provide Governours for the Church".[76] Civil law concerns any ecclesiast only insofar as he is a member of a State; it "does not in the least affect his Spiritual Capacity":

> The Power which results from that, flows from another Fountain; and is given by our Saviour himself; and therefore can not be weakened, or recalled, by any State Constitution whatever... Neither was this Power to expire with the Apostles, but to be conveyed by Succession, through all the Ages of the World; there being the same Cause for its Continuance, as for its first Institution. ... And thus the sacred Order has been continued, for near 1700 Years. 77

Collier indignantly defended his absolution of Perkins by appealing to the priestly power derived from apostolic right. If one can not so act, he asks, "where lies the Necessity of a Lay-permission"?

> If the Church is not _sui iuris_ in matters purely Spiritual, and Independent in the Exerciseof the Keys, Christianity lies at the Mercy of the _State_, and may be extinguished at pleasure. Call you these _Directions according to the Church of_ England? God forbid! This divinity comes from _Selden_, or _Erastus_, or else from _Hobbes's Leviathon_; and makes Religion look

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76. _Of an Apostle_, III, p. 256.

77. _Upon the Office of a Chaplain_, pp. 207, 209.

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like a Court-invention, a Politique Design.[78]

During Collier's prominent activities in the nonjuring controversies, he maintained a consistently dogmatic attitude, for the one reason that he was moved by staunch adherence to a principle. When the issue was forced, he chose Church over State, at the sacrifice of his post as Lecturer at Gray's Inn, and exchanged comfortable living for secrecy and deprivation. When a schism within the nonjuring body itself arose over church ritual, Collier again proved a leading spirit. His actions are somewhat softened by his own commentary, just as the charge against him of Popishness is dissipated by his condemnation of certain Romish practices. This last-mentioned break in the dissenting group particularly concerned communion and prayer. Rites are a necessity, Collier declares; and sincerity must characterize their performance. We must acknowledge God through more than mere form and "religious address": "Adoration is a necessary Branch of Duty, a proper instance of Gratitude. But the Regularity must not be wanting: We must add Sobriety to our Devotion; and live in obedience to the Divine Laws."[79] Collier

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78. Reply, op. cit., p. 9.

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has a series of three sermons proving that worship should be given to God alone; he develops his argument from Scriptural doctrine, testimony of the Ancients, and reason.[80] The design of prayer, he says, is not to move God to greater mercy, because he, in his infinite goodness, is without increase; rather is it "to alter our selves, and qualify us better for the divine Favours. ... This religious Act confirms our Faith, and quickens our Hope, and infuses a certain Nobleness of Spirit upon the Confidence of so great a Protection."[81] Because our mental condition is bettered, not because God is "excited by our Importunity", we receive blessings. A similar psychological effect is achieved, along with a deepening in virtue, when prayer is offered for the living. But to saints, "neither our Makers, nor Redeemers",[82] there is no allegiance due. Rather would our adoration of saints render them less inclined to assist us, "for venturing upon a Worship which has no Foundation in the Practice of either the Jewish or the antient Christian Church; which is disallowed by

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79. Of Goodness, IV, pp. 29, 30.

80. Several Discourses upon Practical Subjects, op. cit., Sermons VII, VIII, IX.

81. Sermon IX, p. 312.

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the Scriptures, and which some of themselves, when they were on Earth, condemn'd in the Heathens".[83] Certainly they could "encourage a Practice which weakens the Notion of a Supreme Being".[84] This point may be argued "negatively from the Silence of the Scriptures"; neither the Israelites nor other Jews gave adoration to any but God:

> But if the Invocation of Saints or Angels had been counted so useful a Doctrine as the Church of Rome teaches; if it had been Part of their Creed, as it is of Pope Pius's; if it had been the Custom of the Jews to apply themselves to God by the Intercession of good Spirits; we have Reason to believe we should have met with some Examples of this Nature in the Bible. But neither the Patriarchs nor Prophets, nor any other, have left us one Instance of this Nature.[85]

To "overworship" saints is "the way not to endear, but estrange them from us --by, for example, "those unaccountable Titles, those nauseous Addresses which they are sometimes troubled with..."[86]

Collier pointedly objects to the Roman Catholic "in-

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82. Ibid.

83. Ibid., pp. 313, 314.

84. Ibid.

85. Sermon VII, pp. 223,224.

86. Sermon IX, pp. 314, 315.

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discriminate" worship of the Deity and saints and angels:

> ...'tis not lawful to pray to the Saints on Earth, in the same manner that the Church of Rome does to those in Heaven. 'Tis not lawful to address them with that Religious Submission, with that Solemnity and Devotion, which is customarily practic'd by the Roman-Catholicks. Most People would count it an excessive Esteem, if we should put our Bishop, or some extraordinary Person in the Publick Liturgy, and pray to them immediately after the blessed Trinity, at Times and Places consecrated to Religion, and with the same Postures of Respect. Now, all this is done in the Church of Rome to Saints and Angels.[87]

It is "plain by natural Reason, that there is but one God"; it is just as apparent from the Incarnation of his Son that there can be but one mediator between God and man--Christ. And we are to have recourse to none other; indeed, since God has taken upon himself our Nature, and has made himself sensible of our passion and pain, "what need we run after Daemons and departed Spirits for Patronage and Protection?"[88] The matter is still more dangerous, asserts Collier,

> when any Church in her publick and authoriz'd Devotions addresses these glorify'd Spirits in superlative Titles, and which seem by their wording of them to be too big for any created Excellency. For Example: When they call any

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87. Ibid., pp. 298,299.

88. Sermon VIII, p. 253.

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> of them the Fountain of Grace and Pardon, the Queen of Heaven, &c. These Expressions are apt to convey Misapprehensions into unwary Minds, and transport them into an immoderate Submission. And in the Heat of their Admiration they will be apt to fancy their great Patrons do not only live, but govern in Heaven; that they are flown up into Godhead, and have either the Possession, or the Command of Omnipotency.[89]

We must, in our worship, recognize the one sovereign Being and "not confound Things so infinitely distant by promiscuous Signs of Honour".[90] If it were an act of humility to approach God through the mediation of saints, "then we ought never to pray directly to any Person of the Trinity". The design of public worship is to confess visibly our dependence upon God, and the reason for our "joining our bodies with our minds" in adoration is that the belief in one Deity may thus be confirmed by "external and sensible Acts", "necessary to keep up a due Reverence of God in Mens Minds".

> For the generality are not always at leisure, nor possibly well prepar'd, to prove the Attributes of God by a Chain of Discourse, and Metaphysical Reasonings.[92]

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89. Sermon IX, pp. 305, 306.
90. Sermon VII, p. 236.
91. Sermon IX, p. 293.
92. Ibid., p. 289.

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Collier has only scorn for Catholic "fulsome Harangues", "Wonder-working Relicks", and "easy" intercession:

> ... Especially when the Favour of these powerful Mediators may be purchas'd upon such easy Terms; ... when they are so surprizingly obliging, that they cannot refuse a Man that comes a great way to see them, though possibly he is more weary of his Journey than of his Sins; when a fair Present, though offer'd by a wicked Hand, raises their Compassion in such a visible manner, and makes them weep though they are in Marble. As if the blessed Saints, who were so far above the Temptations of Ambition and Popularity in this World, were alter'd to their Disadvantage since they went to Glory; and admir'd those Trifles now, which they despis'd before. But thus the fancy'd Interest and Indulgence of the Church triumphant slackens the Care and discipline of the militant, and Heaven is made instrumental to debauch the Earth.93

In connection with this matter of church worship, Collier is interested in both the aesthetic and psychological value of music in the service:

> The End of Church-Musick is to relieve the Weariness of a long Attention; to make the Mind more cheerful and composed; and to endear the Offices of Religion. It should therefore imitate the Perfume of the Jewish Tabernacle, and have as little of the Composition of common Use as is possible. There must be no Voluntary Maggots, no Military Tatoos, no Light and Galliardizing Notes; nothing that may make the Fancy trifling, or raise an improper Thought: This would be to Prophane the Service, and bring the Play-House into the Church. Religious Harmony must be

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93. Ibid., pp. 297, 298.

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> Moving, but Noble withal; Grave, Solemn, and Seraphick; Fit for a Martyr to play, and an Angel to hear. It should be contrived so as to warm the best Blood within us, and take hold of the finest part of the Affections: To transport us with the Beauty of Holiness; to raise us above the Satisfactions of Life, and make us ambitious of the Glories of Heaven.[94]

Further reason to believe that church ritual was an interest paramount with Collier is pointed by his leading part in the writing and adoption of the new Communion-Office into public worship. In his Reasons for Restoring Some Prayers and Directions ... in the Communion-Service of the First English Reform'd Liturgy, he defends the re-introduction of four usages: the custom of mixing water with sacramental wine, the prayer for the dead, the prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Sacramental Elements, and the oblatory prayer, grounded upon the belief "that the Holy Eucharist is a proper Sacrifice". Collier believes the sacraments to be the necessary means by which we receive the benefits of Christ's death:

> without being Partakers of the Sacraments, we can have no Pretense to the Covenant of Grace; no Title to the Assistance of God's Spirit; nor any Assurance of a Blessed Immortality.[95]

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94. Of Music, II, p. 25. This passage is quoted by Arthur Bedford as an excellent expression of his own views, in his The Great Abuse of Music, 1711, p. 246.

95. Upon the Office of Chaplain, I, pp. 210, 211.

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He is careful to point out that there is no reason to charge these usages with approaching Popery.[96] The order of mixing wine with water he supports as one upheld by Jewish paschal custom, to be authenticated by both general practice and that of earliest ages, and by Catholic tradition.[97] Proceeding after this manner, he substantiates his position with copious and varied citations from primitive and modern authority. A full account of the ensuing controversy among the Nonjurors--much of it characterized by the usual hair-splitting technique of the polemic-- is given in Lathbury's History of the Non-jurors.[98] With respect to the second usage, it is of interest here to add Collier's comment that the prayer for the dead does not imply a belief in Purgatory. And though the Church of England condemns the doctrine of Purgatory, "we can't from thence inferr her Dislike of Prayer for the Dead."[99] Further, where "the Church of England

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96. Reasons for Restoring Some Prayers and Directions, as they stand in the Communion-Service of the First English Reform'd Liturgy. London, 1717.

97. Ibid.

98. Op.cit., Chapters IX,X, and XI; other pieces of Collier's bound with his Reasons for Restoring, etc., are

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has left her meaning doubtful, the greatest Honour we can do her, is to interpret her to a Conformity to Primitive Practice."[100]

Collier was now and again accused of holding with Roman Catholic doctrine, as were most of the nonjuring body, and he seems concerned to disprove that charge. Perhaps it was such a passage as this that Bishop Burnet and others seized upon as reason to attack Collier for "Popery":

> The Holy Catholick Church, and the Communion of Saints, are Branches of the Creed: And the Notion of the Catholick Church, takes in the other World no less than this: Nay, those Deceas'd are certainly the biggest and the best Part of this Society... And since the Church is but one, ought not the nobler Division share the common Privilege of the Body, and come within the Communion of Saints? But if we do nothing in their Behalf, if we decline Praying for them, if we don't remember them at the Eucharistical Sacrifice ... the Correspondence fails on our Side ... And when we stand thus aloof from the noblest Part of the Catholick Church, may we not be said to maim the Creed, and strike off half an Article?[101]

Defense of the Reasons; A Vindication of Reasons and Defence, Parts I and II; A Farther Defence, etc., Being an Answer to a Reply to the Vindication of the Reasons and Defence, etc.

99. Reasons for Restoring, op. cit., p. 20.

100. Ibid.

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The most direct utterance of such suspicion of Collier was a work appearing in 1718, entitled Mr. Collier's Desertion Discuss'd,[102] which boldly attacks him for having "deserted" the Church of England. It is true that, in his insistence upon the adoption of primitive usages, he was assailing the clergy since the Reformation for their omission of certain practices. But Collier was not in sympathy with the Church of Rome. The author of this piece, who, according to Lathbury, was himself a Nonjuror, "positivly charges Collier with popery—with setting up as the head of a new schism, 'and so by unsuspected ways' leading 'his sequacious disciples, by degrees, at last into the communion of the Church of Rome. At least it seems to me, that he has his conscience so disposed, as perhaps his Library may be: at that end Papists, and at that end

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101. Ibid., pp. 20. 21.

102. The complete title is Mr. Collier's Desertion Discuss'd: or the Offices of Worship in the Liturgy of the Church of England Defended: against the bold attacks of that gentleman, late of her communion, now of his own. In a Letter to a Friend. First edition, 1718; second, 1720.

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Protestants, and he comes in the middle, as near one as the other.' Such a passage", comments Lathbury, "was unwarranted by the circumstances."[103] Defenses from Collier's faction ensued. An interesting fact is that in this same year, 1718, at Easter, the New Communion Service (supposedly drawn up by Collier) was actually used, communion with those adhering to the Book of Common Prayer having been prohibited to the Nonjurors.[104] With the new form after this date, then, "the Holy Communion was celebrated by Collier's party, ... and by all the regular body, subsequent to the Union in 1733, until they became extinct."[105]

Various Anglican clergymen who desired the restoration of the usages, but were not "essentialists", brought out pamphlets to prove either the validity of Collier's viewpoint, or the distinction[106] between such doctrines as, for instance, the Romish Doctrine of Purgatory, and the Anglo-Catholic custom of Praying for the Dead. In

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103. The quotation from Mr. Collier's Desertion Discuss'd, p. 3, is taken from Lathbury, History of the Nonjurors, op. cit., p. 289. The pamphlet itself has proved unavailable.

104. Cf. Lathbury, History of the Nonjurors, p. 291.

105. Ibid., p. 494.

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brief, a reading in the literature of the controversy reveals that the nonjurors generally were not of Popish sympathy. The matter is of wider interest in that most of the leading bishops and clergy of the time, Scottish as well as English, felt personally concerned to become active in the conflict. It should be remembered, before the nonjurors are branded as radical dissenters, that they sincerely believed themselves to constitute the only true membership of the Church of England; and again, in noting charges against Collier, that Bishop Burnet and his ilk --supporters of William -- had earlier been moved on political grounds to criticize Collier.

The desire of Collier for a wide religion embracing all creeds is manifest in his efforts toward the unifying of the Greek with the Western Church,[107] a genuinely broad aim devoid of what has been censured as the "selfish narrowness" of nonjuring views. We see this attitude

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106. That is, from the nonjuror's position.

107. Cf. Introduction, pp. 27, 28.

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again when, deploring the existence of factions, he urges tolerance for doctrinal differences, and makes a plea for uniformity in church worship:

> ...if there were no Divisions amongst us, if Christians were perfectly joyn'd together in the same Mind, ... how happy should we be?... It would then be impracticable to stalk under a Holy Pretence; to set up the Form of Godliness against the Power, the Name against the Thing... But, alas! this Blessing is quite out of Prospect: What Diversity of Communions are we broken into? What's more ununiform, than christian Belief? More divided, than the Church? The Church, I say, which was intended for the Seat of Union, and the Cement of Society?[108]

But zeal destroys charity, and orthodoxy results in cruelty; and to serve the church so is to mistake the design of Christianity.

> In short, the best way is to live peaceably with People of different Opinions: Belief is not always at Command; it depends on the Motives of Credibility: But these have not the same Weight in every Scale... Thus where Fundamentals are the same, Difference in lesser Matters ought not to cut off Correspondence, to alienate Affection, or put a stop to kind Offices. For supposing Difference in Religion a just Ground for Disaffection, (which it is not), yet where the Agreement, is much greater than the Disagree-

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108. Of Peace, pp. 383, 384.

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> ment, there, by our own Rule, the Predominancy should govern our Behaviour....'Tis true, where the Essentials are renounced, the Case is otherwise.[109]

So long, then, as the main articles of the creed are professed, each man has his right to lesser differences. In fact, if the dissent be sincere, he is to be praised for his honesty rather than condemned. Here Collier characteristically warns against a compromise with principles on the score of mere civility or of friendship. In A Defense of the Short View, he cites Congreve's deprecating comment on the innumerable sects and schisms in religion. Collier answers:

> Let them [sects] come from whence they will, we had better have them than some Peoples Opinions. 'Tis much safer to be of different Opinions than agree in believing nothing. Atheism is an ill Cure of Heresy and Schism: I admire Uniformity in Doctrine extreamly; but still must crave Leave to believe that a Mistaken conscience is more serviceable, than no Conscience at all.[110]

Collier warns that discontent and impatience tend to develop into sullenness and indifference, and finally into "atheistical Excesses", through a wild desire to avenge

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109. Ibid., pp. 384, 385.

110. A Short View, p. 253.

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one's misfortunes by a disregard of Providence.[111] His lack of tolerance of atheism and his dislike of Hobbist materialism spring from a common root. His attitude here is quite typical of his day, especially of the Cambridge Platonists: the atomist and materialist, in depending wholly upon a mechanical scheme narrowing life to matter, were but rejecting God; and a common method of attacking a contemporary was to associate with him atheistical principles. Collier thus denounces the atheist as a "very despicable Mortal". If we "Copy him a little from his own Original", then he is "no better than a Heap of Organized Dust; a stalking Machine; a Speaking Head without a Soul in it. His thoughts are bound up by the Laws of Motion; his Actions are all prescribed..."[112] Since he has no hereafter, he will make the most of this world, motivated only by selfish, mean instincts, and unhampered by conscience or moral restraint. His belief is best characterized in Collier's words:

> The Creed of an Atheist is a degrading System: a most mortifying Perswasion. No

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111. Sermon V, p. 130.

112. "To the Reader", Upon the Office of a Chaplain, I, p. 179.

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> Advantages can make him Shine: He strikes himself out of all Claim to Regard: And has no Alliance to any honourable Distinction. He is the Off-spring of Chance; the Slave of Necessity; danced by foreign Impulses no less than a Puppet; Ignoble in his Descent; Little in Life; and nothing at the End on't. Atheism, the Result of Ignorance and Pride, of strong Senses, and feeble Reason: of good eating, and Ill Living.[113]

Having characterized the Gnostics as "Hereticks that had Principles for Immorality", he asks:

> Are not Atheists and Deists altogether as bad as the Disciples of Simon Magus? Men who resolve Religion into Fear and Fancy; deny the Lord that brought them; and argue against those Records which stand upon the Evidence of Sense: Men who turn the History of the other World into Romance, and make Interest and Pleasure the Standard of Good and Evil. Such Persons, who publish their Infidelity, and make it their Business to poyson the Age, ought to be avoided in Conversation; and sham'd, if 'tis possible, into better Belief....[114]

Collier excoriates, along with atheists and deists, sceptics and libertines. Man all too frequently adopts his creed to conform to his humour and to his desire for liberty. It is the license of deism that makes for many proselytes: "'Tis because Appetite is let loose, and Vice goes unrestrain'd by this Scheme: If Luxury and Debauching, if Pride and Covetousness, were indulged by the

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113. Preface, Office of Chaplain, I, p. 179.

114. Of Peace, p. 386.

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Gospel; your Scepticks would be quickly brought over..."[115]

Of deists and libertines, he declares:

> I don't wonder to find them grasp eagerly at Life: Their Treasure and their Heart is below. This World is their All. Their Ambition is to be nothing after Death. That Thought and the Pulse may stop together, and their Being expire with their Breath; separate Existence and Immortality is the Dread of these Men. They can't expect to pass their Time well in the other World: For if Matter and Motion is not the best of them, if they must be bigger than Machines, if they must be more lasting than the Beasts that perish, they know they are undone.[116]

Thus would Collier pulverize the atheist into his own 'dust'. He takes a thrust at deists when he anticipates a judgment day that will confound those who, "in a Fit of Spleen and Impatience", have decided that

> the World was govern'd by Chance, and that God did not concern himself with things below...then it will appear that the Lord is not slack, as some Men count Slackness; that he neither disdained nor neglected the Administration of human Affairs.[117]

A departure in creed from Revelation means "taking shelter

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115. Of the Resurrection, IV, p. 412.

116. Of Religious Temper, IV, p. 95.

117. Sermon II, p. 48.

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in Deism",[118] and "the Principles of Fraud inferr Scepticism;" the latter is dangerous because it acts as an opiate lulling one to a false peace:

> There are but two things that can make us easie; Honesty, or Atheism. To be undisturb'd by our selves, we must either Live well, or Believe ill.[119]

A libertine "hates a Religion that ties up his Frensy", and "lays him under Execution". And since, "as Hobbes observes, when Reason is against a Man, a Man will be against Reason, prejudice wins over truth".[120] Thus "Deism is bred out of Corruption of Manners, and like some Insects, has its Being from Putrefaction."[121] Libertinism, then, "looking out for an easier Belief" than the restraining Christian doctrine, "revolted to Deism".[122] Collier, suggesting that men of such conviction would do well to read "nothing but what is short and quickly examin'd", recommends:

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118. Of Theft, IV, p. 297.

119. Of Peace, IV, p. 359.

120. Of Whoredom, III, p. 141.

121. Ibid., pp. 141, 142.

122. Ibid., p. 146.

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> Monsieur Paschal's Thoughts against Atheistical Indifference: Monsieur de la Bruyere Des Esprits forts ... A Letter to a Deist, written by the Learned Author of the Snake in the Grass: The Article Christianity in the Third Volume of Morery's Dictionary. These are all perus'd in a few Hours. And when this is done, I persuade my self, they won't think it loss of time to consult Grotius of the Truth of the Christian Religion.[123]

While Collier attacks both atheism and materialism as arising from the rejection of a divine providence, it is noteworthy that he does not complain that science leads to atheism; nor does he hold that the "divine order, the order of Grace, was ... wholly separate from, and in a sense opposed to, 'Nature'."[124] On the contrary, he explains that at times he uses Nature in its widest interpretation to mean God; and therefore to explore the mysteries of Nature is not to be irreligious. He could, inso far as this attitude is concerned, say with Joseph Glanvill: "I have no design against Science; my endeavour is to promote it."[125]

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123. Ibid., p. 147.

124. Cf. Willey, op. cit., p. 31.

125. Vanity of Dogmatizing, op. cit., Dedicatory Epistle, A3.

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VI. LITERARY CRITICISM

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LITERARY CRITICISM

When in March of 1698 Collier published his Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage, it rocketed into the literary horizon of London with such a meteoric burst that for a decade controversial sparks flashed fire. And with few exceptions, critics have since ignited when Collier comes in for treatment: he is either eulogized as a great moral saviour by a Macaulay, or condemned for a muddy-minded fanatic by a Montague Summers. Only in rare cases, in an evaluation of Collier, is the middle course struck. The whole stage controversy, however, is reviewed elsewhere, usually in relation to a larger and more detailed study of Restoration drama itself, and the purpose here is not primarily to justify the attack of Collier upon the licentiousness of the Jacobean playhouse, nor to

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consider the reactions and defenses of those angered by his invective. Rather, to keep the perspective true in this study of Collier's thought, the aim is to examine his literary criticism, and to show his place in the movement which found in him its most vigorous literary expression.

Back in the sixteenth century, Puritanism had set itself instinctively against the stage; and warfare between pulpit and playhouse had never completely ceased, although at times it subsided to ominous rumblings on the part of only half-placated divines. It is not strictly accurate to label A Short View a Puritan attack; but, seen in relation to movements in English criticism, it belongs in the tradition of rigorism characteristic of the Puritan as well as other religious temperaments. A glance backward from 1698 at the high points expressive of this attitude reveals how peculiarly ripe was the time for such an invective as that of Collier. To pass over the barrage of sermons and pamphlets that, after 1575, were levelled at stage-plays and companies, we note the first attack printed in English and primarily directed at the theatre -- that of John Northbrooke, A Treatise wherein

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Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine playes or Enterludes with other idle pastimes, &c., commonly used on the Sabboth day, are reproved by the Authoritie of the word of God and auncient writers (1579). Aiming more specifically at the stage, Stephen Gosson issued, likewise in 1579, his Schoole of Abuse, Conteining a pleasaunt invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters, and such like caterpillers of a comonwelth.[1] An ex-playwright and renegade actor, he wrote the attack with all the zeal of a Puritan, under the sanctimonious cover of priesthood. In the same year he brought out A Short Apology for his Schoole. He was almost immediately answered by the more eloquent Thomas Lodge, in his Defense of Poesy, Music, and Stage Plays, and a controversy was precipitated, with a number of writers debating the issue. The next important piece of this nature is the diatribe of the Puritan Philip Stubbes, The Anatomie of Abuse (1583), in which the theatre is thoroughly vilified. Within the next fifty years, such blasts continued to appear, and they in turn brought out apologies for actors and refutations of these apologies. In William

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1. This he unfortunately dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, and, in the words of Spenser, "was for his labor scorned".

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Prynne's tome of 1633, Histriomastix: The Players Scourge, or, Actors Tragoedie, we find an example of bigoted Puritanism concentrated in eleven hundred pages, lashing not merely the theatre but also "Dancing, Music, Laughter, Bonfires... with other pagan customs". For various reasons--among them concern because of parliamentary measures penalizing both actors and audience --there was no answer to Prynne until 1662, when Sir Richard Baker published his Theatrum Redivivum, or the Theatre vindicated.

Discussion of the general tendency toward reform during the period immediately preceding Collier's Short View constitutes a chapter in itself, one that no English critic has yet adequately written. This movement has received excellent treatment by Dr Johannes Ballein in his book, Jeremy Collier Angriff auf die englische Bühne (1910). Considering the situation in both social and literary phases, he takes into account not only writings, but, as well, sermons, political attitudes, legislation, and the functioning of societies formed for the suppression of immorality. There were, he remarks, no new points of view brought out by Collier and his opponents; but this

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controversy is distinguished from previous attacks in that many bases of opposition were now lacking--such as boys acting in women's clothes (except that room for fresh trouble was found in the presence of women on the stage); fights outside the theatre had stopped, although there were worse disorders within --disputes among the crowd itself. The conflict was less general in 1698 than, for example, in the time of Histriomastix; now the condemnation turned more to the actual testing of as many real dramas as possible. Earlier it had been chiefly Puritanism aiming at annihilation of the theatres; now, disapproval had become far more widespread, for, in Collier's day, all religious denominations were interested in the reform movement. Opposition to the stage had in reality become tantamount to that toward the sovereign. An expression of this feeling is seen in Colley Cibber's dedication to Love Makes a Man:

> There are among us a sort of Gentlemen,...I think the last time they pull'd down the Stage in the City, they set up a Scaffold at Court; ...perhaps they are not now the less our Enemies, because the King's Authority supports us. ...But this sort of Reformation I hope will never be thoroughly wrought, while the King and the Establisht Church have any friends: The Stage I'm sure was never heartily oppress'd but by the Enemies of both, and it has been observ-

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> able that they who can't endure a Prince on the Theatre, have not been apt to like him on the throne.[2]

The Jacobite sympathies of Collier will be remembered; here we find him, an Anglican clergyman, although a non-juror, rejecting the attitude of his own Church, which, having always been given to ritual and ceremony, had far more tolerance than did the Puritans for the stage and dramatization. The Church of England was not eager to oppose the throne; only men of the courage and implacability of Collier dared remember that they were Christians above Anglicans. In fact, a number of the clergy indulged in the libertinism of the age. It was really, according to Ballein, a movement in private church circles which heightened opposition to the stage, a movement that amounted to a recrudescence of Puritanism in the middle and lower circles. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, religious organizations were formed to suppress vice; among them were societies for the reformation of manners, and others, aimed at the theatre. Members were sworn to avoid lewd playhouses. These groups were approved by William and Mary, who aided them through numerous pro-

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2. Quoted by Dr Johannes Ballein, Jeremy Collier's Angriff auf die englische Bühne, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des englischen Dramas. Marburg, 1910. pp. 34, 35.

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clamations, the first, dated 9 July, 1691; the sovereigns generally attempted to draw the rein at court. In 1697 the King emphasized in a speech the need to suppress vice; to that end a law was passed about the beginning of 1698, or the end of 1697. The cry was popularly taken up in Parliament, and there existed a demand for a severely moral character in court officials and soldiers.

Opposition was rife among the public as well as among the clergy and in the court. The current trend of opinion may be indicated by a few of the known instances: in 1687 Dryden's Limberham was banned after three performances; a few years earlier a "lady of high position" had objected to George Ravenscroft's London Cuckolds; in 1696 Granville's The She-Gallants, although "extraordinary witty, and well acted", offended "the Ears of some Ladies who set up for Chastity", and "it made its exit".[3] On the second evening of its performance, Vanbrugh's The Relapse was forced to leave off using one expression--

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3. Ballein, op. cit., p. 63.

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"looking a little too rudely on the Clergy."[4] Sir Richard Blackmore, in the preface to his epic, Prince Arthur, complains of the poets' misusing wit at the expense of religion and the clergy. Similarly, Joseph Wright, in Country Conversations (1694), protests against ridicule of churchmen and the corruption of youth through stage-example. There is, he declares, a "continued Thred of Lascivious Meaning (commonly called Baudry in Clean Linnen) that runs through a Play".[5] In these dialogues of Wright, the chief speaker, Lisander, so expresses his opinions concerning the evils of the stage that it seems the voice of Collier himself. A decade earlier Dr John Tillotson had condemned plays as intolerable, and "not fit to be permitted in a civilized, much less in a christian nation":

> They do most notoriously minister both to infidelity and vice. By the prophaneness of them, they are apt to instill bad principles into the minds of men, and to lessen the awe and reverence, which all men ought to have for God and religion: and by their lewdness they teach vice and are apt to infect the minds of men, and dispose them to lewd and dissolute practices.[6]

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4. Ibid. Dryden, in a letter to William Walsh, complains of the sensitiveness of the townsfolk at plays. (The Works of John Dryden, Sir Walter Scott, ed. revised by George Saintsbury. Edinburgh, 1883. Vol. XVIII.)

5. Joseph Wright, Country Conversations. London, 1694. p. 11.

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In February, 1698, but a few weeks before the appearance of Collier's attack, Samuel Wesley preached A Sermon concerning Reformation of Manners,[7] in which he brands theatres as "Schools of Vice, Nurseries of Profaneness and Lewdness, Pesthouse, Conspiracy against Religion and Virtue" that instruct the audience in ridicule of God, contempt of superiors, filthiness, pride, blasphemy, vice, revenge, and even murder; such are the "Lessons which are daily taught at these Publick Playhouses". But a more cogent protest was needed. This demand Collier answered with a blast that withered late artificial comedy beyond repair.

Parts of it struck off at white heat, Collier's Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage instantly caught popular favour, not alone among the bourgeois and Puritan ranks, but as well among Anglicans and the nobility. Significant of public inter-

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6. Ballein, op. cit., pp. 47,48; there appeared about this time the Delight and Judgment of a German pietist, Dr Horneck, who expresses essentially the views of Collier.

7. "A Sermon concerning Reformation of Manners, Preach'd at St. James's Church, February 13, and afterwards at St. Bride's by Samuel Wesley, M.A." London, 1698. (Cited by Ballein, op.cit., p. 49)

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est is the fact that during the first year of publication, four editions, not small, were brought out.[8] The Archbishop of Canterbury in a personal note expressed his thanks to Collier for writing A Short View; we have already observed the royal nolo prosequi granted the nonjuring outlaw, and the general feeling of satisfaction that now he had atoned for his scandalous public absolution of Friend and Perkins. The stage faction, however, was indignant at the whole affair, and more so when such favourites as Betterton and Mrs Bracegirdle were haled into court and fined for profanity and licentiousness. Rumour goes that both Congreve and D'Urfey were prosecuted by the Middlesex magistrates --"Congreve for writing the Double Dealer, D'Urfey for Don Quixote, and Tonson and Brisco, booksellers, for printing them."[9] Joseph Wood Krutch, who has investigated the legislation of this period, sensibly concludes that, had there been any such legal action, it would have been preserved in state records.[10] As part of the efficacy of A Short View, several actors are said to have reformed to the point of quitting the stage -- among them William Bowen, and a certain Miss Cross; such conversion was not thorough-

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8. Another edition appeared in 1730, and two in 1783.

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going, however, for both were in a short time back in the profession.[11] Women continued to attend the theatre. In 1700 the Lord Chamberlain forbade the entrance of masked ladies into the playhouse, but the order was poorly observed. Eleven years later, Steele, having described the suggestive actions of rakes, wrote in The Spectator:

> Such Incidents as these make some Ladies wholly absent themselves from the Play-house; and others never miss the first Day of a Play, lest it should prove too luscious to admit their going with any Countenance to it on the Second.[12]

But if some of the nobility were still taking their pleasure at the playhouse, others were swelling the ranks of organizations for the suppression of vice. We find this

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Father Courbeville translated A Short View into French, as La Critique du Theatre Anglois compare au Theatre d'Athenes, de Rome, et de France, Paris, 1715.

9. Narcissus Luttrell, A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs 1678-1714, 15 Sept., 1698. Oxford, 1857. Vol. IV, p. 107.

10. Krutch, op.cit., pp. 154,155.

11. Ballein cites from the Epilogue to Farquhar's Love and a Bottle these words:"O Collier! Collier! thou'st frighted away Miss Cross." (p. 222)

12. Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, The Spectator, London, 1926 (Everyman's Library) No. 51, Saturday, 28 April, 1711. p. 191. Genest quotes this, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 123, without indicating the date, as if the comment applied a decade earlier.

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entry in Evelyn's Diary for 24 March, 1700:

> The season warm, gentle, and exceeding pleasant. ...Divers persons of quality entered into the Society for Reformation of Manners; and some lectures were set up, particularly in the City of London. The most eminent of the Clergy preached at Bow Church, after reading a declaration set forth by the King to suppress the growing wickedness; this began already to take some effect as to common swearing, and oaths in the mouths of people of all ranks.[13]

Such societies had gained new vigour, and continued to send spies to theatres to act as informers. After 1699 twelve of these organizations existed in London. They opposed swearing and cursing along with the evils of the playhouse. From Dr Kennet comes the proud statement that in December, 1701, "By a moderate Calculation, no less than Thirty Thousand Persons have been convicted for prophane Swearing and Cursing, near the same Number of Lewd and Disorderly Persons have been brought to a Merciful Punishment."[14] By 1735, there had been 99, 380 persons convicted of immorality and godlessness. During 1708 to 1719, a period of cessation in controversial writing, there appeared two pieces of Bedford's, The Great Abuse of Musik (1711),[15]

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13. John Evelyn, Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, edited by William Bray, London, 1850-52. Vol. II, 24 March, 1700, p. 371.

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and A serious Remonstrance in Behalf of the Christian Religion, against the Horrid Blasphemies and Impieties which are still used in the English Play-Houses...(1719).[16] The latter began a new series of attacks that stretched out over almost two decades. After Collier, the most important person in relation to this movement was William Law, who in 1726 published a tractate, The Absolute Unlawfulness of the Stage-Entertainment fully Demonstrated. Other than a treatment by Thomas Cook, it was the last literary expression of this side of the controversy before the licensing act of 1737.

When the playwrights attacked by Collier realized the popularity of his invective, they were awakened to the need to defend themselves. This they proceeded to do in somewhat characteristic fashion. Congreve retaliated with his Amendments of Mr. Collier's False and Imperfect Citations,

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14. An Account of the Progress..., 1704 (cited by Ballein, op.cit., p. 42)

15. Op.cit.

16. A serious Remonstrance in Behalf of the Christian Religion, against the Horrid Blasphemies and Impieties which are still used in the English Play-Houses, to the Great Dishonour of Almighty God, and in Contempt of the Statutes of this Realm. 1719.

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a puny attempt to clear himself, in which he defends the indefensible, and overlooks the obvious retort. He wrote too angrily to say anything of importance, and succeeded only in injuring himself, and in going down to defeat when Collier published his crushing Answer to Mr. Congeve's Amendments. Here, in the preface, he calls the poets the first aggressors in the violent controversy which had resulted from his attack, and advises that they lay down their arms. As for his own side, "If we are in any Fault, 'tis because we began with them no sooner".[17] The Answer he begins abruptly: "Mr. Congreve being a person of no great Ceremony, I shan't salute him with any Introduction, but fall to the Business without more ado."[18] He likewise wrote a Reply to Vanbrugh's Vindication of 1698, which had been composed in an airier spirit than Congreve's piece, and which, in the preface, refers to saints "with skrew'd faces and wry mouths":

> They love nothing but their altars and themselves; they have too much zeal to have any charity; they make debauches in piety, as sinners do in wine; and are as quarrelsome in religion, as other people are in their drink; so I hope nobody will mind what they say.[19]

John Dennis seriously defended The Usefulness of the Stage,

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17. Preface, Defense of the Short View, (bound with A Short View, op. cit.) p. 194.

18. Defense, p. 195.

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and Filmer brought out his Defence Of Dramatick Poetry, both in 1698. Vindications and counter-attacks were legion, and much bombast and useless vituperation were expended; even at the outset of the controversy.[20]

A number of Restoration plays receive at least some flaying in A Short View, and four in particular, fairly minute dissection. Their authors Collier tries by both dramatic and moral standards, and finds them disgustingly wanting; he mercilessly drags out into the cold light of morality here a glaring inconsistency, there a bit of licentiousness or profanity, a structural fault, a blasphemous passage, a disregard of classical rules. Among the intolerable liberties of the playhouse, he finds, the countenancing of smut in its vilest forms is most common. He disapproves of such practices as showing on the stage single women, or those of quality, as licentious, or representing women as mad or silly to give them license of action; he condemns the popular tendency to debauch married women, and to make libertines chief characters. The prologues and epilogues heard in the theatre he denounces as scandalous; other abominable qualities of plays are the cursing and vile language.

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19. In Vanbrugh's preface to The Relapse.

20. See "Bibliography C" for complete list of the writings of the stage controversy.

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Added to the general lack of decorum is the propensity for contemptuous ridicule, both careless and deliberate, of religion and God, the lewd application of Scripture, and the abuse of clergy. Collier exclaims:

> How wretchedly do we fall short of the Decencies of Heathenism! There's nothing more ridiculous than Modesty on our Stage. 'Tis counted an ill-bred Quality, and almost shamed out of Use. One would think Mankind were not the same, that Reason was to be read Backward, and Virtue and Vice had changed Place.[21]

Especially does Dryden come in for censure; it is he "and his Fraternity who have help'd to debauch the Town, and poison their Pleasures to an unusual Degree".[22] Not only are stage-poets guilty of various misdemeanors, but also they "fence against Censure by the Excess of Lewdness" and make "the overgrown Size of a Crime a Ground for Impunity".[23] This becomes their armor, their strength: they are fortified in Smut, and almost impregnable in Stench, so that where they deserve most, there's no coming at them."[24]

Beginning the Introduction to the Short View with no preliminary verbiage, Collier thus narrows the end of drama:

> The Business of Plays is to recommend Vertue,

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21. Short View, p. 23.
22. Ibid., p. 118.
23. Ibid., p. 116.
24. Ibid.

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> and discountenance Vice; To shew the Uncertainty of Humane Greatness, the suddain Turns of Fate, and the unhappy Conclusions of Violence and Injustice: 'Tis to expose the Singularities of Pride and Fancy, to make Folly and Falsehood contemptible, and to bring every Thing that is Ill under Infamy, and Neglect.[25]

English poets, however, write with an opposite aim. Were their intentions but fair, "they might be Serviceable to their Purpose", for they "have in a great Measure the Springs of Thought and Inclination in their Power".[26] Collier censures Dryden for saying that he knows of the observance of no such law among the ancients as that comedy should reward virtue and punish vice. Collier rejoins that there is one, whether observed or not -- that of instructing, primarily. And if it was not followed by Plautus and Terence, it was because they "had greater Compass of Liberty in their Religion". Therefore they cannot serve as precedents. Moreover, he points out, Horace had condemned the obscenities of Plautus, and had advised the poet "to form his work upon the Precepts of Socrates and Plato, and the Models of Moral Philosophy". Among the moderns, Jonson has declared the poet's aim to be the punishment of vice, and the reward of virtue, and "the Office of a Comick Poet to imitate Justice, and instruct to Life".[27] To Dryden, the chief end of comedy

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25. A Short View, Introduction, p. 1.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., p. 104.

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is delight, and "the Business of the Poet is to make you laugh", with instruction the secondary aim. Here, Collier grants the "Truth of this Principle", but adds that he questions the "Serviceableness of it". He concludes that

> To laugh without Reason is the Pleasure of Fools, and against it, of something worse. The exposing of Knavery, and making Lewdness ridiculous, is a much better Occasion for Laughter. And this, with Submission, I take to be the End of Comedy. And therefore it does not differ from Tragedy in the End, but in the Means. Instruction is the principal Design of both. The one works by Terror, the other by Infamy. 'Tis true, they don't move in the same Line, but they meet in the same Point at last.[28]

Collier quotes Rapin in saying that comedy "ought to regard Reformation and Publick Improvement" as an end. Further, consulting also Aristotle, Quintilian, and Horace, he affirms that

> to make Delight the main Business of Comedy is an unreasonable and dangerous Principle, opens the Way to all Licentiousness, and confounds the Distinction between Mirth and Madness. For if Diversion is the Chief End, it must be had at any Price. No serviceable Expedient must be refused, tho' never so scandalous. And thus the worst Things are said, and the best abused; Religion is insulted, and the most serious Matters turn'd into Ridicule!

He digresses here to rail against the atheistical practices of dramatists in their attempts at comedy:

> As if the blind Side of an Audience ought to be caress'd, and their Folly and Atheism en-

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28. Ibid., p. 102.

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> tertain'd in the first Place. Yes, if the Palate is pleas'd, no matter though the Body is poyson'd! ... However now we know the Reason of the Profaneness, and Obscenity of the Stage, of their hellish cursing, and swearing, and in short of their great Industry to make God and Goodness contemptible: 'Tis all to satisfy the Company, and make People laugh! ... To fetch Diversion out of Innocence is no such easy matter. There's no succeeding ... in this Method, without Sweat and Drudging. Clean Wit, inoffensive Humour, and Laudsome Contrivance require Time and Thought. And who would be at this Expence, when the Purchase is so cheap another way? 'Tis possible a Poet may not always have Sense enough by him for such an Occasion.[29]

Collier ends this tirade with another thrust at Dryden:

> In fine, we must not make them laugh, right or wrong, for Delight is the chief End of Comedy. Delight! he should have said Debauchery! that's the English of the Word, and the Consequence of the Practice.[30]

He goes on to make a legitimate point that "Delight without Restraint, ... without Conscience or Shame", as the supreme law of comedy, would be dangerous.

Collier's deep-seated disgust with the immoral tone of contemporary drama resulted not only from his sense of outrage at the abuse of clergy, Scripture, and religion on the stage, but as well from the general lewdness and dissolute character of the plays that he had read. His genuine regard for the ancients obviously molded his attitude, and classical drama and theories became the models from which he took his own standards for

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29. Ibid., p. 106.

30. Ibid., pp. 106,107.

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judging. Comments on plot and character, and citations from Greek and Latin plays reveal his close study of them as critical background. Collier sets out upon his first contention, that the stage is immodest, by generalizing upon the obscenity and "smuttiness" of the day. Barren fancy makes the vulgar, or the "looser Part of the Mob" relish scandalous liberties. Writers fall into the error of doing what is expedient:

> The Modern Poets seem to use Smut as the old Ones did Machines, to relieve a fainting Invention. When Pegasus is jaded, and would stand still, he is apt like other Tits, to run into every Puddle.[31]

To support his views, Collier contrasts the moderns with the ancients, who generally meet his hearty approval, and whose offenses he either ignores or condones. Since lewdness was practised even in heathen temples, he remarks, it is not surprising that the stage should take over the liberties of religion. Aeschylus he finds noble and inspiring, his thoughts lofty, and his material "shining and solid". His style is pompous and martial, but "his Inclination for the Sublime, carries him too far: He is sometimes embarrass'd with Epithets. His Metaphors are too stiff, and far fetch'd; and he rises rather in Sound, than in Sense."[32] He reveals a nice regard for good man-

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31. Ibid., p. 4.

32. Ibid., p. 17.

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ners and decorum, and declares expressly against the business of amours.[33] Collier notes especially the delicate handling of love in the Eumenides. He likewise highly approves of the style, uniformity of character, plots, and observance of decorum on the part of Sophocles. "There is nothing but what is Great, and Solemn throughout ... The Figures are sometimes Bold, but not Extravagant. There are no Flights of Bombast, no Towring above Nature and Possibility ..."[34] Like Aeschylus, he depicts love but rarely, and then, very temperately and decently, screening the offensive ideas by "metaphorical and distant Expressions". His tendernesses move to pity and concern, but to no more.[35] Collier later says that "the Plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles are formed upon Models of Virtue: They join Innocence with Pleasure, and design the Improvement of the Audience." Euripides, too, arouses good emotions; he is chaste and "regular", and careful of decorum and manners. It is his method

> to decline the Singularities of the Stage, and to appear with an Air of Conversation. He delivers great Thoughts in common Language, and is dress'd more like a Gentleman than a Player.

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33. Ibid.

34. Ibid., p. 18.

35. Ibid., p. 19.

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> His Distinction lies in the Perspicuity of his Style; in Maxim, and Moral Reflection; in his peculiar Happiness for touching the Passions, especially that of Pity: And lastly, in exhausting the Cause, and arguing Pro and Con, upon the Stretch of Reason.[36]

As though marshalling his forces, Collier says of Euripides, "And as for the Matter before us, he is entirely ours."[37] Aristophanes, however, meets with detailed censure; does he not "take great Liberties, and make Women speak extraordinary Sentences?"[38] But "his President signifies nothing in the Case"; first, both reason and authority weigh against him: "We have the Practice and Opinion of Men of much greater Sense and Learning than himself" -- the "best Philosophers and Poets, Criticks and Orators, both Greek and Latin, both Ancient and Modern".[39] Second, he lacked judgment and ignored the rules of decorum;[40] and, third, in his lucid intervals, Aristophanes pronounced against his own practices. His

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36. Ibid., pp. 19, 20.

37. Ibid., p. 20.

38. Ibid., p. 23.

39. Ibid., p. 23 f.

40. Here Collier refers to the clownish portrayal of gods, the abuse of Aeschylus, free treatment of women, and smutty talk. He remarks that Aristophanes obviously had sense, but was too foolish to use it.

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characters are either improperly drawn, or not uniform. One point in his favor is that he never uses amorous intrigues -- he "never patches up a Play with Courtship, and Whining, though he wrote nothing but Comedy".[41] On the whole, Aristophanes "confutes his own Lewdness", and makes of himself "an insignificant Authority".[42]

Of the Romans, Terence and Plautus, contrasted with the moderns, are modest. Plautus generally draws his people true to life, and his prologues and epilogues are inoffensive. If there are excesses in his portrayal of character, it is because he "wrote in an Age not perfectly refin'd, and often seems to design his Plays for a vulgar Capacity".[43] He handles love discreetly, not descending to any "nauseous particulars"; and, as a rule, his best plays are modest and clean.[44] While Plautus is

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41. Ibid., p. 32.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., p. 18.

44. Collier must admit that the Truculentus, a "fine Play with a Heathen allowance, is pretty passable". In short, "Where he is most a poet, he is generally least a Buffoon. And where the Entertainment is Smut, there is rarely any other Dish well dress'd ...." (ibid., p.12). Montague Summers has rightly put it in remarking that "Plautus is a comic writer of the very first order, of the most witty invention, and delightful humour, but it is not a little absurd, and in no way can it dis-

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a comedian of richer invention, Collier finds Terence the more judicious:

> His Raillery is not only finer, and his stile better polish'd; but his Characters are more just, and he seems to have reach'd farther into Life than the other. ... even his Strumpets are better behaved than our honest Women of Quality of the English Stage.[45]

Terence made his appearance when "Breeding was more exact, and the Town better polish'd; And he manages accordingly".[46] He has, says Collier, "but one faculty bordering Expression; This single Sentence apart, the rest of his Book is (I think) unsullied, and fit for the nicest Conversation."[47] As for Seneca, he is "clean throughout the Piece, and stands generally off from the Point of Love";[48] he avoids courting in all except one play, and here it is handled in most modest terms. In another, the theme of incest appears, "but without any shocking Description".[49] Later, however, Collier declares that Seneca is inferior to the Greeks, that his heroes and heroines are bold with divinities, and "rave to distraction" without proper punishment.[50]

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tinguish the Latin dramatist, to condone, or rather to ignore, his lubric situations and ribaldry for the sake of proving our English writers foul and impure in comparison with so chaste a pagan." (The Complete Works of William Congreve, ed. by Montague Summers. London, 1923. Introduction, p. 39.

45. Ibid., p. 14.

46. Ibid., p. 13.

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Collier abruptly turns from the ancients to consider the English theatre, "from Queen Elizabeth to King Charles II". Here, his praise becomes rare, and, for his contemporaries, non-existent. The chief figure he dismisses summarily:

> As for Shakespear, he is too guilty to make any Evidence: But I think he gains not much by his Misbehaviour; He has commonly Plautus's Fate, where there is most Smut, there is least Sense.[51]

Collier approves the morality of Fletcher and Beaumont, and Jonson's attitude in declaring for modesty and for the dual aim in drama of pleasure and profit.[52] He next cites, as a sign of seventeenth-century French taste, Corneille's remark that the mere idea of prostitution in his Théodore, shocked the audience and "made the Play miscarry".[53] Having satisfied himself that the French generally observe decorum, Collier looks at the contem-

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47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., p. 16.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., p. 62.

51. Ibid., p. 33.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid., p. 35. Collier's obviously approving comment upon the French dramatist, Montague Summers calls "an abrupt and impertinent reference". (op. cit., p.40)

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porary English stage, to condemn it as "superlatively scandalous", exceeding the liberties of all other times and countries, and without the plea of a precedent.

Chapters Two and Three of A Short View are entitled "The Profaneness of the Stage", and "The Clergy abused by the Stage". The first he develops on two charges -- the cursing and swearing, and the abuse of religion and of Scripture. Profanity, he declares, is indulged in by all persons, on all occasions -- "by Heroes and Paltroons, by Gentlemen and Clowns, Love and Quarrels, Success and Disappointment, Temper and Passion, must be varnish'd, and set off with Oaths".[54] He generalizes upon the manner of use:

> At some times, and with some Poets, Swearing is no ordinary Relief. It stands up in the room of Sense, gives Spirit to a flat Expression, and makes a Period Musical and Round. In short, 'tis almost all the Rhetoric, and Reason some People are Masters of: ... Sometimes they mince the Matter, change the Letter Gad for God , and keep the Sense, as if they had a mind to steal a Swearing, and break the Commandment without Sin. At another time, the Oaths are clipt, but not so much within the Ring, but that the Image and Superscription are visible.[55]

Instances of profanity are to be found in The Old Bachelor, The Double Dealer, and Love for Love; and Don Quixote, The Provok'd Wife, and The Relapse are "par-

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54. Ibid., p. 37.

55. Ibid.

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ticularly Rampant and Scandalous". The English Stage, thunders Collier, exceeds "predecessors in this, as well as other Branches of Immorality":[56]

> Shakespear is comparatively sober, Ben. Johnson is still more regular; and as for Beaumont and Fletcher, in their Plays, they are commonly profligate Persons that swear, and even those are reprov'd for't. Besides, the Oaths are not so full of Hell and Defiance, as in the Moderns.[57]

Other points are that swearing in the playhouse is by law expressly forbidden, and that it is "ungentlemanly, as well as an unchristian Practice". The latter Collier supports on the ethical ground that swearing before women is a breach of good behaviour, -- and they make up a considerable part of the audience. A "well Bred Man will no more Swear than Fight in the Company of Ladies".[58] Collier next turns the battery of his attack against the current abuse of religion and Scripture. Flaying Dryden in particular, he points immediately to the irreverence of the chapel-scene in The Mock Astrologer. "Here you have the Scripture burlesqu'd, and the Pulpit Admonition apply'd to Whoring", for, during the raillery of courtship, the hero "rallies smuttily upon the other World", and, to bring his lady to comply in his debauchery, tells her that "heaven is all Eyes and no Tongue"; further,

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56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

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sport is made with fiends: "One of the Devils sneezes, upon this they give him the Blessing of the Occasion, and conclude he has got Cold by being too long out of the Fire."[59] Otway's Orphan "takes the same Care of Religion": Polydor, attempting to debauch Monimia, cries, "Blest Heaven, assist me but in this dear Hour". Thus, generalizes Collier, "the Stage worships the true God in Blasphemy, as the Lindians did Hercules by cursing and throwing Stones".[60] At the light talk of eternity in The Old Bachelor, he observes: "This is playing, I take it, with Edge-Tools, To go to Heaven in jest, is the way to go to Hell in earnest."[61] Equally sacrilegious is the episode from the same play when Belmour "desires Laetitia to give him Leave to swear b: her Eyes and her Lips: He kisses the Strumpet, and tells her, Eternity was in that Moment".[62] Collier rails at The Double Dealer because Lady Plyant "cries out Jesu, and talks Smut in the same

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58. Ibid., p. 39.

59. Ibid., pp. 39,40.

60. Ibid., p. 39.

61. Ibid., p. 40.

62. Ibid.

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Sentence", and because "Lady Froth is pleased to call Jehu a Hackney-Coachman". Brisk replies:

> If Jehu was a Hackney-Coachman, I am answer'd,... You may put that into the Marginal Notes though, to prevent Criticisms -- only mark it with a small Asterism, and say, Jehu was formerly a Hackney-Coachman.[63]

This, says Collier, is a "heavy Piece of Profaneness ... no doubt thought a lucky one, because it burlesques the Text, and the Comment, all under one".[64] And so he proceeds, enumerating similar instances in Don Sebastian, Love Triumphant, Love for Love, The Provok'd Wife, The Relapse, and Cleomenes. Lines in Love for Love that concern Sampson bring forth the rebuke that here you "have the sacred History burlesqu'd, and Sampson once more brought into the House of Dagon, to make sport for the Philistines!"[65] Suddenly Collier wearies of his task:

> I am quite tired with these wretched Sentences. The Sight indeed is horrible, and I am almost unwilling to shew it. However they shall be produced like Malefactors, not for Pomp, but Execution. Snakes and Vipers, must sometimes be look'd on, to destroy them. I can't forbear expressing my self with some Warmth under these Provocations. What Christian can be unconcerned at such intolerable Abuses? What can be a juster Reason for Indignation than Insolence and Atheism? Resentment can never be better shewn nor Aversion more seasonably exerted! Nature made

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63. Ibid. p. 42.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid., pp. 49,50.

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> the Ferment and Rising of the Blood, for such Occasions as this. On what unhappy Times are we fallen! The Oracles of Truth, the Laws of Omnipotence, and the Fate of Eternity are laugh'd at and despis'd! That the Poets should be suffer'd to play upon the Bible, and Christianity be hooted off the Stage! Christianity, that from such feeble Beginnings made so stupendous a Progress!... That this glorious Religion, so reasonable in its Doctrine, so well attested by Miracles, by Martyrs, by all the Evidence that Fact is capable of, should become the Diversion of the Town, and the Scorn of Buffoons! And where and by whom is all this Outrage committed? Why not by Julian or Porphry, not among Turks or Heathens; but in a Christian Country, in a Reform'd Church, and in the Face of Authority! Well! I perceive the Devil was a Saint in his Oracles, to what he is in his Plays. His Blasphemies are as much improv'd as his Style, and one would think the Muse was Legion![66]

Turning to further citations, he declares them to reek as if "from Pandaemonium, and almost smell of Fire and Brimstone":

> This is an Eruption of Hell with a Witness! I almost wonder the Smoak of it has not darken'd the Sun, and turn'd the Air to Plague and Poison! These are outragious Provocations; enough to arm all Nature in revenge; to exhaust the Judgments of Heaven, and sink the Island in the Sea![67]

Again he looks into the behavior of the ancients, who, because they were not suppressed by Christian doctrine, ran riot; he examines and cites passages from the plays of Terence, Plautus, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Seneca, and

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66. Ibid., pp. 52, 53.

67. Ibid., p. 55.

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Euripides. These are censured to some degree, but, on the whole, "they are few of them so bad as the Moderns".[68] It is the "liberties of Seneca" that, according to Collier, modern poets have imitated and excelled.

Chapter III of A Short View consists of a survey with specific examples, of the "scurrilities" that illustrate the ill usage of the clergy on the modern stage, and an account of the respect accorded priests by Greek, Roman, and French dramatists. In this second regard even the Elizabethan dramatists are better than their successors. The whole chapter is, of course, motivated by Collier's strong feeling of outrage at the contempt shown his own profession; he defends, moreover, not only his own Anglican habit, but anyone who can lay claim to the name of priest. In the words of Montague Summers,

> he gathers under his Ursula-like cloak of protection the ministers of Apollo, Theban prophets, the priest of Pan, Jewish Levites, Mohommedan Muftis, Egyptian priests, undistinguished in one indiscriminate crowd. Magi, Druids, Priests of Baal, Priestesses of Argos, Priests and Seers from Homer, Vergil, the Greek Tragedians, Seneca, swarm through his pages. All, it would seem, are sacred alike to him, all must be respected, reverenced, revered.[69]

To "represent a Person fairly and without disservice to

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68. Ibid., p. 56.

69. Summers, op. cit., pp. 42,43.

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his Reputation", says Collier, two rules must be observed: he must not be ill used by others, nor must he be made to play the fool. Both methods are employed to the disadvantage of the clergy, and the "whole Common-place of Rudeness is run through" by playwrights. To instance "their Civility", Collier pulls out of Dryden's Spanish Friar the turning of Dominick into "a Pimp for Lorenzo", and the line wherein he "is call'd a Parcel of Holy Guts and Garbage, and said to have Room in his Belly for his Church-steeple".[70] He finds equally offensive material in The Country Wife, The Old Bachelor, The Double Dealer, and Don Sebastian. He rails at Dryden for striking at clergy through the Mufti, and borrowing "the Name of the Turk to make the Christian ridiculous".[71] In Cleomenes, Cassandra, "in a mighty Huff", cries at a public ceremony,

> Accurs'd be thou, Grass-eating fodder'd God!
> Accurs'd thy Temple! More accurs'd thy Priests!

This ranting, Collier suggests, "may work by way of Inference", since it is "a handsome Complement to Libertines and Atheists".[72] He notes just "such another Swaggering against Priests" in Dryden's Oedipus. Other

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70. Ibid., p. 64.

71. Ibid., p. 67.

72. Ibid., p. 69.

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contemporary plays likewise suffer under Collier's belligerent eye; in short, to him the priesthood in all its divisions appears to be hounded and lampooned by the playhouse wits:

> Neither Jews nor Heathens, Turks nor Christians, Rome nor Geneva, Church nor Conventicle, can escape them. They are afraid lest Virtue should have any Quarters undisturb'd, Conscience any Corner to retire to, or God be worshipped in any Place. 'Tis true, their Force seldom carries up to their Malice: They are too eager in the Combat to be happy in the Execution. The Abuse is often both gross and clumsey, and the Wit as Wretched as the Manners.[73]

Collier next turns to Homer and Virgil to cite examples of fair treatment of priests, and, as a rule, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Seneca in this respect meet his approval. Aristophanes -- although so much the atheist that he is "not worth the citing" -- grants his priests "every jot as good Quarter as the Gods".[74] Terence and Plautus rightly make priests "Persons of Condition". Of the moderns, neither Corneille nor Moliere brings them upon the stage; and the "same Reservedness is practiced in Spain and Italy." Racine stands as the only exception in French drama.[75] In fact, no theatre in Europe, other than the English, entertains its audience by mocking the clergy. In considering earlier

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73. Ibid., p. 72.

74. Ibid., p. 79.

75. Ibid., p. 80.

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English dramatists, Collier accords a bit of praise to Shakespeare: in several plays, he "takes the Freedom to represent the Clergy", but "for the most part, he holds up the Function, and makes them neither act, nor suffer any thing unhandsome". Collier cites the treatment of priests in Measure for Measure, Much Ado about Nothing, Twelfth Night, Henry IV, and VI, Romeo and Juliet, and Merry Wives of Windsor. Because, in Love's Labour's Lost, "the Curate plays the Fool egregiously, ... the whole Play is a very silly one".[76] But, on the whole, Shakespeare is "much the gentiler Enemy" than, for example, Vanbrugh, whose business "is to sink the Notion, and murther Character, and make the Function despicable".[77] Jonson, Beaumont, and Fletcher, in some of their plays, made the clergy appear creditable, in others, knavish and foolish. Thus "the English stage", concludes Collier, "has always been out of order, but never to the Degree 'tis at present".[78] The remainder of Chapter III consists of a discussion, on three counts, of the right of the clergy to respect: their relation to God, importance of their office, and privilege of prescription; he re-

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76. Ibid., p.81.

77. Ibid., p. 82.

78. Ibid.

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views the history of the priesthood, and of ancient and modern attitudes toward it. He concludes with the declaration that "the Priesthood is the Profession of a Gentleman", one that does not deserve coarse usage. Wherein, he asks, lies the decency of assailing the order?

> Are the Poets their Ordinaries? Is the Pulpit under the Discipline of the Stage? And are those fit to correct the Church that are not fit to come into it? ... The Clergy may have their Failings sometimes like others, but what then? The Character is still untarnish'd. The The Men may be little, but the Priests are not so. And therefore like other People, they ought to be treated by their best Distinction.[79]

Chapter IV of A Short View has the sub-title, "The Stage-Poets make their principal Persons vicious, and reward them at the End of the Play". Collier's objection here grows out of his insistence upon decorum in drama, and largely out of his belief that the immorality of the stage exerted a pernicious influence upon society generally: through brilliant wit and glamorous scenes vice was made attractive, and the reflection of loose living among fashionable folk recommended licentiousness to lower classes. Thus the very charm of the comedy of manners amounted to a social evil. In plays of Dryden, Wycherley, Congreve, and D'Urfey, Collier finds ample evidence for his contention. "I perceive", he says, "we

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79. Ibid., p. 90.

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should have a rare Set of Virtues if these Poets had the making of them! How they hug a vicious Character, and how profuse are they in their Liberalities to Lewdness?"[80] He generalizes in satirical vein:

> A fine Gentleman, is a fine Whoring, Swearing, Smutty, Atheistical Man. These Qualifications it seems compleat the Idea of Honour. They are the top Improvements of Fortune, and the distinguishing Glories of Birth and Breeding! This is the Stage-Test for Quality, and those that can't stand it, ought to be disclaim'd. The Restraints of Conscience and the Pedantry of Virtue, are unbecoming a Cavalier: Future Securities, and Reaching beyond Life, are vulgar Provisions: If he falls a thinking at this Rate, he forfeits his Honour; for his Head was only made to run against a Post! Here you have a Man of Breeding and Figure, that burlesques the Bible, swears, and talks Smut to Ladies, speaks ill of his Friend behind his Back, and betrays his Interest: A fine Gentleman, that has neither Honesty nor Honour, Conscience nor Manners, good Nature nor civil Hypocrisy: ... These worshipful Things are the Poet's Favorites: They appear at the Head of the Fashion; and shine in Character and Equipage.[81]

Dryden particularly is attacked for his failure to punish wickedness. Admitting that one ill practice cannot be defended by another, he had tried to reason his procedure by making a wide difference between the rules of tragedy and comedy: vice must be punished in tragedy, he writes, because the persons are great.[82] But, declares Collier, this principle grants endless private license,

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80. Ibid., p. 93.

81. Ibid. pp. 93,94.

82. Ibid., p. 101.

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and amounts to "comfortable casuistry". By copious citing from modern plays, he proceeds to inveigh against their authors for ignoring the laws of decency, of decorum, and of probability. Jonson, Rapin, Aristotle, and Quintilian he introduces as his authorities. Again, Shakespeare, Beaumont, and Fletcher receive stinted praise for their use of poetic justice. Dramatic liberties with persons of quality, observes Collier,

> are altogether new; they are unpracticed by the Latin Comedians, and by the English too till very lately .... And as for Moliere in France, he pretends to fly his Satyr no higher than a Marquis.[83]

Does the English stage have a particular privilege? "Is their Charter enlarg'd, and are they on the Foot of Freedom with the Slaves in the Saturnalia? Must all Men be handled alike? Must their Roughness be needs play'd upon Title? "If", says Collier, quoting from Dryden's Essay of Dramatic Poesie, "a Play ought to be a just Image of Humane Nature", why are not the decencies of life and of conversation observed?

> Why must the Customs of Countries be cross'd upon, and the regards of Honour be overlook'd? What Necessity is there to kick the Coronets about the Stage, and to make a Man a Lord, only in order to make him a Coxcomb. I hope the Poet's don't intend to revive the old Project of Levelling, and Vote down the House of Peers. In

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83. Ibid., p. 114.

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> earnest, the Play-house is an admirable School of Behaviour! This is their way of managing Ceremony, distinguishing Degree, and entertaining the Boxes![84]

Collier's next chapter in A Short View consists of scathing attacks upon four plays -- Dryden's Amphitryon and King Arthur, D'Urfey's Don Quixote, and Vanbrugh's The Relapse. The first three he assails upon his favorite grounds for condemnation -- immorality, profaneness, and lack of decorum. It is in Collier's estimate of The Relapse that he becomes more the literary critic than he is elsewhere in the Short View. Having mentioned the swaggering preface of Vanbrugh, he proceeds to summarize the plot. He finds that the title itself is a misnomer: the chief characters are not consistently enough in evidence, and the "Intrigue and the Discovery" really turn upon the success of a younger brother.[85] Next, he observes the moral to be vicious, because "It points the wrong Way, and puts the Prize into the wrong Hand."[86] Summing up the character of the rake, Fashion, Collier comments,

> To speak freely, a lewd Character seldom wants

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84. Ibid., pp. 114,115.

85. Ibid., p. 137.

86. Ibid.

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> good Luck in a Comedy; so that whenever you see a thorough Libertine, you may almost swear he is in a rising Way, and that the Poet intends to make him a great Man.[93]

In short, The Relapse perverts the end of comedy, "which, as Monsieur Rapin observes, ought to regard Reformation and publick Improvement".[94] Collier then sets down the requirements of a good plot; here the poet must "play the Politician":

> This Part should have some Stroaks of Conduct, and Strains of Invention more than Ordinary. There should be something that is admirable and unexpected to surprize the Audience. And all this Fineness must work by gentle Degrees, by a due Preparation of Incidents, and by Instruments which are probable ....Where there is no Pretence to Miracle and Machine, Matters must not exceed the Force of Belief. To produce Effects without Proportion and Likelihood in the Cause, is Farce and Magick, and looks more like Conjuring than Conduct.[95]

Collier next quotes Rapin's remark that "without Probability every Thing is lame and Faulty".[96] Having examined The Relapse by these rules, he concludes the plot to be full of inconsistencies and incredibilities. Then, with the fable, moral, and plot dispatched, he considers the ques-

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93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid., p. 138.

96. Ibid. Quoted from Rapin's Reflections on Aristotle's

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tion of decorum in portrayal of character and manners. He earlier defines the term manners as "a Propriety of Actions and Persons":[97]

> To succeed in this Business, there must always be a Regard had to Age, Sex, Condition; and nothing put into the Mouths of Persons which disagrees with any of these Circumstances. 'Tis not enough to say a witty thing, unless it be spoken by a likely Person, and upon a proper Occasion.[98]

Collier here observes that "the Manners in the Language of the Stage have a Signification somewhat particular":

> Aristotle and Rapin, call them the Causes and Principles of Action. They are formed upon the Diversities of Age and Sex, of Fortune, Capacity and Education. The Propriety of Manners consists in a Conformity of Practice and Principle, of Nature and Behaviour. ... An old Man must not appear with the Profuseness and Levity of Youth; a Gentleman must not talk like a Clown, nor a Country Girl like a Town Jilt. And when the Characters are feign'd, 'tis Horace's Rule to keep them uniform and consistent, and agreeable to their first setting out. The Poet must be careful to hold his Persons tight to their Calling and Pretensions. He must not shift and shuffle their Understandings; let them skip from Wits to Blockheads, nor from Courtiers to Pedants. On the other Hand, if their Business is playing the Fool, keep them strictly to their Duty, and never indulge them in fine Sentences. To manage otherwise is to desert Nature, and makes the Play appear monstrous and chimerical. So that instead of an Image of Life, 'tis rather an Image of Impossibility.[99]

Treatise of Poesie, Translated by Thomas Rymer in 1674. Collier may have known the French version, however.

97. Ibid., p. 108.

98. Ibid.

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Collier applies these requisites to The Relapse, and finds the women not modest. He again cites Rapin, who blames Ariosto and Tasso for robbing women of their natural trait -- modesty,[100] and quotes from Rymer's Tragedies of the Last Age Consider'd:

> Nature knows nothing in the Manners which so properly and particularly distinguish a Woman as her Modesty ... An impudent Woman is fit only to be kicked, and exposed in Comedy.[101]

Collier adds that lewdness in a Knight's daughter is far less becoming than in that of a peasant, whose crudity is "more natural and expected": "To breed all People alike, and make no Distinction between a Seat and a Cottage, is not over artful, nor very ceremonious to the Country Gentleman".[102] Accordingly, if Vanbrugh wanted to depict his heiress as unpolished, "he should have made her keep Sheep, or brought her up at the Wash-Bowl".[103] Collier, examining the characters one by one, finds in each a flagrant violation of probability. Thus, "Vanity and Formalizing is Lord Foplington's Part":

> To let him speak without Awkwardness and Affectation, is to put him out of his Element. There

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99. Ibid., pp. 142,143.

100. Ibid., p. 143.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid., p. 144.

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> must be Gum and Stiffening in his Discourse to make it natural. However, the Relapser has ... given him some of the most gentile Raillery in the whole Play. ... This Lord in Discourse with Fashion forgets his Name, flies out into Sense and smooth Expression, outtalks his Brother, and abating the starch'd Similitude of a Watch, discovers nothing of Affectation for almost a Page together. He relapses into the same Intemperance of good Sense, in another Dialogue between him and his Brother.[104]

Collier points out a similar inconsistency in Worthy, and ridicules his impassioned speech to Amanda:

> Worthy pursues his Point, and rises in his Address. He falls into a Fit of Dissection, and hopes to gain his Mistress by cutting his Throat. He is for ripping up his faithful Breast, to prove the Reality of his Passion. Now when a Man courts with his Heart in his Hand, it must be great Cruelty to refuse him! No Butcher could have thought of a more moving Expedient! However, Amanda continues obstinate, and is not in the usual Humour of the Stage! Upon this, like a well bred Lover he seizes her by Force, and threatens to kill her .... In this Rencounter the Lady proves too nimble, and slips through his Fingers. Upon this Disappointment, he cries, there's Divinity about her, and she has dispens'd some Portion on't to me. His Passion is metamorphos'd in the Turn of a Hand: He is refin'd into a Platonick Admirer, and goes off as like a Town Spark as you would wish. And so much for the Poet's fine Gentleman.[105]

Two other factors that should be examined in a play, says Collier, again quoting Rapin,[106] are the thoughts

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103. Ibid.

104. Ibid., p. 145.

105. Ibid.

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and expressions; these he considers in his treatment of characters in The Relapse, with regard to propriety. He last deals with the three unities, the design of which "is to conceal the Fiction of the Stage, to make the Play appear natural, and to give it an Air of Reality and Conversation".[107] He briefly describes the aim and meaning of each rule, recommending that, although the largest compass for time is twenty-four hours, "a lesser Proportion is more regular"; and, "to be exact, the Time of the History or Fable should not exceed that of the Representation".[108] Upon this rule depends that of place:

> Now the Compass of Time being strait, that of Space must bear a correspondent Proportion. Long Journeys in Plays are impracticable. The Distance of Place must be suited to Leisure and Possibility, otherwise the Supposition will appear unnatural and absurd.[109]

The unity of action

> consists in contriving the chief Business of the Play single, and making the Concerns of one Person distinguishably great above the rest. All the Forces of the Stage must, as it were, serve under one General: And the lesser Intriegues or under Plots, have some Relation

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106. He quotes from Rapin's Reflections, The "Thoughts" or "Sentiments are the Expressions of the Manners, as Words are of the Thoughts". p. 148.

107. Ibid., p. 149.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

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> to the Main. The very positions must be useful, and appear only to be conquer'd and countermin'd. To represent two considerable Actions independent of each other, destroys the Beauty of Subordination, weakens the Contrivance, and dilutes the Pleasure. It splits the Play, and makes the Poem double.[110]

Collier recommends that he who would know more upon this subject should consult Corneille's Discours des Trois Unitéz. The Relapse violates all three of the unities. As for that of place,

> In the third Act the Play is in Town, in the fourth Act 'tis stroll'd fifty Miles off, and in the fifth Act in London again. Here Pegasus stretches it to purpose! This Poet is fit to ride a Match with Witches. Juliana Cox never switched a Broom-stock with more Expedition.[111]

On the whole, the "strangeness of Persons, distinct Company, and Inconnexion of Affairs, destroys the Unity of the Poem."[112] Having examined the dramatic qualities of the play, Collier concludes it to be a "Heap of Irregularities":

> There is neither Propriety in the Name, nor Contrivance in the Plot, nor Decorum in the Characters. 'Tis a thorough Contradiction to Nature, and impossible in Time and Place. Its shining Graces, as the Author calls them, are Blasphemy and Baudy, together with a Mixture of Oaths and Cursing. Upon the whole, the Relapser's Judgment and his Morals are pretty well adjusted.[113]

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110. Ibid., p. 149.

111. Ibid., p. 150.

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid., p. 151.

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The author's defense in his preface, asserts Collier, is wretched. One insolent remark by Vanbrugh calls forth Collier's epithet, "brave Bear-Garden Language"; and the recommendation that "the Relapser would do well to transport his Muse to Samourgan [which, Collier footnotes, is an 'Academy in Lithuania for the Education of Bears']. There it is likely that he might find Leisure to lick his Abortive Brat into Shape; and meet with proper Business for his Temper, and Encouragement for his Talent".[114]

If Collier flays Vanbrugh, he just as violently, and with even less consideration, attacks D'Urfey for his profanity, foolish wit, abuse of clergy, indecency, and violation of decorum. Having illustrated these points fully -- unless he encounters lines too coarse to be printed -- he disposes of the "wretched D'Urfey" in curt fashion:

> Were I the Author, I would discharge my Muse unless she prov'd Kinder. His way is rather to cultivate his Lungs, and sing to other Peoples Sense: For to finish him in a Word, he is Vox & praeterea nihil. I speak this only on Supposition that the Rest of his Performances are like these; which because I have not perused, I can judge of no farther than by the Rule of ex pede Herculem.[115]

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114. Ibid., p. 151.

115. Ibid., p. 135.

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Recommending Boileau's Art of Poetry, Collier translates these lines for D'Urfey's benefit:

> I like an Author that reforms the Age;
> And keeps the right Decorum of the Stage;
> That always pleases by just Reason's Rule:
> But for a tedious Droll, a quibbling Fool,
> Who with low nauseous Baudry fills his Plays,
> Let him be gone and on two Tressels raise
> Some Smithfield Stage, where he may act his Pranks,
> And make Jack-Puddings speak to Mountebanks.[116]

In the last chapter, Collier declares his aim of presenting "a short View of the Sense of Antiquity", plus some modern authorities, "from all which it will appear, that Plays have generally been look'd on as the Nurseries of Vice, the Corrupters of Youth, and the Grievance of the Country where they are suffer'd".[117] This proof is arranged under three heads : first, citations from the "most celebrated Heathen Philosophers, Orators and Historians"; second, laws and constitutions of princes; and third, testimony drawn from Church Fathers, records, and councils. In his first group he includes Plato,Xenophon, Aristotle, Cicero, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, Tacitus, Plutarch, Ovid, Plautus, Propertius, and Juvenal; finally, he alludes to a dedication by Wycherley, admitting the corruptness of the playhouses.[118] Some of this group, Plutarch, Cicero, and Livy, are again quoted

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116. Ibid., pp. 135,136.

117. Ibid., p. 152.

118. Ibid., pp. 152-156.

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in the discussion of state-censuring of theatres; other than the history of legislative efforts, Collier includes information from recent French periodicals, and a Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of Arras in Flanders, indicating ecclesiastical disapproval of plays.[119] Various canons from primitive church councils furnish a section of proof for the third group, to which Collier adds the authority of Theophilus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Minutius Felix, St Cyprian, Lantantius, St Ambrose, Chrysostom, St Hierom, St Augustine, and a modern, Didacus de Tapia.

Collier, in bringing to a close his invective, concedes that the dancing and music of the ancients were probably more lewd than those of the moderns; in this respect he is unwilling to censure, because he himself does not frequent the playhouse, and therefore would be dealing with uncertainties. But nothing in antiquity, he maintains, can approach the modern London stage for its rankness of language, abuse of religion, and excesses of love-making:

> The Hero's Mistress is no less than his Deity.... What Sovereign Respect, what religious Address, what idolizing Raptures are we pester'd with? Shrines and Offerings, and Adorations, are nothing upon such solemn Occasions. Thus Love

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119. Ibid., pp. 156-163.

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> and Devotion, Ceremony and Worship, are confounded; and God and his Creatures treated both alike! These Shreds of Distraction are often brought from the Play-house into Conversation: And thus the Sparks are taught to court their Mistresses, in the same Language they say their Prayers.[120]

After the too-great concern with love, Collier objects to the encouragement by drama of revenge, duelling, and quarrels; in this respect, he says, the French stage has had as pernicious an influence upon society as has the English--both have made malignity a mark of the man of honour. He marvels that "the Impudence in Language and Gesture" can be the inclination of ladies: "Is a Reading upon Vice so entertaining, and do they love to see the Stews dissected before them?"[121] Decency and modesty should keep women away from the playhouses. "The strictest Virtue may sometimes stumble upon an ill Sight; but there is no necessity to foster immorality."[122] Therefore, players should be discouraged, for the miserable temper of the age is to be attributed largely to the influence of the theatre.

From a summary of A Short View, it is obvious that Collier's literary criticism is concentrated in his treat -

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120 Ibid., pp. 185, 186.

121. Ibid., p. 186.

122. Ibid., p. 187.

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ment of The Relapse; elsewhere he dilutes his analysis of plays with moral digressions and asides of scathing irony; and frequently his observations upon drama must be plucked out of a patch of thorny dialectic. We have seen Collier's dependence upon Aristotle, Boileau, Rapin, Horace, and Rymer in his insistence upon decorum in presentation of character, usage of language, and depiction of manners; and we have noted that he found Greek and Roman dramatists, despite the laxness of paganism, far less offensive than Restoration playwrights. They permit few liberties of speech and action other than to the vulgar, they keep their slaves civil, their nobility majestic, their strumpets "little people", and they handle delicately the natural reserve of women. As a rule, should persons of quality talk or act intemperately, they are made either to dispute against themselves or receive punishment. "Representation", observes Collier, "is more natural this way; And which is still better, 'tis not so likely to pass into Imitation: Slaves and Clowns are not big enough to spread Infection; and set up an ill Fashion."[123] Whatever censurable passages he finds in Euripides, Aristophan-

123. Ibid., p. 11.

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es, Plautus, or Terence, they still are "not À l'Angloise obscene", and "don't come up to the Grossness of the Modern Stage".[124] In reference to the decorum observed by Plautus, Collier cites from his twenty comedies the seven most censurable passages that give liberties of speech to women--a number "which considering how the World goes is very moderate". Viewed by the side of modern English characters, "these Roman Lasses are meer Vestal Virgins, comparatively speaking".[125] Of dramatic presentation of women as licentious in manner and thought, with no regard for social station or natural tendency, Collier disapproves. He notes that Euripides, who "is always careful of this Decorum", handles especially well the case of Phaedra, in the Hippolytus; she, possessed of an incestuous love, "is as regular and reserv'd in her Language as the most vertuous Matron", and "she keeps her Modesty even after she has lost her Wits".[126] In contrast, says Collier, with a remark that smacks of Thomas Rymer,

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124. Ibid., p. 10.

125. Ibid.; in relation to one of the citations by Collier, Montague Summers --perhaps under the guise of "scholarly thoroughness" --seems to derive a certain lascivious pleasure from digging up not only the passage out of Plautus, but as well the few uses in Ovid and Martial of the verb surgere. "The word, however, is of the rarest, and," charges Summers, "Collier had done well...not to draw attention to the jest". Yet just before this Summer admits, "The bawdry is not very apparent, and so is negligible". (Op.cit., p. 39.)

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> Had Shakespear secur'd this point for his young Virgin Ophelia, the Play had been better contriv'd. Since he was resolv'd to drown the Lady like a Kitten, he should have set her a swimming a little sooner. To keep her alive only to sullen her Reputation, and discover the Rankness of her Breath, was very cruel![127]

In criticising the Amphitryon, Collier assails Dryden for a non-observance of decorum in representing Jupiter with all the majesty of God, and then making him out a debauchee. Dryden can find no precedent in "his original Plautus", nor in Seneca, nor yet in the Greek tragedians; Homer's Jupiter, who is "charm'd with Venus's Girdle" is, at the height of his courtship, "under the Ascendant of his Passion". This, says Collier, "was a slippery Place, and yet the Poet makes a shift to keep his feet". Accordingly, Homer's "Jupiter is little, but not nauseous".[128] Dryden has no defense in saying that this god is an idol "of lewd memory", and that therefore his example can have no weight:

> Under Favour this is a Mistake: For won't Pitch daub when a dirty Hand throws it; or can't a Toad spit Poison because she's ugly? Ribaldry is dangerous under any Circumstances of Representation.[129]

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126. Ibid., p. 6.

127. Ibid., pp. 6,7.

128. Ibid., p. 117.

129. Ibid., p. 118.

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If Dryden has no precedent for his "singularities", why has he fallen into them? asks Collier.

> Was it the Decency of the Thing, and the Propriety of Character and Behaviour? By no means....Nature and Operations ought to be proportion'd, and Behaviour suited to the Dignity of Being. To draw a Monkey in Royal Robes, and a Prince in Antick, would be Farce upon Colours, entertain like a Monster, and please only upon the Score of Deformity. Why then does Mr. Dryden cross upon Nature and Authority, and go off as he confesses, from the Plan of Plautus and Moliere?
> 130

It is clear, he asserts, that Dryden has borrowed and "improv'd" upon the libertinism of Moliere --that the intent was atheistical, and the myth a thin screening of blasphemy. The decorum in the Amphitryon is, of course, "quite lost";

> To see the Immortals play such Gambols, and the biggest Beings do the least Actions, is strangely unnatural. An Emperor in the Grimaces of an Ape, or the Diversions of a Kitten, would not be half ridiculous. Now as Monsieur Rapin observes, without Decorum there can be no Probability, nor without Probability any true Beauty. Nature must be minded, otherwise Things will look forced, tawdry and chimerical.
> 131

Collier notes that Dryden, in his Preface To Albion and Albanius, has granted wit to be a propriety of words and thoughts, and that he has said that "propriety is to be

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130. Ibid.

131. Ibid., p. 120.

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observed, even in Machines; and that the Gods are all to manage their peculiar Provinces."[132] Why, then, are not these rules followed "in the Machines of Amphitryon"?

> As I take it, Obscenity has not the Air of Majesty, nor any Alliance with the Sublime. And as for the Figurative Part, 'tis generally of the same Cut with the Lofty: The Smut shines clear and strong through the Metaphor, and is no better screen'd than the Sun by a Glass-Window. ... But tho'the Antients knew nothing of it, there are Considerations above those of Decency. And when this happens, A Rule must rather be trespass'd on, than a Beauty left out. ... Now Beauty is an arbitrary Advantage, and depends upon Custom and Fancy. With some People the blackest Complexions are the handsomest; 'tis to these African Criticks that Mr. Dryden seems to make his Appeal. And without doubt he bespeaks their Favour, and strikes their Imagination luckily enough. For to lodge Divinity and Scandal together, to make the Gods throw Stars like Snow-balls at one another, but especially to court in Smut, and rally in Blasphemy, is most admirably entertaining! This is much better than all the Niceties of Decorum.[133]

These gods are patterns for the mortals --especially women-- whom we meet in Dryden; but, Collier slyly observes, "Indeed when Mr. Dryden makes Jupiter, and Jupiter makes the Women, little less can be expected."[134]

Collier finds much to deride in the language of con-

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132. Ibid., p. 121.

133. Ibid.

134. Ibid., p. 122.

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temporary plays. He disapproves of exaggerations, of ranting, and of vile and suggestive talk. He objects, for example, to the expression of sentiments in contraries; he quotes from the Mourning Bride the speech of Almeria:

> O I am struck, thy Words are Bolts of Ice;
> Which shot into my Breast, now melt and
> chill me,[135]

and a following line,

> I chatter, shake, and faint with thrilling Fears.[136]

When Almeria later ends a cry with "... lower yet, down, down", Collier remarks that "one would think she was learning a Spaniel to Set".[137] He quotes other figures that are "as stiff as Statues", and remind him "of Sylvester's Du Bartas".[138] Deciding "to talk a little in the way of the Stage", he thus characterizes the stylistic bombast of Dryden's Spanish Friar: "This Litter of Epithets makes the Poem look like a Bitch overstock'd with Puppies, and sucks the Sense almost to Skin and Bone".[139] But "all this may pass in a Play-House: False Rhetorick and false Jewels, do well together".[140] Congreve, in his Amendments upon

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135. Ibid., p. 21.

136. Ibid., p. 22.

137. Ibid.

138. Ibid.

139. Ibid.

140. Ibid.

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Mr. Collier's ... Citations, declares that "the Diction of Poetry consists of Figures, and the Frequent Use of Epithets".[141] Collier agrees, adding that

> the Figures should be unforc'd, drawn with Proportion, and ally'd to the Matter in Hand. The Epithets likewise must be smooth, natural and significant. But when they are lean and remote from the Business, when they look hard and stiff, when they clog and incumber the Sense, they are no great Ornaments.[142]

Further, objecting to the use of innuendoes, he quotes from Quintilian's Institutes of Oratory to support his claim that both words and meaning must be unsullied, and and that not only "the grosser Instances", but "all the Doubles-Entendre's should be eliminated completely.[143] And as for punning, "'Tis a Sign a Man is much distress'd, when he flies to such an Expedient".[144] With the attempts to obtain wit through torturing of words, Collier registers complete disgust.[145] A decade later, Addison reflected this attitude in the Spectator.[146]

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141. Cited by Collier, in An Answer to Mr. Congreve's Amendments, Short View, op. cit., p. 219.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid., p. 105.

144. Ibid., p. 11.

145. Cf. his citations from D'Urfey's Don Quixote, p. 133 ff.

146. The Spectator, op. cit., Numbers 39 and 40, 13 and 16, April, 1711.

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In still another respect does Collier condemn modern drama: the prologues and epilogues, he declares, are "sometimes Scandalous to the last Degree":

> Now here, ... the Actors quit the Stage, and remove from Fiction into life. Here they converse with the Boxes and Pit, and address directly to the Audience. These ... Parts, are design'd to justify the Conduct of the Play, and bespeak the Favour of the Company. Upon such Occasions one would imagine, if ever, the Ladies should be used with Respect, and the Measures of Decency observ'd. But here we have Lewdness without Shame ... Here the Poet exceeds himself. Here are such Strains as would turn the Stomach of an ordinary Debauchee, and be almost nauseous in the Stews. And to make it the more agreeable, Women are commonly pick'd out for this Service. Thus the Poet courts the good Opinion of the Audience. This is the Desert he regales the Ladies with at the Close of the Entertainment: ... Nothing can be a greater Breach of Manners than such Liberties as these.[147]

Citations from A Short View indicate the mixture of criticism, shocked protest, and sharp satire that make up the book. Certain of these elements immediately suggest the fact that Collier follows closely on the heels of Thomas Rymer. This exponent of the school of common sense -- made notorious by Macaulay's epithet of "the worst critic that

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147. A Short View, pp. 8,9. The epilogues and prologues of Restoration plays frequently contain most salacious passages; and the effect was intensified by having women speak these lines. Collier makes no mention of the obscene epilogues and dialogues written for children. (Cf. Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Restoration Drama 1660-1700, Cambridge, 1928, p. 253.

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ever lived" -- brought out in 1674 his translation of Rapin's Reflections on Aristotle's Treatise of Poesie; to this he affixed a preface containing his first criticism. His Tragedies of the Last Age Rymer published in 1678, and A Short View of Tragedy; Its Original, Excellency, and Corruption, in 1693. Although Collier echoes Rymer -- almost to the point of discipleship --, it is, in light of the entire situation actuating Collier's invective, too much to declare, with Charles Whibley, that "had the Short View of Tragedy not been written, we never should have seen the Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage".[148] True, Collier, like Rymer, points endlessly to scurrilities, and he writes with the same indiscriminate abuse; he does not, however, go to the same length in crudity, even though his disgust was deeper, and his immediate purpose a more personal one than that moving Rymer to expression. In his application of the tests of common sense and probability, and his dependence upon Rapin, Collier is closely akin to Rymer; both men make use of similar, at times the same, authorities, and both reflect like attitudes, in much the same racy language. But the fund of Collier's knowledge is deeper,

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148. Charles Whibley, The Restoration Drama, in The Cambridge History of English Literature. Cambridge, 1920. Vol. VIII, p. 163.

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and is not derived from Rymer. That Collier easily and familiarly calls upon French critics is obvious, just as is his acquaintance with classical drama and its rules. Neither fact should be obscured by his indulgence in horse-play, or by his citation of examples that do not always validate the point which he wishes to score. Collier quotes Aristotle concerning the end of drama, and on rules for depiction of character, chiefly those of decorum. Horace insists upon the dual aim of instruction and pleasure in poetry; to him, then, as to Jonson, Rapin, and Rymer, does Collier refer for authority. To the two latter critics and to Boileau he looks for citations upon the tests of probability and common sense; and to all these, and Moliere, for insistence upon decorum in speech, action, and character-portrayal. Corneille is used by Collier as the chief authority on the matter of the unities. In his answer to Congreve, Collier refers to Scaliger, to whom the aim of tragedy was purely ethical, for the correct interpretation of Aristotle: "Now as the Business of Tragedy is to represent Princes and Persons of Quality; so by the Laws of Distinction, Comedy ought to be confined to the ordinary Rank of Mankind."[149] In this piece,

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149. A Defense of the Short View &, Being a Reply to Mr. Congreve's Amendment & c. and to the Vindication of the Author of the Relapse. (Bound with A Short View,

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too, Collier quotes Stephen Gosson's Schoole of Abuse on the vileness of plays.

Collier, in his Second Defense of the Short View, expands his previous insistence upon poetic justice. He illustrates by the plays of Euripides; whatever fault the Greek dramatist reveals may be largely excused in that he "takes care to correct the malignity of the Fable by Moral Sentences, and Philosophical Advice".[150] This doctrine of poetic justice became one of the major issues in the controversy arising from Collier's attack. Dennis, a serious defender of the stage, almost deifies the idea and takes Addison to task for paying too little heed to it.[151] It is notable that Dr. Johnson inherits this Renaissance tradition of poetic justice. Collier continues to voice neo-classical tenets in his various replies to the fusillade of counter-attacks upon his own invective. Thus, in his Answer to Drake's Ancient and Modern Stages Surveyed, he reviews the four branches of Aristotle's division of tragedy set forth in his Poetics: first, that which "turns chiefly upon Intrigue and Discovery"; second, the "Pathetick, the Beauty of which con-

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op. cit.) p. 198.

150. An Answer to a Book, Entituled The Ancient and Modern Stages Surveyed, &c. (Bound with A Short View, op. cit.) p. 351.

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sists in the Skill of touching the Passions, and awakening Terror and Pity to an unusual Degree"; third, that "distinguish'd by a plain and pompous Narration, without Surprize of Incidents or Revolution of Affairs"; fourth, the moral.[152] Collier has much to say, in these later pieces, upon Old and New Comedy, and the use of the chorus. He adds more, likewise, in defense of his assertion that no woman should be shown without modesty -- or, as Rymer had put it, "be kick'd in Comedy".[153] That Collier stands almost point for point in sympathy with the neo-classical standards of seventeenth-century French criticism is obvious; it is likewise true that in roughness of method and use of background he closely echoes Rymer.

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151. Addison, in The Spectator, for 16 April, 1711, declares: "The English Writers of Tragedy are possessed with a Notion, that when they represent a virtuous or innocent Berson in Distress, they ought not to leave him till they have delivered him out of his Troubles, or made him triumphant over his Enemies. This Error they have been led into by a ridiculous Doctrine in Modern Criticism, that they are obliged to an equal Distribution of Rewards and Punishments, and an impartial Execution of Poetical Justice. ... This Rule has no Foundation in Nature, in Reason, or in the Practice of the Ancients." King Lear, he observes, is an "admirable tragedy" as Shakespeare wrote it; "but as it is reformed according to the chymerical Notion of Poetical Justice, in my humble Opinion it has lost half its Beauty". (op. cit., No. 40, pp. 147,148. Cf. also Numbers 39, 42, 44, 45.)

152. Ibid., pp. 353, 354.

153. Ibid., p. 372.

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An analysis of Collier's critical tenets entails a weeding-out of irrelevancies that constitute but one of the defects from which A Short View suffers. The material is so haphazardly arranged that, on the whole, the most effective emphasis is lacking, and there occur numerous repetitions in idea and quotation. Transtions of thought are often startlingly abrupt. There is copious citing that adds little or nothing to the argument; and much of the display of learning remains pedantic gloss for lack of any real pertinence to Jacobean drama. In the violence of his attack, Collier dashes off exaggerated conclusions and far-fetched comparisons; his zeal leads him to fasten upon harmless lines and thunder "Blasphemy!" The nearer a playwright dares approach the hem of a priestly garment, or utter terms of Scriptural significance, the more acescent grows the temper of Collier. He indiscriminately censures plays for large and small faults --dramatic and ethical. This admixture of criticism and bludgeoning has earlier been observed, as well as the fact that the one section which remains most exclusively an ordered analysis with a critical end is that part treating the Relapse.[154] Both

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154. George Saintsbury has said that there is "hardly a sharper, and more well-deserved beating-up of the quarters of a ragged dramatic regiment anywhere than that of the glaring improbabilities of Vanbrugh's plot, the absolute

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Gosse and Ballein suggest that Collier could well have stopped at this point, at the end of Chapter IV.

As for the position accorded A Short View in literary history, commentators differ widely, their attitudes growing out of personal prejudices or their approach to criticism. Macaulay, in his panegyric of Collier's attack, declares that great merit must be allowed it:

> There is hardly any book of that time from which it would be possible to select specimens of writing so excellent and so various. To compare Collier with Pascal would indeed be absurd. Yet we hardly know where, except in the Provincial Letters, we can find mirth so harmoniously and becomingly blended with solemnity, as in the Short View. In truth, all the modes of ridicule, from broad fun to polished and antithetical sarcasm, were at Collier's command. On the other hand, he was complete master of the rhetoric of honest indignation.
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Macaulay then very rightly points to the situation of Collier--one which renders the "spirit of the book ...truly heroic":

> He was under the frown of power. His name was already a mark for the inventives of one half of the writers of the age, when, in the cause of good taste, good sense, and good morals, he gave battle to the other half. Strong as his political prejudices were, he seems on this occasion to have entirely laid them aside. He

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want of connection between the title part of it and the real fable...and the way in which the characters are constantly out of character in order that the author may say clever things." (A History of Criticism, New York, 1902. Vol.II, p. 463.)

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> has forgotten that he is a Jacobite, and remembers only that he is a citizen and a Christian. ... It is inspiriting to see how gallantly the solitary outlaw advances to attack enemies, formidable separately, and, it might have been thought, irresistible when combined, distributes his swashing blows right and left among Wycherley, Congreve, and Vanbrugh, treads the wretched D'Urfey down in the dirt beneath his feet, and strikes with all his strength full at the towering crest of Dryden.[156]

It is such a comment that causes Lytton Strachey to remark:

> One of the wildest of Macaulay's aberrations is his picture of Collier as a great humourist. As Mr. Summers observes, an utter- a devastating- a positively unnerving lack of humour is the most conspicuous feature of the Short View. Yet Macaulay has the effrontery to mention Pascal in connection with this egregious jackass.[157]

Strachey, who on the whole is impressed by Montague Summers' edition of Congreve, fails to note that Summers himself suggests an affinity of spirit between the Jansenists and Collier.[158] Both Strachey and Summers, who are tarred with the same brush, would have proved excellent game for Collier; for he, we must say with Macaulay, "was a great master of sarcasm", and neither the eminent biographer nor the writer of swashbuckling prefaces would have intimidated the assailant of Dryden and his fellow wits. Joseph Wood Krutch has said of Collier, who was naturally a polemicist:

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155. Lord Macaulay, Leigh Hunt. In Critical and Historical Essays, ed. by F.C.Montague. London, 1903. Vol. III, p. 39.

156. Ibid.

157. Lytton Strachey, Congreve, Collier, Macaulay, and Mr. Summers. In Portraits in Miniature and Other Essays. New York, 1931. p. 46.

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> His earnestness was one great asset, his style another. To the modern ear the latter is sometimes offensive, but it was admirably in the tradition of seventeenth-century controversy. His contemporaries liked learning and liked raillery. Collier appealed to both of these traits by mixing a bewildering number of citations, pertinent and impertinent, with success, taunts and irony, together with exuberant raillery and abuse. He is constantly hovering somewhere between eloquence and bombast, and his genuine earnestness often goes a long way toward convincing the reader that the latter is the former.[159]

Krutch has hit upon some of the saving graces of the Short View--the style and use of irony, and tone of raillery. Perhaps, as he suggests, the humour may ring unpleasantly to other than Jacobean ears; but usually-- in such cases as may sound far-fetched, or vulgar --Collier is but twisting the language of the playhouse to his own ends. Yet his flashing sallies that ridicule the bombast and rant mouthed upon the stage never equal the gross indecencies that he is attacking; and these --for instance, the coarse but brilliant cynicism of Wycherley's The Country Wife-- are part and parcel of the scintillating drama admired for its clever repartee and its presentation of the height of artificiality. Those critics who declare that not a whit of humour appears in A Short View, overlook the fact that

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158. Summers, op. cit., Introduction, p. 37.

159. Joseph Wood Krutch, Comedy and Conscience After the

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Collier utilizes irony as one of his weapons, and that here and there are admissions which, in the generally rushing, and cumulative effect of his style, may be passed by: frequently he finds it necessary to "leave off with raillery", or "to become serious".

Critics from Dennis to Krutch have speculated whether the real aim of Collier's attack was reform of the English theatre or annihilation. Dennis sums up the contradictions within the Short View when he charges that Collier, in his first chapters "pretends to shew cause why the English stage ought to be reform'd, and in the sixth and last Chapter he pretends to prove by Authority that no Stage ought to be allow'd".[160] Edward Filmer, in his Defence of Dramatick Poetry, of the same year as A Short View, writes that, while the title page of Collier's book suggests the work to be

> only a Christian Correction of Abuses and Corruption, viz. Profaneness and Immorality crept into the Stage, ... in his last Chapter, he plainly tells us, his Design is not Reformation, but Eradication; For here he throws by the Pruning Hook, and takes up the Axe.[161]

Restoration. New York, 1924. pp. 116,117.

160. John Dennis, The Usefulness of the Stage, To the Happiness of Mankind, To Government, and To Religion. Occasioned by a late Book, written by Jeremy Collier, M.A. London,

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Although Collier suppresses his indignation at the beginning, he declares of his method of citation:

> Indeed the Passages, many of them, are in no Condition to be handled: He that is desirous to see these Flowers, let him do it in their own Soil: 'Tis my Business rather to kill the Root than transplant it.[162]

This presages clearly enough the attitude which he openly expresses by the time his warmth of feeling has been nurtured through six chapters. And yet, several factors indicate that Collier was opposed, not to drama in principle, but to the particular licentiousness of the contemporary stage: his pronouncements upon the ends of comedy and tragedy, his wide knowledge in ancient and modern dramatic literature; and his familiarity with the tenets of classical and French criticism. Collier's own acquaintance with Jacobean plays was admittedly small. He remarks in the first few paragraphs of his book, "I don't pretend to have read the Stage through, neither am I particular

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1698. Introduction, p. 2.

161. Edward Filmer, A Defence of Dramatick Poetry: Being A Review of Mr. Collier's View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the Stage. London, 1698. p. 1.

162. A Short View, p. 2.

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to my utmost." Eight years later, in A Letter to a Lady Concerning the New Playhouse, he writes of current viciousness of the theatre:

> I must own, Madame, that I am not so competent a Judge of this as some others may be,... for I never in my Life saw a Play, and have not read many; a few of them were sufficient to give me a Surfeit, and I never car'd for them since; but so far as I can make a Judgment from those which I have Read, (and I'm sure I never chose to read the worst) their Design is as wicked as their Composure.[163]

But, once incited, Collier was peculiarly well qualified for the conflict from which he emerged victorious -- qualified, as Samuel Johnson has put it, with learning, "with diction vehement and pointed,...with unconquerable pertinacity; with wit in the highest degree keen and sarcastick; and with all those powers exalted and invigorated by just confidence in his cause".[164] Contrarily, Montague Summers lampoons Collier as a monomaniac possessed by a fever "to scent blasphemy and obscenity everywhere" --a "typical case of acute psycho-heurosis".[165] Summers, at one of Collier's protests against The Relapse, observes that he presents

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163. A Letter to a Lady concerning the New Playhouse, London, 29 September, 1705.

164. Johnson, Lives, op. cit., p. 50.

165. Summers, op. cit., p. 50.

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"a pitiable, and, indeed, even a somewhat terrifying, spectacle. It is not pretty to observe the frantic gestures, the burning eyes and slavering lips of a man deranged."[166] From these comments, which suggest the vituperative tone of Summers' 'criticism', it is obvious that he is so blinded by the brilliance of Congreve that he falls into the same errors of ranting, bias, and misrepresentation for which he scarifies Collier.

Such sweeping condemnation as that seen in Summers has no critical value. Contrasting with the prejudice of his attitude is the objectivity of the German, Ballein, and of Joseph Wood Krutch, both of whom, having investigated the movement of reform, agree that Collier's attack was both opportune and powerful, and that it crystallized the general protest against the licentiousness of Restoration drama. Ballein concurs in Macaulay's opinion that Collier was a "singularly fair controversialist"; further, he declares that Collier never descends to a really coarse mode of expression, and that, throughout the whole Short View, there is not the slightest trace of personal venom. George Saintsbury has said that this work, from any point

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166. Ibid., p. 45.

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of "critical consideration... must be a most important document in the History of Criticism; ... For it is probably the earliest instance in our history where a piece of criticism has apparently changed, to a very great extent, the face of an important department of literature, and has really had no small part in bringing about this change".[167] Sainstbury here is referring to a question raised by Joseph Wood Krutch: "To what extent was Collier responsible for the development of sentimental comedy?" Noting that, since characteristics of the movement were discernible before Collier wrote, he could not have been responsible for it, Krutch concludes:

> On the other hand, since it became accentuated considerably immediately after the appearance of his book, and since Steele, the principal protagonist of the New Comedy, acknowledged himself as Collier's follower, the latter must have been at least the most effective mouthpiece of the opposition, He formulated the argument which was the result of the opinion of his time, and he led the people where they were ready to go. Without him restoration comedy would inevitably have died, but he hastened its death. He no more produced sentimental comedy than Rousseau produced the French Revolution, but like Rousseau he gave a movement articulation.[168]

While most of Collier's literary criticism concerns drama, he pays some attention to other matters of current interest. He attacks the popular fad of writing verbose prefaces and recommendatory epistles. In his dialogue Upon

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167. Saintsbury, op. cit., p. 402.

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Authors, he remarks that dedications are seldom to the writer's advantage:

> the Flattery on these Occasions is often so gross, and the Panegyrick so much over-strain'd; the Colours are so very glowing, and the Pencil so much beyond the Life: That were it not for the Name on the Picture, no Body could guess for whom 'twas drawn.[169]

Reminded that a dedication may prove more lucrative than the book itself, he condemns such servile creeping after money. If one must be written, however, the truth must be told. The author should not "commend a Libertine for his Regularity, nor flourish upon an old Lady's Beauty, and tell her what Execution her Face is likely to do when she comes into the North".[170] The most vicious of such adulation is that which prefaces a volume of sermons, for this "commendation is a Satyr upon the Author, makes the Text look Mercenary, and disables the Discourse from doing Service".[171] In short, declares Collier, with independence:

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168. Krutch, Governmental Attempts to Regulate the Stage after the Jeremy Collier Controversy, op.cit., p. 174.

169. Upon Authors, III, p. 57.

170. Ibid., p. 58.

171. Ibid.

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> If a Book has not Sense enough to make its own way, 'tis in vain to call in the Assistance of Quality: If a great Man should happen to miscarry in Print, the Patronage of his Titles would signify little: In this Case he could not cover himself with his Peerage: ...Upon the whole; if a Man can't be his own Patron, and stand upon his own Legs, he had better keep close, and be quiet: To come abroad like a Cripple, and turn Beggar in the Dedication, is but an odd Contrivance.
> 172

The problem is simplified for Collier, inasmuch as he considers it well-nigh impossible to find persons worthy of dedications. What interest he manifests in a theory of translation is in keeping with his condemnatory attitude toward the immoral: he recommends a careful rendering of the text, but with objectionable passages ignored or smoothed over. In the face of Dryden's expression of this same theory,[173] Collier criticizes him for his translation of Juvenal's Satires:

> Truly I think there is but little of Lewdness lost. ...The sixth and eleventh Satyrs are particularly remarkable. Such nauseous Stuff is almost enough to debauch the Alphabet, and makes the Language scandalous. ...And since the Business must be undertaken, why was not the Thought blanched, the Expression made remote, and the ill Features cast into Shadows? I'm mistaken if we have not Lewdness enough of our

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172. Ibid., p. 59.

173. In Preface to Sylvae, and Preface to Fables (The Best of Dryden, ed. by Louis Bredvold. New York, 1933.)

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> own Growth, without Importing from our Neighbours. No this can't be. An Author must have Right done him, and be shewn in his own Shape, and Complexion. Yes by all means. Vice must be disrobed, and People poison'd, and all for the sake of Justice! ... I hope Modesty is much better than Resemblance. The Imitation of an ill Thing is the worse for being exact; And sometimes to report a Fault is to repeat it.[174]

This disapproval of imitating evil is allied with Collier's conviction that not all subjects should be dealt with in art. "Must we relate whatever is done," he asks, "and is every thing fit for Representation? Is a Man that has the Plague proper to make a Sight of? And must he needs come abroad when he breeds Infection, and leaves the Tokens upon the Company?"[175] In criticising D'Urfey's realistic portrayal of character, he declares:

> All Imitations though never so well counterfeited are not proper for the Stage. To present Nature under every Appearance would be an odd Undertaking. A Midnight Cart, or a Dunghill would be no ornamental Scene. Nastiness and dirty Conversation are of the same Kind. For Words are a Picture to the Ear, as Colours and Surface are to the Eye. Such Discourses are like

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174. A Short View, pp. 46,47. Collier, in his preface to Parker's translation of Cicero's De Finibus, considers that in some passages "Tully is improv'd by Transplanting, and thrives better in our Soil, than in his own."

175. A Short View, p. 23.

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> dilating upon Ulcers and Leprosies: The more Natural the worse; for the Disgust always arises with the Life of the Description.... For these Reasons 'tis a Maxim in good Breeding never to shock the Senses or Imagination.[176]

Lewd songs and "atheistical catches" of the stage invite the censure of Collier. Music in the playhouse is generally airy and "galliardizing", contrived to banish gravity and reflection, and to arouse sportive humour. "'Twere to be wished", he says, "that either the Plays were better or the Musick worse. I'm sorry to see Art so meanly prostituted: Atheism ought to have nothing charming in its Retinue".[177] The danger of "light" music is that it "warms the Passions, and unlocks the Fancy, and makes it open to Pleasure like a Flower to the Sun. It helps a luscious Sentence to slide, drowns the Discords of Atheism, and keeps off the Aversions of Conscience."[178] Thus, music, in addition to plays, could well be placed under censorship.

Just as the stage and its music are evils, so are romances dangerous because they are purely fictional: lying "out of the Road of History and Life", they furnish no useful knowledge, corrupt the judgment, and dwell so much

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176. Ibid., p. 183.

177. Ibid., p. 182.

178. Ibid., p. 183.

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upon the intrigues of love that the impressions made are too realistic, and the deluded reader resorts to imitation.[179] Collier condemns all manner of wrong-principled writing. Weakness and want of sense in an author may be pardoned, but it amounts to something worse for a capable person to employ his talent to bad purposes, and openly to declare against justice and truth. Collier lays down four criteria for detecting in a given piece of writing mercenary purpose and insincerity: a perplexing of the issue by many words, a failure in logic on the part of an intelligent man, his contradicting a former opinion, and a defense of immorality, or a reversal of moral values. Critics of his age he represents as creatures thirsty for the blood of enemies who fall in their path. They draw up their forces for attack before a book comes from the press, and its mere appearance gives the signal for censure. Collier recommends that critics "should not lessen the Interest, nor strike at the Credit of an Author, without fair and warrantable Motives."[180] He condemns all superficial and biased criticism, and advises tempering judgment with reason and moderation.

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179. Of Whoredom, III, p. 151.
180. Upon Authors, III, p. 45.

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Collier's comments upon poetry--other than when he uses the term to mean drama --are rare. On one occasion, he assails the "miscellany poems" of his day as "horribly licentious"; they are often drawn from "the worst parts of the worst poets", and, if they are translations, the Christian rendering "is more nauseous than the Pagan Original".[181] Here Dryden again comes in for criticism; in blasphemy and ridicule of what is sacred, nothing but his Absalom and Achitophel can outdo his plays. Collier has but one remark upon poetic form -- that the casting of prose into metre is "just as agreeable as it would be to ride with one leg, and walk with the other".[182] It is quite understandable that the only poet of whom he writes approvingly is George Herbert, a likely favourite with an Anglican divine.

Thus, with his interest primarily a moral one, Collier either ignores the aesthetic, or would subordinate it to religion and ethics. He constantly stresses the Platonic idea of the interaction of art and life. We find him voicing the theory that a good poet must be a good man -- a doctrine held, notably, by Strabo, Plutarch,

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181. A Short View, p. 36.
182. Ibid., p. 147.

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Jonson, and Milton. Art, Collier believes, is in its production conditioned by several factors. Among these is climate; we have noted, as part of his scheme of psychology, his ideas concerning the determinism of seasons and latitude, and their resemblance to Milton's similar complaints of the sun which fails to ripen "wits as well as fruits". Further, Collier contends that a free state and a well-defined property system are, for the purpose of stability, essential to the development of art. Peace is necessary for the exercise of creative imagination; war and lack of discipline lessen the possibilities of a race to achieve artistic greatness. Finally, art, in its essence, is democratic in that it can be universally enjoyed. Nowhere, however, does Collier generalize on the ends of the aesthetic. In his essay Of the Entertainment of Books, when discussing the diversions of reading, he praises the dual aim of pleasure and profit -- that set up by Horace. Books, if well chosen, "Entertain and Perfect at the same time; and convey Wisdom and Knowledge through Pleasure".[183]

On the whole, Collier exhibits an insensibility

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183. III, p. 97.

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to the aesthetic that might well be expected in a man of his temper and his day. He manifests the same deafness to poetry that we see in Rymer, and, later, in Dr Johnson. In stringent classicism, rationalistic spirit, and restriction of art to an imitation of "nature", Collier's critical tenets are those of the French neo-classical school; bearing almost equal weight with him are Horace, Plato, and Aristotle, and Jonson and Rymer. Generally, he reveals a distrust of art; with the few exceptions noted, his ideas of its evils narrow themselves to the deleterious effects of drama: it constitutes a social danger to regard delight as the end of comedy, because, through lewd examples, it arouses an audience to a realization of loose pleasures, and sets up false standards of honor. In this attitude, and in the advocacy of state censorship, Collier reflects an almost purely Platonic objection to art on the grounds of immorality, and to the poet as an anti-social nuisance.

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VII. CONCLUSION

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CONCLUSION

Characterized by an infusion of the modern spirit, the seventeenth century in England saw a scientific, critical temper supersede the creative, and reason triumph over emotion. An age rich in intellectual genius, it in itself so conditioned certain of its figures that they, fixed in obscure niches, have remained unrecognized witnesses of the spirit of their time. Among such representatives is Jeremy Collier, who, for several apparent reasons, has been relegated to one of the dustier corners of the literary history of the period. His withering blast against Restoration libertinism has gained for him at least a steady unpopularity among devotees of Jacobean drama, and often a raucous hoot of derision among critics, especially those who reject any claim of a place in art for morality. A second factor to limit the reputation of Collier lies in his implacable resolve to swear allegiance to no

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king de facto. For this principle he relinquished his lecturership, and further opportunity for church preferment. Had he, along with conforming Anglicans, turned obsequious, or, like Burnet, party-serving, his name would now be linked more importantly with ecclesiastical circles. Collier was so inherently a controversialist that he rose to battle with exultation; complete self-confidence, irony, wit, a driving argumentative force, --these, plus personal fearlessness, were his weapons. But he is not always the warrior, and the critic who judges him by A Short View alone tends to make unintelligent and ungrounded pronouncements. Rather is it an an interested observer of human nature and its foibles, as a spectator of society, that Collier produces his essays and dialogues. In subject-matter, they exhibit a wide range of comment that can only be suggested by mention of certain problems included: in psychology, passions and their physiological reaction, the determinism of climate, the analysis of human motives; in social theory, trade, reform, kingship, monarchism, church and state, the evils of plays, romances, duelling, drunkenness, and gaming; in ethics, questions of conduct, and rules for guidance--Epicurean, Stoic, and Christian;

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in metaphysics and theology, the nature of thought and reasoning, the Platonic emanation of the divine benevolence, the mystical "laws of union between body and soul".

In form, Collier's essays suggest varying influences. Some of them are short, aphoristic treatments that often begin, especially when an abstraction is the subject, with a definition of the virtue or vice to be discussed, move swiftly through a logical development, and conclude with a moral; others are long discourses, replete with quotations from ancient and patristic literature. Collier's dialogues are chiefly Ciceronian in that, in most cases, the protagonist is concerned to expound the views of the author, and other speakers, by question or objection, to urge on the discussion. Of such characters created by the "new orthodox Dialogists", Shaftesbury remarks that "after the poor Phantom or Shadow of an adversary has said as little for his Cause as can be imagin'd, and given as many Opens and Advantages as cou'd be desir'd, he lies down for good and all, and passively submits to the killing Strokes of his unmerciful Conqueror".[1] These speakers, with their Greek

1. Cf. Elizabeth Merrill's The Dialogue in English Literature, Yale Studies in English, New York, 1911. p. 86.

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names, are highly conventionalized, and utterly lacking in personality; Collier relieves this artificial tone, however, and lends some naturalness by introducing the setting, a timely anecdote, or comments on the issue at hand, to motivate the serious argument. E.N.S. Thompson writes that we find true Augustan prose when the essayist begins by saying, "I was on the point of going abroad to steal a solitary walk".[2] It is this flavour, thus imparted, that characterizes the dialogues of Collier, particularly those that concern social problems.

The nearest contemporary expression of opinion upon Collier's prose is found in John Constable's Reflections upon Accuracy of Style (1734),[3] aseries of five dialogues presenting an analysis of Collier's stylistic devices, his defects and excellencies, his wit and ingenuity. The point of interest in this critique here lies in the comparisons made, and the detailed knowledge exhibited of the essays. Collier is given the name of Callicrates, which signifies beauty and strength, and he

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2. Thompson, op. cit., p. 93.

3. Constable, Reflections upon Accuracy of Style, London, 1734.

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is declared to be, in the opinion of most readers, inimitable. To apologize for this analysis, one speaker affirms that, just as Bruyere writes a good criticism of the Cid, even though it is an excellent poem, so he, on the same grounds, can similarly treat Callicrates; "I shall not disallow", he adds, "but Callicrates's book may, in its kind, be as commendable as that famous Tragedy".[4] Collier is compared to Montaigne, and his style likened to the "hopping" Latin of Lipsius; a hint of the popularity of his prose occurs in the remark that his reputation will soon abate, a judgment based upon what he has in common with those who have already lost public appeal -- the Port Royalists. The similarity exists in "the novelty of their styles, and the lastingness of their Vogue".[5] The highest praise is offered of Collier's conciseness, and "extraordinary elevation of wit"; yet "the particular jog of his periods, the continued metaphors, and the whole air of his Style, has more of a forced than a native lustre". Another comment suggestive of Collier's possible influence is that his

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4. Ibid., Preface, p. ix.

5. Ibid., p. 7.

6. Ibid., p. 37.

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clever turn and gayly aphoristic manner of writing are dangerously attractive, because "he will be fondly imitated" by others who lack "his genius to support it. In him it is something genuine, and seems to spring from the work. In others it will be affected"; already certain young men of promise had been spoiled through unsuccessful imitation of him.[7]

The prose style of Collier shows a three-fold variation. His terse, pointedly epigrammatic method is modelled after Bacon; when less cramped, his sentences become easy and flowing, still with a rugged quality wholly natural to Collier. And again, he occasionally exhibits an erudite, prosaic manner, especially when bringout the full weight of authoritative citation. His writing often suggests the haste of extemporaneous composition. If the effect were not studied --and, indeed, in view of his vast industry, it scarcely could have been--, Collier was natively possessed of a style that in vigour, terseness, colour, and liveliness of image is seldom found among the comparable figures of his day. Alexandre Beljame's declaration that Collier's manner is "too brutal"

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7. Ibid., pp. 63, 64.

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is suggestive, but inaccurate; rough, abrupt, yes, and vigorous, but not brutal --nor coarse. That Collier can be sensitive to certain niceties in others and express that appreciation aptly, is attested to by his remark about Sophocles: "We see how lightly the Poet touches upon an amorous Theme: He glides along like a Swallow upon the Water, and skims the Surface, without dipping a Feather".[8] This triple character of Collier's writing is especially in evidence in A Short View; elsewhere, in single essays, he consistently retains the aphoristic manner, or, infrequently, admits prosaic digressions. Other than to use as a device the epigram, he makes the character an integral part of his essays. Smoothly interwoven, with no stylistic break, or obvious transition, these sketches appear here and there, to create a procession of types -- the flatterer, the rake, the degenerate gambler, the ideal wife, the atheist, the "bubble". These, as Collier knew the genre from Theophrastus, and from La Bruyère, are the true character, the prose satire exemplifying a dominant quality, not the modified characters of Clarendon, who, in his History of the Rebellion, draws real

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8. A Short View, p. 19.

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personages, or of Butler, who probably makes use of political lights of his day. Just as here, in respect to the character, a French, rather than an English, influence is seen, so with Collier's epigrammatic style: he earlier modelled after Bacon, but he ultimately reflects as much of the Port Royalist polish of expression, as manifested in Pascal and La Rochefoucauld. Fundamentally, however, he has an originality and vigour of manner that are inherent.

Underlying the expression of Collier's ideas is a strong sense of reality, and an intellectual curiosity that urges clarification of perplexing issues. In the modern spirit, he decries leaning on precedent and precept, and contemns failure to stand alone. His copious use of authority might seem to negate this attitude; this tendency can be accounted for, however, partly as being a literary habit of the day, but largely because Collier was steeped in learning, classical and modern. His deductions spring from an understanding of human nature and psychology without which ethical advice could not be sound. The Stoicism permeating much of the philosophy of the seventeenth century, and closely echoed in Collier, seems as temperamentally natural to him as to Cicero, Marcus Aurelius, or Seneca. This effect is lent, since

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he reproduces not only the verbal sentiments, but as well the very tone of these Roman Stoics. There is, likewise, something of Juvenalian satire in his social criticism. Casuistry, hypocrisy, fraud, sensuality --all are anathema to him. His modern outlook on trade, reform measures, and finance, and more traditional, and more conservative attitudes toward monarchism and the church, serve as an index to an age that, chameleon-like, grasped at science and utilitarianism, and yet, clinging to remnants of the past, reverted to a more sombre social order. Philosophically, the Cartesian insistence upon reason, and the occasionalism of Malebranche seen in Collier modify a Christian scheme of metaphysics and theology already tempered by an individualistic demand for personal interpretative rights. His position as a nonjuring divine of the Church of England immediately postulates certain basic tenets of his religious belief; but the diverging tendencies, sometimes vagaries, are of more importance in estimating a man's sensitivity to his own age, and in estimating the workings, in this case, of a seventeenth-century mind. A case in point is the reflection in Collier's doctrine of immortality of a current interest in cabbaliam, notably to be observed in Henry More. In

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a survey of the attitudes of Collier, there appear ideas which are contradictory; these variations are in themselves but characteristic of the changing quality of the age. Thus we see in him a practicality and utilitarianism almost Hobbesian, juxtaposed to a highly ideal and rigorously Stoic moral system. At times certain modes of his thought that may seem to be diametrically opposed spring from a common source. His attack on the stage, for instance, which is usually criticized as wholly irrational, and attributed solely to his ingrained demand for morality, was motivated partially by rationalism and common sense. This attitude in criticism in closely allied with Cartesianism in philosophy and science, and, in short, becomes one of the keynotes to Collier's body of ideas. Unlike most of the divines of his day who were turning more and more to English nationalism, and away from continental culture, Collier shows a decided affinity with French literature. Other than the obvious echoing in style of the maxim, there are evidences of less superficial resemblance.[9] We have seen that Collier's critical tenets are firmly rooted in the classicism of Corneille, Rapin,

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9. In the fourth edition of A Short View, there appears an advertisement under the title: "Maxims and Reflections upon Plays (in Answer to a Discourse of the Lawfulness and Unlawfulness of Plays, Printed before a late Play Entituled, Beauty in Distress). Written in French by the Bishop of

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Boileau, and Molière, and that his philosophy is in some respects comparable to that of Descartes and Malebranche. That Collier knew, and regarded with some degree of sympathy the views of the Jansenists, is suggested most specifically by his translation and use of a section from the Provincial Letters of Pascal, with whom he takes greater liberties in borrowing material than he ever does with Bacon, and whose religious concepts Collier's meet at certain fundamental points.

Collier was a scholar in whom the renascence of true classicism blends with an instinctive acceptance of the modern in science and in practicality. Characteristic of his daring is his attack upon the stage; the courage of that move is not to be underestimated when we remember his stigma of outlawry, and his position here as one more sympathetic to presbyterian than to royalist sentiments. But to him principle came always before pecuniary gain. Bold, independent, often too rash for his own good, he was a complete individualist, and his vigorous personality shows through in the virility of his essays.

Meaux, with a large Preface. And an Advertisement concerning the Author, and the Translation by Mr. Collier." The book has so far proved to be inaccessible, and it remains a matter of speculation as to what the actual part of Collier was, that of translator or writer of the preface.

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It is quite understandable that Collier, in his search for the absolute in truth and morality, should have little to do with poetry and fiction. Pure thought, devoid of prejudice and 'interest', solidly concerned with reason, would of necessity stand as the goal toward which the intellectual could dispassionately advance; and, conversely, there would remain, at the opposite pole, the realm of pure feeling, fed by emotional excitation. In light of the wave of intellectualism pointing the philosophic way of the seventeenth century, the choice of a man of reason would, therefore, be obvious, and Collier's insensibility to the aesthetic is not surprising. Later, Dr Johnson, with essentially the same viewpoint, writes of the "trifling fictions" that pollute "the most awful and sacred truths" in Lycidas, and, in the best manner of the religious sections of A Short View, objects to the indecency of using the term 'shepherd' to mean anything other than a Christian minister of a flock. Collier evinces no more respect than does Johnson for an author's fame so acquired that "its blaze drives away the eye from nice examination".

The connection of Collier with literary history has been recognized in the respect that his Short View

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accelerated the reform movement and so hastened the development of sentimental comedy. But he, thus closely akin to Richard Steele, in their mutual aim of propriety on the stage, stands nearer him in a more significant way. Collier, in his attempt to popularize the matter of his essays, in the mellow yet serious tone that he adopts, markedly anticipates the genial familiar essay of The Spectator, and, in the words of Addison, he writes with like purpose --to "enliven morality with wit, and to temper wit with morality".

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