(BACON'S) ESSAYS

AND

COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL

WITH

NOTES AND GLOSSARIAL INDEX

BY

W. ALDIS WRIGHT M.A.

TRINITY COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

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FRANCIS BACON

Born . . . . . 22 Jan. 1561
Matriculated at Trin. Coll. Cambridge . . . . . 10 June, 1573
Admitted at Gray’s Inn . . . 21 Nov. 1576
First sat in the House of Commons as Member for Melcombe 1584
Knighted by James I. . . . 23 July, 1603
King’s Counsel . . . . . 25 Aug. 1604
Solicitor General . . . . . 25 June, 1607
Attorney General . . . . . 26 Oct. 1613
Privy Councillor . . . . . 9 June, 1616
Lord Keeper . . . . . 3 March, 1616-7
Lord High Chancellor . . . 4 Jan. 1617-8
Baron Verulam . . . . . July, 1618
Viscount St Alban . . . . . 27 Jan. 1620-1
Sentenced by the House of Lords 3 May, 1621
Died . . . . . 9 Apr. 1626
UNDER the date 5 Feb. 1596 the following entry occurs in the books of the Stationers' Company. "Hüfrey Hooper. Entred for his copie under thandes of Mr Fr Bacon Mr D Stanhope Mr Barlowe, and Mr Wardon Dawson, a booke intituled Essayes Religious meditations, places of perswasion and disswasion by Mr Fr. Bacon." This was the first edition of Bacon's Essays. They were published in a small 8vo. volume, of which the full title is as follows: "Essayes. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and disswasion. Seene and allowed. At London, Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are to be sold at the blacke Beare in Chauncery Lane, 1597." The dedication to Antony Bacon occupies three pages. Then follow the table of Contents and the Essays, ten in number; 1. Of studie. 2. Of discourse. 3. Of Ceremonies and respects. 4. Of followers and friends. 5. Sutors. 6. Of expence. 7. Of Regiment of health. 8. Of Honour and reputation. 9. Of Faction. 10. Of Negotiating. The Essays occupy thirteen folios, and are followed by the "Meditationes Sacra," or Religious Meditations, in Latin,
Preface

consisting of 15 folios besides the title, and these by "The Centers of Good and evil," which are the "places of persuasion and dissuasion" already mentioned. The numbering of the folios in the last two is consecutive, 32 in all. This volume was dedicated by Bacon to his brother Anthony in the following Epistle.

The Epistle Dedicatory

To M. Anthony Bacon

his deare Brother.

Louing and beloved Brother, I doe nowe like some that haue an Orcharde ill neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent stealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print; To labour the state of them had bin troublesome, and subject to interpretation; to let them passe had beene to aduerture the wrong they mought receive by untrue Cопpies, or by some garnishment, which it mought please any that should set them forth to bestow upon them. Therefore I helde it best discretion to publish them my selfe as they passed long agoe from my pen, without any further disgrace, then the weaknesse of the Author. And as I did ever hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retiring and withdrawing mens conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: So in these particulars I haue played my selfe the Inquisitor, and find nothing to my understanding in them contrarie or infectious to the state of Religion, or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Only I disliked nowe to put them out because they will
Preface

bee like the late new halfe-pence¹, which though the Silver were good, yet the pieces were small. But since they would not stay with their Master, but would needs travaile abroade, I have preferred them to you that are next my selfe; Dedicated them, such as they are, to our loue, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I sometimes wish your infirmities translated upon my selfe, that her Maiestie might have the service of so active and able a mind, & I might be with excuse confined to these contemplations & Studies for which I am fittest, so commend I you to the preservation of the divine Maiestie. From my Chamber at Graies Inne this 30. of Iannuarie. 1597.

Your entire Louing brother.

FRAN. BACON.

The date of this letter, if not a printer's error, is evidently intended to be 1596–7, according to the then reckoning of the civil year, which began on the 25th of March. We have the entry at Stationers' Hall on Feb. 5; a memorandum on the title page of the copy in the British Museum that it was sold on the 7th of Feb., 39 Eliz. (i.e. 1596–7); and a letter of Anthony Bacon's to the Earl of Essex, written on the 8th of Feb. 1596, which appears to have accompanied a presentation copy of the Essays. There are MSS. of this edition in the British Museum (Lansd. MSS. 775), and the Cambridge Univ. Lib. (Nn. 4. 5). The latter I have

¹ Coined for the first time in 1582–3, and used without interruption till 1601. See Folkes, Table of English Silver Coins, p. 57, ed. 1745.
Preface

printed in the Appendix. A fragment containing the essays 'Of Faction' and 'Of Negotiatinge' is in the Harleian collection (no. 6797). In 1598 a second edition was published by Humfrey Hooper, also in small 8vo, differing from the first in having the Meditations in English, and the table of Contents of the Essays at the back of the title page. A pirated edition was printed for John Jaggard in 1606, and in 1612 he was preparing another reprint, when the second author's edition appeared. In consequence of this, Jaggard cancelled the last two leaves of quire G, and in their place substituted "the second part of Essaies," which contains all the additional Essays not printed in the edition of 1597. On the authority of a MS. list by Malone Mr. Singer mentions an edition in 1604, but I have found no other trace of it.

During the summer of the year 1612 Bacon himself had prepared and printed, in a small 8vo. volume of 241 pages, a second edition of the Essays by themselves, in which the original ten, with the exception of that "Of Honour and reputation," were altered and enlarged, and twenty-nine new Essays added. The title of this second edition is: "The Essaies of Sr Francis Bacon Knight, the Kings Solliciter Generall. Imprinted at London by John Beale, 1612." It was entered at Stationers' Hall on the 12th of October, as follows. "Wm. Hall, John Beale. Entred for their copy under the handes of my Lo: Bysshopp of London & the Wardens A booke called The Essayes of Sr Fr Bacon knight the Ks Solliciter gen'all." It was Bacon's intention to have dedicated it to Prince Henry, and the dedication was actually written, but in consequence of
the Prince's death on the 6th of November, it was addressed instead to his brother in law Sir John Constable. A copy of the dedication to Prince Henry exists in the British Museum (Birch MSS. 4259, fol. 155), and is written on a single leaf which appears on examination to have belonged to an imperfect MS. of the Essays, preserved among the Harleian MSS. (no. 5106), which Mr Spedding describes as "a volume undoubtedly authentic; for it contains interlineations in Bacon's own hand; and transcribed some time between 1607, when Bacon became Solicitor-general, and 1612, when he brought out a new edition of the Essays with further additions and alterations. It is unluckily not quite perfect; one leaf at least, if not more, having been lost at the beginning; though otherwise in excellent preservation.

"The title page, which remains, bears the following inscription, very handsomely written in the old English character, with flourished capitals: The writings of Sr Francis Bacon Knt. the Kinge's Sollicitor Gene-rall: in Moralitie, Policie, and Historie." (Bacon's Works, vi. p. 535).

The Essays in this MS. are thirty-four in number, and include two, "Of Honour and Reputation" and "Of Seditious and Troubles," which are not contained in the edition of 1612, while in the printed edition six new Essays were added, "Of Religion," "Of Cunning," "Of Love," "Of Indicature," "Of vaine glory," and "Of greatnes of Kingdome." It is to this MS. I have referred in the notes, when quoting the

2 Sir John Constable married Dorothy Barnham the sister of Lady Bacon.
Preface

MS. of the edition of 1612. The dedication to Prince Henry was as follows:

"To the most high and excellent Prince Henry, Prince of Wales, D: of Cornwall and Earle of Chester

Yt may please your II.

Having devided my life into the contemplative and active parte, I am desirous to give his M, and yo" II. of the fruite of both, simple thoughghe they be. To write just Treatises requireth leasure in the Writer, and leasure in the Reader, and therefore are not so fitt, neither in regard of yo" II: princely affairs, nor in regard of my continuall service, wek is the cause, that hath made me choose to write certaine breif notes, sett downe rather significantlye, then curiously, wek I have called ESSAIES. The word is late, but the thing is auncient. For Senacaes Epistles to Lucilium, yf one marke them well, are but Essaies,—That is dispersed Meditacons, thoughghe conveyed in the forme of Epistles. Theis labors of myne I know cannot be worthie of yo" II: for what can be worthie of you. But my hope is, they may be as graynes of salte, that will rather give you an appetite, then offend you wth satiety. And althoughte they handle those things wherein both mens Lives and theire pens are most conversant yet (What I have attainted, I knowe not) but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar; but of a nature, whereof a man shall find much in experience, litle in bookes: so as they are neither repeticons nor fansies. But howsoever, I shall most humbly desier yo" II: to accept them in grations part, and so contrive that if I cannot rest,
Preface

but must shewe my dutifull, and devoted affection to yo H: in theis things wth proceed from my self, I shalbe much more ready to doe it, in performance of yo princely commandmente; And so wishing yo H: all princely felicitye I rest.

Yo H: most humble

Servant."

The dedication to Sir John Constable is more simple and natural.

"To my loving brother, Sr John Constable Knight.

My last Essaies I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same Nature: which if I my selfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the World will not; by the often printing of the former. Missing my Brother, I found you next; in respect of bond of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and societie, and particularly of communication in studies. Wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you. For as my businesse found rest in my contemplations; so my contemplations ever found rest in your louing conference and judgement. So wishing you all good, I remaine

Your louing brother and friend,

FRA. BACON."

The Table of Contents: gives a list of forty Essays but the last two were not printed. 1. Of Religion. 2. Of Death. 3. Of Goodnes and goodnes of nature. 4. Of

In 1613 Jaggard published a reprint of this edition, also in small 8vo, containing the omitted Essay "Of Honour and Reputation," the Religious Meditations, and the Colours of Good and Evil; and in the same year another reprint was issued by the same publisher with a new title page and the printer's errors of the former corrected. Copies of both these impressions are in the Cambridge University Library, to which they were presented, with a large collection of Bacon's works, by Basil Montagu. The latter is noted in Montagu's Catalogue as having Bacon's autograph, but the fly leaf containing it has been torn out, apparently since it has been in the Library.
In 1614 another edition appeared, printed at Edinburgh for A. Hart.

Malone mentions an edition in 1618, in the dedication to which, he says, Bacon "speaks of several editions having been then printed" (Prior's Life of Malone, p. 424). If the date be correct, which there is reason to doubt, this could only have been a reprint of the edition of 1612. In Reed's Catalogue (no. 1683) a copy is mentioned with the date 1619, and another (no. 1772) a quarto with the date 1622. Mr Singer says, but without giving his authority, "there were, it seems, editions in 1622, 1623, and 1624 in 4to." I have been unable to find any of these.

In 1624 was published a reprint of Jaggard's pirated edition of 1613, by Elizabeth Jaggard, probably his widow. All the above mentioned are in small 8vo.

The third and last author's edition, of which the present volume is a reprint, was published in small 4to in 1625, the year before Bacon's death. The number of Essays was increased to fifty-eight, of which twenty were new and the rest altered or enlarged. The entry at Stationers' Hall is dated the 13th of March, 1624. "Mr Whiteacre. Hanna Barrett. Entered for their copie under the handes of the lo. B. of London and Mr Lownes Warden. The Essayes & counsell morall and civill of Francis lo. Verulam Vicount St Albon." A copy in the Cambridge University Library (xvii. 36. 14) was presented by Bacon to Sir John Finch on the 30th of March 1625. It was therefore evidently published some time in the latter part of March 1624—5.

The three editions of 1597, 1612, and 1625 are the only ones which possess any authority, the rest appa-
rently having been issued without the author's supervision or sanction. But in 1618 an Italian translation of the second edition was published by John Beale, which was made with Bacon's knowledge, if not at his request. The author of the translation is not known. Mr. Singer conjectured that it was Father Fulgentio, but Mr. Spedding shews clearly, by an extract from the preface of Andrea Cioli, who brought out a revised reprint at Florence in 1619, that the translation was not the work of an Italian, but of some foreigner, in all probability of an Englishman. The volume in which it is contained is a small 8vo, entitled, "Saggi Morali del Signore Francesco Bacono, Cavaglieri Inghilese, Gran Cancellerio d'Inghilterra. Con un' altro suo Trattato della Sapienza degli Antichi. Tradotti in Italiano. In Londra. Appresso di Giovanni Billio. 1618." The Saggi Morali occupy 102 pages, and are thirty-eight in number; the two Essays 'Of Religion' and 'Of Superstition' being omitted, and their place supplied by those 'Of Honour and Reputation,' and 'Of Seditions and Troubles,' the latter of which had not as yet appeared in English. The dedication to Cosmo, Grand Duke of Tuscany, was written by Mr. Tobie Matthew, Bacon's intimate friend, but throws no light upon the authorship of the translation. He merely says that he found the two works in the possession of Sir William Cavendish, who presented them to him with the Author's permission. That the translation was published with Bacon's sanction is evident from the fact that the Essay "Of Seditions and Troubles," which then existed only in MS., was included in the volume, and that a portion of the dedicatory letter to
Prince Henry was incorporated in Matthew's preface. The passage "To write just Treatises... fansies" is translated nearly word for word, the change of person being of course observed. Of this Italian translation, according to Mr Singer, there were two editions bearing the same date, but differing in the titles of some of the Essays. As I have seen but one, I subjoin his description. He says, "In one of the copies now before me the Essays contain 102 pages, the Wisdom of the Ancients 150 pages, and a list of Errata is appended to each. In the other copy the Essays comprise 112 pages, the last of which is blank; the Wisdom of the Ancients 126 pages only, and there is no list of Errata. Beside the changes in the titles of the Essays, there are also some in the titles of the chapters in the Wisdom of the Ancients; and it is probable that the text of the version is also revised, but I have not collated it."

The French translation published in 1619 was by Sir Arthur Gorges.

But the only translation to which any importance can be attached, as having in a great measure the impress of Bacon's authority, is the Latin. From the dedication of the third edition it is evident that, at the time it was written, Bacon had in course of preparation a Latin translation of the Essays, which it appears to have been his intention to have published immediately, probably as part of the volume of which we find the entry in the books of Stationers' Hall, on the 4th of April, 1625, but which he did not live to bring out. The entry is as follows: "Mrs Griffin. Jo. Havilond. Entred for their coppie under the hands of DocT Wilson and Mathewes Lownes warden A booke called
Preface

Operum Francisci Baronis Verulami Vice Comitis Sancti Albani by S' Fran: Bacon." This was probably intended to be the second volume of his works, the De Augmentis being the first, and to have contained what were afterwards published by his chaplain, Dr. Rawley, in 1638, under the title Operum Moralium et Civilium Tomus. Among these were the Essays in their Latin dress: "Sermones fideles, sive interiora rerum. Per Franciscum Baconum Baronem de Verulamio, Vice-Comitem Sancti Albani." The question then arises, by whom was the translation made? Internal evidence is sufficient to shew that it was the work of several hands, but it is impossible from this alone to assign to each his work. Archbishop Tenison, in his Baconiana (pp. 60, 61, ed. 1679) says of the Essays: "The Latine Translation of them was a Work performed by divers Hands; by those of Doctor Hacket (late Bishop of Lichfield) Mr. Benjamin Johnson (the learned and judicious Poet) and some others, whose Names I once heard from Dr. Rawley; but I cannot now recall them. To this Latine Edition, he gave the Title of Sermones Fideles, after the manner of the Jews, who call’d the words Adagies, or Observations of the Wise, Faithful Sayings; that is, credible Propositions worthy of firm Assent, and ready Acceptance. And (as I think) he alluded more particularly, in this Title, to a passage in Ecclesiastes\(^3\), where the Preacher saith that he sought to find out Verba Delectabilia, (as Tremellius rendreth the Hebrew) pleasant Words, (that is, perhaps, his Book of Canticles); and Verba

\(^3\) Eccles. xii. 10, 11.
Fidelia (as the same Tremellius) Faithful Sayings; meaning, it may be, his Collection of Proverbs. In the next Verse, he calls them Words of the Wise, and so many Goads and Nails given Ab eodem Pastore, from the same Shepherd [of the Flock of Israel]." The next direct testimony is that of Aubrey. Speaking of Hobbes of Malmesbury, and his intimacy with Bacon, he says; "Mr. Tho. Hobbes (Malmesburiensis) was beloved by his Lo. who was wont to have him walke with him in his delicate groves, when he did meditate: and when a notion darted into his mind, Mr. Hobbes was presently to write it downe, and his Lo. was wont to say that he did it better than any one els about him; for that many times, when he read their notes he scarce understood what they writt, because they understood it not clearly themselves" (Letters, II. 222, 3). Again; "He assisted his Lordship in translating severall of his essays into Latin, one I well remember is that, Of the Greatness of Cities: the rest I have forgott" (II. p. 602). In another passage Aubrey is still more precise: "He told me that he was employed in translating part of the Essayes, viz. three of them, one whereof was that of the Greatnesse of Cities, the other two I have now forgott" (II. p. 234). The Essay here called "Of the Greatnesse of Cities" is no doubt that which stands as Essay xxix. "Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates," and which first appeared in Latin in the De Augmentis. It is certainly one of the best translated of all, and arguing from internal evidence, based on a comparison of it with the rest, I should be inclined to set down as the other two, which Hobbes translated but which Aubrey had forgotten, the Essays "Of Simula-
tion and Dissimulation,” and “Of Innovations.” This of course is a mere conjecture, but it seems a reasonable one. Who translated the others it is impossible to say. Among the Maloniana in Prior’s Life of Malone (p. 424, ed. 1860), we find the following: “It is not commonly known that the translation of Bacon’s Essays into Latin, which was published in 1619, was done by the famous John Selden; but this is proved decisively by a letter from N. N. (John Selden N.) to Camden (See Camden. Epistol., 4to. 1691, p. 278). In the General Dict. and several other books, this translation is ascribed to Bishop Hacket and Ben Jonson.” The letter to which Malone alludes is anonymous, and the writer says that he had translated Bacon’s Essays into Latin, after the correstest copy published in Italian. The original is among the Cotton MSS. Julius C. 5, and is evidently a transcript in some hand not Selden’s. In the heading as it stands in the printed volume, “N. N. Clarissimo Viro Gulielmo Camdeno suo,” N. N. (i. e. non nominato) is added by the editor, who was certainly not aware that Selden was the writer. What authority Malone had for speaking so positively upon the point I have been unable to discover. There is nothing contrary to probability in the supposition that Selden may have translated the Essays in 1619, but there is nothing to shew that his translation was ever published, as Malone asserts. It certainly is not indicated in the letter itself, of which the following is the passage in question. “Ioannes Sarisburiensis e nostris pene solus est, qui rimatus arcana Ethices et Philologia puriora, monimentum reliquit mentis Philosophica in libris de nugis Curia-
lum; nuperrime vero magnus ille Franciscus Baconus in tentamentis suis Ethico-politicis, qua ex Anglico sermonem ad corretissimum, Italice editum, exemplar, in Latinum transtuli." The date of the letter is "Londini xiv Julii Anglorum CIO. DC. XIX." There is one allusion in it which favours the supposition that it may have been Selden's. "Propterea si sapientia et scientiarum in Britannia nondum coelitus edoceta lineamenta enucleatius exposuero in Historiis meis, qualia apud priscos cum Druydes, tum Saxones (parentes nostros) ea extitisse competero, haud perpetram ego aut inutiliter bonas horas trivisse judicer, utpote quae ad bonam mentem suo more fecerint." This may refer to his Analecta Anglo-Britannica, and the Notes to Drayton's Polyolbion; but upon such evidence it is impossible to decide.

There are strong indications of Bacon's supervision in the translation of the Essays "Of Plantations," "Of Building," and "Of Gardens," in which there are alterations and additions which none but the author himself would have ventured to make. In the other Essays the deviations from the English are not so remarkable, though even in these there are variations which are worthy of notice. The most important are given in the notes to the present Volume.

That the preparation of a Latin translation had been in Bacon's mind for two or three years before his death is clear, from a letter to Mr Tobie Matthew, written apparently about the end of June, 1623. "It is true, my labours are now most set to have those works, which I had formerly published, as that of Advancement of Learning, that of Henry VII. that of the
Essays, being retracted, and made more perfect, well translated into Latin by the help of some good pens, which forsake me not. For these modern languages will, at one time or other, play the bankrupts with books: and since I have lost much time with this age, I would be glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it with posterity" (Bacon's Works, xii. p. 448, ed. Montagu). But there is nothing to shew that any part of the translation was done by Bacon himself; it is probable that he exercised only a general supervision over it.

The Colours of Good and Evil were first published in 1597, in the volume already described as containing the first edition of the Essays. They were reprinted in the edition of 1598, and in the various pirated impressions of which account has been given, but never again in English with Bacon's sanction. They were incorporated in the De Augmentis, where they appear in Latin in B. 6. c. 3, with some additions and alterations.

A few words remain to be said with regard to the present volume. I have endeavoured to give an accurate reprint of the edition of 1625, from a comparison of ten copies of that edition which, though bearing the same date, are all different from each other in points of no great importance. The variations of these copies are given in the Appendix to the Notes. The only alteration I have made has been the adoption of the modern usage with regard to the letters u and v. The Colours of Good and Evil are reprinted from the edition of 1597; the deviations from it are given in the Notes, and are merely corrections of obvious errors. My chief object in the Notes themselves has been to show
how the Essays have grown into their present shape, and for this purpose I have marked all the variations from the previous editions of 1597, and 1612, and have given indication of the manner in which in each successive edition the Essays were expanded and modified. In addition to this I have quoted, where possible, any parallel passages which I had met with in other works of Bacon, and which appeared either to contain the germ of an Essay, or to exhibit the same thought in another form. Throughout I have collated the Latin translation, and have given the results of the collation wherever it seemed to throw any light upon, or to contain anything which was not in the English Edition. The Glossary is intended, not so much to assist the English reader, who will find few difficulties in Bacon's language or style, as to record all the archaisms both of diction and construction which seemed worthy of note. With regard to the names of the plants contained in the Essay "Of Gardens" I have endeavoured as far as possible, by consulting the old herbals of Lyte, Gerarde, and Parkinson, to identify them with the more modern appellations, but I cannot hope, in all cases, to have been successful.

In conclusion, I have to express my thanks to the Stationers' Company for permission to search their books for the entries of the three editions of the Essays published in Bacon's life time, and to Mr Spedding for the ready assistance he has always given me in all cases of doubt and difficulty upon which I have consulted him.

W. A. WRIGHT.

CAMBRIDGE,
4 Sept., 1862.
PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

In the present edition the text and notes have undergone a complete revision, and some slight errors have been corrected.

The insertion of a few notes, and the addition of some words to the Glossarial Index are all the material changes that have been made.

W. A. W.

Cambridge,
12 May, 1865.
THE ESSAYES
OR COVNSELS,
CIVILL AND MORALL,
OF FRANCIS LO. VERVLAM,
VISCOVNT St. ALBAN.

Newly enlarged.

LONDON,
Printed by JOHN HAVILAND for HANNA BARRET, and RICHARD WHITAKER, and are to be sold at the signe of the Kings head in Pauls Church-yard. 1625.
EXCELLENT LO.

SALOMON saies; A good Name is as a precious oyntment; And I assure my selfe, such wil your Graces Name bee, with Posteritie. For your Fortune, and Merit both, haue beene Eminent. And you haue planted Things, that are like to last. I doe now publish my Essayes; which of all my other workes, haue beene most Currant: For that, as it seemes, they come home, to Mens Businesse, and Bosomes. I haue enlarged them, both in Number, and Weight; So that they are indeed a New Worke. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my Affection, and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your Name before them, both in English, and in Latine. For I doe conceiue, that the
Latine Volume of them, (being in the Vniuersall Language) may last, as long as Bookes last. My Instauration, I dedicated to the King: My Historie of HENRY the Seventh, (which I haue now also translated into Latine) and my Portions of Naturall History, to the Prince: And these I dedicate to your Grace; Being of the best Fruits, that by the good Encrease, which God giues to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. God leade your Grace by the Hand.

Your Graces most Obliged and faithfull Servant,

Fr. ST. ALBAN.
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Of Fame, a fragment 239
ESSAYES

I

Of Truth

WHAT is Truth; said jesting Pilate; And would not stay for an Answer. Certainly there be, that delight in Giddiness; And count it a Bondage, to fix a Beleeve; Affecting Free-will in Thinking, as well as in Acting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that Kinde be gone, yet there remaine certaine discoursing Wits, which are of the same veines, though there be not so much Bloud in them, as was in those of the Ancients. But it is not onely the Difficultie, and Labour, which Men take in finding out of Truth; Nor againe, that when it is found, it imposeth upon mens Thoughts; that doth bring Lies in favour: But a naturall, though corrupt Love, of the Lie it selfe. One of the later Schoole of the Grecians, examineth the matter, and is at a stand, to thinke what should be in it, that men should love Lies; Where neither they make for Pleasure, as with Poets; Nor for Advantage, as with
the Merchant; but for the *Lies* sake. But I cannot tell: This same *Truth*, is a Naked, and Open day light, that doth not shew, the Masques, and Mummeries, and Triumphs of the world, halfe so Stately, and daintily, as Candlelights. *Truth* may perhaps come to the price of a Pearle, that sheweth best by day: But it will not rise, to the price of a Diamond, or Carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a *Lie* doth ever add Pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of Mens Mindes, Vaine Opinions, Flattering Hopes, False valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leave the Mindes, of a Number of Men, poore shrunken Things; full of Melancholy, and Indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the Fathers, in great Severity, called Poesie, *Vinum Daemnonum*; because it filleth the Imagination, and yet it is, but with the shadow of a *Lie*. But it is not the *Lie*, that passeth through the Minde, but the *Lie* that sinketh in, and setleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus, in mens depraved Judgements, and Affections, yet *Truth*, which onely doth judge it selfe, teacheth, that the Inquirie of *Truth*, which is the Love-making, or Wooing of it; The knowledge of *Truth*, which is the Presence of it; and the Beleefe of *Truth*, which is the Enjoying of it; is the Soveraigne Good of humane Nature. The first Creature of God, in the workes of the Dayes, was the Light of the Sense; The last, was the Light of Reason; And his Sabbath Worke,
Of Truth

ever since, is the Illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed Light, upon the Face, of the Matter or Chaos; Then he breathed Light, into the Face of Man; and still he breatheth and inspireth Light, into the Face of his Chosen. The Poet, that beautified the Sect, that was otherwise inferiour to the rest, saith yet excellently well: *It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tost upon the Sea: A pleasure to stand in the window of a Castle, and to see a Battaile, and the Adventures thereof, below: But no pleasure is comparable, to the standing, upon the vantage ground of Truth: (A hill not to be commanded, and where the Ayre is alwaies cleare and serene;) And to see the Erroors, and Wanderings, and Mists, and Tempests, in the vale below: So alwaies, that this prospect, be with Pitty, and not with Swelling, or Pride. Certainly, it is Heaven upon Earth, to have a Mans Minde Move in Charitie, Rest in Providence, and Turne upon the Poles of Truth. To passe from Theologicall, and Philosophicall *Truth, to the Truth of civill Businesse; It will be acknowledged, even by those, that practize it not, that cleare and Round dealing, is the Honour of Mans Nature; And that Mixture of Falshood, is like Allay in Coyne of Gold and Silver; which may make the Metall worke the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding, and crooked courses, are the Goings of the Serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the Feet. There is no Vice, that doth so cover a Man with Shame, as to be found false, and perfidious. And therefore *Moun-
taigny saith prettily, when he enquired the reason, why the word of the Lie, should be such a Disgrace, and such an Odious Charge? Saith he, *If it be well weighed, To say that a man lieth, is as much to say, as that he is brave towards God, and a Coward towards Men.* For a *Lie* faces God, and shrinkes from Man. Surely the Wickednesse of Falshood, and Breach of Faith, cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last Peale, to call the Judgements of God, upon the Generations of Men, It being foretold, that when Christ commeth, *He shall not finde Faith upon the Earth.*
II

Of Death

MEN feare Death, as Children feare to goe in the darke: And as that Natural Feare in Children, is increased with Tales, so is the other. Certainly, the Contemplation of Death, as the wages of sinne, and Passage to another world, is Holy, and Religious; But the Feare of it, as a Tribute due unto Nature, is weake. Yet in Religious Meditations, there is sometimes, Mixture of Vanitie, and of Superstition. You shal reade, in some of the Friars Books of Mortification, that a man should thinke with himselfe, what the Paine is, if he have but his Fingers end Pressed, or Tortured; And thereby imagine, what the Paines of Death are, when the whole Body, is corrupted and dissolved; when many times, Death passeth with lesse paine, then the Torture of a Limme: For the most vitall parts, are not the quickest of Sense. And by him, that spake onely as a Philosopher, and Naturall Man, it was well said; Pompa Mortis magis terret, quàm Mors ipsa. Groanes and Convulsions, and a disco-
loured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blackes and Obsequies, and the like, shew Death Terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the minde of man, so weake, but it Mates, and Masters, the Feare of Death: And therefore Death, is no such terrible Enemie, when a man hath so many Attendants, about him, that can winne the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over Death; Love slighteth it; Honour aspireth to it; Griefe flieth to it; Feare pre-occupateth it; Nay we reade, after Otho the Emperor had slaine himselfe, Pitty (which is the tenderest of Affections) provoked many to die, out of meere compassion to their Soveraigne, and as the truest sort of Followers. Nay Seneca addes Nicennesse & Societie; Cogita quam diu eadem feceris; Mori velle, non tantum Fortis, aut Miser, sed etiam Fastidiosus potest. A man would die, though he were neither valiant, nor miserable, onely upon a weariness to doe the same thing, so oft over and over. It is no lesse worthy to observe, how little Alteration, in good Spirits, the Approaches of Death make; For they appeare, to be the same Men, till the last Instant. Augustus Caesar died in a Complement; Livia, Coniugij nostri memor, vive & vale. Tiberius in dissimulation; As Tacitus saith of him; Iam Tiberium Vires, & Corpus, non Dissimulatio, deserviant. Vespasian in a Jest; Sitting upon the Stoole, Ut puto Deus fio. Galba with a Sentence: Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani; Holding forth his Necke. Septimius Severus in dispatch; Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum. And the like. Certainly, the
Stoikes bestowed too much cost upon Death, and by their great preparations, made it appear more fearefull. Better saith he, *Qui Finem Vitæ extremum inter Muncra ponat Naturæ.* It is as Naturall to die, as to be borne; And to a little Infant, perhaps, the one, is as painfull, as the other. He that dies in an earnest Pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot Bloud; who, for the time, scarce feeles the Hurt; And therefore, a Minde fixt, and bent upon somewhat, that is good, doth avert the Dolors of Death: But above all, beleevve it, the sweetest Canticle is, *Nunc dimittis,* when a Man hath obtained worthy Ends, and Expectations. *Death* hath this also; That it openeth the Gate, to good Fame, and extinguisheth Envie.

— *Extinctus amabitur idem.*
III

Of Unity in Religion

RELIGION being the chiefe Band of humane Society, it is a happy thing, when it selfe, is well contained, within the true Band of Unity. The Quarrels, and Divisions about Religion, were Evils unknowne to the Heathen. The Reason was, because the Religion of the Heathen, consisted rather in Rites and Ceremonies; then in any constant Beleeve. For you may imagine, what kinde of Faith theirs was, when the chiefe Doctors, and Fathers of their Church, were the Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, That he is a Jealous God; And therefore, his worship and Religion, will endure no Mixture, nor Partner. We shall therefore speake, a few words, concerning the Unity of the Church; What are the Fruits thereof; what the Bounds; And what the Meanes?

The Fruits of Unity (next unto the well Pleasing of God, which is All in All) are two; The One, towards those, that are without the Church; The Other, towards those, that are within. For the Former; It is certaine, that Heresies, and Schismes, are of all others, the greatest Scandals; yea more then Corruption of
Manners. For as in the Naturall Body, a Wound or Solution of Continuity, is worse then a Corrupt Humor; So in the Spirituall. So that nothing, doth so much keepe Men out of the Church, and drive Men out of the Church, as Breach of Unity: And therefore, whenssoever it commeth to that passe, that one saith, Ecce in Deserto; Another saith, Ecce in penetralibus; That is, when some Men seeke Christ, in the Conventicles of Heretikes, and others, in an Outward Face of a Church, that voice had need continually to sound in Mens Eares, Nolite exire, Goe not out. The Doctor of the Gentiles (the Propriety of whose Vocation, drew him to have a speciall care of those without) saith; If an Heathen come in, and heare you speake with severall Tongues, Will he not say that you are mad? And certainly, it is little better, when Atheists, and prophane Persons, do heare of so many Discordant, and Contrary Opinions in Religion; It doth avert them from the Church, and maketh them, To sit downe in the chaire of the Scorners. It is but a light Thing, to be Vouched in so Serious a Matter, but yet it expresseth well the Deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing; that in his Catalogue of Books, of a faigned Library, sets Downe this Title of a Booke; The morris daunce of Heretikes. For indeed, every Sect of them, hath a Divers Posture, or Cringe by themselves, which cannot but Move Derision, in Worldlings, and Depraved Politickes, who are apt to contemne Holy Things.

As for the Fruit towards those that are within; It is Peace; which containeth infinite
Blessings: It establisheth Faith; It kindleth Charity; The outward Peace of the Church, Distilleth into Peace of Conscience; And it turneth the Labours, of Writing, and Reading of Controversies, into Treaties of Mortification, and Devotion.

Concerning the *Bounds of Unity*; The true Placing of them, importeth exceedingly. There appeare to be two extremes. For to certaine Zelants all Speech of Pacification is odious. *Is it peace, Iehu? What hast thou to doe with peace? turne thee behinde me.* Peace is not the Matter, but *Following* and *Party*. Contrariwise, certaine *Laodiceans*, and Luke-warme Persons, thinke they may accommodate Points of *Religion*, by Middle Waies, and taking part of both; And witty Reconcilements; As if they would make an Arbitrement, betweene God and Man. Both these Extremes are to be avoyded; which will be done, if the League of Christians, penned by our Saviour himselfe, were in the two crosse Clauses thereof, soundly and plainly expounded; *He that is not with us, is against us:* And againe; *He that is not against us, is with us:* That is, if the Points Fundamentall and of Substance in *Religion*, were truly discerned and distinguished, from Points not meerely of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention. This is a Thing, may seeme to many, a Matter trivialis, and done already: But if it were done lesse partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give onely this Advice, according to my small Modell. Men ought to take heede, of rending Gods Church, by two kinds of
Of Unity in Religion

Controversies. The one is, when the Matter of the Point controverted, is too small and light, not worth the Heat, and Strife about it, kindled onely by Contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers; Christ's Coat, indeed, had no seame: But the Churches Vesture was of divers colours; whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas sit, Scissura non sit*; They be two Things, Unity, and Uniformity. The other is, when the Matter of the Point Controverted is great; but it is driven to an over-great Subtilty, and Obscurity; So that it becommeth a Thing, rather Ingenious, then Substantiall. A man that is of Judgement and understanding, shall sometimes heare Ignorant Men differ, and know well within himselfe, that those which so differ, meane one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to passe, in that distance of Judgement, which is betweene Man and Man; Shall wee not thinke, that God above, that knowes the Heart, doth not discerne, that fraile Men, in some of their Contradictions, intend the same thing; and accepteth of both? The Nature of such Controversies is excellently expressed, by St. Paul, in the Warning and Precept, that he giveth, concerning the same, *Devita profanas vocum Novitates, & Oppositiones falsi Nominis Scientiae*. Men create Oppositions, which are not; And put them into new termes, so fixed, as whereas the Meaning ought to governe the Terme, the Terme in effect governeth the Meaning. There be also two false Peaces, or Unities; The one, when the Peace is grounded, but upon an implicite ignorance; For all Colours will agree in the Darke:
The other, when it is peeced up, upon a direct Admission of Contraries, in Fundamentall Points. For Truth and Falshood, in such things, are like the Iron and Clay, in the toes of Nabucadnezars Image; They may Cleave, but they will not Incorporate.

Concerning the Meanes of procuring Unity; Men must beware, that in the Procuring, or Muniting, of Religious Unity, they doe not Dissolve and Deface the Lawes of Charity, and of humane Society. There be two Swords amongst Christians; the Spirituall, and Temporall; And both have their due Office, and place, in the maintenance of Religion. But we may not take up the Third sword, which is Mahomets Sword, or like unto it; That is, to propagate Religion, by Warrs, or by Sanguinary Persecutions, to force Consciences; except it be in cases of Overt Scandal, Blasphemy, or Intermixture of Practize, against the State; Much lesse to Nourish Seditions; To Authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions; To put the Sword into the Peoples Hands; And the like; Tending to the Subversion of all Government, which is the Ordinance of God. For this is, but to dash the first Table, against the Second; And so to consider Men as Christians, as we forget that they are Men. Lucretius the Poet, when he beheld the Act of Agamemnon, that could endure the Sacrificing of his owne Daughter, exclaimed;

*Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum.*

What would he have said, if he had knowne of the Massacre in France, or the Powder Treason
of England? He would have beene, Seven times more Epicure and Atheist, then he was. For as the temporall Sword, is to bee drawne, with great circumspection, in Cases of Religion; So it is a thing monstrous, to put it into the hands of the Common People. Let that bee left unto the Anabaptists, and other Furies. It was great Blasphemy, when the Devill said; *I will ascend, and be like the Highest;* But it is greater Blasphemy, to personate God, and bring him in saying; *I will descend, and be like the Prince of Darknesse;* And what is it better, to make the cause of Religion, to descend, to the cruell and execrable Actions, of Murthering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subversion of States, and Governments? Surely, this is to bring Downe the Holy Ghost, in stead of the Liknesse of a Dove, in the Shape of a Vulture, or Raven: And to set, out of the Barke of a Christian Church, a Flagge of a Barque of Pirats, and *Assassins.* Therefore it is most necessary, that the Church by Doctrine and Decree; Princes by their Sword; And all Learnings, both Christian and Morall, as by their Mercury Rod; Doe Damne and send to Hell, for ever, those Facts and Opinions, tending to the Support of the same; As hath beene already in good part done. Surely in Counsels, Concerning Religion, that Counsel of the Apostle would be prefixed; *Ira hominis non implet Iusticiam Dei.* And it was a notable Observation, of a wise Father, And no lesse ingenuously confessed; *That those, which held and perswaded, pressure of Consciences, were commonly interessed therin, themselves, for their owne ends.*
IV

Of Revenge

REVENGE is a kind of Wilde Justice; which the more Mans Nature runs to, the more ought Law to weed it out. For as for the first Wrong, it doth but offend the Law; but the Revenge of that wrong, putteth the Law out of Office. Certainly, in taking Revenge, A Man is but even with his Enemy; But in passing it over, he is Superiour: For it is a Princes part to Pardon. And Salomon, I am sure, saith, It is the glory of a Man to passe by an offence. That which is past, is gone, and Irrevocable; And wise Men have Enough to doe, with things present, and to come: Therefore, they doe but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man, doth a wrong, for the wrongs sake; But therby to purchase himselfe, Profit, or Pleasure, or Honour, or the like. Therfore why should I be angry with a Man, for loving himselfe better then mee? And if any Man should doe wrong, meerely out of ill nature, why? yet it is but like the Thorn, or Bryar, which prick, and scratch, because they can doe no
Of Revenge

other. The most Tolerable Sort of Revenge, is for those wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: But then, let a man take heed, the Revenge be such, as there is no law to punish: Else, a Mans Enemy, is still before hand, And it is two for one. Some, when they take Revenge, are Desirous the party should know, whence it commeth: This is the more Generous. For the Delight seemeth to be, not so much in doing the Hurt, as in Making the Party repent: But Base and Crafty Cowards, are like the Arrow, that flyeth in the Darke. Cosmus Duke of Florence, had a Desperate Saying, against Perfidious or Neglecting Friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable: You shall reade (saith he) that we are commanded to forgive our Enemies; But you never read, that wee are commanded, to forgive our Friends. But yet the Spirit of Iob, was in a better tune; Shall wee (saith he) take good at Gods Hands, and not be content to take evill also? And so of Friends in a proportion. This is certaine; That a Man that studieth Revenge, keepes his owne Wounds greene, which otherwise would heale, and doe well. Publique Revenges, are, for the most part, Fortunate; As that for the Death of Caesar; For the Death of Pertinax; for the Death of Henry the Third of France; And many more. But in private Revenges it is not so. Nay rather, Vindicative Persons live the Life of Witches; who as they are Mischievous, So end they Infortunate.
V

Of Adversitie

It was an high speech of Seneca, (after the manner of the Stoickes) That the good things, which belong to Prosperity, are to be wished; but the good things, that belong to Adversity, are to be admired. Bona Rerum Secundarum, Optabilia; Adversarum, Mirabilia. Certainly if Miracles, be the Command over Nature, they appeare most in Adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his, then the other, (much too high for a Heathen) It is true greatnesse, to have in one, the Frailty of a Man, & the Security of a God. Verè magnum, habere Fragilitatem Hominis, Securitatem Dei. This would have done better in Poesy; where Transcendences are more allowed. And the Poets indeed, have beeene busy with it; For it is, in effect, the thing, which is figured in that Strange Fiction, of the Ancient Poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; Nay, and to have some approach, to the State of a Christian: That Hercules, when hee went to unbinde Prometheus, (by whom Humane Nature is represented) sailed the length of the great
Ocean, in an Earthen Pot, or Pitcher: Lively describing Christian Resolution; that saileth, in the fraile Barke of the Flesh, thorow the Waves of the World. But to speake in a Meane. The Vertue of Prosperitie, is Temperance; The Vertue of Adversity, is Fortitude: which in Morals is the more Heroicall Vertue. Prosperity is the Blessing of the Old Testament; Adversity is the Blessing of the New; which carrieth the greater Benediction, and the Clearer Revelation of Gods Favour. Yet, even in the old Testament, if you Listen to Davids Harpe, you shall heare as many Herselike Ayres, as Carols: And the Pencill of the holy Ghost, hath laboured more, in describing, the Afflictions of Job, then the Felicities of Salomon. Prosperity is not without many Feares and Distastes; And Adversity is not without Comforts and Hopes. Wee see in Needle-workes, and Imbroideries, It is more pleasing, to have a Lively Worke, upon a Sad and Solemne Ground; then to have a Darke and Melancholy Worke, upon a Lightsome Ground: Iudge therfore, of the Pleasure of the Heart, by the Pleasure of the Eye. Certainly, Vertue is like pretious Odours, most fragrant, when they are incensed, or crushed: For Prosperity doth best discover Vice; But Adversity doth best discover Vertue.
Of Simulation and Dissimulation

Dissimulation is but a faint kind of Policy, or Wisdome; For it asketh a strong Wit, and a strong Heart, to know, when to tell Truth, and to doe it. Therfore it is the weaker Sort of Politicks, that are the great Dissemblers.

Tacitus saith; Livia sorted well, with the Arts of her Husband, & Dissimulation of her Sonne: Attributing Arts or Policy to Augustus, and Dissimulation to Tiberius. And againe, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian, to take Arms against Vitellius, he saith; We rise not, against the Piercing Judgment of Augustus, nor the Extreme Caution or Closenesse of Tiberius. These Properties of Arts or Policy, and Dissimulation or Closenesse, are indeed Habits and Faculties, severall, and to be distinguished. For if a Man, have that Penetration of Judgment, as he can discerne, what Things are to be laid open, and what to be secretted, and what to be shewed at Halfe lights, and to whom, and when, (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life, as Tacitus well calleth them) to him, A
Habit of Dissimulation, is a Hinderance, and a Poorenesse. But if a Man cannot obtaine to that Judgment, then it is left to him, generally, to be Close, and a Dissembler. For where a Man cannot choose, or vary in Particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest Way in generall; Like the Going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men, that ever were, have had all an Opennesse, and Francknesse of dealing; And a name of Certainty, and Veracity; But then they were like Horses, well mannaged; For they could tell passing well, when to stop, or turne: And at such times, when they thought the Case indeed, required Dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to passe, that the former Opinion, spred abroad of their good Faith, and Clearesnesse of dealing, made them almost Invisible.

There be three degrees, of this Hiding, and Vailing of a Mans Selfe. The first Closenesse, Reservation, and Secrecy; when a Man leaveth himselfe without Observation, or without Hold to be taken, what he is. The second Dissimulation, in the Negative; when a man lets fall Signes, and Arguments, that he is not, that he is. And the third Simulation, in the Affirmative; when a Man industriously, and expressely, figns, and pretends to be, that he is not.

For the first of these, Secrecy: It is indeed, the Vertue of a Confessour; And assuredly, the Secret Man, heareth many Confessions; For who will open himselfe, to a Blab or a Babler? But if a Man be thought Secret, it inviteth Discovery; As the more Close Aire, sucketh in the
more Open: And as in Confession, the Revealing is not for worldly use, but for the Ease of a Mans Heart, so Secret Men come to the Knowledge of Many Things, in that kinde; while Men rather discharge their Mindes, then impart their Mindes. In few words, Mysteries are due to Secrecy. Besides (to say Truth) Nakednesse is uncomely, as well in Minde, as Body; and it addeth no small Reverence, to Mens Manners, and Actions, if they be not altogether Open. As for Talkers and Futile Persons, they are commonly Vaine, and Credulous withall. For He that talketh, what he knoweth, will also talke, what he knoweth not. Therfore set it downe; That an Habit of Secrecy, is both Politick, and Morall. And in this Part, it is good, that a Mans Face, give his Tongue, leave to Speake. For the Discovery, of a Mans Selfe, by the Tracts of his Countenance, is a great Weaknesse, and Betraying; By how much, it is many times, more marked and beleaved, than a Mans words.

For the Second, which is Dissimulation. It followeth many times upon Secrecy, by a necessity: So that, he that will be Secret, must be a Dissembler, in some degree. For Men are too cunning, to suffer a Man, to keepe an indifferent carriage, betweene both, and to be Secret, without Swaying the Ballance, on either side. They will so beset a man with Questions, and draw him on, and picke it out of him, that without an absurd Silence, he must shew an Inclination, one way; Or if he doe not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech. As for Equivocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they
cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give himselfe a little Scope of Dissimulation; which is, as it were, but the Skirts or Traine of Secrecy.

But for the third Degree, which is Simulation, and false Profession; That I hold more culpable, and lesse politicke; except it be in great and rare Matters. And therefore a generall Custome of Simulation (which is this last Degree) is a Vice, rising, either of a naturall Falsenesse, or Fearfulnesse; Or of a Minde, that hath some maine Faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise Simulation, in other things, lest his Hand should be out of ure.

The great Advantages of Simulation and Dissimulation are three. First to lay asleepe Opposition, and to Surprize. For where a Mans Intentions, are published, it is an Alarum, to call up, all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a Mans Selfe, a faire Retreat: For if a man engage himselfe, by a manifest Declaration, he must goe through, or take a Fall. The third is, the better to discover the Minde of another. For to him that opens himselfe, Men will hardly shew themselves adverse; but will (faire) let him goe on, and turne their Freedome of Speech, to Freedome of thought. And therefore, it is a good shrewd Proverbe of the Spaniard; Tell a lye, and finde a Troth. As if there were no way of Discovery, but by Simulation. There be also three Disadvantages, to set it even. The first, That Simulation and Dissimulation, commonly carry with them, a Shew of
Fearfulness, which in any Business, doth spoil the Feathers, of round flying up to the Mark. The second, that it pusleth & perplexeth the Conceits of many; that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him; and makes a Man walk, almost alone, to his own Ends. The third, and greatest is, that it depriveth a Man, of one, of the most principall Instruments for Action; which is Trust and Beleeve. The best Composition, and Temperature is, to have Opennesse in Fame and Opinion; Secrecy in Habit; Dissimulation in seasonable use; And a Power to fake, if there be no Remedy.
The Ioyes of Parents are Secret; And so are their Griefes, and Feares: They cannot utter the one; Nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten Labours; But they make Misfortunes more bitter: They increase the Cares of Life; but they mitigate the Remembrance of Death. The Perpetuity by Generation is common to Beasts; But Memory, Merit, and Noble workes, are proper to Men: And surely a Man shall see, the Noblest workes, and Foundations, have proceeded from Childlesse Men; which have sought to expresse the Images of their Minds; where those of their Bodies have failed: So the care of Posterity, is most in them, that have no Posterity. They that are the first Raisers of their Houses, are most Indulgent towards their Children; Beholding them, as the Continuance, not only of their kinde, but of their Worke; And so both Children, and Creatures.

The difference in Affection, of Parents, towards their severall Children, is many times unequall; And sometimes unworthy; Especially
in the mother; As Salomon saith; A wise sonne reioyceth the Father; but an ungracious sonne shames the Mother. A Man shall see, where there is a House full of Children, one or two, of the Eldest, respected, and the Youngest made wantons; But in the middest, some that are, as it were forgotten, who, many times, nevertheless, prove the best. The Illeralitie of Parents, in allowance towards their Children, is an harmefull Errour; Makes them base; Acquaints them with Shifts; Makes them sort with meane Company; And makes them surfet more, when they come to Plenty: And therefore, the Proove is best, when Men keepe their Authority towards their Children, but not their Purse. Men have a foolish manner (both Parents, and Schoolemasters, and Servants) in creating and breeding an Emulation between Brothers, during Childhood, which many times sorteth to Discord, when they are Men; And disturbeth Families. The Italians make little difference betweene Children, and Nephewes, or neere Kinsfolkes; But so they be of the Lumpe, they care not, though they passe not through their owne Body. And, to say Truth, in Nature, it is much a like matter; In so much, that we see a Nephew, sometimes, resembleth an Uncle, or a Kinsman, more then his owne Parent; As the Bloud happens. Let Parents choose betimes, the Vocations, and Courses, they meane 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 Minde to. It is true, that if the Affection or Aptnesse of the Children, be Extraordinary, then it is good, not to crosse it; But generally, the Precept is good; Optimum eligi, suave & facile illud faciet Consuetudo. Younger Brothers are commonly Fortunate, but seldom or never, where the Elder are disinherited.
Of Marriage and Single Life

He that hath Wife and Children, hath given Hostages to Fortune; For they are Impediments, to great Enterprises, either of Vertue, or Mischief. Certainly, the best workes, and of greatest Merit for the Publike, have proceeded from the unmarried, or Childlesse Men; which, both in Affection, and Meanes, have married and endowed the Publike. Yet it were great Reason, that those that have Children, should have greatest care of future times; unto which, they know, they must transmit, their dearest pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a Single Life, yet their Thoughts doe end with themselves, and account future Times, Impertinences. Nay, there are some other, that account Wife and Children, but as Bills of charges. Nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous Men, that take a pride in having no Children, because they may be thought, so much the richer. For perhaps, they have heard some talke; Such an one is a great rich Man; And another except to it; Yea, but he hath a great charge of Children: As
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if it were an Abatement to his Riches. But the most ordinary cause of a *Single Life*, is Liberty; especially, in certaine Selfe-pleasing, and humorous Mindes, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will goe neare, to thinke their Girdles, and Garters, to be Bonds and Shackles. *Unmarried Men* are best Friends; best Masters; best Servants; but not always best Subiects; For they are light to runne away; And almost all Fugitives are of that Condition. A *Single Life* doth well with Church men: For Charity will hardly water the Ground, where it must first fill a Poole. It is indifferent for Judges and Magistrates: For if they be facile, and corrupt, you shall have a Servant, five times worse than a *Wife*. For Souldiers, I finde the Generalls commonly in their Hortatives, put Men in minde of their *Wives and Children*: And I thinke the Despising of *Marriage*, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar souldier more base. Certainly, *Wife* and *Children*, are a kinde of Discipline of Humanity: And *single Men*, though they be many times more Charitable, because their Meanes are lesse exhaust; yet, on the other side, they are more cruell, and hard hearted, (good to make severe Inquisitors) because their Tendernesse, is not so oft called upon. Grave Natures, led by Custome, and therfore constant, are commonly loving *Husbands*; As was said of *Ulysses*; *Vetulam suam prætulit Immortalitati*. Chast Women are often Proud, and froward, as Presuming upon the Merit of their Chastity. It is one of the best Bonds, both of Chastity and Obedience, in the *Wife*, if
She thinke her *Husband* Wise; which She will never doe, if She finde him *Jealous*. *Wives* are young Mens Mistresses; Companions for middle Age; and old Mens Nurses. So as a Man may have a Quarrell to marry, when he will. But yet, he was reputed one of the wise Men, that made Answer to the Question; When a Man should marry? *A young Man not yet, an Elder Man not at all.* It is often seene, that bad *Husbands*, have very good *Wives*; whether it be, that it rayseth the Price of their *Husbands* Kindnesse, when it comes; Or that the *Wives* take a Pride, in their Patience. But this never failes, if the bad *Husbands* were of their owne choosing, against their Friends consent; For then, they will be sure, to make good their owne Folly.
IX

Of Envy

There be none of the Affections, which have beene noted to fascinate, or bewitch, but Love, and Envy. They both have vehement wishes; They frame themselves readily into Imaginations, and Suggestions; And they come easily into the Eye; especially upon the presence of the Obie<flts; which are the Points, that conduce to Fascination, if any such Thing there be. We see likewise, the Scripture calleth Envy, an Evill Eye: And the Astrologers, call the evill Influences of the Starrs, Evill Aspects; So that still, there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the Act of Envy, an Eiaculation, or Irradiation of the Eye. Nay some have beene so curious, as to note, that the Times, when the Stroke, or Percussion of an Envious Eye doth most hurt, are, when the Party envied is beheld in Glory, or Triumph; For that sets an Edge upon Envy; And besides, at such times, the Spirits of the person Envied, doe come forth, most into the outward Parts, and so meet the Blow.

But leaving these Curiosities, (though not
unworthy, to be thought on, in fit place,) wee will handle, what Persons are apt to Envy others; What persons are most Subject to be Envied themselves; And, What is the Difference between Publique, and private Envy.

A man, that hath no vertue in himselfe, ever envieth Vertue in others. For Mens Mindes, will either feed upon their owne Good, or upon others Evill; And who wanteth the one, will prey upon the other; And who so is out of Hope to attaine to anothers Vertue, will seeke to come at even hand, by Depressing an others Fortune.

A man that is Busy, and Inquisitive, is commonly Envious: For to know much of other Mens Matters, cannot be, because all that Adoe may concerne his owne Estate: Therfore it must needs be, that he taketh a kinde of plaie-pleasure, in looking upon the Fortunes of others; Neither can he, that mindeth but his own Business, finde much matter for Envy. For Envy is a Gadding Passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keepe home; Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.

Men of Noble birth, are noted, to be envious towards New Men, when they rise. For the distance is altered; And it is like a deceipt of the Eye, that when others come on, they thinke themselves goe backe.

Deformed Persons, and Eunuches, and Old Men, and Bastards, are Envious: For he that cannot possibly mend his owne case, will doe what he can to impaire anothers; Except these Defects light, upon a very brave, and Heroicall Nature; which thinketh to make his Naturall
Wants, part of his Honour: In that it should be said, that an Eunuch, or a Lame Man, did such great Matters; Affecting the Honour of a Miracle; as it was in Narses the Eunuch, and Agesilaus, and Tamberlanes, that were Lame men.

The same, is the Case of Men, that rise after Calamities, and Misfortunes; For they are, as Men fallen out with the times; And thinke other Mens Harmes, a Redemption, of their owne Sufferings.

They, that desire to excell in too many Matters, out of Levity, and Vaine glory, are ever Envious; For they cannot want worke; It being impossible, but many, in some one of those Things, should surpasse them. Which was the Character of Adrian the Emperour, that mortally Envied Poets, and Painters, and Artificers, in Works, wherein he had a vein to excell.

Lastly, neare Kinsfolks, and Fellowes in Office, and those that have beene bred together, are more apt to Envy their Equals, when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them, their owne Fortunes; And pointeth at them, and commeth oftner into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others: And Envy ever redoubleth from Speech and Fame. Cains Envy, was the more vile, and Malignant, towards his brother Abel; Because, when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was no Body to looke on. Thus much for those that are apt to Envy.

Concerning those that are more or lesse subject to Envy: First, Persons of eminent Vertue, when they are advanced, are lesse envied. For
their Fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man Envieth the Payment of a Debt, but Rewards, and Liberality rather. Againe, Envy is ever joyned, with the Comparing of a Mans Selfe; And where there is no Comparison, no Envy; And therefore Kings, are not envied, but by Kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted, that unworthy Persons, are most envied, at their first comming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas contrariwise, Persons of Worth, and Merit, are most envied, when their Fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their Vertue be the same, yet it hath not the same Lustre; For fresh Men grow up, that darken it.

Persons of Noble Bloud, are lesse envied, in their Rising: For it seemeth, but Right, done to their Birth. Besides, there seemeth not much added to their Fortune; And Envy is as the Sunne Beames, that beat hotter, upon a Bank or steepe rising Ground; then upon a Flat. And for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees, are lesse envied, then those that are advanced sudainly, and per saltum.

Those that have joyned with their Honour, great Travels, Cares, or Perills, are lesse subject to Envy. For Men thinke, that they earne their Honours hardly, and pitty them sometimes; And Pitty, ever healeth Envy: Wherefore, you shall observe that the more deepe, and sober sort of Politique persons, in their Greatnesse, are ever bemoaning themselves, what a Life they lead; Chanting a Quanta patimur. Not that they feele it so, but onely to abate the Edge of Envy. But this is to be understood, of
Businesse, that is laid upon Men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For Nothing increaseth *Envie* more, then an unnecessary, and Ambitious Ingrossing of Businesse. And nothing doth extinguish *Envie* more, then for a great Person, to preserve all other inferiour Officers, in their full Rights, and Preheminences, of their Places. For by that meanes, there be so many Skreennes betweene him, and *Envie*.

Above all, those are most subiecl to *Envie*, which carry the Greatnesse of their Fortunes, in an insolent and proud Manner: Being never well, but while they are shewing, how great they are, Either by outward Pompe, or by Triumphing over all Opposition, or Competition; whereas Wise men will rather doe sacrifice to *Envie*; in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose to be crosst, and overborne in things, that doe not much concerne them. Notwithstanding, so much is true; That the Carriage of Greatnesse, in a plaine and open manner (so it be without Arrogancy, and Vaine glory) doth draw lesse *Envie*, then if it be in a more crafty, and cunning fashion. For in that course, a Man doth but disavow Fortune; And seemeth to be conscious, of his owne want in worth; And doth but teach others to *Envie* him.

Lastly, to conclude this Part; As we said in the beginning, that the Act of *Envie* had somewhat in it, of *Witchcraft*; so there is no other Cure of *Envie*, but the cure of *Witchcraft*. And that is, to remove the *Lot* (as they call it) & to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser Sort of great Persons, bring in ever upon

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the Stage, some Body, upon whom to derive the Envie, that would come upon themselves; Sometimes upon Ministers, and Servants; Sometimes upon Colleagues and Associates; and the like; And for that turne, there are never wanting, some Persons of violent and undertaking Natures, who so they may have Power, and Businesse, will take it at any Cost.

Now to speake of Publique Envy. There is yet some good in Publique Envy; whereas in Private, there is none. For Publique Envy is as an Ostracisme, that eclipseth Men, when they grow too great. And therefore it is a Bridle also to Great Ones, to keepe them within Bounds.

This Envy, being in the Latine word Invidia, goeth in the Moderne languages, by the name of Discontentment: Of which we shall speake in handling Sedition. It is a disease, in a State, like to Infection. For as Infection, spreadeth upon that, which is sound, and tainteth it; So when Envy, is gotten once into a State, it traduceth even the best Actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill Odour. And therefore, there is little won by intermingling of plausible Actions. For that doth argue, but a Weaknesse, and Feare of Envy, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usuall in Infections; which if you feare them, you call them upon you.

This publique Envy, seemeth to beat chiefly, upon principall Officers, or Ministers, rather then upon Kings, & Estates themselves. But this is a sure Rule, that if the Envy upon the
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Minister, be great, when the cause of it, in him, is small; or if the Envy be generall, in a manner, upon all the Ministers of an Estate; then the Envy (though hidden) is truly upon the State itself. And so much of publike envy or discontentment, & the difference therof from Private Envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will addde this, in generall, touching the Affection of Envy; that of all other Affections, it is the most importune, and continuall. For of other Affections, there is occasion given, but now and then: And therefore, it was well said, Invicta festos dies non agit. For it is ever working upon some, or other. And it is also noted, that Love and Envy, doe make a man pine, which other Affections doe not; because they are not so continuall. It is also the vilest Affection, and the most depraved; For which cause, it is the proper Attribute, of the Devill, who is called; The Envious Man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night. As it alwayes commeth to passe, that Envy worketh subtilly, and in the darke; And to the prejudice of good things, such as is the Wheat.
THE Stage is more beholding to Love, then the Life of Man. For as to the Stage, Love is ever matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies: But in Life, it doth much mischiefe: Sometimes like a Syren; Sometimes like a Fury. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy Persons, (whereof the memory remaineth, either Ancient or Recent) there is not One, that hath beene transported, to the mad degree of Love: which shewes, that great Spirits, and great Businesse, doe keepe out this weake Passion. You must except, neverthelesse, Marcus Antonius the halfe Partner of the Empire of Rome; and Appius Claudius the Decemvir, and Law-giver: Whereof the former, was indeed a Voluptuous Man, and Inordinate; but the latter, was an Austere, and wise man: And therefore it seemes (though rarely) that Love can finde entrance, not only into an open Heart; but also into a Heart well fortified; if watch be not well kept. It is a poore Saying of Epicurus; Satis magnum Alter Alteri Thea-
trum sumus: As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heaven, and all Noble Objects, should do nothing, but kneele before a little Idoll, and make himselfe subject, though not of the Mouth (as Beasts are) yet of the Eye; which was given him for higher Purposes. It is a strange Thing, to note the Exesse of this Passion; And how it braves, the Nature, and value of things; by this, that the Speaking in a perpetuall Hyperbole, is comely in nothing, but in Love. Neither is it meerely in the Phrase; For whereas it hath beene well said, that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers have Intelligence, is a Mans Selfe; Certainly, the Lover is more. For there was never Proud Man, thought so absurdly well of himselfe, as the Lover doth of the Person loved: And therefore, it was well said; That it is impossible to love, and to be wise. Neither doth this weaknesse appeare to others onely, and not to the Party Loved; But to the Loved, most of all: except the Love be reciproque. For, it is a true Rule, that Love is ever rewarded, either with the Reciproque, or with an inward, and secret Contempt. By how much the more, Men ought to beware of this Passion, which loseth not only other things, but it selfe. As for the other losses, the Poets Relation, doth well figure them; That he that preferred Helena, quitted the Gifts of Iuno, and Pallas. For whosoever esteemeth too much of Amorous Affection, quitteth both Riches, and Wisedome. This Passion, hath his Flouds, in the very times of Weaknesse; which are, great Prosperitie; and great Adversitie; though this latter hath beene
lesse observed. Both which times kindle Love, and make it more fervent, and therefore shew it to be the Childe of Folly. They doe best, who, if they cannot but admit Love, yet make it keepe Quarter: And sever it wholly, from their serious Affaires, and Actions of life: For if it checke once with Businesse, it troubleth Mens Fortunes, and maketh Men, that they can, no wayes be true, to their owne Ends. I know not how, but Martiall Men, are given to Love: I thinke it is, but as they are given to Wine; For Perils, commonly aske, to be paid in Pleasures. There is in Mans Nature, a secret Inclination, and Motion, towards love of others; which, if it be not spent, upon some one, or a few, doth naturally spread it selfe, towards many; and maketh men become Humane, and Charitable; As it is seen sometime in Friars. Nuptiall love maketh Mankind; Friendly love perfecleth it; but Wanton love Corrupteth, and Imbaseth it.
MEN in Great Place, are thrice Servants: Servants of the Soveraigne or State; Servants of Fame; and Servants of Businesse. So as they have no Freedome; neither in their Persons; nor in their Actions; nor in their Times. It is a strange desire, to seeke Power, and to lose Libertie; Or to seeke Power over others, and to loose Power over a Mans Selfe. The Rising unto Place is Laborious; And by Paines Men come to greater Paines; And it is sometimes base; And by Indignities, Men come to Dignities. The standing is slippery, and the Regresse, is either a downefall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a Melancholy Thing. 

Cum non sis, qui fueris, non esse, cur velis vivere.

Nay, retire Men cannot, when they would; neither will they, when it were Reason: But are impatient of privatennesse, even in Age, and Sickness, which require the Shadow: Like old Townesmen, that will be still sitting at their Street doore; though thereby they offer Age to Scorne. Certainly Great Persons, had need to
borrow other Mens Opinions; to thinke themselves happy; For if they judge by their owne Feeling; they cannot finde it: But if they thinke with themselves, what other men thinke of them, and that other men would faine be as they are, then they are happy, as it were by report; When perhaps they finde the Contrary within. For they are the first, that finde their owne Grieves; though they be the last, that finde their owne Faults. Certainly, Men in Great Fortunes, are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the pusle of businesse, they have no time to tend their Health, either of Body, or Minde. *Ili Mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.*

In Place, There is License to doe Good, and Evill; wherof the latter is a Curse; For in Evill, the best condition is, not to will; The Second, not to Can. But Power to doe good, is the true and lawfull End of Aspiring. For good Thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards men, are little better then good Dreames; Except they be put in Act; And that cannot be without Power, and Place; As the Vantage, and Commanding Ground. Merit, and good Works, is the End of Mans Motion; And Conscience of the same, is the Accomplishment of Mans Rest. For if a Man, can be Partaker of Gods Theater, he shall likewise be Partaker of Gods Rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspicercet Opera, qua ferunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;* And then the Sabbath. In the Discharge of thy Place, set before thee the best Examples; For Imitation, is a Globe of Precepts. And after
a time, set before thee, thine owne Example; And examine thy selfe strictly, whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the Examples of those, that have carried themselves ill, in the same Place: Not to set off thy selfe, by taxing their Memory; but to direct thy selfe, what to avoid. Reforme therfore, without Braverie, or Scandal, of former Times, and Persons; but yet set it downe to thy selfe, as well to create good Presidents, as to follow them. Reduce things, to the first Institution, and observe, wherein, and how, they have degenerate; but yet aske Counsell of both Times; Of the Ancient Time, what is best; and of the Latter Time, what is fittest. Seeke to make thy Course Regular; that Men may know before hand what they may expect: But be not too positive, and peremptorie; And expresse thy selfe well, when thou digrest from thy Rule. Preserve the Right of thy Place; but stirre not questions of Jurisdiction: And rather assume thy Right, in Silence, and de facto, then voice it, with Claimes, and Challenges. Preserve likewise, the Rights of Inferior Places; And thinke it more Honour to direct in chiefe, then to be busie in all. Embrace, and invite Helps, and Advices, touching the Execution of thy Place; And doe not drive away such, as bring thee Information, as Medlers; but accept of them in good part. The vices of Authoritie are chiefly four: Delaies; Corruption; Roughnesse; and Facilitie. For Delaies; Give easie Accesse; Keepe times appointed; Goe through with that which is in hand; And interlace not business, but of ne-
cessitie. For Corruption; Doe not onely binde thine owne Hands, or thy Servants hands, from taking; but binde the hands of Sutours also from offering. For Integritie used doth the one; but Integritie professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery, doth the other. And avoid not onely the Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest Cause, giveth Suspicion of Corruption. Therefore, always, when thou changest thine Opinion, or Course, professe it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reasons, that move thee to change; And doe not thinke to steale it. A Servant, or a Favorite, if hee be inward, and no other apparant Cause of Esteeme, is commonly thought but a By-way, to close Corruption. For Roughnesse; It is a needlesse cause of Discontent: Severitie breedeth Feare, but Roughnesse breedeth Hate. Even Reproofes from Authoritie, ought to be Grave, and not Taunting. As for Facilitie; It is worse then Bribery. For Bribes come but now and then; But if Importunitie, or Idle Respects lead a Man, he shall never be without. As Salomon saith; To respect Persons, is not good; For such a man will transgresse for a peece of Bread. It is most true, that was ancienly spoken; A place sheweth the Man: And it sheweth some to the better, and some to the worse: Omnium consensu, capax Imperij, nisi imperasset; saith Tacitus of Galba: but of Vespasian he saith; Solus Imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius. Though the one was meant of Sufficiencie, the other of Manners, and Affection. It is an as-
sured Signe, of a worthy and generous Spirit, whom Honour amends. For Honour is, or should be, the Place of Vertue: And as in Nature, Things move violently to their Place, and calmly in their Place: So Vertue in Ambition is violent, in Authoritie settled and calme. All Rising to Great Place, is by a winding Staire: And if there be Factions, it is good, to side a Mans selfe, whilst hee is in the Rising; and to ballance Himselfe, when hee is placed. Use the Memory of thy Predecessour fairely, and tenderly; For if thou dost not, it is a Debt, will sure be paid, when thou art gone. If thou have Colleagues, respect them, and rather call them, when they looke not for it, then exclude them, when they have reason to looke to be called. Be not too sensible, or too remembring, of thy Place, in Conversation, and private Answers to Suitors; But let it rather be said; When he sits in Place, he is another Man.
Of Boldnesse

It is a triviall Grammar Schoole Text, but yet worthy a wise Mans Consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes; What was the Chiefe Part of an Oratour? He answered, Action; what next? Action; what next again? Action. He said it, that knew it best; And had by nature, himselfe, no Advantage, in that he commended. A strange thing, that that Part of an Oratour, which is but superficial, and rather the vertue of a Player; should be placed so high, above those other Noble Parts, of Invention, Elocution, and the rest: Nay almost alone, as if it were All in All. But the Reason is plaine. There is in Humane Nature, generally, more of the Foole, then of the Wise; And therfore those faculties, by which the Foolish part of Mens Mindes is taken, are most potent. Wonderfull like is the Case of Boldnesse, in Civill Businesse; What first? Boldnesse; What Second, and Third? Boldnesse. And yet Boldnesse is a Childe of Ignorance, and Basenesse, farre inferiour to other Parts. But nevertheless,
it doth fascinate, and binde hand and foot, those, that are either shallow in Judgment; or weake in Courage, which are the greatest Part; Yea and prevailleth with wise men, at weake times. Therfore, we see it hath done wonders, in Popular States; but with Senates and Princes lesse; And more ever upon the first entrance of Bold Persons into Action, then soone after; For Boldnesse is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there are Mountebanques for the Naturall Body: So are there Mountebanques for the Politique Body: Men that undertake great Cures; And perhaps have been Lucky, in two or three Experiments, but want the Grounds of Science; And therfore cannot hold out. Nay you shall see a Bold Fellow, many times, doe Mahomets Miracle. Mahomet made the People beleeve, that he would call an Hill to him; And from the Top of it, offer up his Praiers, for the Observers of his Law. The People assembled; Mahomet cald the Hill to come to him, againe, and againe; And when the Hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said; If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet wil go to the hil. So these Men, when they have promised great Matters, and failed most shamefully, (yet if they have the perfection of Boldnesse) they will but slight it over, and make a turne, and no more adoe. Certainly, to Men of great Judgment, Bold Persons, are a Sport to behold; Nay and to the Vulgar also, Boldnesse hath somewhat of the Ridiculous. For if Absurdity be the Subieect of Laughter, doubt you not, but great Boldnesse is seldome without some
Absurdity. Especially, it is a Sport to see, when a *Bold* Fellow is out of Countenance; For that puts his Face, into a most Shruncken, and woorden Posture: As needes it must; For in Bashfulnesse, the Spirits doe a little goe and come; but with *Bold* Men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; Like a Stale at Chesse, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stirre. But this last, were fitter for a Satyre, then for a serious Observation. This is well to be weighed; That *Boldnesse* is ever blinde: For it seeth not dangers, and Inconveniences. Therefore, it is ill in Counsell, good in Execution: So that the right Use of *Bold* persons is, that they never Command in Chiefe, but be Seconds, and under the Direction of others. For in Counsell, it is good to see dangers; And in Execution, not to see them, except they be very great.
Of Goodnesse and Goodnesse of Nature

I TAKE Goodnesse in this Sense, the affecting of the Weale of Men, which is that the Grecians call Philanthropia; And the word Humanitie (as it is used) is a little too light, to expresse it. Goodnesse I call the Habit, and Goodnesse of Nature the Inclination. This of all Vertues, and Dignities of the Minde, is the greatest; being the Character of the Deitie: And without it, Man is a Busie, Mischievous, Wretched Thing; No better then a Kinde of Vermine. Goodnesse answers to the Theologicall Vertue Charitie, and admits no Excesse, but Errour. The desire of Power in Excesse, caused the Angels to fall; The desire of Knowledge in Excesse, caused Man to fall; But in Charity, there is no Excesse; Neither can Angell, or Man, come in danger by it. The Inclination to Goodnesse, is imprinted deeply in the Nature of Man: In so much, that if it issue not towards Men, it will take unto Other Living Creatures: As it is seen in the Turks, a Cruell People, who nevertheless, are kinde to Beasts, and give
Almes to Dogs, and Birds: In so much, as Busbechius reporteth; A Christian Boy in Constantinople, had like to have been stoned, for gagging, in a waggishnesse, a long Billed Fowle. Errours, indeed, in this vertue of Goodnesse, or Charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious Proverb; Tanto buon che val niente: So good, that he is good for nothing. And one of the Doctors of Italy, Nicholas Macciavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plaine Termes: That the Christian Faith, had given up Good Men, in prey, to those, that are Tyrannicall, and uniuist. Which he spake, because indeed there was never Law, or Seet, or Opinion, did so much magnifie Goodness, as the Christian Religion doth. Therfore to avoid the Scandall, and the Danger both; it is good to take knowledge, of the Errours, of an Habit, so excellent. Seeke the Good of other Men, but be not in bondage, to their Faces, or Fancies; For that is but Facilitie, or Softnesse; which taketh an honest Minde Prisoner. Neither give thou Æsops Cocke a Gemme, who would be better pleased, and happier, if he had had a Barly Corne. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly: He sendeth his Raine, and maketh his Sunne to shine, upon the Iust, and Uniust; But hee doth not raine Wealth, nor shine Honour, and Vertues, upon Men equally. Common Benefits, are to be commu-nicate with all; But peculiar Benefits, with choice. And beware, how in making the Portraiture, thou breakest the Patterne: For Divini-tie maketh the Love of our Selves the Patterne;
The Love of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. 
Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poore, and follow mee: But sell not all thou hast, except thou come, and follow mee; That is, except thou have a Vocation, wherein thou maist doe as much good, with little meanes, as with great: For otherwise, in feeding the Streames, thou diest the Fountaine. Neither is there only a Habit of Goodnesse, directed by right Reason; but there is, in some Men, even in Nature, a Disposition towards it: As on the other side, there is a Naturall Malignitie. For there be, that in their Nature, doe not affect the Good of Others. The lighter Sort of Malignitie, turneth but to a Crosnesse, or Frowardnesse, or Aptnesse to oppose, or Difficultnesse, or the like; but the deeper Sort, to Envy, and meere Mischiefe. Such Men, in other mens Calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading Part; Not so good as the Dogs, that licked Lazarus Sores; but like Flies, that are still buzzing, upon any Thing that is raw; Misanthropi, that make it their Practise, to bring Men, to the Bough; And yet have never a Tree, for the purpose, in their Gardens, as Timon had. Such Dispositions, are the very Errours of Humane Nature: And yet they are the fittest Timber, to make great Politiques of: Like to knee Timber, that is good for Ships, that are ordained, to be tossed; But not for Building houses, that shall stand firme. The Parts and Signes of Goodnesse are many. If a Man be Gracious, and Curteous to Strangers, it shewes, he is a Citizen of the World; And that his Heart, is no Island, cut off from other Lands;
but a Continent, that joynes to them. If he be Compassionate, towards the Afflictions of others, it shewes that his Heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded it selfe, when it gives the Balme. If he easily Pardons and Remits Offences, it shews, that his Minde is planted above Inuries; So that he cannot be shot. If he be Thankfull for small Benefits, it shewes, that he weighs Mens Mindes, and not their Trash. But above all, if he have St. Pauls Perfection, that he would wish to be an Anathema from Christ, for the Salvation of his Brethren, it shewes much of a Divine Nature, and a kinde of Conformity with Christ himselfe.
WE will speake of Nobility, first as a Portion of an Estate; Then as a Condition of Particular Persons. A Monarchy, where there is no Nobility at all, is ever a pure, and absolute Tyranny; As that of the Turkes. For Nobility attempers Soveraignty, and drawes the Eyes of the People, somewhat aside from the Line Royall. But for Democracies, they need it not; And they are commonly, more quiet, and lesse subiect to Sedition, then where there are Stirps of Nobles. For Mens Eyes are upon the Businesse, and not upon the Persons: Or if upon the Persons, it is for the Businesse sake, as fittest, and not for Flags and Pedegree. Wee see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their Diversitie of Religion, and of Cantons. For Utility is their Bond, and not Respects. The united Provinces of the Low Countries, in their Government, excell: For where there is an Equality, the Consultations are more indifferent, and the Payments and Tributes more cheerfull. A great and Potent Nobility addeth Maiestie to E2
monarch, but diminisheth Power; And putteth Life and Spirit into the People, but presseth their Fortune. It is well, when Nobles are not too great for Soveraignty, nor for Iustice; And yet maintained in that heigth, as the Insolencie of Inferiours, may be broken upon them, before it come on too fast upon the Maiesty of Kings. A Numerous Nobility, causeth Poverty, and Inconvenience in a State: For it is a Surcharge of Expence; And besides, it being of Necessity, that many of the Nobility, fall in time to be weake in Fortune, it maketh a kinde of Disproportion, betweene Honour and Meanes.

As for Nobility in particular Persons; It is a Reverend Thing, to see an Ancient Castle, or Building not in decay; Or to see a faire Timber Tree, sound and perfect: How much more, to behold an Ancient Noble Family, which hath stood against the Waves and weathers of Time. For new Nobility is but the Act of Power; But Ancient Nobility is the Act of Time. Those that are first raised to Nobility, are commonly more Vertuous, but lesse Innocent, then their Descendants: For there is, rarely, any Rising, but by a Commixture, of good and evill Arts. But it is Reason, the Memory of their vertues, remaine to their Posterity; And their Faults die with themselves. Nobility of Birth, commonly abateth Industry: And he that is not industrious, envieth him, that is. Besides, Noble persons, cannot goe much higher; And he that standeth at a stay, when others rise, can hardly avoid Motions of Envy. On the other side, Nobility extinguisheth the passive Envy, from others
towards them; Because they are in possession of Honour. Certainly Kings, that have Able men of their Nobility, shall finde ease in employing them; And a better Slide into their Businesse: For People naturally bend to them, as borne in some sort to Command.
Of Seditious and Troubles

SHEPHEARDS of People, had need know the Kalenders of Tempests in State; which are commonly greatest, when Things grow to Equality; As Naturall Tempests are greatest about the Æquinoctia. And as there are certaine hollow Blasts of Winde, and secret Swellings of Seas, before a Tempest, so are there in States:

— Ille etiam cæcos instare Tumultus
Sæpe monet, Fraudesque, & operta tumescere Bella.

Libels, and licentious Discourses against the State, when they are frequent and open; And in like sort, false Newes, often running up and downe, to the disadvantage of the State, and hastily embraced; are amongst the Signes of Troubles. Virgil giving the Pedegre of Fame, saith, She was sister to the Giants.
Of Seditious and Troubles

Illam Terra Parens ira irritata Deorum, Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque so-
rorem

Progenuit.—

As if Fames were the Reliques of Seditious past; But they are no lesse, indeed, the preludes of Seditious to come. Howsoever, he noteth it right, that Seditious Tumults, and Seditious Fames, differ no more, but as Brother and Sister, Masculine and Feminine; Especially, if it come to that, that the best Actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest Contentment, are taken in ill Sense, and traduced: For that shewes the Envy great, as Tacitus saith; Conflata magna Invidia, seu benè, seu mali, gesta premunt. Neither doth it follow, that because these Fames, are a signe of Troubles, that the suppressing of them, with too much Severity, should be a Remedy of Troubles. For the Despising of them, many times, checks them best; and the Going about to stop them, doth but make a Wonder Long-lived. Also that kinde of Obedience, which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected; Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mali mandata Imperantium inter-
pretari, quàm exequi; Disputing, Excusing, Cavilling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kinde of shaking off the yoake, and Assay of disobedience: Especially, if in those disputings, they, which are for the direction, speake fear-fully, and tenderly; And those that are against it, audaciously.

Also, as Macciavel noteth well; when Prin-
ces, that ought to be Common Parents, make
themselves as a Party, and lean to a side, it is as a Boat that is overthrown, by uneven weight, on the one Side; As was well seen, in the time of Henry the third of France: For first, himselfe entred League for the Extirpation of the Protestants; and presently after, the same League was turned upon Himselfe. For when the Authority of Princes, is made but an Accessary to a Cause; And that there be other Bands, that tie faster, then the Band of Sovereignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.

Also, when Discords, and Quarrells, and Factions, are carried openly, and audaciously; it is a Signe, the Reverence of Government is lost. For the Motions of the greatest persons, in a Government, ought to be, as the Motions of the Planets, under Primum Mobile; (according to the old Opinion:) which is, That Every of them, is carried swiftly, by the Highest Motion, and softly in their owne Motion. And therfore, when great Ones, in their owne particular Motion, move violently, and, as Tacitus expresseth it well, Liberius, quàm ut Imperantium meminissent; It is a Signe, the Orbs are out of Frame. For Reverence is that, wherwith Princes are girt from God; Who threatneth the dissolving thereof; Solvam cingula Regum.

So when any of the foure Pillars of Government, are mainly shaken, or weakened (which are Religion, Justice, Counsell, and Treasure,) Men had need to pray for Faire Weather. But let us passe from this Part of Predictions, (Concerning which, nevertheless, more light may
Of Seditions and Troubles

be taken, from that which followeth;) And let us speake first of the Materials of Seditions; Then of the Motives of them; And thirdly of the Remedies.

Concerning the Materialls of Seditions. It is a Thing well to be considered: For the surest way to prevent Seditions, (if the Times doe beare it,) is to take away the Matter of them. For if there be Fuel prepared, it is hard to tell, whence the Spark shall come, that shall set it on Fire. The Matter of Seditions is of two kindes; Much Poverty, and Much Discontentment. It is certaine, so many Overthrowne Estates, so many Votes for Troubles. Lucan noteth well the State of Rome, before the Civill Warre.

Hinc Usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore
Fanus,
Hinc concussa Fides, & multis utile Bellum.

This same Multis utile Bellum, is an assured and infallible Signe, of a State, disposed to Seditions, and Troubles. And if this Poverty, and Broken Estate, in the better Sort, be ioyned with a Want and Necessity, in the meane People, the danger is imminent, and great. For the Rebellions of the Belly are the worst. As for Discontentments, they are in the Politique Body, like to Humours in the Naturall, which are apt to gather a preternaturall Heat, and to Enflame. And let no Prince measure the Danger of them, by this; whether they be Iust, or Uniust? For that were to imagine People to be too reasonable; who doe often spurne at
their owne Good: Nor yet by this; whether the Griefes, wherupon they rise, be in fact, great or small: For they are the most dangerous Discontentments, where the Feare is greater then the Feeling. Dolendi Modus, Timendi non item. Besides, in great Oppressions, the same Things, that provoke the Patience, doe withall mate the Courage: But in Feares it is not so. Neither let any Prince, or State, be secure concerning Discontentments, because they have been often, or have been long and yet no Perill hath ensued; For as it is true, that every Vapor, or Fume, doth not turne into a Storme; So it is, neverthelesse, true, that Stormes, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; And as the Spanish Proverb noteth well; The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.

The Causes and Motives of Seditions are; Innovation in Religion; Taxes; Alteration of Lawes and Customes; Breaking of Priviledges; Generall Oppression; Advancement of unworthy persons; Strangers; Dearths; Disbanded Souldiers; Factions grown desperate; And whatsoever in offending People, ioyneth and knitteth them, in a Common Cause.

For the Remedies; There may be some gene-
rall Preservatives, whereof wee will speake; As for the iust Cure, it must answer to the Particu-lar Disease: And so be left to Counsell, rather then Rule.

The first Remedy or prevention, is to remove by all meanes possible, that materiall Cause of Sedition, wherof we spake; which is Want and Poverty in the Estate. To which purpose, ser-
veth the Opening, and well Ballancing of Trade; The Cherishing of Manufactures; the Banishing of Idlenesse; the Repressing of waste and Excesse by Sumptuary Lawes; the Improvement and Husbanding of the Soyle; the Regulating of Prices of things vendible; the Modera
ting of Taxes and Tributes; And the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen, that the Population of a Kingdome, (especially if it be not mowen downe by warrs) doe not exceed, the Stock of the Kingdome, which should maintaine them. Neither is the Population, to be reckoned, onely by number: For a smaller Number, that spend more, and earne lesse, doe weare out an Estate, sooner then a greater Number, that live lower, and gather more. Therefore the Multiplying of Nobilitie, and other Degrees of Qualitie, in an over Proportion, to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessitie: And so doth likewise an overgrowne Clergie; For they bring nothing to the Stocke; And in like manner, when more are bred Schollers, then Preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembred, that for as much as the increase of any Estate, must be upon the Forrainer, (for whatsoever is some where gotten, is some where lost) There be but three Things, which one Nation selleth unto another; The Commodity as Nature yeeldeth it; The Manufacture; and the Vesture or Carriage. So that if these three wheeles goe, Wealth will flow as in a Spring tide. And it commeth many times to passe, that Materiam superabit Opus; That the Worke, and Carriage, is more worth,
then the Materiall, and enricheth a State more; As is notably seen in the *Low-Country-men*, who have the best Mines, above ground, in the World.

Above all things, good Policie is to be used, that the Treasure and Moneyes, in a State, be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwise, a State may have a great Stock, and yet starve. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread. This is done, chiefly, by suppressing, or at the least, keeping a strait Hand, upon the Devouring Trades of *Usurie, Ingrossing*, great *Pasturages*, and the like.

For Removing *Discontentments*, or at least, the danger of them; There is in every State (as we know) two Portions of *Subjects*; The *Noblesse*, and the *Commonaltie*. When one of these is *Discontent*, the danger is not great; For Common People, are of slow Motion, if they be not excited, by the Greater Sort; And the Greater Sort are of small strength, except the Multitude, be apt and ready, to move of themselves. Then is the danger, when the Greater Sort doe but wait for the Troubling of the Waters, amongst the Meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The Poets faine, that the rest of the Gods, would have bound *Jupiter*; which he hearing of, by the Counsell of *Pallas*, sent for *Briareus*, with his hundred Hands, to come in to his Aid. An Eembleme, no doubt, to shew, how safe it is for Monarchs, to make sure of the good Will of Common People.

To give moderate Liberty, for Griefes, and *Discontentments* to evaporate, (so it be without
too great Insolency or Bravery) is a safe Way. For he that turneth the Humors backe, and maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endangereth maligne Ulcers, and pernicious Impostumations.

The Part of Epimetheus, mought well become Prometheus, in the case of Discontentments; For there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when Griefes and Evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the Bottome of the Vessell. Certainly, the Politique and Artificiall Nourishing, and Entertaining of Hopes, and Carrying Men from Hopes to Hopes; is one of the best Antidotes, against the Poyson of Discontentments. And it is a certaine Signe, of a wise Government, and Proceeding, when it can hold Mens hearts by Hopes, when it cannot by Satisfaction: And when it can handle things, in such manner, as no Evill shall appeare so peremptory, but that it hath some Out-let of Hope: Which is the lesse hard to doe, because both particular Persons, and Facitions, are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that, which they beleeve not.

Also, the Foresight, and Prevention, that there be no likely or fit Head, whereunto Discontented Persons may resort, and under whom they may ioyne, is a knowne, but an excellent Point of Caution. I understand a fit Head, to be one, that hath Greatnesse, & Reputation; That hath Confidence with the Discontented Party; and upon whom they turne their Eyes; And that is thought discontented in his own particular; which kinde of Persons, are either
to be wonne, and reconciled to the State, and
that in a fast and true manner; Or to be front-
ed, with some other, of the same Party, that
may oppose them, and so divide the reputation.
Generally, the Dividing and Breaking of all Fa-
tions, and Combinations that are adverse to
the State, and setting them at distance, or at
least distrust amongst themselves, is not one of
the worst Remedies. For it is a desperate Case,
if those, that hold with the Proceeding of the
State, be full of Discord and Faction; And
those that are against it, be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharpe
Speeches, which have fallen from Princes, have
given fire to Seditions. Cæsar did himselfe in-
finité Hurt, in that Speech; Sylla nescivit Li-
teras, non potuit dicäre: For it did, utterly, cut
off that Hope, which Men had entertained, that
he would, at one time or other, give over his
Dictatorship. Galba undid himselfe by that
Speech; Legi à se Militem, non emi: For it put
the Souldiers, out of Hope, of the Donative.
Probus likewise, by that Speech; Si vixerō, non
opus erit ampliûs Romano Imperio militibus. A
Speech of great Despaire, for the Souldiers:
And many the like. Surely, Princes had need,
in tender Matters, and Ticklish Times, to be-
ware what they say; Especially in these short
Speeches, which flie abroad like Darts, and are
thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions.
For as for large Discourses, they are flat Things,
and not so much noted.

Lastly, let Princes, against all Events, not be
without some Great Person, one, or rather more,
Of Seditions and Troubles

of Military Valour neere unto them, for the Repressing of Seditions, in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in Court, upon the first Breaking out of Troubles, then were fit. And the State runneth the danger of that, which Tacitus saith; Atque is Habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent Pauci, Plures vellent, Omnes paterentur. But let such Military Persons, be Assured, and well reputed of, rather then Factious, and Popular; Holding also good Correspondence, with the other Great Men in the State; Or else the Remedie, is worse then the Disease.
I HAD rather beleev all the Fables in the
Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran,
then that this universall Frame, is without a
Minde. And therefore, God never wrought Mi-
racle, to convince Atheisme, because his Ordi-
nary Works convince it. It is true, that a little
Philosophy inclineth Mans Minde to Atheisme;
But depth in Philosophy, bringeth Mens Mindes
about to Religion: For while the Minde of
Man, looketh upon Second Causes Scattered, it
may sometimes rest in them, and goe no fur-
ther: But when it beholdeth, the Chaine of
them, Confederate and Linked together, it must
needs flie to Providence, and Deitie. Nay even
that Schoole, which is most accused of Atheisme,
doeth most demonstrate Religion; That is, the
Schoole of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epi-
curus. For it is a thousand times more Credi-
bile, that foure Mutable Elements, and one Im-
mutable Fift Essence, duly and Eternally placed,
need no God; then that an Army, of Infinite
small Portions, or Seedes unplaced, should have
Of Atheisme

produced this Order, and Beauty, without a Divine Marshall. The Scripture saith; *The Foole hath said in his Heart, there is no God:* It is not said; *The Foole hath thought in his Heart:* So as, he rather saith it by rote to himselfe, as that he would have, then that he can throughly beleewe it, or be perswaded of it. For none deny there is a God, but those, for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that *Atheisme* is rather in the *Lip*, then in the *Heart* of Man, then by this; That *Atheists* will ever be talking of that their Opinion, as if they fainted in it, within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthned, by the Consent of others: Nay more, you shall have *Atheists* strive to get *Disciples*, as it fareth with other Seects: And, which is most of all, you shall have of them, that will suffer for *Atheisme*, and not recant; Wheras, if they did truly thinke, that there were no such Thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? *Epicurus* is charged, that he did but dissemble, for his credits sake, when he affirmed; There were *Blessed Natures*, but such as enjoyed themselves, without having respect to the Government of the World. Wherin, they say, he did temporize; though in secret, he thought, there was no God. But certainly, he is traduced; For his Words are Noble and Divine: *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi Opiniones Dijs applicare profanum.* Plato could have said no more. And although, he had the Confidence, to deny the *Administration*, he had not the Power to deny the *Nature* The *Indians* of the *West*, have Names for their
particular Gods, though they have no name for God: As if the Heathens, should have had the Names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c. But not the Word Deus: which shewes, that even those Barbarous People, have the Notion, though they have not the Latitude, and Extent of it. So that against Atheists, the very Savages take part, with the very subtillest Philosophers. The Contemplative Atheist is rare; A Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and some others; And yet they seeme to be more then they are; For that, all that Impugne a received Religion, or Superstition, are by the adverse Part, branded with the Name of Atheists. But the great Atheists, indeed, are Hypocrites; which are ever Handling Holy Things, but without Feeling. So as they must needs be cauterized in the End. The Causes of Atheisme are; Divisions in Religion, if they be many; For any one maine Division, addeth Zeale to both Sides; But many Divisions introduce Atheisme. Another is, Scandall of Priests; When it is come to that, which S. Bernard saith; Non est iam dicere, ut Populus, sic Sacerdos: quia nec sic Populus, ut Sacerdos. A third is, Custome of Profane Scoffing in Holy Matters; which doth, by little and little, deface the Reverence of Religion. And lastly, Learned Times, specially with Peace, and Prosperity: For Troubles and Adversities doe more bow Mens Mindes to Religion. They that deny a God, destroy Mans Nobility: For certainly, Man is of Kinne to the Beasts, by his Body; And if, he be not of Kinne to God, by his Spirit, he is a Base and Ignoble Creature.
Of Atheisme

It destroies likewise Magnanimity, and the Raising of Humane Nature: For take an Example of a Dog; And mark what a Generosity, and Courage he will put on, when he findes himselfe maintained, by a Man; who to him is in stead of a God, or Melior Natura: which courage is manifestly such, as that Creature, without that Confidence, of a better Nature, then his owne, could never attaine. So Man, when he resteth and assureth himselfe, upon divine Protection, and Favour, gathereth a Force and Faith; which Humane Nature, in it selfe, could not obtaine. Therefore, as Atheisme is in all respecks hatefull, so in this, that it depriveth humane Nature, of the Meanes, to exalt it selfe, above Humane Frailty. As it is in particular Persons, so it is in Nations: Never was there such a State, for Magnanimity, as Rome: Of this State heare what Cicero saith; Quam volumus, licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pænos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso huius Gentis & Terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos; sed Pietate, ac Religione, atque hac und Sapientiæ, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine, omnia regi, gubernarique perspetivimus, omnes Gentes Nationesque superavimus.
Of Superstition

It were better to have no Opinion of God at all; then such an Opinion, as is unworthy of him: For the one is Unbeliefe, the other is Contumely: And certainly Superstition is the Reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose: Surely (saith he) I had rather, a great deale, Men should say, there was no such Man, at all, as Plutarch; then that they should say, that there was one Plutarch, that would eat his Children, as soon as they were borne, as the Poets speake of Saturne. And, as the Contumely is greater towards God, so the Danger is greater towards Men. Atheisme leaves a Man to Sense; to Philosophy; to Naturall Piety; to Lawes; to Reputation; All which may be Guides to an outward Morall vertue, though Religion were not; But Superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute Monarchy, in the Mindes of Men. Therefore Atheisme did never perturbe States; For it makes Men wary of themselves, as looking no further: And we see the times enclined to Atheisme (as the Time of
Augustus Caesar) were civil Times. But Superstition, hath beene the Confusion of many States; And bringeth in a new Primum Mobile, that ravisheth all the Sphaeres of Government. The Master of Superstition is the People; And in all Superstition, Wise Men follow Foolos; And Arguments are fitted to Practise, in a reversed Order. It was gravely said, by some of the Prelates, in the Council of Trent, where the doctrine of the Schoolemen bare great Sway; That the Schoolemen were like Astronomers, which did faigne Eccentricks and Epicycles, and such Engines of Orbs, to save the Phenomena; though they knew, there were no such Things: And, in like manner, that the Schoolmen, had framed a Number of subtile and intricate Axiomes, and Theorems, to save the practice of the Church. The Causes of Superstition are: Pleasing and sensuall Rites and Ceremonies: Excesse of Outward and Pharisaicall Holinesse; Over-great Reverence of Traditions, which cannot but load the Church; The Stratagems of Prelates for their owne Ambition and Lucre: The Favouing too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Novelties; The taking an Aime at divine Matters by Human, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations; And lastly, Barbarous Times, Especially joyned with Calamities and Disasters. Superstition, without a vaile, is a deformed Thing; For, as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be so like a Man; So the Similitude of Superstition to Religion, makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome Meat corrupteth to
little Wormes; So good Formes and Orders, corrupt into a Number of petty Observances. There is a Superstition, in avoiding Superstition; when men thinke to doe best, if they goe furthest from the Superstition formerly received: Therefore, Care would be had, that, (as it fareth in ill Purgings) the Good be not taken away, with the Bad; which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer.
Of Travaile

*TRA\VAILE*, in the younger Sort, is a Part of Education; In the Elder, a Part of Experience. He that *travaileth* into a Country, before he hath some Entrance into the Language, goeth to *Schoole*, and not to *Travaile*. That Young Men travaile under some Tutor, or grave Servant, I allow well; So that he be such a one, that hath the Language, and hath been in the Country before; whereby he may be able to tell them, what Things are worthy to be seen in the Country where they goe; what Acquaintances they are to seeke; What Exercises or discipline the Place yeeldeth. For else young Men shall goe hooded, and looke abroad little. It is a strange Thing, that in Sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen, but Sky and Sca, Men should make Diaries; but in *Land-Travaile*, wherin so much is to be observed, for the most part, they omit it; As if Chance, were fitter to be registred, then Observation. Let Diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The Things to be seen and observed are: The
Courts of Princes, specially when they give Audience to Ambassadours: The Courts of Justice, while they sit and heare Causes; And so of Consistories Ecclesiasticke: The Churches, and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are therein extant: The Wals and Fortifications of Cities and Townes; And so the Havens & Harbours: Antiquities, and Ruines: Libraries; Colleges, Disputations, and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Navies: Houses, and Gardens of State, and Pleasure, neare great Cities: Armories: Arsenals: Magazens: Exchanges: Burses; Ware-houses: Exercises of Horsemanship; Fencing; Trayning of Souldiers; and the like: Comedies; Such wherunto the better Sort of persons doe resort; Treasuries of Jewels, and Robes; Cabinets, and Rarities: And to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the Places; where they goe. After all which, the Tutors or Servants, ought to make diligent Enquirie. As for Triumphs; Masques; Feasts; Weddings; Funerals; Capitall Executions; and such Shewes; Men need not to be put in mind of them; Yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a Young Man, to put his Travaile, into a little Roome, and in short time, to gather much, this you must doe. First, as was said, he must have some Entrance into the Language, before he goeth. Then he must have such a Servant, or Tutor, as knoweth the Country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some Card or Booke describing the Country, where he travelleth; which will be a good Key to his Enquiry. Let him keepe also a Diary. Let him not stay
Of Travaile

long in one City, or Towne; More or lesse as the place deserveth, but not long: Nay, when he stayeth in one City or Towne, let him change his Lodging, from one End and Part of the Towne, to another; which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance. Let him sequester himselfe from the Company of his Country men, and diet in such Places, where there is good Company of the Nation, where he travaileth. Let him upon his Removes, from one place to another, procure Recommendation, to some person of Quality, residing in the Place, whither he removeth; that he may use his Favour, in those things, he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his Travaile, with much profit. As for the acquaintance, which is to be sought in Travaile; That which is most of all profitable, is Acquaintance with the Secretaries, and Employd Men of Ambassadours; For so in Travailing in one Country he shall sucke the Experience of many. Let him also see and visit, Eminent Persons, in all Kindes, which are of great Name abroad; That he may be able to tell, how the Life agreeth with the Fame. For Quarels, they are with Care and Discretion to be avoided: They are, commonly, for Mistresses; Healths; Place; and Words. And let a Man beware, how he keepeth Company, with Cholerick and Quarelsome Persons; for they will engage him into their owne Quarels. When a Travailer returneth home, let him not leave the Countries, where he hath Travailed, altogether behinde him; But maintaine a Correspondence, by letters, with those of his Acquaintance, which are of most Worth.
And let his *Travaile* appeare rather in his Discourse, then in his Apparrell, or Gesture: And in his Discourse, let him be rather advised in his Answers, then forwards to tell Stories: And let it appeare, that he doth not change his Country Manners, for those of Forraigne Parts; But onely, prick in some Flowers, of that he hath Learned abroad, into the Customes of his owne Country.
XIX

Of Empire

It is a miserable State of Minde, to have few Things to desire, and many Things to feare: And yet that commonly is the Case of Kings; Who being at the highest, want Matter of desire, which makes their Mindes more Languishing; And have many Representations of Perills and Shadowes, which makes their Mindes the lesse cleare. And this is one Reason also of that Effect, which the Scripture speaketh of; That the Kings Heart is inscrutable. For Multitude of Jealousies, and Lack of some predominant desire, that should marshall and put in order all the rest, maketh any Mans Heart, hard to finde, or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that Princes, many times, make themselves Desires, and set their Hearts upon toyes: Sometimes upon a Building; Sometimes upon Erecting of an Order; Sometimes upon the Advancing of a Person; Sometimes upon obtaining Excellency in some Art, or Feat of the Hand; As Nero for playing on the Harpe, Domitian for Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow, Commodus for
playing at Fence, Caracalla for driving Chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those, that know not the Principle; That the Minde of Man is more cheared, and refreshed, by profiting in small things, then by standing at a stay in great. We see also that Kings, that have been fortunate Conquerours in their first yeares; it being not possible for them to goe forward infinitely, but that they must have some Checke or Arrest in their Fortunes; turne in their latter yeares, to be Superstitious and Melancholy: As did Alexander the Great; Dioclesian; And in our memory, Charles the fift; And others: For he that is used to goe forward, and findeth a Stop, falleth out of his owne favour, and is not the Thing he was.

To speake now of the true Temper of Empire: It is a Thing rare, & hard to keep: For both Temper & Distemper consist of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, another to enterchange them. The Answer of Apollonius to Vespasian, is full of Excellent Instrucction; Vespasian asked him; What was Neroes overthrow? He answered; Nero could touch and tune the Harpe well; But in Government, sometimes he used to winde the pins too high, sometimes to let them downe too low. And certaine it is, that Nothing destroieth Authority so much, as the unequall and untimely Enterchange of Power Pressed too farre, and Relaxed too much.

This is true; that the wisdome of all these latter Times in Princes Affaires, is rather fine Deliveries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Mis-
chieffes, when they are neare; then solid and grounded Courses to keepe them aloofe. But this is but to try Masteries with Fortune: And let men beware, how they neglect, and suffer Matter of Trouble, to be prepared: For no Man can forbid the Sparke, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in Princes Businesse, are many and great; But the greatest difficulty, is often in their owne Minde. For it is common with Princes, (saith Tacitus) to will Contradictories. Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, & inter se contrariae. For it is the Solcisme of Power, to thinke to Command the End, and yet not to endure the Meane.

Kings have to deale with their Neighbours; their Wives; their Children; their Prelates or Clergie; their Nobles; their Second-Nobles or Gentlemen; their Merchants; their Commons; and their Men of Warre; And from all these arise Dangers, if Care and Circumspection be not used.

First for their Neighbours; There can no generall Rule be given, (The Occasions are so variable,) save one; which ever holdeth; which is, That Princes doe keepe due Centinell, that none of their Neighbours doe overgrow so, (by Encrease of Territory, by Embracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them, then they were. And this is, generally, the work of Standing Counsels to foresee, and to hinder it. During that Triumvirate of Kings, King Henry the 8. of England, Francis the 1. King of France, and Charles the 5. Emprour, there was such a watch kept,
that none of the Three, could win a Palme of Ground, but the other two, would straightwaies ballance it, either by Confederation, or, if need were, by a Warre: And would not, in any wise, take up Peace at Interest. And the like was done by that League (which, Guicciardine saith, was the Security of Italy) made betwene Ferdinando King of Naples; Lorenzius Medices, and Ludovicus Sforza, Potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Millaine. Neither is the Opinion, of some of the Schoole-Men, to be received; That a warre cannot iustly be made, but upon a precedent Iniury, or Provocation. For there is no Question, but a just Fear, of an Imminent danger, though there be no Blow given, is a lawfull Cause of a Warre.

For their Wives; There are Cruell Examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poysoning of her husband: Roxolana, Solymans Wife, was the destruction, of that renowned Prince, Sultan Mustapha; And otherwise troubled his House, and Succession: Edward the Second of England, his Queen, had the principall hand, in the Deposing and Murther of her Husband. This kinde of danger, is then to be feared, chiefly, when the Wives have Plots, for the Raising of their owne Children; Or else that they be Advoutresses.

For their Children: The Tragedies, likewise, of dangers from them, have been many. And generally, the Entring of Fathers, into Suspicion of their Children, hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha, (that we named before) was so fatall to Solymans Line, as the
Succession of the Turks, from Solyman, until this day, is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; For that Selymus the Second was thought to be Supposititious. The destruction of Crispus, a young prince, of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house; For both Constantinus, and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths; And Constantius his other son, did little better; who died, indeed, of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken armes against him. The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip the Second, of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance. And many like examples there are: But few, or none, where the fathers had good by such distrust; Except it were, where the sons were up, in open armes against them; As was Selymus the first against Baiazet: And the three sons of Henry the Second, King of England.

For their Prelates; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them: As it was, in the times of Anselmus, and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury; who with their Crosiars, did almost try it, with the Kings Sword; And yet they had to deal with stout and haughty Kings; William Rufus, Henry the first, and Henry the second. The danger is not from that State, but where it hath a dependency of foreign Authority; Or where the Churchmen come in, and are elected, not by the Collation of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.
For their Nobles; To keepe them at a distance, it is not amisse; But to depresse them, may make a King more Absolute, but lesse Safe; And lesse able to performe any thing, that he desires. I have noted it, in my History of King Henry the Seventh, of England, who depressed his Nobility; Whereupon, it came to passe, that his Times were full of Difficulties, & Troubles; For the Nobility, though they continued loyall unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him, in his Businesse. So that in effect, he was faine to doe all things, himselfe.

For their Second Nobles; There is not much danger from them, being a Body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little Hurt: Besides, they are a Counterpoize to the Higher Nobility, that they grow not too Potent: And lastly, being the most immediate in Authority, with the Common People, they doe best temper Popular Commotions.

For their Merchants; They are Vena porta; And if they flourish not, a Kingdome may have good Limmes, but will have empty Veines, and nourish little. Taxes, and Imposts upon them, doe seldom good to the Kings Revenew; For that that he winnes in the Hundred, he leeseth in the Shire; The particular Rates being increased, but the totall Bulke of Trading rather decreased.

For their Commons; There is little danger from them, except it be, where they have Great and Potent Heads; Or where you meddle, with the Point of Religion; Or their Customes, or Meanes of Life.
Of Empire

For their *Men of warre*; It is a dangerous State, where they live and remaine in a Body, and are used to Donatives; whereof we see Examples in the *Ianizaries*, and *Pretorian Bands* of *Rome*: But Traynings of Men, and Arming them in severall places, and under severall Commanders, and without Donatives, are Things of Defence, and no Danger.

*Princes* are like to *Heavenly Bodies*, which cause good or evill times; And which have much *Veneration*, but no *Rest*. All precepts concerning *Kings*, are in effect comprehended, in those two Remembrances: *Memento quod es Homo*; And *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice Dei*: The one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.
Of Counsell

THE greatest Trust, betwixt Man and Man, is the Trust of Giving Counsell. For in other Confidences, Men commit the parts of life; Their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, some particular Affaire; But to such, as they make their Counsellors, they commit the whole: By how much the more, they are obliged to all Faith and integrity. The wisest Princes, need not thinke it any diminution to their Greatnesse, or derogation to their Sufficiency, to rely upon Counsell. God himselfe is not without: But hath made it one of the great Names, of his blessed Sonne; The Counsellour. Salomon hath pronounced, that In Counsell is Stability. Things will have their first, or second Agitation; If they be not tossed upon the Arguments of Counsell, they will be tossed upon the Waves of Fortune; And be full of Inconstancy, doing, and undoing, like the Reeling of a drunken Man. Salomons Sonne found the Force of Counsell, as his Father saw the Necessity of it. For the Beloved Kingdome of God was first
rent, and broken by ill Counsell; Upon which Counsell, there are set, for our Instruction, the two Markes, whereby Bad Counsell is, for ever, best discerned: That it was young Counsell, for the Persons; And Violent Counsell, for the Matter.

The Ancient Times doe set forth in Figure, both the Incorporation, and inseparable Conjunction of Counsel with Kings; And the wise and Politique use of Counsell by Kings: The one, in that they say, Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth Counsell: Whereby they intend, that Soveraignt
y is married to Counsell: The other, in that which followeth, which was thus: They say after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him, and was with Childe; but Jupiter suffered her not to stay, till she brought forth, but eat her up; Wherby he became himselfe with Child, and was delivered of Pallas Armed, out of his Head. Which monstros Fable, containeth a Secret of Empire; How Kings are to make use of their Counsell of State. That first, they ought to referre matters unto them, which is the first Begetting or Impregnation; But when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped, in the Wombe of their Counsell, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth; That then, they suffer not their Counsell to goe through with the Resolution, and direction, as if it depended on them; But take the matter backe into their owne Hands, and make it appeare to the world, that the Decrees, and finall Directions, (which, because they come forth with Prudence, and Power, are resembled

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to Pallas Armed) proceeded from themselves: And not onely from their Authority, but (the more to adde Reputation to Themselves) from their Head, and Device.

Let us now speake of the Inconveniences of Counsell, and of the Remedies. The Inconveniences, that have been noted in calling, and using Counsell, are three. First, the Revealing of Affaires, whereby they become lesse Secret. Secondly, the Weakning of the Authority of Princes, as if they were lesse of Themselves. Thirdly, the Danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel, then of him that is counselled. For which Inconveniences, the Doctrine of Italy, and Practise of France, in some Kings times, hath introduced Cabinet Counsels; A Remedy worse then the Disease.

As to Secrecy; Princes are not bound to communicate all Matters, with all Counsellors; but may extract and selecť. Neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should doe, should declare what he will doe. But let Princes beware, that the unsecreting of their Affaires, comes not from Themselves. And as for Cabinet Counsels, it may be their Motto; Plenus rimarum sum: One fuitle person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will doe more hurt, then many, that know it their duty to conceale. It is true, there be some Affaires, which require extreme Secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons, besides the King: Neither are those Counsels unprosperous: For besides the Secrecy, they commonly goe on constantly
in one Spirit of Direction, without distraction. But then it must be a Prudent King, such as is able to Grinde with a Hand-Mill; And those Inward Counsellours, had need also, be Wise Men, and especially true and trusty to the Kings Ends; As it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest Businesse, imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For Weakening of Authority; The Fable sheweth the Remedy. Nay the Maiesty of Kings, is rather exalted, then diminished, when they are in the Chaire of Counsell: Neither was there ever Prince, bereaved of his Dependances, by his Counsell; Except where there hath beene, either an Overgreatnesse in one Counsellour, Or an Overstrict Combination in Divers; which are Things soone found, and holpen.

For the last Inconvenience, that Men will Counsell with an Eye to themselves; Certainly, Non inveniet Fidem super terram, is meant of the Nature of Times, and not of all particular Persons; There be, that are in Nature, Faithfull, and Sincere, and Plaine, and Direct; Not Crafty, and Involved: Let Princes, above all, draw to themselves such Natures. Besides, Counsellours are not Commonly so united, but that one Counsellour keepeth Centinell over Another; So that if any do Counsell out of Faction, or private Ends, it commonly comes to the Kings Eare. But the best Remedy is, if Princes know their Counsellours, as well as their Counsellours know Them:

Principis est Virtus maxima nosse suos.
And on the other side, Counsellours should not be too Speculative, into their Soveraignes Person. The true Composition of a Counsellour, is rather to be skilfull in their Masters Businesse, then in his Nature; For then he is like to Advise him, and not to Feede his Humour. It is of singular use to Princes, if they take the Opinions of their Counsell, both Seperately, and Together. For Private Opinion is more free; but Opinion before others is more Reverend. In private, Men are more bold in their owne Humours; And in Consort, Men are more obnoxious to others Humours; Therefore it is good to take both: And of the inferiour Sort, rather in private, to preserve Freedome; Of the greater, rather in Consort, to preserve Respect. It is in vaine for Princes to take Counsel concerning Matters, if they take no Counsell likewise concerning Persons: For all Matters, are as dead Images; And the Life of the Execution of Affaires, resteth in the good Choice of Persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning Persons, Secundum genera, as in an Idea, or Mathematicall Description, what the Kinde and Character of the Person should be; For the greatest Errours are committed, and the most Judgement is shewnne, in the choice of Individuaws. It was truly said; Optimi Consiliarij mortui; Books will speake plaine, when Counsellors Blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them; Specially the Bookes of such, as Themselves have been Actors upon the Stage.

The Counsels, at this Day, in most Places,
are but Familiar Meetings; where Matters are rather talked on, then debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of Counsell. It were better, that in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken to, till the next day; In Nobile Consilium. So was it done, in the Commission of Union, between England and Scotland; which was a Grave and Orderly Assembly. I commend set Daies for Petitions: For both it gives the Suitors more certainty for their Attendance; And it frees the Meetings for Matters of Estate, that they may Hoc agere. In choice of Committees, for ripening Businesse, for the Counsell, it is better to choose Indifferent persons, then to make an Indifferency, by putting in those, that are strong, on both sides. I commend also standing Commissions; As for Trade; for Treasure; for Warre; for Suits; for some Provinces: For where there be divers particular Counsels, and but one Counsell of Estate, (as it is in Spaine) they are in effect no more, then Standing Commissions; Save that they have greater Authority. Let such, as are to informe Counsels, out of their particular Professions, (as Lawyers, Sea-men, Mint-men, and the like) be first heard, before Committees; And then, as Occasion serves, before the Counsell. And let them not come in Multitudes, or in a Tribunitious Manner; For that is, to clamour Counsels, not to conforme them. A long Table, and a square Table, or Seats about the Walls, seeme Things of Forme, but are Things of Substance; For at a long Table, a few at the upper end, in effect,
sway all the Businesse; But in the other Forme, there is more use of the Counsellours Opinions, that sit lower. A King, when he presides in Counsell, let him beware how he Opens his owne Inclination too much, in that which he propoundeth: For else Counsellours will but take the Winde of him; And in stead of giving Free Counsell, sing him a Song of Placebo.
XXI

Of Delayes

FORTUNE is like the Market; Where many times, if you can stay a little, the Price will fall. And againe, it is sometimes like Sybilla's Offer; which at first offereth the Commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the Price. For Occasion (as it is in the Common verse) turneth a Bald Noddle, after she hath presented her locks in Front, and no hold taken: Or at least turneth the Handle of the Bottle, first to be received, and after the Belly, which is hard to claspe. There is surely no greater Wisedome, then well to time the Beginnings, and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seeme light: And more dangers have deceived Men, then forced them. Nay, it were better, to meet some Dangers halfe way, though they come nothing neare, then to keepe too long a watch, upon their Approaches; For if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleepe. On the other side, to be deceived, with too long Shadowes, (As some have beene, when the Moone
was low, and shone on their Enemies backe)
And so to shoot off before the time; Or to teach
dangers to come on, by over early Buckling to-
wards them, is another Extreme. The Ripen-
esse, or Unripenesse, of the Occasion (as we
said) must ever be well weighed; And generally,
it is good, to commit the Beginnings of all great
Actions, to Argos with his hundred Eyes; And
the Ends to Briareus with his hundred Hands:
First to Watch, and then to Speed. For the
Helmet of Pluto, which maketh the Politicke
Man goe Invisible, is, Secrecy in the Counsell,
& Celerity in the Execution. For when Things
are once come to the Execution, there is no Sec-
recy comparable to Celerity; Like the Motion
of a Bullet in the Ayre, which flyeth so swift,
as it out-runs the Eye.
Of Cunning

We take Cunning for a Sinister or Crooked Wisedome. And certainly, there is great difference, between a Cunning Man, and a Wise Man; Not onely in Point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can packe the Cards, and yet cannot play well; So there are some, that are good in Canvasses, and Factions, that are otherwise Weake Men. Againe, it is one thing to understand Persons, and another thing to understand Matters; For many are perfect in Mens Humours, that are not greatly Capable of the Reall Part of Businesse; Which is the Constitution of one, that hath studied Men, more then Bookes. Such Men are fitter for Practise, then for Counsell; And they are good but in their own Alley: Turne them to New Men, and they have lost their Ayme; So as the old Rule, to know a Foole from a Wise Man; Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, & videbis; doth scarce hold for them. And because these Cunning Men, are like Haberdashers of Small Wares, it is not amisse to set forth their Shop.
It is a point of *Cunning*; to wait upon him, with whom you speake, with your eye; As the Iesuites give it in precept: For there be many Wise Men, that have Secret Hearts, and Transparant Countenances. Yet this would be done, with a demure Abasing of your Eye sometimes, as the Iesuites also doe use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtaine of present dispatch, you entertaine, and amuse the party, with whom you deale, with some other Discourse; That he be not too much awake, to make Obiections. I knew a *Counsellor* and *Secretary*, that never came to *Queene Elizabeth* of *England*, with Bills to signe, but he would alwaies first put her into some discourse of Estate, that she mought the lesse minde the Bills.

The like Surprize, may be made, by Moving things, when the Party is in haste, and cannot stay, to consider advisedly, of that is moved.

If a man would crosse a Businesse, that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himselse, in such sort, as may foile it.

The breaking off, in the midst of that, one was about to say, as if he tooke himselse up, breeds a greater Appetite in him, with whom you conferre, to know more.

And because it workes better, when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by Question, then if you offer it of your selfe, you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing another Visage and Countenance, then you are wont; To the end, to give Occasion, for the party to
ask, what the Matter is of the Change? As Nehemias did; And I had not before that time been sad before the King.

In Things, that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to breake the Ice, by some whose Words are of lesse weight, and to reserve the more weighty Voice, to come in, as by chance, so that he may be asked the Question upon the others Speech. As Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius, the Marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things, that a Man would not be seen in, himselfe; It is a Point of Cunning, to borrow the Name of the World; As to say; The World sayes, Or, There is a speech abroad.

I knew one, that when he wrote a Letter, he would put that which was most Materiall, in the Post-script, as if it had been a By-matter.

I knew another, that when he came to have Speech, he would passe over that, that he inteneded most, and goe forth, and come backe againe, and speake of it, as of a Thing, that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves, to be surprized, at such times, as it is like, the party that they work upon, will suddenly come upon them: And to be found with a Letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; To the end, they may be apposed of those things, which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a Point of Cunning, to let fall those Words, in a Mans owne Name, which he would have another Man learne, and use, and there-upon take Advantage. I knew two, that were Competitors, for the Secretaries Place, in Queene
Elizabeths time, and yet kept good Quarter betweene themselves; And would conferre, one with another, upon the Businesse; And the one of them said, That to be a Secretary, in the Declination of a Monarchy, was a Ticklish Thing, and that he did not affect it: The other, straight caught up those Words, and discoursed with divers of his Friends, that he had no reason to desire to be Secretary, in the Declination of a Monarchy. The first Man tooke hold of it, and found Meanes, it was told the Queene; Who hearing of a Declination of a Monarchy, tooke it so ill, as she would never after heare of the others Suit.

There is a Cunning, which we in England call, The Turning of the Cat in the Pan; which is, when that which a Man sayes to another, he laies it, as if Another had said it to him. And to say Truth, it is not easie, when such a Matter passed between two, to make it appeare, from which of them, it first moved and began.

It is a way, that some men have, to glaunce and dart at. Others, by Justifying themselves, by Negatives; As to say, This I doe not: As Tigil-linus did towards Burrhus; Se non diversas spes, sed Incolumitatem Imperatoris simplicitur spellare.

Some have in readiness, so many Tales and Stories, as there is Nothing, they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale; which serveth both to keepe themselves more in Guard, and to make others carry it, with more Pleasure.

It is a good Point of Cunning; for a Man, to shape the Answer he would have, in his owne
Of Cunning

Words, and Propositions; For it makes the other Party sticke the lesse.

It is strange, how long some Men will lie in wait, to speake somewhat, they desire to say; And how farre about they will fetch; And how many other Matters they will beat over, to come neare it. It is a Thing of great Patience, but yet of much Use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected Question, doth many times surprise a Man, and lay him open. Like to him, that having changed his Name, and walking in Pauls, Another suddenly came behind him, and called him by his true Name, whereat straightwaies he looked backe.

But these Small Wares, and Petty Points of Cunning, are infinite: And it were a good deed, to make a List of them: For that nothing doth more hurt in a State, then that Cunning Men passe for Wise.

But certainly, some there are, that know the Resorts and Falls of Businesse, that cannot sinke into the Maine of it: Like a House, that hath convenient Staires, and Entries, but never a faire Roome. Therfore, you shall see them finde out pretty Looses in the Conclusion, but are no waies able to Examine, or debate Matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction. Some build rather upon the Abusing of others, and (as we now say;) Putting Tricks upon them; Then upon Soundnesse of their own proceedings. But Salomon saith; Prudens advertit ad Gressus suos: Stultus divertit ad Dolos.
AN Ant is a wise Creature for it Selfe; But it is a shrewd Thing, in an Orchard, or Garden. And certainly, Men that are great Lovers of Themselves, waste the Publique. Divide with reason betweene Selfe-love, and Society: And be so true to thy Selfe, as thou be not false to Others; Specially to thy King, and Country. It is a poore Center of a Mans Actions, Himselfe. It is right Earth. For that onely stands fast upon his owne Center; Whereas all Things, that have Affinity with the Heavens, move upon the Center of another, which they benefit. The Referring of all to a Mans Selfe, is more tolerable in a Soveraigne Prince; Because Themselves are not onely Themselves; But their Good and Evill, is at the perill of the Publique Fortune. But it is a desperate Evill in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republique. For whatsoever Affaires passe such a Mans Hands, he crooketh them to his owne Ends: Which must needs be often Eccentric to the Ends of his Master, or State. Therefore
let Princes, or States, choose such Servants, as have not this marke; Except they meane their Service should be made but the Accessary. That which maketh the Effect more pernicious, is, that all Proportion is lost. It were disproportionate enough, for the Servants Good, to be preferred before the Masters; But yet it is a greater Extreme, when a little Good of the Servant, shall carry Things, against a great Good of the Masters. And yet that is the case of Bad Officers, Treasurers, Ambassadours, Generals, and other False and Corrupt Servants; which set a Bias upon their Bowle, of their owne Petty Ends, and Envies, to the overthrow of their Masters Great and Important Affaires. And for the most part, the Good such Servants receive, is after the Modell of their owne Fortune; But the Hurt they sell for that Good, is after the Modell of their Masters Fortune. And certainly, it is the Nature of Extreme Selfe-Lovers; As they will set an House on Fire, and it were but to roast their Egges; And yet these Men, many times, hold credit with their Masters; Because their Study is but to please Them, and profit Themselves: And for either respect, they will abandon the Good of their Affaires.

Wisedome for a Mans Selfe, is in many Branches thereof, a depraved Thing. It is the Wisedome of Rats, that will be sure to leave a House, somewhat before it fall. It is the Wisedome of the Fox, that thrusts out the Badger, who digged & made Roome for him. It is the Wisedome of Crocodiles, that shed teares, when they would devour. But that which is specially
to be noted, is, that those, which (as Cicero saies of Pompey) are, *Sui Amantes sine Rivali*, are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their time sacrificed to *Themselves*, they become in the end *themselves* Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune; whose Wings they thought, by their *Self-Wisedome*, to have Pinnioned.
Of Innovations

As the Births of Living Creatures, at first, are ill shapen: So are all Innovations, which are the Births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as Those that first bring Honour into their Family, are commonly more worthy, then most that succeed: So the first President (if it be good) is seldom attained by Imitation. For Ill, to Mans Nature, as it stands perverted, hath a Naturall Motion, strongest in Continuance: But Good, as a Forced Motion, strongest at first. Surely every Medicine is an Innovation; And he that will not apply New Remedies, must expect New Evils: For Time is the greatest Innovateur: And if Time, of course, alter Things to the worse, and Wisedome, and Counsell shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the End? It is true, that what is setled by Custome, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And those Things, which have long gone together, are as it were confederate within themselves: Whereas New Things peece not so well; But though they helpe by their utility, yet they trou-
ble, by their Inconformity. Besides, they are like Strangers; more Admired, and lesse Favoured. All this is true, if Time stood still; which contrariwise moveth so round, that a Froward Retention of Custome, is as turbulent a Thing, as an Innovation: And they that Reverence too much Old Times, are but a Scorne to the New. It were good therefore, that Men in their Innovations, would follow the Example of Time it selfe; which indeed Innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, scarce to be perceived: For otherwise, whatsoever is New, is unlooked for; And ever it mends Some, and paires Other: And he that is holpen, takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the Time; And he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good also, not to try Experiments in States; Except the Necessity be Urgent, or the utility Evident: And well to beware, that it be the Reformation, that draweth on the Change; And not the desire of Change, that pretendeth the Reformation. And lastly, that the Novelty, though it be not reieccted, yet be held for a Suspect: And, as the Scripture saith; That we make a stand upon the Ancient Way, and then looke about us, and discover, what is the straight, and right way, and so to walke in it.
Of Dispatch

Affected Dispatch, is one of the most dangerous things to Businesse that can be. It is like that, which the Physicians call Predigestion, or Hasty Digestion; which is sure to fill the Body, full of Crudities, and secret Seeds of Diseases. Therefore, measure not Dispatch, by the Times of Sitting, but by the Advancement of the Businesse. And as in Races, it is not the large Stride, or High Lift, that makes the Speed: So in Businesse, the Keeping close to the matter, and not Taking of it too much at once, procureth Dispatch. It is the Care of Some, onely to come off speedily, for the time; Or to contrive some false Periods of Businesse, because they may seeme Men of Dispatch. But it is one Thing, to Abbreviate by Contracting, Another by Cutting off: And Businesse so handled at several Sittings or Meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward, in an unsteady Manner. I knew a Wise Man, that had it for a By-word, when he saw Men hasten to a conclusion; Stay a little, that we may make an End the sooner.
On the other side, True Dispatch is a rich Thing. For Time is the measure of Businesse, as Money is of Wares: And Businesse is bought at a deare Hand, where there is small dispatch. The Spartans, and Spaniards, have been noted to be of Small dispatch; Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna; Let my Death come from Spaine; For then it will be sure to be long in comming.

Give good Hearing to those, that give the first Information in Businesse; And rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he that is put out of his owne Order, will goe forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his Memory, then he could have been, if he had gone on, in his owne course. But sometimes it is seene, that the Moderator is more troublesome, then the Actor.

Iterations are commonly losse of Time: But there is no such Gaine of Time, as to iterate often the State of the Question: For it chaseth away many a Frivolous Speech, as it is comming forth. Long and Curious Speeches, are as fit for Dispatch, as a Robe or Mantle with a long Traine, is for Race. Prefaces, and Passages, and Excusations, and other Speeches of Reference to the Person, are great wastes of Time; And though they seeme to proceed of Modesty, they are Bravery. Yet beware of being too Materiall, when there is any Impediment or Obstruction in Mens Wils; For Pre-occupation of Minde, ever requireth preface of Speech; Like a Fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, Order, and Distribution,
and *Singling* out of *Parts*, is the life of *Dispatch*; So as the *Distribution* be not too subtill: For he that doth not divide, will never enter well into Businesse; And he that divideth too much, will never come out of it cleyrely. To choose Time, is to save Time; And an *Unseasonable Motion* is but Beating the Ayre. There be three Parts of Businesse: The *Preparation*; The *Debate*, or *Examination*; And the *Perfection*. Whereof, if you looke for *Dispatch*, let the Middle onely be the Worke of Many, and the First and Last the Worke of Few. The Proceeding upon somewhat conceived in Writing, doth for the most part facilitate *Dispatch*: For though it should be wholly reiefted, yet that *Negative* is more pregnant of Direction, then an *Indefinite*; As Ashes are more Generative then Dust.
XXVI

Of Seeming wise

It hath been an Opinion, that the French are wiser then they seeme; And the Spaniards seeme wiser then they are. But howsoever it be between Nations, certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the Apostle saith of Godliness: Having a shew of Godliness, but denying the Power thereof; So certainly, there are in Point of Wisedome, and Sufficiency, that doe Nothing or Little, very solemnly; Magno conatu Nugas. It is a Ridiculous Thing, and fit for a Satyre, to Persons of Judgement, to see what shifts these Formalists have, and what Prospectives, to make Superficies to seeme Body, that hath Depth and Bulke. Some are so Close and Reserved, as they will not shew their Wares, but by a darke Light; And seeme alwaies to keepe backe somewhat: And when they know within themselves, they speake of that they doe not well know, would nevertheless seeme to others, to know of that, which they may not well speake. Some helpe themselves with Countenance, and Gesture, and are wise by Signes; As Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his Browes, up to his Fore-
head, and bent the other downe to his Chin: Responde, altero ad Frontem sublato, altero ad Mentum depressio Supercilio; Crudelitatem tibi non placere. Some thinke to beare it, by Speaking a great Word, and being peremptory; And goe on, and take by admittance that, which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seeme to despise or make light of it, as Impertinent, or Curious; And so would have their Ignorance seeme Judgement. Some are never without a Difference, and commonly by Amusing Men with a Subtily, blanch the matter; Of whom A. Gellius saith; Hominem delirum, qui Verborum Minutijs Rerum frangit Pondera. Of which kinde also, Plato in his Protagoras bringeth in Prodicus, in Scorne, and maketh him make a Speech, that consisteth of distinctions from the Beginning to the End. Generally, Such Men in all Deliberations, finde ease to be of the Negative Side; and affect a Credit, to object and foretell Difficulties: For when propositions are denied, there is an End of them; But if they be allowed, it requireth a New Worke: which false Point of Wisedome, is the Bane of Businesse. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or Inward Beggar, hath so many Tricks, to uphold the Credit of their wealth, as these Empty persons have, to maintaine the Credit of their Sufficiency. Seeming Wise-men may make shift to get Opinion: But let no Man choose them for Employment; For certainly, you were better take for Business, a Man somewhat Absurd, then over Formall.
IT had beene hard for him that spake it, to have put more Truth and untruth together, in few Words, then in that Speech; *Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wilde Beast, or a God.* For it is most true, that a Naturall and Secret Hatred, and Aversion towards *Society,* in any Man, hath somewhat of the Savage Beast; But it is most Untrue, that it should have any Character, at all, of the Divine Nature; Except it proceed, not out of a Pleasure in *Solitude,* but out of a Love and desire, to sequester a Mans Selfe, for a Higher Conversation: Such as is found, to have been falsely and fainedly, in some of the Heathen; As *Epimenides* the Candian, *Numa* the Roman, *Empedocles* the Sicilian, and *Apollonius* of Tyana; And truly and really, in divers of the Ancient Hermits, and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little doe Men perceive, what *Solitude* is, and how farre it extendeth. For a Crowd is not Company; And Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures; And Talke but a *Tinckling Cymball,*
where there is no *Love*. The Latine Adage meeteth with it a little; *Magna Civitas, Magna solitudo*; Because in a great Towne, *Frends* are scattered; So that there is not that Fellowship, for the most Part, which is in lesse *Neighbourhoods*. But we may goe further, and affirme most truly; That it is a meere, and miserable *Solitude*, to want true *Frends*; without which the World is but a Wildernesse: And even in this sense also of *Solitude*, whosoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections, is unfit for *Frendship*, he taketh it of the Beast, and not from Humanity.

A principall *Fruit of Frendship*, is the Ease and Discharge of the Fulnesse and Swellings of the Heart, which Passions of all kinds doe cause and induce. We know Diseases of Stoppings, and Suffocations, are the most dangerous in the body; And it is not much otherwise in the Minde: You may take *Sarza* to open the Liver; *Steele* to open the Spleene; *Flowers of Sulphur* for the Lungs; *Castoreum* for the Braine; But no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true *Frend*; To whom you may impart, Griefes, Ioyes, Feares, Hopes, Suspicions, Counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the Heart, to oppresse it, in a kind of Civill Shrift or Confession.

It is a Strange Thing to observe, how high a Rate, Great Kings and Monarchs, do set upon this *Fruit of Frendship*, wherof we speake: So great, as they purchase it, many times, at the hazard of their owne Safety, and Greatnesse. For Princes, in regard of the distance of their Fortune, from that of their Subiects & Servants,
cannot gather this Fruit; Except (to make Themselves capable thereof) they raise some Persons, to be as it were Companions, and almost Equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to Inconvenience. The Moderne Languages give unto such Persons, the Name of Favorites, or Privadoes; As if it were Matter of Grace, or Conversation. But the Roman Name attaineth the true Use, and Cause thereof; Naming them Participes Curarum; For it is that, which tieth the knot. And we see plainly, that this hath been done, not by Weake and Passionate Princes onely, but by the Wisest, and most Politique that ever reigned; Who have oftentimes ioyned to themselves, some of their Servants; Whom both Themselves have called Frends; And allowed Others likewise to call them in the same manner; Using the Word which is received between Private Men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that Heigth, that Pompey vaunted Himselfe for Sylla's Overmatch. For when he had carried the Consulship for a Frend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speake great, Pompey turned upon him againe, and in effect bad him be quiet; For that more Men adored the Sunne Rising, then the Sunne setting. With Iulius Caesar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that Interest, as he set him downe, in his Testament, for Heirc in Remainder, after his Nephew. And this was the Man, that had power with him, to draw him forth to his death. For when Caesar would have
discharged the Senate, in regard of some ill
Presages, and specially a Dreame of Calpurnia;
This Man lifted him gently by the Arme, out of
his Chaire, telling him, he hoped he would not
dismiss the Senate, till his wife had dreamt a
better Dreame. And it seemeth, his favour was
so great, as Antonius in a Letter, which is re-
cited Verbatim, in one of Cicero's Philippiques,
calleth him Venefica, Witch; As if he had
enchanted Caesar. Augustus raised Agrippa
(though of meane Birth) to that Heighth, as
when he consulted with Mæcenas, about the
Marriage of his Daughter Iulia, Mæcenas tooke
the Liberty to tell him; That he must either
marry his Daughter to Agrippa, or take away
his life, there was no third way, he had made
him so great. With Tiberius Caesar, Seianus
had ascended to that Height, as they Two were
tearmed and reckoned, as a Paire of Frends.
Tiberius in a Letter to him saith; Hæc pro
Amicitid nostrā non occultavi: And the whole
Senate, dedicated an Altar to Frendship, as to
a Goddesse, in respect of the great Dearenesse
of Frendship, between them Two. The like or
more was between Septimius Severus, and Plaut-
tianus. For he forced his Eldest Sonne to marry
the Daughter of Plautianus; And would often
maintaine Plautianus, in doing Affronts to his
Son: And did write also in a Letter to the
Senate, by these Words; I love the Man so well,
as I wish he may over-live me. Now if these
Princes, had bene as a Traian, or a Marcus Au-
relius, A Man might have thought, that this had
proceeded of an abundant Goodnesse of Nature;
But being Men so Wise, of such Strength and Severitie of minde, and so Extreme Lovers of Themselves, as all these were; It proveth most plainly, that they found their owne Felicitie (though as great as ever happened to Mortall Men) but as an Halfe Peece, except they mought have a Frend to make it Entire: And yet, which is more, they were Princes, that had Wives, Sonnes, Nephews; And yet all these could not supply the Comfort of Frendship.

It is not to be forgotten, what Commineus observeth, of his first Master Duke Charles the Hardy; Namely, that hee 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 closenesse did impaire, and a little perish his understanding. Surely Commineus mought have made the same Judgement also, if it had pleased him, of his Second Master Lewis the Eleventh, whose closenesse was indeed his Tormentour. The Parable of Pythagoras is darke, but true; Cor ne edito; Eat not the Heart. Certainly, if a Man would give it a hard Phrase, Those that want Frends to open themselves unto, are Canniballs of their owne Hearts. But one Thing is most Admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first Fruit of frendship) which is, that this Communicating of a Mans Selfe to his Frend, works two contrarie Effects; For it redoubleth Ioyes, and cutteth Griefes in Halfes. For there is no Man, that imparteth his Ioyes to his Frend, but he ioyeth the more; And no Man, that imparteth his Griefes to his Frend,
but hee grieveth the lesse. So that it is, in Truth of Operation upon a Mans Minde, of like vertue, as the Alchymists use to attribute to their Stone, for Mans Bodie; That it worketh all Contrary Effects, but still to the Good, and Benefit of Nature. But yet, without praying in Aid of Alchymists, there is a manifest Image of this, in the ordinarie course of Nature. For in Bodies, Union strengtheneth and cherisheth any Naturall Action; And, on the other side, weakneth and dulleth any violent Impression: And even so is it of Minds.

The second Fruit of Frendship, is Healthfull and Soveraigne for the Understanding, as the first is for the Affections. For Frendship maketh indeed a faire Day in the Affections, from Storme and Tempests: But it maketh Day-light in the Understanding, out of Darknesse & Confusion of Thoughts. Neither is this to be understood, onely of Faithfull Counsell, which a Man receiveth from his Frend; But before you come to that, certaine it is, that whosoever hath his Minde fraught, with many Thoughts, his Wits and Understanding doe clarifie and breake up, in the Communicating and discoursing with Another: He tosseth his Thoughts, more easily; He marshellleth them more orderly; He seeth how they looke when they are turned into Words; Finally, He waxeth wiser then Himselxe; And that more by an Houres discourse, then by a Dayes Meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the King of Persia; That speech was like Cloth of Arras, opened, and put abroad; Whereby the Imagery doth appeare in Figure;
whereas in Thoughts, they lie but as in Packs. Neither is this Second Fruit of Friendship, in opening the Understanding, restrained only to such Frends, as are able to give a Man Counsell: (They indeed are best) But even, without that, a Man learneth of Himselfe, and bringeth his owne Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as against a Stone, which it selfe cuts not. In a word, a Man were better relate himselfe, to a Statua, or Picture, then to suffer his Thoughts to passe in smother.

Adde now, to make this Second Fruit of Friendship compleat, that other Point, which lieth more open, and falleth within Vulgar Observation; which is Faithfull Counsell from a Frend. Heraclitus saith well, in one of his Ænigmaes; Dry Light is ever the best. And certaine it is, that the Light, that a man receiveth, by Counsell from Another, is Drier, and purer, then that which commeth from his owne Understanding, and Judgement; which is ever infused and drenched in his Affections and Customs. So as, there is as much difference, betweene the Counsell, that a Frend giveth, and that a Man giveth himselfe, as there is between the Counsell of a Frend, and of a Flatterer. For there is no such Flatterer, as is a Mans Selfe; And there is no such Remedy, against Flattery of a Mans Selfe, as the Liberty of a Frend. Counsell is of two Sorts; The one concerning Manners, the other concerning Businesse. For the First; The best Preservative to keepe the Minde in Health, is the faithfull Admonition of a Frend. The Calling of a Mans Selfe, to a
Strict Account, is a Medicine, sometime, too Piercing and Corrosive. Reading good Bookes of Morality, is a little Flat, and Dead. Observing our Faults in Others, is sometimes unproper for our Case. But the best Receipt (best (I say) to worke, and best to take) is the Admonition of a Frend. It is a strange thing to behold, what grosse Errours, and extreme Absurdities, Many (especially of the greater Sort) doe commit, for want of a Frend, to tell them of them; To the great dammage, both of their Fame, & Fortune. For, as S. Iames saith, they are as Men, that looke sometimes into a Glasse, and presently forget their own Shape, & Favour. As for Businesse, a Man may think, if he will, that two Eyes see no more then one; Or that a Gamester seeth alwaies more then a Looker on; Or that a Man in Anger, is as Wise as he, that hath said over the foure and twenty Letters; Or that a Musket may be shot off, aswell upon the Arme, as upon a Rest; And such other fond and high Imaginations, to thinke Himselfe All in All. But when all is done, the Helpe of good Counsell, is that, which setteth Businesse straight. And if any Man thinke, that he will take Counsell, but it shall be by Peeces; Asking Counsell in one Businesse of one Man, and in another Businesse of another Man; It is well, (that is to say, better perhaps then if he asked none at all;) but he runneth two dangers: One, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; For it is a rare Thing, except it be from a perfect and entire Frend, to have Counsell given, but such as shalbe bowed and crooked to some ends, which he hath that
giveth it. The other, that he shall have Counsell
given, hurtfull, and unsafe, (though with good
Meaning) and mixt, partly of Mischiefe, and
partly of Remedy: Even as if you would call a
Physician, that is thought good, for the Cure of
the Disease, you complaine of, but is unac-
quainted with your body; And therefore, may
put you in way for a present Cure, but over-
throweth your Health in some other kinde; And
so cure the Disease, and kill the Patient. But a
Frend, that is wholly acquainted with a Mans
Estate, will beware by furthering any present
Businesse, how he dasheth upon other Incon-
venience. And therefore, rest not upon Scatter-
ed Counsels; They will rather distract, and Mis-
leade, then Settle, and Direct.

After these two Noble Fruits of Freundship;
(Peace in the Affections, and Support of the
Judgement,) followeth the last Fruit; which is
like the Pomgranat, full of many kernels; I
meane Aid, and Bearing a Part, in all Actions,
and Occasions. Here, the best Way, to repre-
sent to life the manifold use of Freundship, is to
cast and see, how many Things there are, which
a Man cannot doe Himselfe; And then it will
appeare, that it was a Sparing Speech of the
Ancients, to say, That a Freund is another
Himselfe: For that a Freund is farre more then
Himselfe. Men have their Time, and die many
times in desire of some Things, which they prin-
cipally take to Heart; The bestowing of a Child,
The Finishing of a Worke, Or the like. If a
Man have a true Freund, he may rest almost
secure, that the Care of those Things, will con-
Of Frendship

continue after Him. So that a Man hath as it were two Lives in his desires. A Man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a Place; But where Frendship is, all Offices of Life, are as it were granted to Him, and his Deputy. For he may exercise them by his Frend. How many Things are there, which a Man cannot, with any Face or Comelines, say or doe Himselfe? A Man can scarce alledge his owne Merits with mo-desty, much lesse extoll them: A man cannot sometimes brooke to Supplicate or Beg: And a number of the like. But all these Things, are Gracefull in a Frends Mouth, which are Blushing in a Mans Owne. So againe, a Mans Person hath many proper Relations, which he cannot put off. A Man cannot speake to his Sonne, but as a Father; To his Wife, but as a Hus-band; To his Enemy, but upon Termes: whereas a Frend may speak, as the Case requires, and not as it sorteth with the Person. But to enu-merate these Things were endlesse: I have given the Rule, where a Man cannot fitly play his owne Part: If he have not a Frend, he may quit the Stage.
XXVIII

Of Expence

RICHES are for Spending; And Spending for Honour and good Actions. Therefore Extraordinary Expence must be limited by the Worth of the Occasion: For Voluntary Undoing, may be as well for a Mans Country, as for the Kingdom of Heaven. But Ordinary Expence ought to be limited by a Mans Estate; And governed with such regard, as it be within his Compasse; And not subject to Deceit and Abuse of Servants; And ordered to the best Shew, that the Bils may be lesse, than the Estimation abroad. Certainly, if a Man will keep but of Even hand, his Ordinary Expences ought to be, but to the Halfe of his Receipts; And if he thinke to waxe Rich, but to the Third Part. It is no Basenesse, for the Greatest, to descend and looke, into their owne Estate. Some forbear it, not upon Negligence alone, But doubting to bring Themselves into Melancholy, in respect they shall finde it Broken. But Wounds cannot be Cured without Searching. He that cannot looke into his own Estate at all, had need
Of Expence

both Choose well, those whom he employeth, and change them often: For New are more Timorous, and lesse Subtile. He that can looke into his Estate but seldome, it behoveth him to turne all to Certainties. A Man had need, if he be Plentifull, in some kinde of Expence, to be as Saving againe, in some other. As if he be Plentifull in Diet, to be Saving in Apparell: If he be Plentifull in the Hall, to be Saving in the Stable: And the like. For he that is Plentifull in Expenses of all Kindes, will hardly be preserved from Decay. In Clearing of a Mans Estate, he may as well hurt Himselfe in being too sudden, as in letting it runne on too long. For hasty Selling is commonly as Disadvantageable as Interest. Besides, he that cleares at once, will relapse; For finding himselfe out of Straights, he will revert to his Customes: But hee that cleareth by Degrees, induceth a Habite of Frugalitie, and gaineth as well upon his Minde, as upon his Estate. Certainly, who hath a State to repaire, may not despise small Things: And commonly, it is lesse dishonourable, to abridge pettie Charges, then to stoope to pettie Gettings. A Man ought warily to beginne Charges, which once begun will Continue: But in Matters, that returne not, he may be more Magnificent.
Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates

THE Speech of Themistocles the Athenian, which was Haughtie and Arrogant, in taking so much to Himselfe, had been a Grave and Wise Observation and Censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he said; *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small Towne, a great City.* These Words (holpen a little with a Metaphore) may expresse two differing Abilities, in those that deale in Businesse of Estate. For if a true Survey be taken, of Counsellours and Statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those, which can make a *Small State Great*, and yet cannot *Fiddle*: As on the other side, there will be found a great many, that can *fiddle* very cunningly, but yet are so farre from being able, to make a *Small State Great*, as their Gift lieth the other way; To bring a Great and Flourishing Estate to Ruine and Decay. And certainly, those De-generate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Coun-
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sellours and Governours, gaine both Favour with their Masters, and Estimation with the Vulgar, deserve no better Name then Fidling; Being Things, rather pleasing for the time, and gracefull to themselves onely, then tending to the Weale and Advancement of the State, which they serve. There are also (no doubt) Counsel-lours and Governours, which may be held sufficient, (Negotij s pares,) Able to mannage Affaires, and to keepe them from Precipices, and manifest Inconveniences; which nevertheless, are farre from the Abilitie, to raise and Amplifie an Estate, in Power, Meanes, and Fortune. But be the worke-men what they may be, let us speake of the Worke; That is; The true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates; and the Meanes thereof. An Argument, fit for Great and Mightie Princes, to have in their hand; To the end, that neither by Over-measuring their Forces, they leese themselves in vaine Enterprises; Nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they de-scend to Fearefull and Pusillanimous Coun-sells.

The Greatnesse of an Estate in Bulke and Territorie, doth fall under Measure; And the Greatnesse of Finances and Revenew doth fall under Computation. The Population may appeare by Musters: And the Number and Greatnesse of Cities and Townes, by Cards and Maps. But yet there is not any Thing amongst Civill Affaires, more subiect to Errour, then the right valuation, and true Judgement, concerning the Power and Forces of an Estate. The Kingdome of Heaven is compared, not to any great
Kernell or Nut, but to a *Graine of Mustard-seed*; which is one of the least Graines, but hath in it a Propertie and Spirit, hastily to get up and spread. So are there States, great in Territorie, and yet not apt to Enlarge, or Command; And some, that have but a small Dimension of Stemme, and yet apt to be the Foundations of Great Monarchies.

Walled Townes, Stored Arcenalls and Armouries, Goodly Races of Horse, Chariots of Warre, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, and the like: All this is but a Sheep in a Lions Skin, except the Breed and disposition of the People, be stout and warlike. Nay Number (it selfe) in Armies, importeth not much, where the People is of weake Courage: For (as Virgil saith) *It never troubles a Wolfe, how many the sheepe be.* The Armie of the Persians, in the Plaines of Arbela, was such a vast Sea of People, as it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in Alexander's Armie; Who came to him therefore, and wisht him, to set upon them by Night; But hee answered, *He would not pilfer the Victory.* And the Defeat was Easie. When Tigranes the Armenian, being incamped upon a Hill, with 400000. Men, discovered the Armie of the Romans, being not above 14000. Marching towards him, he made himselfe Merry with it, and said; *Yonder Men, are too Many for an Ambassage, and too Few for a Fight.* But before the Sunne sett, he found them enough, to give him the Chace, with infinite Slaughter. Many are the Examples, of the great oddes between Number and Courage: So that a Man
may truly make a Judgement; That the Principal Point of Greatnesse in any State, is to have a Race of Military Men. Neither is Money the Sinewes of Warre, (as it is trivially said) where the Sinewes of Mens Armes, in Base and Effe- 
minate People, are failing. For Solon said well 
to Cræsus (when in Ostentation he shewed him 
his Gold) Sir, if any Other come, that hath bet-
ter Iron then you, he will be Master of all this 
Gold. Therfore let any Prince or State, thinke 
soberly of his Forces, except his Militia of Na-
tives, be of good and Valiant Soldiers. And let 
Princes, on the other side, that have Subiects of 
Martiall disposition, know their owne Strength; 
unlesse they be otherwise wanting unto Them-

selves. As for Mercenary Forces, (which is the 
Helpe in this Case) all Examples shew; That, 
whatsoever Estate or Prince doth rest upon 
them; Hee may spread his Feathers for a time, 
but he will mew them soone after.

The Blessing of Judah and Issachar will 
never meet; That the same People or Nation, 
should be both The Lions whelpe, and the Asse 
betweene Burthens: Neither will it be, that a 
People over-laid with Taxes, should ever be-
come Valiant, and Martiall. It is true, that 
Taxes levied by Consent of the Estate, doe 
abate Mens Courage lesse; As it hath beene 
seene notably, in the Excises of the Low Coun-
tries; And in some degree, in the Subsidies of 
England. For you must note, that we speake 
now, of the Heart, and not of the Purse. So 
that, although the same Tribute and Tax, laid 
by Consent, or by Imposing, be all one to the
Purse, yet it workes diversly upon the Courage. So that you may conclude; That no People, over-charged with Tribute, is fit for Empire.

Let States that aime at Greatnesse, take heed how their Nobility and Gentlemen, doe multiply too fast. For that maketh the Common Subject, grow to be a Peasant, and Base Swaine, driven out of Heart, and in effect but the Gentlemans Labourer. Even as you may see in Coppice Woods; If you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have cleane Underwood, but Shrubs and Bushes. So in Countries, if the Gentlemen be too many, the Commons will be base; And you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll, will be fit for an Helmet: Especially as to the Infantry, which is the Nerve of an Army: And so there will be Great Population, and Little Strength. This, which I speake of, hath been no where better seen, then by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though farre lesse in Territory and Population, hath been (nevertheless) an Overmatch; In regard, the Middle People of England, make good Souldiers, which the Peasants of France doe not. And herein, the device of King Henry the Seventh, (whereof I have spoken largely in the History of his Life) was Profound, and Admiraible; In making Farmes, and houses of Husbandry, of a Standard; That is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land unto them, as may breed a Subject, to live in Convenient Plenty, and no Servile Condition; And to keepe the Plough in the Hands of the Owners, and not meere Hirelings. And thus indeed, you
shall attaine to Virgil's Character, which he
gives to Ancient Italy.

—Terra potens Armis atque ubere Glebæ.

Neither is that State (which for any thing I
know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly
to be found any where else, except it be perhaps
in Poland) to be passed over; I meane the State
of Free Servants and Attendants upon Noble-
men and Gentlemen; which are no waies infe-
riour, unto the Yeomanry, for Armes. And
therefore, out of all Question, the Splendour,
and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hos-
pitality of Noblemen, and Gentlemen, received
into Custome, doth much condue, unto Mar-
tiall Greatnesse. Whereas, contrariwise, the
Close and Reserved living, of Noblemen, and
Gentlemen, causeth a Penury of Military Forces.

By all meanes, it is to be procured, that the
Trunck of Nebuchadnezzars Tree of Monarchy,
be great enough, to beare the Branches, and the
Boughes; That is, That the Naturall Subiefts
of the Crowne or State, beare a sufficient Pro-
portion, to the Stranger Subiefts, that they go-
verne. Therfore all States, that are liberall of
Naturalization towards Strangers, are fit for
Empire. For to thinke, that an Handfull of
People, can, with the greatest Courage, and Po-
licy in the World, embrace too large Extent of
Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will
faile suddainly. The Spartans were a nice Peo-
ple, in Point of Naturalization; whereby, while
they kept their Compasse, they stood firme;
But when they did spread, and their Boughs
were becommen too great, for their Stem, they
became a Windfall upon the suddaine. Never any State was, in this Point, so open to receive Strangers, into their Body, as were the Romans. Therefore it sorted with them accordingly; For they grew to the greatest Monarchy. Their manner was, to grant Naturalization, (which they called *Ius Civitatis*) and to grant it in the highest Degree; That is, Not onely *Ius Commercij, Ius Connubij, Ius Hæreditatis*; But also, *Ius Suffragij*, and *Ius Honorum*. And this, not to Singular Persons alone, but likewise to whole Families; yea to Cities, and sometimes to Nations. Adde to this, their Custome of *Plantation of Colonies*; whereby the Roman Plant, was removed into the Soile, of other Nations. And putting both Constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the Romans that spred upon the World; But it was the World, that spred upon the Romans: And that was the sure Way of Greatnesse. I have marveiled sometimes at Spaine, how they claspe and containe so large Dominions, with so few Naturall Spaniards: But sure, the whole Compasse of Spaine, is a very Great Body of a Tree; Farre above Rome, and Sparta, at the first. And besides, though they have not had that usage, to Naturalize liberally; yet they have that, which is next to it; That is, *To employ, almost indifferently, all Nations, in their Militia of ordinary Soldiers*: yea, and sometimes in their *Highest Commands*. Nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of Natives; as by the *Pragmaticall Sanction*, now published, appeareth.
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It is certaine, that Sedentary, and Within-doore Arts, and delicate Manufactures (that require rather the Finger, then the Arme) have, in their Nature, a Contrariety, to a Military disposition. And generally, all Warlike People, are a little idle; And love Danger better then Travaile: Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore, it was great Advantage, in the Ancient States of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of Slaves, which commonly did rid those Manufactures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian Law. That which commeth nearest to it, is, to leave those Arts chiefly to Strangers, (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received) and to containe, the principall Bulke of the vulgar Natives, within those three kinds; Tillers of the Ground; Free Servants; & Handy-Crafts-Men, of Strong, & Manly Arts, as Smiths, Masons, Carpenters, &c; Not reckoning Professed Soldiers.

But above all, for Empire and Greatnesse, it importeth most; That a Nation doe professe Armes, as their principall Honour, Study, and Occupation. For the Things, which we formerly have spoken of, are but Habilitations towards Armes: And what is Habilitation without Intention and All? Romulus, after his death (as they report, or faigne) sent a Present to the Romans; That, above all, they should intend Armes; And then, they should prove the greatest Empire of the World. The Fabrick of the State of Sparta, was wholly (though not wisely)
framed, and composed, to that Scope and End. The Persians, and Macedonians, had it for a flash. The Galls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a Time. The Turks have it, at this day, though in great Declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it, are, in effect, onely the Spaniards. But it is so plain, That every Man profiteth in that hee most intendeth, that it needeth not to be stood upon. It is enough to point at it; That no Nation, which doth not directly profess Armes, may looke to have Greatnesse fall into their Mouths. And, on the other side, it is a most Certaine Oracle of Time; That those States, that continue long in that Profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders. And those, that have professed Armes but for an Age, have notwithstanding, commonly, attained that Greatnesse in that Age, which maintained them long after, when their Profession and Exercise of Armes hath grown to decay.

Incident to this Point is; For a State, to have those Lawes or Customs, which may reach forth unto them, iust Occasions (as may be pretended) of Warre. For there is that Justice imprinted, in the Nature of Men, that they enter not upon Wars (whereof so many Calamities doe ensue) but upon some, at the least Specious, Grounds and Quarells. The Turke, hath at hand, for Cause of Warre, the Propagation of his Law or Sect; A Quarell that he may alwaies Command. The Romans, though they esteemed, the Extending the Limits of their Empire, to be
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great Honour to their Generalls, when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone, to begin a Warre. First therefore, let Nations, that pretend to Greatnesse, have this; That they be sensible of Wrongs, either upon Borderers, Merchants, or Politique Ministers; And that they sit not too long upon a Provocation. Secondly, let them be prest, and ready, to give Aids and Succours, to their Confederates: As it ever was with the Romans: In so much, as if the Confederate, had Leagues Defensive with divers other States, and upon Invasion offered, did implore their Aides severally, yet the Romans would ever bee the formost, and leave it to none Other to have the Honour. As for the Warres, which were anciently made, on the behalfe, of a kinde of Partie, or tacite Conformitie of Estate, I doe not see how they may be well justified: As when the Romans made a Warre for the Libertie of Grecia: Or when the Lacedemonians, and Athenians, made Warres, to set up or pull downe Democracies, and Oligarchies: Or when Warres were made by Forrainers, under the pretence of Iustice, or Proteccion, to deliver the Subiechts of others, from Tyrannie, and Oppression; And the like. Let it suffice, That no Estate expeçt to be Great, that is not awake, upon any iust Occasion of Arming.

No Body can be healthfull without Exercise, neither Naturall Body, nor Politique: And certainly, to a Kingdome or Estate, a Iust and Honourable Warre, is the true Exercise. A Civill Warre, indeed, is like the Heat of a Feaver; But a Forraine Warre, is like the Heat of Exercise,
and serveth to keepe the Body in Health: For in a Slothfull Peace, both Courages will effeminate, and Manners Corrupt. But howsoever it be for Happinesse, without all Question, for Greatnesse, it maketh, to bee still, for the most Part, in Armes: And the Strength of a Veteran Armie, (though it be a chargeable Businesse) alwaies on Foot, is that, which commonly giveth the Law; Or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour States; As may well bee seen in Spaine; which hath had, in one Part or other, a Veteran Armie, almost continually, now by the Space of Six-score yeeres.

To be Master of the Sea, is an Abridgement of a Monarchy. Cicero writing to Atticus, of Pompey his Preparation against Cesar, saith; Consilium Pompeij planè Themistocleum est; Putat enim, qui Mari potitur, eum Rerum potiri. And, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Caesar, if upon vaine Confidence, he had not left that Way. We see the great Effects of Battailies by Sea. The Battaille of Actium decided the Empire of the World. The Battaille of Lepanto arrested the Greatnesse of the Turke. There be many Examples, where Sea-Fights have beene Finall to the warre; But this is, when Princes or States, have set up their Rest, upon the Battailies. But thus much is certaine; That hee that Commands the Sea, is at great liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the Warre, as he will. Whereas those, that be strongest by land, are many times nevertheless in great Straights. Surely, at this Day, with us of Europe, the Vantage of Strength at Sea.
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(which is one of the Principall Dowries of this Kingdome of Great Brittaine) is Great: Both because, Most of the Kingdomes of Europe, are not meerely Inland, but girt with the Sea, most part of their Compass; And because, the Wealth of both Indies, seemes in great Part, but an Accessary, to the Command of the Seas.

The Warres of Latter Ages, seeme to be made in the Darke, in Respect of the Glory and Honour, which reflected upon Men, from the Warres in Ancient Time. There be now, for Martiall Encouragement, some Degrees and Orders of Chivalry; which nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously, upon Soldiers, & no Soldiers; And some Remembrance perhaps upon the Scutchion; And some Hospitals for Maimed Soldiers; And such like Things. But in Ancient Times; The Trophies erected upon the Place of the Victory; The Funerall Laudatives and Monuments for those that died in the Wars; The Crowns and Garlands Personal; The Stile of Emperor, which the Great Kings of the World after borrowed; The Triumphes of the Generalls upon their Returne; The great Donatives and Largesses upon the Disbanding of the Armies; were Things able to enflame all Mens Courages. But above all, That of the Triumph, amongst the Romans, was not Pageants or Gauderie, but one of the Wisest and Noblest Institutions, that ever was. For it contained three Things; Honour to the Generall; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoiles; And Donatives to the Army. But that Honour, perhaps, were not fit for Monarchies; Except it be
in the Person of the Monarch himselfe, or his Sonnes; As it came to passe, in the Times of the Roman Emperours, who did impropriate the Actuall Triumphs to Themselves, and their Sonnes, for such Wars, as they did atchieve in Person: And left onely, for Wars atchieved by Subiects, some Triumphall Garments, and Ensignes, to the Generall.

To conclude; No Man can, by Care taking (as the Scripture saith) adde a Cubite to his Stature; in this little Modell of a Mans Body: But in the Great Frame of Kingdomes, & Common Wealths, it is in the power of Princes, or Estates, to adde Amplitude and Greatnesse to their Kingdomes. For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions, and Customes, as we have now touched, they may sow Greatnesse, to their Posteritie, and Succession. But these Things are commonly not Observed, but left to take their Chance.
Of Regiment of Health

There is a wisdom in this, beyond the Rules of Physicke: A Man's own Observation, what he finds Good of, and what he finds Hurt of, is the best Physicke to preserve Health. But it is a safer Conclusion to say; This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it; Then this; I finde no offence of this, therefore I may use it. For Strength of Nature in youth, passeth over many Excesses, which are owing a Man till his Age. Discerne of the coming on of Yeares, and thinke not, to doe the same Things still; For Age will not be Defied. Beware of sudden Change in any great point of Diet, and if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a Secret, both in Nature, and State; That it is safer to change Many Things, then one. Examine thy Customes, of Diet, Sleepe, Exercise, Apparell, and the like; And trie in any Thing, thou shalt iudge hurtfull, to discontinue it by little and little; But so, as if thou doest finde any Inconvenience by the Change, thou come backe to it againe: For it

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is hard to distinguish, that which is generally held good, and wholesome, from that, which is good particularly, and fit for thine own Body. To be free minded, and cheerfully disposed, at Houres of Meat, and of Sleep, and of Exercise, is one of the best Precepts of Long lasting. As for the Passions and Studies of the Minde; Avoid Envie; Anxious Feares; Anger fretting inwards; Subtill and knottie Inquisitions; Ioyes, and Ex- hilarations in Excesse; Sadnesse not Communicated. Entertaine Hopes; Mirth rather then Ioy; Varietie of Delights, rather then Surfet of them; Wonder, and Admiration, and therefore Novelties; Studies that fill the Minde with Splen- dide and Illustrious Obiechts, as Histories, Fa- bles, and Contemplations of Nature. If you flie Physicke in Health altogether, it will be too strange for your Body, when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will worke no Ex- traordinary Effec, when Sicknesse commeth. I commend rather, some Diet, for certaine Sea- sons, then frequent Use of Physicke, Except it be growen into a Custome. For those Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it lesse. Des- pise no new Accident, in your Body, but aske Opinion of it. In Sicknesse, respect Health principally; And in Health, Action. For those that put their Bodies, to endure in Health, may in most Sicknesse, which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with Diet, and Tendering. Celsus could never have spoken it as a Physician, had he not been a Wise Man withall; when he giveth it, for one of the great precepts of Health and Lasting; That a Man doe vary, and enterchange
Contraries; But with an Inclination to the more benigne Extreme: Use Fasting, and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting, and Exercise, but rather Exercise; and the like. So shall Nature be cherished, and yet taught Masteries. Physicians are some of them so pleasing, and conformable to the Humor of the Patient, as they presse not the true Cure of the Disease; And some other are so Regular, in proceeding according to Art, for the Disease, as they respect not sufficiently the Condition of the Patient. Take one of a Middle Temper; Or if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either sort: And forget not to call, aswell the best acquainted with your Body, as the best reputed of for his Faculty.
SUSPICIONS amongst Thoughts, are like Bats amongst Birds, they ever fly by Twilight. Certainly, they are to be repressed, or, at the least, well guarded: For they cloud the Minde; they leese Frends; and they checke with Businesse, whereby Businesse cannot goe on, currantly, and constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Iealousie, Wise Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are Defects, not in the Heart, but in the Braine; For they take Place in the Stoutest Natures: As in the Example of Henry the Seventh of England: There was not a more Suspicious Man, nor a more Stout. And in such a Composition, they doe small Hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with Examination, whether they be likely or no? But in fearefull Natures, they gaine Ground too fast. There is Nothing makes a Man Suspecl much, more then to Know little: And therefore Men should remedy Suspicion, by procuring to know more, and not to keep their Suspicions in Smother. What would Men have? Doe they
Of Suspicion

thinke, those they employ and deale with, are Saints? Doe they not thinke, they will have their owne Ends, and be truer to Themselves, then to them? Therefore, there is no better Way to moderate Suspicion, than to account upon such Suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them, as false. For so farre, a Man ought to make use of Suspicions, as to provide, as if that should be true, that he Suspells, yet it may doe him no Hurt. Suspicions, that the Minde, of it selfe, gathers, are but Buzzes; But Suspicions, that are artificially nourished, and put into Mens Heads, by the Tales, and Whisprings of others, have Stings. Certainly, the best Meane, to cleare the Way, in this same Wood of Suspicions, is franckly to communicate them, with the Partie, that he Suspells: For thereby, he shall be sure, to know more of the Truth of them, then he did before; And withall, shall make that Party, more circumspect, not to give further Cause of Suspicion. But this would not be done to Men of base Natures: For they, if they finde themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian saies: Sospetto licentia fede: As if Suspicion did give a Pasport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it, to discharge it selfe.
XXXII

Of Discourse

SOME in their Discourse, desire rather Com- mendation of Wit, in being able to hold all Arguments, then of Judgment, in discerning what is True: As if it were a Praise, to know what might be Said, and not what should be Thought. Some have certaine Common Places, and Theames, wherein they are good, and want Variety: Which kinde of Poverty is for the most part Tediuous, and when it is once perceived Ridiculous. The Honourablest Part of Talke, is to give the Occasion; And againe to Moderate and passe to somewhat else; For then a Man leads the Daunce. It is good, in Discourse, and Speech of Conversation, to vary, and enter- mingle Speech, of the present Occasion with Arguments; Tales with Reasons; Asking of Questions, with telling of Opinions; and Iest with Earnest: For it is a dull Thing to Tire, and, as we say now, to Iade, any Thing too farre. As for Iest, there be certaine Things, which ought to be priviledged from it; Namely Re- ligion, Matters of State, Great Persons, Any
Mans present Businesse of Importance, And any Case that deserveth Pitty. Yet there be some, that thinke their Wits have been asleepe; Except they dart out somewhat, that is Piquant, and to the Quicke: That is a Vaine, which would be brideled;

*Parce Puer stimulus, & fortius utere Loris.*

And generally, Men ought to finde the difference, between Saltnesse and Bitternesse. Certainly, he that hath a Satyricall vaine, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit, so he had need be afraid of others Memory. He that questioneth much, shall learne much, and content much; But especially, if he apply his Questions, to the Skill of the Persons, whom he asketh: For he shall give them occasion, to please themselves in Speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather Knowledge. But let his Questions, not be troublesome; For that is fit for a Poser. And let him be sure, to leave other Men their Turnes to speak. Nay, if there be any, that would raigne, and take up all the time, let him finde meanes to take them off, and to bring Others on; As Musicians use to doe, with those, that dance too long Galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge, of that you are thought to know; you shall be thought another time, to know that, you know not. Speach of a Mans Selfe ought to be seldome, and well chosen. I knew One, was wont to say, in Scorne; *He must needs be a Wise Man, he speakes so much of Himselfe:* And there is but one Case, wherein a Man may Commend Himselfe, with
good Grace; And that is in commending Vertue in Another; Especially, if it be such a Vertue, whereunto Himselfe pretendeth. Speech of Touch towards Others, should be sparingly used: For Discourse ought to be as a Field, without coming home to any Man. I knew two Noble-men, of the West Part of England; Whereof the one was given to Scoffe, but kept ever Royal Cheere in his House: The other, would aske of those, that had beeue at the Others Table; Tell truely, was there never a Flout or drie Blow given; To which the Guest would answer; Such and such a Thing passed: The Lord would say; I thought he would marre a good Dinner. Discretion of Speech, is more then Eloquence; And to speak agreeably to him, with whom we deale, is more then to speake in good Words, or in good Order. A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews Slownesse: And a Good Reply, or Second Speech, without a good Setled Speech, sheweth Shallownesse and Weaknesse. As we see in Beasts, that those that are Weakest in the Course, are yet Nimblest in the Turne: As it is betwixt the Grey-hound, & the Hare. To use too many Circumstances, ere one come to the Matter, is Wearisome; To use none at all, is Blunt.
Of Plantations

PLANTATIONS are amongst Ancient, Primitive, and Heroicall Workes. When the World was young, it begate more Children; But now it is old, it begets fewer: For I may justly account new Plantations, to be the Children of former Kingdomes. I like a Plantation in a Pure Soile; that is, where People are not Dis-planted, to the end, to Plant in Others. For else, it is rather an Extirpation, then a Plantation. Planting of Countries, is like Planting of Woods; For you must make account, to leese almost Twenty yeeres Profit, and expect your Recompence, in the end. For the Principall Thing, that hath beene the Destruction of most Plantations, hath beene the Base, and Hastie drawing of Profit, in the first Yeeres. It is true, Speedie Profit is not to be neglected, as farre as may stand, with the Good of the Plantation, but no further. It is a Shamefull and Unblessed Thing, to take the Scumme of People, and Wicked Condemned Men, to be the People with whom you Plant: And not only so, but it spoil-
et the Plantation: For they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall to worke, but be Lazie, and doe Mischiefe, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, and then Certifie over to their Country, to the Discredit of the Plantation. The People wherewith you Plant, ought to be Gardners, Plough-men, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Ioyners, Fisher-men, Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cookes, and Bakers. In a Country of Plantation, first looke about, what kinde of Victuall, the Countrie yeelds of it selfe, to Hand: As Chestnuts, Wallnuts, Pine-Apples, Olives, Dates, Plummes, Cherries, Wilde-Hony, and the like: and make use of them. Then consider, what Victuall or Esculent Things there are, which grow speedily, and within the yeere; As Parsnips, Carrets, Turnips, Onions, Radish, Artichokes of Hierusalem, Maiz, and the like. For Wheat, Barly, and Oats, they aske too much Labour: But with Pease, and Beanes, you may begin; Both because they aske lesse Labour, and because they serve for Meat, as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise commeth a great Encrease, and it is a kinde of Meat. Above all, there ought to be brought Store of Bisket, Oat-meale, Flower, Meale, and the like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beasts, or Birds, take chiefly such, as are least Subie&ct to Diseases, and Multiply fastest: As Swine, Goats, Cockes, Hennes, Turkies, Geese, House-doves, and the like. The Victuall in Plantations, ought to be expended, almost as in a Besieged Towne; That is, with certaine Allowance. And let the Maine Part of
the Ground employed to Gardens or Corne, bee
to a Common Stocke; And to be Laid in, and
Stored up, and then Delivered out in Proport-
tion; Besides some Spots of Ground, that any
Particular Person, will Manure, for his owne
Private. Consider likewise, what Commodities
the Soile, where the Plantation is, doth natu-
really yeeld, that they may some way helpe to
defray the Charge of the Plantation: So it be
not, as was said, to the untimely Prejudice, of
the maine Businesse; As it hath fared with To-
acco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth
but too much; And therefore, Timber is fit to
be one. If there be Iron Ure, and Streames
whereupon to set the Milles; Iron is a brave
Commoditie, where Wood aboundeth. Making
of Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it,
would be put in Experience. Growing Silke
likewise, if any be, is a likely Commoditie.
Pitch and Tarre, where store of Firres and
Pines are, will not faile. So Drugs, and Sweet
Woods, where they are, cannot but yeeld great
Profit. Soape Ashes likewise, and other Things,
that may be thought of. But moile not too
much under Ground: For the Hope of Mines is
very Uncertaine, and useth to make the Planters
Lazie, in other Things. For Government, let it
be in the Hands of one, assisted with some
Counsell: And let them have Commission, to
exercise Martiall Lawes, with some limitation.
And above all, let Men make that Profit of
being in the Wildernesse, as they have God al-
waies, and his Service, before their Eyes. Let
not the Government of the Plantation, depend
upon too many Counsellours, and Undertakers, in the Countrie that Planteth, but upon a temperate Number: And let those be, rather Noblemens, and Gentlemen, then Merchants: For they looke ever to the present Gaine. Let there be Freedomes from Custome, till the Plantation be of Strength: And not only Freedome from Custome, but Freedome to carrie their Commodities, where they may make their Best of them, except there be some special Cause of Caution. Cramme not in People, by sending too fast, Company, after Company; But rather hearken how they waste, and send Supplies proportionably; But so, as the Number may live well, in the Plantation, and not by Surcharge be in Penury. It hath beene a great Endangering, to the Health of some Plantations, that they have built along the Sea, and Rivers, in Marish and unwholesome Grounds. Therefore, though you begin there, to avoid Carriage, and other like Discommodities, yet build still, rather upwards, from the Streames, then along. It concerneth likewise, the Health of the Plantation, that they have good Store of Salt with them, that they may use it, in their Victualls, when it shall be necessary. If you Plant, where Savages are, doe not onely entertaine them with Trifles, and Gingles; But use them justly, and gratiously, with sufficient Guard nevertheless: And doe not winne their favour, by helping them to invade their Enemies, but for their Defence it is not amisse. And send oft of them, over to the Country, that Plants, that they may see a better Condition then their owne, and commend it
when they returne. When the Plantation grows to Strength, then it is time, to Plant with Women, as well as with Men; That the Plantation may spread into Generations, and not be ever peeced from without. It is the sinfullest Thing in the world, to forsake or destitute a Plantation, once in Forwardnesse: For besides the Dishonour, it is the Guiltinesse of Bloud, of many Commiserable Persons.
I CANNOT call Riches better, then the Baggage of Vertue. The Roman Word is better, Impedimenta. For as the Baggage is to an Army, so is Riches to Vertue. It cannot be spared, nor left behinde, but it hindreth the March; Yea, and the care of it, sometimes, loseth or disturbeth the Victory: Of great Riches, there is no Reall Use, except it be in the Distribution; The rest is but Conceit. So saith Solomon; Where much is, there are Many to consume it; And what hath the Owner, but the Sight of it, with his Eyes? The Personall Fruition in any Man, cannot reach to feele Great Riches: There is a Custody of them; Or a Power of Dole and Donative of them; Or a Fame of them; But no Solid Use to the Owner. Doe you not see, what fained Prices, are set upon little Stones, and Rarities? And what Works of Ostentation, are undertaken, because there might seeme to be, some Use of great Riches? But then you will say, they may be of use, to buy Men out of Dangers or Troubles.
Of Riches

As Salomon saith; Riches are as a strong Hold, in the Imagination of the Rich Man. But this is excellently expressed, that it is in Imagination, and not alwaies in Fact. For certainly Great Riches, have sold more Men, then they have bought out. Seeke not Proud Riches, but such as thou maist get iustly, Use soberly, Distribute cheerefully, and Leave contentedly. Yet have no Abstracæ nor Friarly Contempt of them. But distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus; In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat, non Avaritiae Prædam, sed Instrumentum Bonitati, quæri. Hearken also to Salomon, and beware of Hasty Gathering of Riches: Qui festinat ad Divitiæ, non erit insonus. The Poets faigne that when Plutus, (which is Riches,) is sent from Iupiter, he limps, and goes slowly; But when he is sent from Pluto, he runnes, and is Swift of Foot. Meaning, that Riches gotten by Good Meanes, and Iust Labour, pace slowly; But when they come by the death of Others, (As by the Course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like,) they come tumbling upon a Man. But it mought be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the Devill. For when Riches come from the Devill, (as by Fraud, and Oppression, and uniust Meanes,) they come upon Speed. The Waies to enrich are many, and most of them Foule. Parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not Innocent: For it with-hold-eth Men, from Workes of Liberality, and Charity. The Improvement of the Ground, is the most Naturall Obtaining of Riches; For it is our Great Mothers Blessing, the Earths; But it
is slow. And yet, where Men of great wealth, doe stoope to husbandry, it multiplieth Riches exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman in England, that had the greatest Audits, of any Man in my Time: A Great Grasier, A Great Sheepe-Master, A Great Timber Man, A Great Colliar, A Great Corne-Master, A Great Lead-Man, and so of Iron, and a Number of the like Points of Husbandry. So as the Earth seemed a Sea to him, in respect of the Perpetuall Importation. It was truly observed by One, that Himsel'fe came very hardly to a Little Riches, and very easily to Great Riches. For when a Mans Stocke is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and overcome those Bargaines, which for their greatnesse are few Mens Money, and be Partner in the Industries of Younger Men, he cannot but encrease mainely. The Gaines of Ordinary Trades and Vocations, are honest; And furthered by two Things, chiefly: By Diligence; And By a good Name, for good and faire dealing. But the Gaines of Bargaines, are of a more doubtfull Nature; When Men shall waite upon Others Necessity, broake by Servants and Instruments to draw them on, Put off Others cunningly that would be better Chapmen, and the like Practises, which are Crafty and Naught. As for the Chopping of Bargaines, when a Man Buies, not to Hold, but to Sell over againe, that commonly Grindeth double, both upon the Seller, and upon the Buyer. Sharings, doe greatly Enrich, if the Hands be well chosen, that are trusted. Usury is the certainest Meanes of Gaine, though one
of the worst; As that, whereby a Man doth eate his Bread; *In sudore vultūs alieni:* And besides, doth Plough upon Sundaies. But yet Certaine though it be, it hath Flawes; For that the Scriveners and Broakers, doe valew unsound Men, to serve their owne Turne. The *Fortune,* in being the First in an *Invention,* or in a *Priviledge,* doth cause sometimes a wonderfull Overgrowth in *Riches:* As it was with the first Sugar Man, in the *Canaries:* Therefore, if a Man can play the true *Logician,* to have as well Judgement, as Invention, he may do great Matters; especially if the Times be fit. He that resteth upon *Gaines Certaine,* shall hardly grow to great *Riches:* And he that puts all upon *Adventures,* doth often times breake, and come to Poverty: It is good therefore, to guard *Adventures* with *Certainties,* that may uphold losses. *Monopolies,* and *Coemption of Wares for Resale,* where they are not restrained, are great Meanes to enrich; especially, if the Partie have intelligence, what Things are like to come into Request, and so store Himselfe before hand. *Riches* gotten by *Service,* though it be of the best Rise, yet when they are gotten by Flattery, Feeding Humours, and other Servile Conditions, they may be placed amongst the Worst. As for Fishing for *Testaments* and *Executorships* (as *Tacitus* saith of *Seneca; Testamenta et Orbos, tanquam Indagine capi;*) It is yet worse; By how much Men submit themselves, to Meaner Persons, then in *Service.* Beleeve not much them, that seeme to despise *Riches:* For they despise them, that despaire of them; And none
Worse, when they come to them. Be not Penny-wise; Riches have Wings, and sometimes they Fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set Flying to bring in more. Men leave their Riches, either to their Kindred; Or to the Publique: And moderate Portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an Heire, is as a Lure to all the Birds of Prey, round about, to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in Yearcs and Judgement. Likewise Glorious Gifts and Foundations, are like Sacrifices without Salt; And but the Painted Sepulchres of Almes, which soone will putrifie, and corrupt inwardly. Therefore, Measure not thine Advancements by Quantity, but Frame them by Measure; and Deferre not Charities till Death: For certainly, if a Man weigh it rightly, he that doth so, is rather Liberall of an Other Mans, then of his Owne.
XXXV

Of Prophecies

I MEANE not to speake of Divine Prophecies; Nor of Heathen Oracles; Nor of Natural Predictions; But only of Prophecies, that have beene of certaine Memory, and from Hidden Causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul; To Morrow thou and thy sonne shall be with me. Homer hath these Verses.

At Domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur Oris,
Et Nati Natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis:
A Prophecie, as it seemes, of the Roman Empire. Seneca the Tragedian hath these Verses.

——— Venient Annis
Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula Rerum laxet, & ingens
Pateat Tellus, Typhisque novos
Detegat Orbes; nec sit Terris
Ultima Thule:

A Prophecie of the Discovery of America. The Daughter of Polycrates dreamed, that Jupiter bathed her Father, and Apollo annointed him: And it came to passe, that he was crucified in
an Open Place, where the Sunne made his Bodie runne with Sweat, and the Raine washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed, He sealed up his Wives Belly: Whereby he did expound it, that his Wife should be barren: But Aristander the Soothsayer, told him, his Wife was with Childe, because Men doe not use to Seale Vessells that are emptie. A Phantasme, that appeared to M. Brutus in his Tent, said to him; Philippis iterum me videbis. Tiberius said to Galba. Tu quoque Galba degustabis Imperium. In Vespasians Time, there went a Prophecie in the East; That those that should come forth of Iudea, should reigne over the World: which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed, the Night before he was slaine, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Necke: And indeed, the Succession that followed him, for many yeares, made Golden Times. Henry the Sixt of England, said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a Lad, and gave him Water; This is the Lad, that shall enjoy the Crowne, for which we strive. When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the Q. Mother, who was given to Curious Arts, caused the King her Husbands Nativitie, to be Calculated, under a false Name; And the Astrologer gave a Judgement, that he should be killed in a Duell; At which the Queene laughed, thinking·her Husband, to be above Challenges and Duels: but he was slaine, upon a Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staffe of Mongomery, going in at his Bever. The triviall Prophecie,
Of Prophecies

which I heard, when I was a Childe, and Queene Elizabeth was in the Flower of her Yeares, was;

When Hempe is sponne;
England's done.

Whereby, it was generally conceived, that after the Princes had Reigned, which had the Principall Letters, of that Word Hempe, (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth) England should come to utter Confusion: Which, thankes be to God, is verified only, in the Change of the Name: For that the Kings Stile, is now no more of England, but of Britaine. There was also another Prophecie, before the year of 88. which I doe not well understand.

There shall be seene upon a day,
Betweene the Baugh, and the May,
The Blacke Fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build Houses of Lime and Stone
For after Warres shall you have None.

It was generally conceived, to be meant of the Spanish Fleet, that came in 88. For that the King of Spaines Surname, as they say, is Norway. The Prediction of Regiomontanus;

Oltogessimus octavus mirabilis Annus;
Was thought likewise accomplished, in the Sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in Strength, though not in Number, of all that ever swamme upon the Sea. As for Cleons Dreame, I thinke it was a Iest. It was, that he was devoured of a long Dragon; And it was expounded of a Maker of Sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are Numbers of the like
kinde; Especially if you include *Dreames*, and *Predictions of Astrologie*. But I have set downe these few onely of certaine Credit, for Example. My Judgement is, that they ought all to be Despised; And ought to serve, but for Winter Talke, by the Fire side. Though when I say Despised, I meane it as for Beleefe: For otherwise, the Spreading or Publishing of them, is in no sort to be Despised. For they have done much Mischief: And I see many severe Lawes made to suppress them. That, that hath given them Grace, and some Credit, consisteth in three Things. First, that Men marke, when they hit, and never marke, when they misse: As they doe, generally, also of Dreams. The second is, that Probable Conieèctures, or obscure Traditions, many times, turne themselves into Prophecies: While the Nature of Man, which coveteth Divination, thinkes it no Perill to fore-tell that, which indeed they doe but collect. As that of Seneca's Verse. For so much was then subieèct to Demonstration, that the Globe of the Earth, had great Parts beyond the Atlanticke; which mought be Probably conceived, not to be all Sea: And adding thereto, the Tradition in Plato's Timeus, and his Atlantis, it mought encourage One, to turne it to a Prediction. The third, and Last (which is the Great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in Number, have beene Impostures, and by idle and craftie Braines, meerely contrived and faigned, after the Event Past.
AMBITION is like Choler; Which is an Humour, that maketh Men Active, Earnest, Full of Alacritie, and Stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have his Way, it becommeth Adust, and thereby Maligne and Venomous. So Ambitious Men, if they finde the way Open for their Rising, and still get forward, they are rather Busie then Dangerous; But if they be check’t in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and looke upon Men and matters, with an Evill Eye; And are best pleased, when Things goe backward; Which is the worst Propertie, in a Servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they use Ambitious Men, to handle it so, as they be still Progressive, and not Retrograde: Which because it cannot be without Inconvenience, it is good not to use such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their Service, they will take Order to make their Service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use Men of Ambitious Natures, except it be upon
necessitie, it is fit we speake, in what Cases, they are of necessitie. Good Commanders in the Warres, must be taken, be they never so Ambitious: For the Use of their Service dispenseth with the rest; And to take a Soldier without Ambition, is to pull off his Spurres. There is also great use of Ambitious Men, in being Skreenes to Princes, in Matters of Danger and Envie: For no Man will take that Part, except he be like a Scel'd Dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is Use also of Ambitious Men, in Pulling downe the Greatnesse, of any Subject that over-tops: As Tiberius used Macro in the Pulling down of Seianus. Since therefore they must be used, in such Cases, there resteth to speake, how they are to be brideled, that they may be lesse dangerous. There is lesse danger of them, if they be of Meane Birth, then if they be Noble: And if they be rather Harsh of Nature, then Gracious and Popular: And if they be rather New Raised, then growne Cunning, and Fortified in their Greatnesse. It is counted by some, a weaknesse in Princes, to have Favorites: But it is, of all others, the best Remedy against Ambitious Great-Ones. For when the Way of Pleasuring and Displeasuring, lieth by the Favourite, it is Impossible, Any Other should be Over-great. Another meanes to curbe them, is to Ballance them by others, as Proud as they. But then, there must be some Middle Counsellours, to keep Things steady: For without that Ballast, the Ship will roule too much. At the least, a Prince may animate and inure
some Meaner Persons, to be, as it were, Scourges to *Ambitious Men*. As for the having of them Obnoxious to Ruine, if they be of fearefull Natures, it may doe well: But if they bee Stout, and Daring, it may precipitate their Designes, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them downe, if the Affaires require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddainly, the onely Way is, the Enterchange continually of Favours, and Disgraces; whereby they may not know, what to expect; And be, as it were, in a Wood. Of *Ambitions*, it is lesse harmefull, the *Ambition* to prevaille in great Things, then that other, to appeare in every thing; For that breeds Confusion, and marres Business. But yet, it is lesse danger, to have an *Ambitious* Man, stirring in Business, then Great in Dependances. He that seeketh to be Eminent amongst Able Men, hath a great Taske; but that is ever good for the Publique. But he that plots, to be the onely Figure amongst Ciphars, is the decay of an whole Age. *Honour* hath three Things in it: The Vantage Ground to doe good: The Approach to Kings, and principall Persons: And the Raising of a Mans owne Fortunes. He that hath the best of these Intentions, when he aspireth, is an Honest Man: And that Prince, that can discerne of these Intentions, in Another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States, choose such Ministers, as are more sensible of Duty, then of Rising; And such as love Business rather upon Conscience, then upon Bravery: And let them Discerne a Busie Nature, from a Willing Minde.
**XXXVII**

**Of Masques and Triumphs**

These Things are but Toyes, to come amongst such Serious Observations. But yet, since Princes will have such Things, it is better, they should be Graced with Elegancy, then Daubed with Cost. _Dancing to Song_, is a Thing of great State, and Pleasure. I understand it, that the Song be in Quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musick: And the Ditty fitted to the Device. _Acting in Song_, especially in _Dialogues_, hath an extreme Good Grace: I say _Acting_, not _Dancing_, (For that is a Meane and Vulgar Thing;) And the _Voices_ of the _Dialogue_, would be Strong and Manly, (A Base, and a Tenour; No Treble;) And the _Ditty_ High and Tragicall; Not nice or Dainty. _Severall Quires_, placed one over against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, _Antheme_ wise, give great Pleasure. _Turning Dances into Figure_, is a childish Curiosity. And generally, let it be noted, that those Things, which I here set downe, are such, as doe naturally take the Sense, and not respect Petty Wonderments. It
is true, the *Alterations of Scenes*, so it be quietly, and without Noise, are Things of great Beauty, and Pleasure: For they feed and relieve the Eye, before it be full of the same Obiect. Let the *Scenes* abound with *Light*, specially *Coloured* and *Varied*: And let the Masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the *Scene*, have some Motions, upon the *Scene* it selfe, before their Comming down: For it drawes the Eye strangely, & makes it with great pleasure, to desire to see that, it cannot perfectly discerne. Let the *Songs* be *Loud*, and *Cheerfull*, and not *Chippings*, or *Pulings*. Let the *Musicke* likewise, be *Sharpe*, and *Loud*, and *Well Placed*. The *Colours*, that shew best by Candlelight, are; White, Carnation, and a Kinde of Sea-Water-Greene; And *Oes*, or *Spangs*, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for *Rich Embroidery*, it is lost, and not Discerned. Let the *Sutes* of the *Masquers*, be Gracefull, and such as become the Person, when the Vizars are off: Not after Examples of Knowne Attires; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let *Antimasques* not be long; They have been commonly of Fooles, Satyres, Baboones, Wilde-Men, Antiques, Beasts, Sprites, Witches, Ethiopes, Pigmies, Turquets, Nymphs, Rusticks, Cupids, Statua’s Moving, and the like. As for *Angels*, it is not Comicall enough, to put them in *Anti-Masques*; And any Thing that is hideous, as Devils, Giants, is on the other side as unfit. But chiefly, let the *Musicke* of them, be Recreative, and with some strange Changes. Some *Sweet Odours*, suddenly comming forth, without
any drops falling, are, in such a Company, as there
is Steame and Heate, Things of great Pleasure;
& Refreshment. Double Masques, one of Men,
another of Ladies, addeth State, and Variety.
But All is Nothing, except the Roome be kept
Cleare, and Neat.

For Iusts, and Tourneys, and Barriers; The
Glories of them, are chiefly in the Chariots,
wherein the Challengers make their Entry;
Especially if they be drawne with Strange
Beasts; As Lions, Beares, Cammels, and the
like: Or in the Devices of their Entrance; Or
in the Bravery of their Liveries; Or in the Good-
ly Furniture of their Horses, and Armour. But
enough of these Toyes.
Of Nature in Men

Nature is Often Hidden; Sometimes Overcome; Seldome Extinguished. Force maketh Nature more violent in the Returne: Doctrine and Discourse maketh Nature lesse Importune: But Custome onely doth alter and subdue Nature. Hee that seeketh Victory over his Nature, let him not set Himselfe too great, nor too small Tasks: For the first, will make him deiected by often Faylings; And the Second will make him a small Proceeder, though by often Prevailings. And at the first, let him praetise with Helps, as Swimmers doe with Bladders, or Rushes: But after a Time, let him praetise with disadvantages, as Dancers doe with thick Shooes. For it breeds great Perfection, if the Praetise be harder then the use. Where Nature is Mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be; First to Stay and Arrest Nature in Time; Like to Him, that would say over the Foure and Twenty Letters, when he was Angry: Then to Goe lesse in Quantity; As if one should, in forbearing Wine,
come from Drinking Healths, to a Draught at a Meale: And lastly, to Discontinue altogether. But if a Man have the Fortitude, and Resolution, to enfranchise Himselfe at once, that is the best;

Optimus ille Animi Vindex, lœdentia pellus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.

Neither is the Ancient Rule amisse, to bend Nature as a Wand, to a Contrary Extreme, whereby to set it right: Understanding it, where the Contrary Extreme is no Vice. Let not a man force a Habit upon himselfe, with a Perpetuall Continuance, but with some Intermission. For both the Pause, reinforceth the new Onset; And if a Man, that is not perfect, be ever in Practise, he shall as well practise his Errours, as his Abilities; And induce one Habit of both: And there is no Meanes to helpe this, but by Seasonable Intermissions. But let not a Man trust his Victorie over his Nature too farre; For Nature will lay buried a great Time, and yet revive, upon the Occasion or Temptation. Like as it was with Æsopes Damosell, turned from a Catt to a Woman; who sate very demurely, at the Boards End, till a Mouse ranne before her. Therefore let a Man, either avoid the Occasion altogether; Or put Himselfe often to it, that hee may be little moved with it. A Mans Nature is best perceived in Privatenesse, for there is no Affection; In Passion, for that putteth a Man out of his Precepts; And in a new Case or Experiment, for there Custome leaveth him. They are happie Men, whose Natures sort with their
Vocations; Otherwise they may say, *Multum Incola fuit Anima mea:* when they converse in those Things, they do not Affect. In Studies, whatsoever a Man commandeth upon himselfe, let him set Houres for it: But whatsoever is agreeable to his *Nature,* let him take no Care, for any set Times: For his Thoughts, will flie to it of Themselves; So as the Spaces of other Businesse, or Studies, will suffice. A Mans *Nature* runnes either to Herbes, or Weeds; Therefore let him seasonably Water the One, and Destroy the Other.
Of Custome and Education

MENS Thoughts are much according to their Inclination: Their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning, and Infused Opinions; But their Deeds are after as they have beene Accustomed. And therefore, as Macciavel well noteth (though in an evill favoured Instance) There is no Trusting to the Force of Nature, nor to the Bravery of Words; Except it be Corroborate by Custome. His Instance is, that for the Atchieving of a desperate Conspiracie, a Man should not rest upon the Fiercenesse of any mans Nature, or his Resolute Undertakings; But take such an one, as hath had his Hands formerly in Bloud. But Macciavel knew not of a Friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard: yet his Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagement of Words, are not so forcible, as Custome. Onely Superstition is now so well advanced, that Men of the first Bloud, are as Firme, as Butchers by Occupation: And votary Resolution is made Equipollent to Custome,
even in matter of Bloud. In other Things, the Predominancy of Custome is every where Visible; In so much, as a Man would wonder, to heare Men Professe, Protest, Engage, Give Great Words, and then Doe just as they have Done before: As if they were Dead Images, and Engines moved onely by the wheeles of Custome. We see also the Raigne or Tyrannie of Custome, what it is. The Indians (I meane the Seet of their Wise Men) lay Themselves quietly upon a Stacke of Wood, and so Sacrifice themselves by Fire. Nay the Wives strive to be burned with the Corpses of their Husbands. The Lads of Sparta, of Ancient Time, were wont to be Scourged upon the Altar of Diana, without so much as Queching. I remember in the beginning of Queene Elizabeths time of England, an Irish Rebell Condemned, put up a Petition to the Deputie, that he might be hanged in a With, and not in an Halter, because it had beene so used, with former Rebels. There be Monkes in Russia, for Penance, that will sit a whole Night, in a Vessell of Water, till they be Ingaged with hard Ice. Many Examples may be put, of the Force of Custome, both upon Minde, and Body. Therefore, since Custome is the Principall Magistrate of Mans life; Let Men by all Meanes endeavour, to obtaine good Customes. Certainly, Custome is most perfect, when it beginneth in Young Yeares: This we call Education; which is, in effect, but an Early Custome. So we see, in Languages the Tongue is more Pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Joints are more Supple to all Feats of Ac-
tivitie, and Motions, in Youth then afterwards. For it is true, that late Learners, cannot so well take the Plie; Except it be in some Mindes, that have not suffered themselves to fixe, but have kept themselves open and prepared, to receive continuall Amendment, which is exceeding Rare. But if the Force of Custome Simple and Separate, be Great; the Force of Custome Copulate, and Conioyned, & Collegiate, is far Greater. For there Example teacheth; Company comforteth; Emulation quickeneth; Glory raiseth: So as in such Places the Force of Custome is in his Exaltation. Certainly, the great Multiplication of Vertues upon Humane Nature, resteth upon Societies well Ordained, and Disciplined. For Commonwealths, and Good Governments, doe nourish Vertue Growne, but doe not much mend the Seeds. But the Misery is, that the most Effectuall Meanes, are now applied, to the Ends, least to be desired.
It cannot be denied, but Outward Accidents conduce much to Fortune: Favour, Opportunity, Death of Others, Occasion fitting Vertue. But chiefly, the Mould of a Mans Fortune, is in his owne hands. *Faber quisque Fortuna sue;* saith the Poet. And the most Frequent of Externall Causes is, that the Folly of one Man, is the Fortune of Another. For no Man prospers so suddenly, as by Others Errours. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco.* Overt, and Apparent vertues bring forth Praise; But there be Secret and Hidden Vertues, that bring Forth Fortune. Certaine Deliveries of a Mans Selfe, which have no Name. The Spanish Name, *Desemboltura,* partly expresseth them: When there be not Stonds, nor Restivenesse in a Mans Nature; But that the wheeles of his Minde keepe way, with the wheeles of his Fortune. For so Livie (after he had described *Cato Maior,* in these words; *In illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis & Animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, Fortunam sibi facturus videtur;* )
falleth upon that, that he had, *Versatile Ingenuity*. Therefore, if a Man looke Sharply, and Attentively, he shall see *Fortune*: For though shee be Blinde, yet shee is not Invisible. The Way of *Fortune*, is like the Milken Way in the Skie; Which is a Meeting or Knot, of a Number of Small Stars; Not Seene asunder, but Giving Light together. So are there, a Number of Little, and scarce discerned Vertues, or rather Faculties and Customes, that make Men *Fortunate*. The *Italians* note some of them, such as a Man would little thinke. When they speake of one, that cannot doe amisse, they will throw in, into his other Conditions, that he hath, *Poco di Matto*. And certainly, there be not two more *Fortunate* Properties; Then to have a *Little* of the *Foole*; And not *Too Much* of the *Honest*. Therefore, Extreme Lovers of their Countrey, or Masters, were never *Fortunate*, neither can they be. For when a Man placeth his Thoughts without Himselfe, he goeth not his owne Way. An hastie *Fortune* maketh an Enterpriser, and Remover, (The *French* hath it better; *Entrepreneur*, or *Remuant*) But the Exercised *Fortune* maketh the Able Man. *Fortune* is to be Honoured, and Respected, and it bee but for her *Daughters*, *Confidence*, and *Reputation*. For those two Felicitie breedeth: The first within a Mans Selfe; the Latter, in Others towards Him. All Wise Men, to decline the Envy of their owne vertues, use to ascribe them to Providence and *Fortune*; For so they may the better assume them: And besides, it is Greatnesse in a Man, to be the Care, of the Higher Powers. So *Cæsar*
said to the Pilot in the Tempest, Caesarem portas, & Fortunam eius. So Sylla chose the Name of Felix, and not of Magnus. And it hath beene noted, that those, that ascribe openly too much to their owne Wisdome, and Policie, end Infortunate. It is written, that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the Account he gave to the State, of his Government, often interlaced this Speech; And in this Fortune had no Part; never prospered in any Thing he undertooke afterwards. Certainly, there be, whose Fortunes are like Homers Verses, that have a Slide, and Easiness more then the Verses of other Poets: As Plutarch saith of Timoleons Fortune, in respect of that of Agesilaus, or Epaminondas. And that this should be, no doubt it is much, in a Mans Selfe.
MANY have made Wittie Invectives against Usurie. They say, that it is Pitie, the Devill should have Gods part, which is the Tithe. That the Usurer is the greatest Sabbath Breaker, because his Plough goeth every Sunday. That the Usurer is the Droane, that Virgil speaketh of:

*Ignavum Fucos Pecus à præsepibus arcuent.*

That the Usurer breaketh the First Law, that was made for Mankinde, after the Fall; which was, *In sudore Vultús tui comedes Panem tuum;* Not, *In sudore Vultús alieni.* That Usurers should have Orange-tawney Bonnets, because they doe Judaize. That it is against Nature, for Money to beget Money; And the like. I say this onely, that Usury is a Concessi-

*sum 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. Some Others have made Suspicious, and Cunning Propositions, of Bankes, Discovery of Mens Estates, and other Inventions. But few have spoken of Usury usefully. It is good to set before us, the Incommo-
dities, and Commodities of Usury; That the
Of Usurie

Good may be, either Weighed out, or Culled out; And warily to provide, that while we make forth, to that which is better, we meet not, with that which is worse.

The Discommodities of Usury are: First, that it makes fewer Merchants. For were it not, for this Lazie Trade of Usury, Money would not lie still, but would, in great Part, be Employed upon Merchandizing; Which is the Vena Porta of Wealth in a State. The Second, that it makes Poore Merchants. For as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well, if he sit at a great Rent; So the Merchant cannot drive his Trade so well, if he sit at great Usury. The Third is incident to the other two; And that is, the Decay of Customes of Kings or States, which Ebbe or flow with Merchandizing. The Fourth, that it bringeth the Treasure of a Realme or State, into a few Hands. For the Usurer being at Certainties, and others at Uncertainties, at the end of the Game; Most of the Money will be in the Boxe; And ever a State flourisheth, when Wealth is more equally spread. The Fifth, that it beats downe the Price of Land: For the Employment of Money, is chiefly, either Merchandizing, or Purchasing; And Usury Waylayes both. The Sixth, that it doth Dull and Dampe all Industries, Improvements, and new Inventions, wherein Money would be Stirring, if it were not for this Slugge. The Last, that it is the Canker and Ruine of many Mens Estates; Which in processe of Time breeds a Publike Povertie.

On the other side, the Commodities of Usury
are. First, that howsoever *Usury* in some respect hindereth Merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it: For it is certain, that the Greatest Part of Trade, is driven by Young Merchants, upon Borrowing at Interest: So as if the *Usurer*, either call in, or keepe backe his Money, there will ensue presently a great Stand of Trade. The Second is, That were it not, for this easie borrowing upon *Interest*, Mens necessities would draw upon them, a most sudden undoing; In that they would be forced to sell their Meanes (be it Lands or Goods) farre under Foot; and so, whereas *Usury* doth but Gnaw upon them, Bad Markets would Swallow them quite up. As for Mortgaging, or Pawning, it will little mend the matter; For either Men will not take Pawnes without *Use*; Or if they doe, they will looke precisely for the Forfeiture. I remember a Cruell Moneyed Man, in the Country; that would say; The Devill take this *Usury*, it keepes us from Forfeitures, of Mortgages, and Bonds. The third and Last is; That it is a Vanitie to conceive, that there would be Ordinary Borrowing without Profit; And it is impossible to conceive, the Number of Inconveniences, that will ensue, if Borrowing be Cramped. Therefore, to speake of the Abolishing of *Usury* is Idle. All States have ever had it, in one Kinde or Rate, or other. So as that Opinion must be sent to *Utopia*.

To speake now, of the *Reformation and Reglement* of *Usury*; How the *Discommodities* of it may be best avoided, and the *Commodities* retained. It appeares by the Ballance, of *Com*-
modities, and Discommodities of Usury, Two Things are to be Reconciled. The one, that the Tooth of Usurie be grinded, that it bite not too much: The other, that there bee left open a Meanes, to invite Moneyed Men, to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce, two severall Sorts of Usury; A Lesse, and a Greater. For if you reduce Usury, to one Low Rate, it will ease the common Borrower, but the Merchant will be to seeke for Money. And it is to be noted, that the Trade of Merchandize, being the most Lucrative, may beare Usury at a good Rate; Other Contracts not so.

To serve both Intentions, the way would be briefly thus. That there be Two Rates of Usury, The one Free, and Generall for All; The other under Licence only, to Certaine Persons, and in Certaine Places of Merchandizing. First therefore, let Usury, in generall, be reduced to Five in the Hundred; And let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Current; And let the State shut it selfe out, to take any Penalty for the same. This will preserve Borrowing from any generall Stop or Drinesse. This will ease infinite Borrowers in the Countrie. This will, in good Part, raise the Price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteene yeares Purchase, will yeeld Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Interest, Yeelds but Five. This, by like reason, will Encourage and edge, Industrious and Profitable Improvements; Because Many will rather venture in that kinde, then take Five in the Hundred, especially hav-
ing beene used to greater Profit. Secondly, let there be Certaine Persons licensed to Lend, to knowne Merchants, upon Usury at a Higher Rate; and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, even with the Merchant himselfe, somewhat more easie, then that he used formerly to pay: For, by that Meanes, all Borrowers shall have some ease, by this Reformation, be he Merchant, or whosoever. Let it be no Banke or Common Stocke, but every Man be Master of his owne Money: Not that I altogether Mislike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the State be answered, some small Matter, for the Licence, and the rest left to the Lender: For if the Abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the Lender. For he, for Example, that tooke before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, wil sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred, then give over his Trade of Usury; And goe from Certaine Gaines, to Gaines of Hazard. Let these Licenced Lenders be in Number Indefinite, but restrained to Certaine Principall Cities and Townes of Merchandizing: For then they will be hardly able, to Colour other Mens Moneyes, in the Country: So as the Licence of Nine, will not sucke away the current Rate of Five: For no Man will Lend his Moneyes farre off, nor put them into Unknown Hands.

If it be Obieected, that this doth, in a Sort, Authorize Usury, which before was, in some places, but Permissive: The Answer is; That it is better, to Mitigate Usury by Declaration, then to suffer it to Rage by Connivence.
Of Youth and Age

A MAN that is Young in yeares, may be Old in Houres, if he have lost no Time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first Cogitations, not so Wise as the Second. For there is a youth in thoughts as well as in Ages. And yet the Invention of Young Men, is more lively, then that of Old: And Imaginations streame into their Mindes better, and, as it were, more Divinely. Natures that have much Heat, and great and violent desires and Perturbations, are not ripe for Action, till they have passed the Meridian of their yeares: As it was with Iulius Caesar, & Septimius Severus. Of the latter of whom, it is said; Inventutem egit, Erroribus, imd Furoribus, plenam. And yet he was the Ablest Emperour, almost, of all the List. But Reposed Natures may doe well in Youth. As it is seene, in Augustus Caesar, Cosmus Duke of Florence, Gaston de Fois, and others. On the other side, Heate and Vi
vacity in Age, is an Excellent Composition for Businesse. Young Men, are Fitter to Invent,
then to Judge; Fitter for Execution, then for Counsell; And Fitter for New Projects, then for Setled Business. For the Experience of Age, in Things that fall within the compass of it, directs them; But in New Things, abuses them. The Errors of Young Men are the Ruine of Business; But the Errors of Aged Men amount but to this; That more might have beene done, or sooner. Young Men, in the Conduct, and Management of Actions, Embrace more then they can Hold, Stirre more then they can Quiet; Fly to the End, without Consideration of the Meanes, and Degrees; Pursue some few Principles, which they have chanced upon absurdly; Care not to Innovate, which draws unknowne Inconveniences; Use extreme Remedies at first; And, that which doubleth all Errors, will not acknowledge or retract them; Like an unready Horse, that will neither Stop, nor Turne. Men of Age, Obiect too much, Consult too long, Adventure too little, Repent too soone, and seldom drive Business home to the full Period; But content themselves with a Mediocrity of Success. Certainly, it is good to compound Employments of both; For that will be Good for the Present, because the Vertues of either Age, may correct the defects of both: And good for Succession, that Young Men may be Learners, while Men in Age are Actors: And lastly, Good for Externe Accidents, because Authority followeth Old Men, And Favour and Popularity Youth. But for the Morall Part, perhaps Youth will have the preheminence, as Age hath for the Politique. A certaine Rabbin,
Of Youth and Age

upon the Text; *Your Young Men shall see visions, and your Old Men shall dreame dreames;* Inferreth, that *Young Men* are admitted nearer to God then *Old;* Because *Vision* is a clearer Revelation, then a *Dreame.* And certainly, the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth; And *Age* doth profit rather in the Powers of Understanding, then in the Vertues of the Will and Affections. There be some have an Over-early Ripenesse in their yeares, which fadeth betimes: These are first, Such as have Brittle Wits, the Edge whereof is soone turned; Such as was Hermogenes the Rhetorician, whose Books are exceeding Subtill; Who afterwards waxed Stupid. A Second Sort is of those, that have some naturall Dispositions, which have bet-ter Grace in *Youth,* then in *Age:* Such as is a fluent and Luxuriant Speech; which becomes *Youth* well, but not *Age:* So Tully saith of Hortensius; *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat.* The third is of such, as take too high a Straine at the First; And are Magnanimous, more then Tract of yeares can uphold. As was *Scipio Afric anus,* of whom *Livy* saith in effect; *Ultima primis cedebant.*
Of Beauty

VERTUE is like a Rich Stone, best plaine set: And surely, Vertue is best in a Body, that is comely, though not of Delicate Features: And that hath rather Dignity of Presence, then Beauty of Aspect. Neither is it almost seen, that very Beautifull Persons, are otherwise of great Vertue; As if Nature, were rather Busie not to erre, then in labour, to produce Excellency. And therefore, they prove Accomplished, but not of great Spirit; And Study rather Behaviour, then Vertue. But this holds not alwaies; For Augustus Casar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Belle of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sophy of Persia, were all High and Great Spirits; And yet the most Beautifull Men of their Times. In Beauty, that of Favour, is more then that of Colour, And that of Decent and Gracious Motion, more then that of Favour. That is the best Part of Beauty, which a Picture cannot expresse; No nor the first Sight of the Life. There is no Excellent Beauty, that hath not some Strange-
Of Beauty

ness in the Proportion. A Man cannot tell, whether Apelles, or Albert Durer, were the more Trifler: Whereof the one would make a Personage by Geometricall Proportions: The other, by taking the best Parts out of divers Faces, to make one Excellent. Such Personages, I thinke, would please no Body, but the Painter, that made them. Not but I thinke a Painter, may make a better Face, then ever was; But he must doe it, by a kinde of Felicity, (As a Musician that maketh an excellent Ayre in Musick) And not by Rule. A Man shall see Faces, that if you examine them, Part by Part, you shall finde never a good; And yet all together doe well. If it be true, that the Principall Part of Beauty, is in decent Motion, certainly it is no marvaile, though Persons in Yeares, seeme many times more Amiable; Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher: For no Youth can be comely, but by Pardon, and considering the Youth, as to make up the comelinesse. Beauty is as Summer-Fruits, which are easie to corrupt, and cannot last: And, for the most part, it makes a dissolute Youth, and an Age a little out of countenance: But yet certainly againe, if it light well, it maketh Vertues shine, and Vices blush.
Of Deformity

DEFORMED Persons are commonly even with Nature: For as Nature hath done ill by them; So doe they by Nature: Being for the most part, (as the Scripture saith) void of Naturall Affection; And so they have their Revenge of Nature. Certainly there is a Consent between the Body and the Minde; And where Nature erreth in the One, she ventureth in the Other. *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero.* But because, there is in Man, an Election touching the Frame of his Minde, and a Necessity in the Frame of his Body, the Starres of Naturall Inclination, are sometimes obscured, by the Sun of Discipline, and Vertue. Therefore, it is good to consider of Deformity, not as a Signe, which is more Deceivable; But as a Cause, which seldome faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any Thing fixed in his Person, that doth endue Contempt, hath also a perpetuall Spurre in himselfe, to rescue and deliver himselfe from Scorne: Therefore all Deformed Persons are extreme Bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being
exposed to Scorn; But in Process of Time, by a Generall Habit. Also it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kinde, to watch and observe the Weaknesse of Others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Againe, in their Superiours, it quencheth Icalousie towards them, as Persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: And it layeth their Competitours and Emulatours asleepe; As never beleeving, they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in Possession. So that, upon the matter, in a great Wit, Deformity is an Advantage to Rising. Kings in Ancient Times, (And at this present in some Countries,) were wont to put Great Trust in Eunuchs; Because they, that are Envious towards All, are more Obnoxious and Officious towards One. But yet their Trust towards them, hath rather beene as to good Spialls, and good Whisperers; then good Magistrates, and Officers. And much like is the Reason of Deformed Persons. Still the Ground is, they will, if they be of Spirit, seeke to free themselves from Scorne; Which must be, either by Vertue, or Malice: And therefore, let it not be Marvelled, if sometimes they prove Excellent Persons; As was Agesilaus, Zanger the Sonne of Solyman, Æsopæ, Gasca President of Peru; And Socrates may goe likewise amongst them; with Others.
Of Building

Houses are built to Live in, and not to Looke on: Therefore let Use bee preferred before Uniformitie; Except where both may be had. Leave the Goodly Fabrickes of Houses, for Beautie only, to the Enchanted Pallaces of the Poets: Who build them with small Cost. Hee that builds a faire House, upon an ill Seat, committeth Himselfe to Prison. Neither doe I reckon it an ill Seat, only, where the Aire is Unwholsome; But likewise where the Aire is unequall; As you shall see many Fine Seats, set upon a knap of Ground, Environed with Higher Hilles round about it: whereby the Heat of the Sunne is pent in, and the Wind gathereth as in Troughes; So as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great Diversitie of Heat and Cold, as if you Dwelt in severall Places. Neither is it ill Aire onely, that maketh an ill Seat, but Ill Wayes, Ill Markets; And, if you will consult with Momus, Ill Neighbours. I speake not of many More: Want of Water; Want of Wood, Shade, and Shelter; Want of Fruitfulnesse, and mixture of Grounds of severall Natures; Want
of Prospect; Want of Levell Grounds; Want of Places, at some neare Distance, for Sports of Hunting, Hauking, and Races; Too neare the Sea, too remote; Having the Commoditie of Navigable Rivers, or the discommoditie of their Overflowing; Too farre off from great Cities, which may hinder Businesse; Or too neare them, which Lurcheth all Provisions, and maketh every Thing deare: Where a Man hath a great Living laid together, and where he is scanted: All which, as it is impossible, perhaps, to finde together, so it is good to know them, and thinke of them, that a Man may take as many as he can: And if he have severall Dwellings, that he sort them so, that what hee wanteth in the One, hee may finde in the Other. *Lucullus* answered *Pompey* well; Who when hee saw his Stately Galleries, and Roomes, so Large and Lightsome, in one of his *Houses*, said; *Surely, an excellent Place for Summer, but how doe you in Winter?* *Lucullus* answered; *Why, doe you not think me as wise, as some Fowle are, that ever change their Aboad towards the Winter?*

To passe from the *Seat*, to the *House* it selfe; We will doe as *Cicero* doth, in the Oratours Art; Who writes Bookes *De Oratore*, and a Booke he entitles *Orator*: Whereof the Former delivers the Precepts of the *Art*; And the Latter the *Perfection*. We will therefore describe a *Princely Pallace*, making a briefe Modell thereof. For it is strange to see, now in *Europe*, such Huge *Buildings*, as the *Vatican*, and *Escuriall*, and some Others be, and yet scarce a very *Faire Roome* in them.
First therefore, I say, you cannot have a Perfect Pallace, except you have two several Sides; A Side for the Banquet, as is spoken of in the Booke of Hester; And a Side; for the Houshold: The One for Feasts and Triumphs, and the Other for Dwelling. I understand both these Sides, to be not onely Returns, but Parts of the Front; And to be uniforme without, though severally Partitioned within; And to be on both Sides, of a Great and Stately Tower, in the Middest of the Front; That as it were, ioyneth them together, on either Hand. I would have on the Side of the Banquet, in Front, one only Goodly Roome, above Staires, of some Fortie Foot high; And under it, a Roome, for a Dressing or Preparing Place, at Times of Triumphs. On the other Side, which is the Houshold Side, I wish it divided at the first, into a Hall, and a Chappell, (with a Partition betweene;) Both of good State, and Bignesse: And those not to goe all the length, but to have, at the further end, a Winter, and a Summer Parler, both Faire. And under these Roomes, A Faire and Large Cellar, suncke under Ground: And likewise, some Privie Kitchens, with Butteries, and Pantries, and the like. As for the Tower, I would have it two Stories, of Eightene Foot High a piece, above the two Wings; And a Goodly Leads upon the Top, railed with Statua's interposed; And the same Tower to bee divided into Roomes, as shall be thought fit. The Staires likewise, to the upper Roomes, let them bee upon a Faire open Newell, and finely raild in, with Images of Wood, cast into a Brasse Colour:
And a very faire *Landing Place* at the Top. But this to be, if you doe not point, any of the lower Roomes, for a Dining Place of Servants. For otherwise, you shall have the Servants Dinner, after your owne: For the Steame of it will come up as in a Tunnell. And so much for the *Front*. Only, I understand the Height of the first Staires, to be Sixteene Foot, which is the Height of the Lower Roome.

Beyond this *Front*, is there to be a Faire *Court*, but three Sides of it, of a Farre Lower building, then the *Front*. And in all the four Corners of that Court, Faire Staire Cases, cast into *Turrets*, on the Outside, and not within the Row of *Buildings* themselves. But those *Towers*, are not to be of the Height of the *Front*; But rather Proportionable to the Lower *Building*. Let the *Court* not be paved, for that striketh up a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in Winter. But onely some Side Alleys, with a Crosse, and the *Quarters* to Graze, being kept Shorne, but not too neare Shorne. The *Row of Returne*, on the *Banquet Side*, Let it be all *Stately Galleries*; In which *Galleries*, Let there be three, or five, fine *Cupola's*, in the Length of it, placed at equall distance: And fine *Coloured Windowes* of severall workes. On the Houshold Side, *Chambers of Presence*, and Ordinary Entertainments, with some *Bedchambers*; And let all three Sides, be a double House, without Thorow Lights, on the Sides, that you may have Roomes from the Sunne, both for Fore-noone, and After-noone. Cast it also, that you may have Roomes, both for Sum-
mer, and Winter: Shadie for Summer, and Warme for Winter. You shall have sometimes Faire Houses, so full of Glasse, that one cannot tell, where to become, to be out of the Sunne, or Cold: For Inbowed Windowes, I hold them of good Use; (In Cities indeed, Upright doe better, in respect of the Uniformitie towards the Street;) For they bee Prettie Retiring Places for Conference; And besides, they keepe both the Wind, and Sunne off: For that which would strike almost thorow the Roome, doth scarce passe the Window. But let them be but few, Foure in the Court, On the Sides onely.

Beyond this Court, let there be an Inward Court of the same Square, and Height; Which is to be environed, with the Garden, on all Sides; And in the Inside, Cloistered on all Sides, upon Decent and Beautiful Arches, as High as the first Story. On the Under Story, towards the Garden, Let it be turned to a Grotta, or Place of Shade, or Estivation. And onely have opening and Windowes towards the Garden; And be Levell upon the Floare, no whit sunke under Ground, to avoid all Dampishnesse. And let there be a Fountaine, or some faire Worke of Statua's, in the Middest of this Court; And to be Paved as the other Court was. These Buildings to be for Privie Lodgings, on both Sides; And the End, for Privie Galleries. Whereof, you must fore-see, that one of them, be for an Infirmary, if the Prince, or any Speciall Person should be Sicke, with Chambers, Bed-chamber, Anticamera, and Recamera, ioyning to it. This upon the Second
Of Building

Story. Upon the Ground Story, a Faire Gallery, Open, upon Pillars: And upon the Third Story likewise, an Open Gallery upon Pillars, to take the Prospect, and Freshnesse of the Garden. At both Corners of the further Side, by way of Returne, Let there be two Delicate or Rich Cabinets, Daintily Paved, Richly Hanged, Glased with Crystalline Glasse, and a Rich Cupola in the Middest; And all other Elegancie that may be thought upon. In the Upper Gallery too, I wish that there may be, if the Place will yeeld it, some Fountains Running, in divers Places, from the Wall, with some fine Avoidances. And thus much, for the Modell of the Pallace: Save that, you must have, before you come to the Front, three Courts. A Greene Court Plain, with a Wall about it: A Second Court of the same, but more Garnished, with little Turrets, or rather Embellishments, upon the Wall: And a Third Court, to make a Square with the Front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a Naked Wall, but enclosed with Tarrasses, Leaded aloft, and fairely garnished, on the three Sides; And Cloistered on the Inside, with Pillars, and not with Arches Below. As for Offices, let them stand at Distance, with some Low Galleries, to passe from them, to the Pallace it Selfe.
GOD Almighty first Planted a Garden. And indeed, it is the Purest of Humane pleasures. It is the Greatest Refreshment to the Spirits of Man; Without which, Buildings and Pallaces are but Grosse Handy-works: And a Man shall ever see, that when Ages grow to Civility and Elegancie, Men come to Build Stately, sooner then to Garden Finely: As if Gardening were the Greater Perfection. I doe hold it, in the Royall Ordering of Gardens, there ought to be Gardens, for all the Moneths in the Yeare: In which, severally, Things of Beautie, may be then in Season. For December, and January, and the Latter Part of November, you must take such Things, as are Greene all Winter: Holly; Ivy; Bayes; Juniper; Cipresse Trees; Eugh; Pine-Apple-Trees; Firre-Trees; Rose-Mary; Lavander; Periwinckle, the White, the Purple, and the Blewe; Germander; Flagges; Orenge-Trees; Limon-Trees; And Mirtles, if they be stooved; & Sweet Marioram warme set. There followeth, for the latter Part of January, and February, the Mezerion Tree, which then blossomes; Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow,
and the Gray; Prime-Roses; Anemones; The Early Tulippa; Hiacynthus Orientalis; Chamäris; Frettellaria. For March, There come Violets, specially the Single Blew, which are the Earliest; The Yellow Daffadill; The Dazie; The Almond-Tree in Blossome; The Peach-Tree in Blossome; The Cornelian-Tree in Blossome; Sweet-Briar. In April follow, The Double white Violet; The Wall-flower; The Stock-Gilly-Flower; The Couslip; Flower-Delices, & Lillies of all Natures; Rose-mary Flowers; The Tulippa; The Double Piony; The Pale Daffadill; The French Honny-Suckle; The Cherry-Tree in Blossome; The Dammasin, and Plum-Trees in Blossome; The White-Thorne in Leafe; The Lelacke Tree. In May, and June, come Pincks of all sorts, Specially the Blush Pincke; Roses of all kinds, except the Muske, which comes later; Hony-Suckles; Strawberries; Buglosse; Columbine; The French Mary-gold; Flos Africanus; Cherry-Tree in Fruit; Ribes; Figges in Fruit; Raspes; Vine Flowers; Lavender in Flowers; The Sweet Satyrian, with the White Flower; Herba Muscaria; Lilium Convallium; The Apple-tree in Blossome. In July, come Gilly-Flowers of all Varieties; Muske Roses; The Lime-Tree in blossome; Early Peares, and Plummes in Fruit; Ginnitings; Quadlins. In August, come Plummes of all sorts in Fruit; Peares; Apricockes; Berberries; Fildberds; Muske-Melons; Monks Hoods, of all colours. In September, come Grapes; Apples; Poppies of all colours; Peaches; Melocotones; Nectarines; Cornelians; Wardens;
Quinces. In October, and the beginning of November, come Services; Medlars; Bullises; Roses Cut or Removed to come late; Holly-okes; and such like. These Particulars are for the Climate of London; But my meaning is Perceived, that you may have Ver Perpetuum, as the Place affords.

And because, the Breath of Flowers, is farre Sweeter in the Aire, (where it comes and Goes, like the Warbling of Musick) then in the hand, therfore nothing is more fit for that delight, then to know, what be the Flowers, and Plants, that doe best perfume the Aire. Roses Damask & Red, are fast Flowers of their Smels; So that; you may walke by a whole Row of them, and finde Nothing of their Sweetnesse; Yea though it be, in a Mornings Dew. Bayes likewise yeeld no Smell, as they grow. Rosemary little; Nor Sweet-Marioram. That, which above all Others, yeelds the Sweetest Smell in the Aire, is the Violet; Specially the White-double-Violet, which comes twice a Yeare; About the middle of Aprill, and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is, the Muske-Rose. Then the Strawberry-Leaves dying, which [yeeld] a most Excellent Cordiall Smell. Then the Flower of the Vines; It is a little dust, like the dust of a Bent, which growes upon the Cluster, in the First comming forth. Then Sweet Briar. Then Wall-Flowers, which are very Delightfull, to be set under a Parler, or Lower Chamber Window. Then Pincks, and Gilly-Flowers, specially the Matted Pinck, & Clove Gilly-flower. Then the Flowers of the Lime tree. Then the Hony-Suckles, so they be
somewhat a farre off. Of Beane Flowers I speake not, because they are Field Flowers. But those which Perfume the Aire most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being Troden upon and Crushed, are Three: That is Burnet, Wilde-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore, you are to set whole Allies of them, to have the Pleasure, when you walke or tread.

For Gardens, (Speaking of those, which are indeed Prince-like, as we have done of Buildings) the Contents, ought not well to be, under Thirty Acres of Ground; And to be divided into three Parts: A Greene in the Entrance; A Heath or Desart in the Going forth; * And the Maine Garden in the midst; Besides Alleys, on both Sides. And I like well, that Foure Acres of Ground, be assigned to the Greene; Six to the Heath; Foure and Foure to either Side; And Twelve to the Maine Garden. The Greene hath two pleasures; The one, because nothing is more Pleasant to the Eye, then Greene Grasse kept finely shorne; The other, because it will give you a faire Alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a Stately Hedge, which is to inclose the Garden. But, because the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Yeare, or Day, you ought not to buy the shade in the Garden, by Going in the Sunne thorow the Greene, therefore you are, of either Side the Greene, to Plant a Covert Alley, upon Carpenters Worke, about Twelve Foot in Height, by which you may goe in Shade, into the Garden. As for the Making of Knots, or Figures, with Divers Coloured Earths, that they may lie un-
der the Windowes of the House, on that Side, which the Garden stands, they be but Toyes: You may see as good Sights, many times, in Tarts. The Garden is best to be Square; Incompassed, on all the Foure Sides, with a Stately Arched Hedge. The Arches to be upon Pillars, of Carpenters Worke, of some Ten Foot high, and Six Foot broad: And the Spaces between, of the same Dimension, with the Breadth of the Arch. Over the Arches, let there bee an Entire Hedge, of some Four Foot High, framed also upon Carpenters Worke: And upon the Upper Hedge, over every Arch, a little Turret, with a Belly, enough to receive a Cage of Birds: And over every Space, betwixt the Arches, some other little Figure, with Broad Plates of Round Coloured Glasse, gilt, for the Sunne, to Play upon. But this Hedge I intend to be, raised upon a Bancke, not Steepe, but gently Slope, of some Six Foot, set all with Flowers. Also I understand, that this Square of the Garden, should not be the whole Breadth of the Ground, but to leave, on either Side, Ground enough, for diversity of Side Alleys: Unto which, the Two Covert Alleys of the Greene, may deliver you. But there must be, no Alleys with Hedges, at either End, of this great Inclosure: Not at the Hither End, for letting your Prospect upon this Faire Hedge from the Greene; Nor at the Further End, for letting your Prospect from the Hedge, through the Arches, upon the Heath.

For the Ordering of the Ground, within the Great Hedge, I leave it to Variety of Device; Advising nevertheless, that whatsoever forme
you cast it into, first it be not too Busie, or full of Worke. Wherein I, for my part, doe not like Images Cut out in Juniper, or other Garden stuffe: They be for Children. Little low Hedges, Round, like Welts, with some Pretty Pyramids, I like well: And in some Places, Faire Columnnes upon Frames of Carpenters Worke. I would also, have the Alleys, Spacious and Faire. You may have Closer Alleys upon the Side Grounds, but none in the Maine Garden. I wish also, in the very Middle, a Faire Mount, with three Ascents, and Alleys, enough for foure to walke a breast; Which I would have to be Perfect Circles, without any Bulwarkes, or Imbosments; And the Whole Mount, to be Thirty Foot high; And some fine Banquetting House, with some Chimneys neatly cast, and without too much Glasse.

For Fountaines, they are a great Beauty, and Refreshment; But Pooles marre all, and make the Garden unwholsome, and full of Flies, and Frogs. Fountaines I intend to be of two Natures: The One, that Sprinkleth or Spouteth Water; The Other a Faire Receipt of Water, of some Thirty or Forty Foot Square, but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the first, the Ornaments of Images Gilt, or of Marble, which are in use, doe well: But the maine Matter is, so to Convey the Water, as it never Stay, either in the Bowles, or in the Cesterne; That the Water be never by Rest Discoloured, Greene, or Red, or the like; Or gather any Mossiness or Putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the Hand. Also some Steps up
to it, and some Fine Pavement about it, doth well. As for the other Kinde of Fountaine, which we may call a Bathing Poole, it may admit much Curiosity, and Beauty; wherewith we will not trouble our selves: As, that the Bot-tome be finely Paved, And with Images: The sides likewise; And withall Embellish'd with Coloured Glasse, and such Things of Lustre; Encompassed also, with fine Railes of Low Sta-tua's. But the Maine Point is the same, which we mentioned, in the former Kinde of Fountaine; which is, that the Water be in Perpetuall Mo-tion, Fed by a Water higher then the Poole, and Delivered into it by faire Spouts, and then dis-charged away under Ground, by some Equalitie of Bores, that it stay little. And for fine De-vices, of Arching Water without Spilling, and Making it rise in severall Formes, (of Feathers, Drinking Glasses, Canopies, and the like,) they be pretty things to looke on, but Nothing to Health and Sweetnesse.

For the Heath, which was the Third Part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a Naturall wildnesse. Trees I would have none in it; But some Thickets, made onely of Sweet-Briar, and Honny-sucke, and some Wilde Vine amongst; And the Ground set with Violets, Strawberries, and Prime-Roses. For these are Sweet, and prosper in the Shade. And these to be in the Heath, here and there, not in any Order. I like also little Heaps, in the Nature of Mole-hils, (such as are in Wilde Heaths) to be set, some with Wilde Thyme; Some with Pincks; Some with Germander, that gives a
Of Gardens

good Flower to the Eye; Some with Periwinkle; Some with Violets; Some with Strawberries; Some with Couslips; Some with Daisies; Some with Red-Roses; Some with Lilium Convallium; Some with Sweet-Williams Red; Some with Beares-Foot; And the like Low Flowers, being withal Sweet, and Sightly. Part of which Heapes, to be with Standards, of little Bushes, prickt upon their Top, and Part without. The Standards to be Roses; Juniper; Holly; Beare-berries (but here and there, because of the Smell of their Blossome;) Red Currans; Goose-berries; Rose-Mary; Bayes; Sweet-Briar; and such like. But these Standards, to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Course.

For the Side Grounds, you are to fill them with Varietie of Alleys, Private, to give a full Shade; Some of them, wheresoever the Sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for Shelter, that when the Wind blows Sharpe, you may walke, as in a Gallery. And those Alleys must be likewise hedged, at both Ends, to keepe out the Wind; And these Closer Alleys, must bee ever finely Gravelled, and no Grasse, because of Going wet. In many of these Alleys likewise, you are to set Fruit-Trees of all Sorts; As well upon the Walles, as in Ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the Borders, wherin you plant your Fruit-Trees, be Faire and Large, and Low, and not Steelepe; And Set with Fine Flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they Deceive the Trees. At the End of both the Side Grounds, I would have a Mount
of some Pretty Height, leaving the Wall of the Enclosure Brest high, to looke abroad into the Fields.

For the Maine Garden, I doe not Deny, but there should be some Faire Alleys, ranged on both Sides, with Fruit Trees; And some Pretty Tufts of Fruit Trees, And Arbours with Seats, set in some Decent Order; But these to be, by no Meanes, set too thicke; But to leave the Maine Garden, so as it be not close, but the Aire Open and Free. For as for Shade, I would have you rest, upon the Alleys of the Side Grounds, there to walke, if you be Disposed, in the Heat of the Yeare, or day; But to make Account, that the Maine Garden, is for the more Temperate Parts of the yeare; And in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning, and the Evening, or Over-cast Dayes.

For Aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that Largenesse, as they may be Turffed, and have Living Plants, and Bushes, set in them; That the Birds may have more Scope, and Naturall Neastling, and that no Foulenesse appeare, in the Floare of the Aviary. So I have made a Platforme of a Princely Garden, Partly by Precept, Partly by Drawing, not a Modell, but some generall Lines of it; And in this I have spared for no Cost. But it is Nothing, for Great Princes, that for the most Part, taking Advice with Workmen, with no Lesse Cost, set their Things together; And sometimes addde Statud's, and such Things, for State, and Magnificence, but nothing to the true Pleasure of a Garden.
It is generally better to *deale* by Speech, then by Letter; And by the Mediation of a Third, then by a Mans Selfe. Letters are good, when a Man would draw an Answer by Letter backe againe; Or when it may serve, for a Mans Justification, afterwards to produce his owne Letter; Or where it may be Danger to be interrupted, or heard by Peeces. To *deale in Person* is good, when a Mans Face breedeth Regard, as Commonly with Inferiours; Or in Tender Cases, where a Mans Eye, upon the Countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a Direction, how farre to goe: And generally, where a Man will reserve to himselfe Libertie, either to Disavow, or to Expound. In Choice of *Instruments*, it is better, to choose Men of a Plainer Sort, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the Successe; Then those, that are Cunning to Contrive out of other Mens Business, somewhat to grace themselves; And will helpe the Matter, in Report, for Satisfaction.
sake. Use also, such Persons, as affect the Businesse, wherin they are Employed; For that quickneth much; And such, as are Fit for the Matter; As Bold Men for Expostulation, Faire spoken Men for Perswasion, Craftie Men for Enquiry and Observation, Froward and Absurd Men for Businesse that doth not well beare out it Selfe. Use also such, as have beene Luckie, and Prevailed before in Things wherein you have Emploied them; For that breeds Confidence, and they will strive to maintaine their Prescription. It is better, to sound a Person, with whom one Deales, a farre off, then to fall upon the Point at first; Except you meane to surprize him by some Short Question. It is better Dealing with Men in Appetite, then with those that are where they would be. If a Man Deale with another upon Conditions, the Start or First Performance is all; Which a Man cannot reasonably Demaund, except either the Nature of the Thing be such, which must goe before; Or Else a Man can perswade the other Partie, that hee shall still need him, in some other Thing; Or else that he be counted the Honester Man. All Practise, is to Discover, or to Worke. Men Discover themselves, in Trust; In Passion; At unawares; And of Necessitie, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt Pretext. If you would Worke any Man, you must either know his Nature, and Fashions, and so Lead him; Or his Ends, and so Perswade him; Or his Weaknesse, and Disadvantages, and so Awe him; or those that have Interest in him, and so Governe him. In
Dealing with Cunning Persons, we must ever Consider their Ends, to interpret their Speeches; And it is good, to say little to them, and that which they least looke for. In all Negotiations of Difficultie, a Man may not looke, to Sowe and Reape at once; But must Prepare Busi-nessse, and so Ripen it by Degrees.
COSTLY Followers are not to be liked; Lest while a Man maketh his Traine Longer, hee make his Wings Shorter. I reckon to bee Costly, not them alone, which charge the Purse, but which are Wearisome and Importune in Sutes. Ordinary Followers ought to challenge no Higher Conditions, then Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from Wrongs. Factious Followers are worse to be liked, which Follow not upon Affection to him, with whom they range Themselves, but upon Discontentment Conceived against some Other: Whereupon commonly ensueth, that Ill Intelligence, that we many times see betwenee Great Personages. Likewise Glorious Followers, who make themselves as Trumpets, of the Commendation of those they Follow, are full of Inconvenience; For they taint Businesse through Want of Secrecie; And they Export Honour from a Man, and make him a Returne in Envie. There is a Kinde of Followers likewise, which are Dangerous, being indeed Espials; which
enquire the Secrets of the House, and beare Tales of them to Others. Yet such Men, many times, are in great Favour; For they are Officious, And commonly Exchange Tales. The Following by certaine Estates of Men, answerable to that, which a Great Person himselfe professeth, (as of Soldiers to him that hath been Employed in the Warres, and the like,) hath ever beene a Thing Civill, and well taken even in Monarchies; So it be without too much Pompe or Popularitie. But the most Honourable Kinde of Following, is to be Followed, as one that apprehendeth, to advance Vertue and Desert, in all Sorts of Persons. And yet, where there is no Eminent Odds in Sufficiencie, it is better to take with the more Passable, then with the more Able. And besides, to speake Truth, in Base Times, Active Men are of more use, then Vertuous. It is true, that in Government, it is Good to use Men of one Rancke equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them Insolent, and the rest Discontent; Because they may claime a Due. But contrariwise in Favour, to use Men with much Difference and Election, is Good; For it maketh the Persons Preferred more Thankfull, and the Rest more officious; Because all is of Favour. It is good Discretion, not to make too much of any Man, at the first; Because One cannot hold out that Proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by One, is not safe: For it shewes Softnesse, and gives a Freedome to Scandal and Disreputation: For those that would not Censure, or Speake ill of a Man immediatly, will talke more
boldly of Those, that are so great with them, and thereby Wound their Honour. Yet to be Distracted with many is Worse; For it makes Men, to be of the Last Impression, and full of Change. To take Advice of some few Frends is ever Honourable; *For Lookers on, many times, see more then Gamesters; And the Vale best discovereth the Hill.* There is Little Frends-ship in the World, and Least of all betweene Equals, which was wont to be Magnified. That that is, is between Superiour and Inferiour, whose Fortunes may Comprehend, the One the Other.
XLIX

Of Sutours

MANY ill Matters and Projects are undertaken; And Private Sutes do Putrifie the Publique Good. Many Good Matters are undertaken with Bad Mindes; I meane not onely Corrupt Mindes, but Craftie Mindes, that intend not Performance. Some embrace Sutes, which never meane to deale effectuallie in them; But if they see, there may be life in the Matter, by some other meane, they will be content to winne a Thanke, or take a Second Reward, or at least to make Use, in the meane time, of the Sutours Hopes. Some take hold of Sutes, onely for an Occasion, to Crosse some other; Or to make an Information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt Pretext; without Care what become of the Sute, when that Turne is served: Or generally, to make other Mens Businesse, a Kinde of Entertainment, to bring in their owne. Nay, some undertake Sutes, with a full Purpose, to let them fall; To the end, to gratifie the Adverse Partie, or Competitour. Surely, there is, in some sort, a Right in every Sute: Either a
Right of Equity, if it be a Sute of Controversie; Or a Right of Desert, if it be a Sute of Petition. If Affection lead a Man, to favour the Wrong Side in Justice, let him rather use his Countenance, to Compound the Matter, then to Carry it. If Affection lead a Man, to favour the lesse Worthy in Desert, let him doe it without Depraving or Disabling the Better Deserver. In Sutes, which a man doth not well understand, it is good to referre them, to some Frend of Trust and Judgement, that may report whether hee may deale in them with Honour: But let him chuse well his Referendaries, for else he may be led by the Nose. Sutours are so distasted with Delayes, and Abuses, that Plaine Dealing, in denying to deale in Sutes at first, and Reporting the Successe barely, and in Challenging no more Thanks then one hath deserved, is grown not onely Honourable, but also Gracious. In Sutes of Favour, the first Comming ought to take little Place: So farre forth Consideration may bee had of his Trust, that if Intelligence of the Matter, could not otherwise have beeen had, but by him, Advantage bee not taken of the Note, but the Partie left to his other Meanes; and, in some sort, Recompenced for his Discoverie. To be Ignorant of the value of a Sute, is Simplicitie; As well as to be Ignorant of the Right thereof, is Want of Conscience. Secrecie in Sutes, is a great Meane of Obtaining; For voycing them, to bee in Forwardnesse, may discourage some Kinde of Sutours; But doth Quicken and Awake Others. But Timing of the Sute, is the Principall. Timing, I say, not
only in respect of the Person, that should grant it, but in respect of those, which are like to Crosse it. Let a Man, in the choice of his Meane, rather choose the Fittest Meane, then the Greatest Meane: And rather them, that deale in certaine Things, then those that are Generall. The Reparation of a Deniall, is sometimes Equall to the first Grant; If a Man shew himselfe, neither deject, nor discontented. Iniquum petas, ut Æquum feras; is a good Rule, where a Man hath Strength of Favour: But otherwise, a man were better rise in his Sute; For he that would have ventured at first to have lost the Sutour, will not in the Conclusion, lose both the Sutour, and his owne former Favour. Nothing is thought so Easie a Request, to a great Person, as his Letter; And yet, if it be not in a Good Cause, it is so much out of his Reputation. There are no worse Instruments, then these Generall Contrivers of Sutes: For they are but a Kinde of Poyson and Infection to Publique Proceedings.
Of Studies

STUDIES serve for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability. Their Chiefe Use for Delight, is in Privatenesse and Retiring; For Ornament, is in Discourse; And for Ability, is in the Iudgement and Disposition of Businesse. For Expert Men can Execute, and perhaps Iudge of particulars, one by one; But the gene rall Counsels, and the Plots, and Marshalling of Affaires, come best from those that are Learned. To spend too much Time in Studies, is Sloth; To use them too much for Ornament, is Affectation; To make Iudgement wholly by their Rules is the Humour of a Scholler. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by Experience: For Naturall Abilities, are like Naturall Plants, that need Proyning by Study: And Studies themselves, doe give forth Directions too much at Large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty Men Contemne Studies; Simple Men Admire them; And Wise Men Use them: For they teach not their owne Use; But that is a Wisdome without them, and above them, won
by Observation. Reade not to Contradict, and Confute; Nor to Beleeve and Take for granted; Nor to Finde Talke and Discourse; But to weigh and Consider. Some Bookes are to be Tasted, Others to be Swallowed, and Some Few to be Chewed and Digested: That is, some Bookes are to be read onely in Parts; Others to be read but not Curiously; And some Few to be read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention. Some Bookes also may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by Others: But that would be, onely in the lesse important Arguments, and the Meaner Sort of Bookes: else distilled Bookes, are like Common distilled Waters, Flashy Things. Reading maketh a Full Man; Conference a Ready Man; And Writing an Exact Man. And therefore, If a Man Write little, he had need have a Great memory; If he Conferre little, he had need have a Present Wit; And if he Reade litlle, he had need have much Cunning, to seeme to know that, he doth not. Histories make Men Wise; Poets Witty; The Mathematicks Subtill; Naturall Philosophy deepe; Morall Grave; Logick and Rhetorick Able to Contend. Abeunt studia in Mores. Nay there is no Stond or Impediment in the Wit, but may be wrought out by Fit Studies: Like as Diseases of the Body, may have Appropriate Exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reines; Shooting for the Lungs and Breast; Gentle Walking for the Stomacke; Riding for the Head; And the like. So if a Mans Wit be Wandring, let him Study the Mathematicks; For in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called
away never so little, he must begin again: If his Wit be not Apt to distinguish or find differences, let him Study the Schoole-men; For they are Cymini sediores. If he be not Apt to beat over Matters, and to call up one Thing, to Prove and Illustrate another, let him Study the Lawyers Cases: So every Defect of the Minde, may have a Speciall Receit.
MANY have an Opinion not wise; That for a Prince to Govern his Estate; Or for a Great Person to govern his Proceedings, according to the Respect of Factions, is a Principall Part of Policy: whereas contrariwise, the Chiepest Wisdome is, either in Ordering those Things, which are Generall, and wherein Men of Severall Factions doe nevertheless agree; Or in dealing with Correspondence to Particular Persons, one by one. But I say not, that the consideration of Factions, is to be Neglected. Meane Men, in their Rising, must adhere; But Great Men, that have Strength in themselves, were better to maintaine themselves Indifferent, and Neutrall. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as hee bee a Man of the one Faction, which is most Passable with the other, commonly giveth best Way. The Lower and Weaker Faction, is the firmer in Conjunction: And it is often seene, that a few, that are Stiffe, doe tire out, a greater Number, that are more Moderate. When One of the Factions is Extin-
guished, the Remaining Subdivideth: As the Faction, betweene Lucullus, and the Rest of the Nobles of the Senate (which they called Optimates) held out a while, against the Faction of Pompey and Caesar: But when the Senate's Authority was pulled Downe, Caesar and Pompey soone after brake. The Faction or Partie of Antonius, and Octavianus Caesar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time: But when Brutus and Cassius were overthrowne, then soone after Antonius and Octavianus brake and Subdivided. These Examples are of Warres, but the same holdeth in Private Factions. And therefore, those that are Seconds in Factions, doe many times, when the Faction Subdivideth, prove Principals: But many times also, they prove Ciphars and Casheer'd: For many a Mans Strength is in opposition; And when that fail-eth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seene, that Men once Placed, take in with the Contrary Faction to that, by which they enter; Thinking belike that they have the First Sure; And now are Readie for a New Purchase. The Traitour in Faction lightly goeth away with it; For when Matters have stucke long in Balancing, the Winning of some one Man cast-eth them, and he getteth all the Thankes. The Even Carriage betweene two Factions, proceed-eth not alwaies of Moderation, but of a Truenesse to a Mans Selfe, with End to make use of both. Certainly in Italy, they hold it a little suspect in Popes, when they have often in their Mouth, Padre commune: And take it, to be a Signe of one, that meaneth to referre all, to the
Greatnesse of his owne House. Kings had need beware, how they Side themselves, and make themselves as of a Faction or Partie: For Leagues, within the State, are ever Pernicious to Monarchies; For they raise an Obligation, Paramount to Obligation of Soveraigntie, and make the King, Tanquam unus ex nobis: As was to be seene, in the League of France. When Factions are carried too high, and too violently, it is a Signe of Weaknesse in Princes; And much to the Prejudice, both of their Authoritie, and Businesse. The Motions of Factions, under Kings, ought to be like the Motions (as the Astronomers speake) of the Inferiour Orbs; which may have their Proper Motions, but yet still, are quietly carried, by the Higher Motion, of Primum Mobile.
HE that is only Real, had need have Exceeding great Parts of Vertue: As the Stone had need to be Rich, that is set without Foile. But if a Man marke it well, it is in praise and Commendation of Men, as it is in Gettings and Gaines: For the Proverbe is true, That light Gaines make heavy Purses; For light Gaines come thick, whereas Great come but now and then. So it is true, that Small Matters win great Commendation, because they are continually in Use, and in note: whereas the Occasion of any great Vertue, commeth but on Festivals. Therefore it doth much add, to a Mans Reputation, and is, (as Queene Isabella said) Like perpetuall Letters Commendatory, to have good Formes. To Attaine them, it almost sufficeth, not to despise them: For so shall a Man observe them in Others: And let him trust himselfe with the rest. For if he Labour too much to Expresse them, he shall lose their Grace; Which is to be Naturall and Unaffected. Some Mens Behaviour, is like a Verse, wherein
every Syllable is Measured: How can a man comprehend great Matters, that breaketh his Minde too much to small Observations? Not to use Ceremonies at all, is to teach Others not to use them againe; And so diminisheth Respect to himselfe: Especially they be not to be omitted to Strangers, and Formall Natures: But the Dwelling upon them, & Exalting them above the Moone, is not only Tedioues, but doth Diminish the Faith and Credit of him that speaks. And certainly, there is a Kinde, of Conveying of Effectuall and Imprinting Passages, amongst Complements, which is of Singular use, if a Man can hit upon it. Amongst a Mans Peeres, a Man shall be sure of Familiaritie; And therefore, it is good a little to keepe State. Amongst a Mans Inferiours, one shall be sure of Reverence; And therefore it is good a little to be Familiar. He that is too much in any Thing, so that he giveth another Occasion of Sacietie, maketh himselfe cheape. To apply Ones Selfe to others, is good: So it be with Demonstration, that a Man doth it upon Regard, And not upon Facilitie. It is a good Precept, generally in Seconding Another, yet to adde somewhat of Ones Owne: As if you will grant his Opinion, let it be with some Distinction; If you will follow his Motion, let it bee with Condition; If you allow his Counsell, let it be with Alledging further Reason. Men had need beware, how they be too Perfect in Complements; For be they never so Sufficient otherwise, their Enviers will be sure to give them that Attribute, to the Disadvantage of their greater Vertues. It is
losse also in businesse, to be too full of Respects, or to be too Curious in Observing Times and Opportunities. Salomon saith; He that considereth the wind, shall not Sow, and he that looketh to the Clouds, shall not reape. A wise Man will make more Opportunities then he findes. Mens Behaviour should be like their Apparell, not too Strait, or point Device, but Free for Exercise or Motion.
LIII

Of Praise

PRAISE is the Reflection of Vertue. But it is as the Glasse or Bodie, which giveth the Reflection. If it be from the Common People, it is commonly False and Naught: And rather followeth Vaine Persons, then Vertuous: For the Common People understand not many Excellent Vertues: The Lowest Vertues draw Praise from them; The middle Vertues worke in them Astonishment, or Admiration; But of the Highest Vertues, they have no Sense, or Perceiving at all. But Shewes, and Species virtutibus similes, serve best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a River, that beareth up Things Light and Swolne, And Drownes Things waigthy and Solide: But if persons of Qualitie and Judgement concurre, then it is, (as the Scripture saith) Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis. It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the Odours of Oyntments, are more Durable, then those of Flowers. There be so many False Points of Praise, that a Man may iustly hold it a Suspect. Some Praises proceed
meerely of Flattery; And if hee be an Ordinary Flatterer, he will have certaine Common Attributes, which may serve every Man; If he be a Cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch-flatterer, which is a Mans selfe; and wherein a Man thinketh best of himselfe, therein the Flatterer will uphold him most: But if he be an Impudent Flatterer, look wherein a Man is Conscious to himselfe, that he is most Defective, and is most out of Countenance in himselfe, that will the Flatterer Entitle him to, perforce, Spretâ Conscientiâ. Some Praises come of good Wishes, and Respects, which is a Forme due in Civilitie to Kings, and Great Persons, Laudando præcipere; When by telling Men, what they are, they represent to them, what they should be. Some Men are Praised Maliciously to their Hurt, therby to stirre Envie and Jealousie towards them; Pessimum genus Inimicorum laudantium; In so much as it was a Proverb, amongst the Grecians; that, He that was praised to his Hurt, should have a Push rise upon his Nose: As we say; That a Blister will rise upon ones Tongue, that tell's a lye. Certainly Moderate Praise, used with Opportunity, and not Vulgar, is that which doth the Good. Salomon saith, He that praiseth his Frend aloud, Rising Early, it shall be to him, no better then a Curse. Too much Magnifying of Man or Matter, doth irritate Contradiction, and procure Envie and Scorne. To Praise a Mans selfe, cannot be Decent, except it be in rare Cases: But to Praise a Mans Office or Profession, he may doe it with Good Grace, and with
Of Praise

a Kinde of Magnanimitie. The Cardinals of Rome, which are Theologues, and Friars, and Schoole-men, have a Phrase of Notable Contempt and Scorne, towards Civill Businesse: For they call all Temporall Businesse, of Warres, Embassages, Iudicature, & other Emploiments, Sbirrerie; which is, Under-Sheriffries; As if they were but matters for Under-Sheriffes and Catchpoles; Though many times, those Under-sheriffries doe more good, then their High Speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himselfe, he doth oft enterlace; I speake like a Foole; But speaking of his Calling, he saith; Magnificabo Apostolatum meum.
Of Main-Glory

It was prettily Devised of Æsop; The Fly sate upon the Axle-tree of the Chariot wheele, and said, What a Dust doe I raise? So are there some Vaine Persons, that whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater Means, if they have never so little Hand in it, they thinke it is they that carry it. They that are Glorious, must needs be Factious; For all Bravery stands upon Comparisons. They must needs be Violent, to make good their owne Vaunts. Neither can they be Secret, and therefore not Effectuall; but according to the French Proverb; Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit: Much Bruit, little Fruit. Yet certainly there is Use of this Qualitie, in Civill Affaires. Where there is an Opinion, and Fame to be created, either of Vertue, or Greatnesse, these Men are good Trumpetters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth, in the Case of Antiochus, and the Étolians; There are sometimes great Effects of Crossie Lies; As if a Man, that Negotiates between Two Princes, to draw them to ioyne in a
Warre against the Third, doth extoll the Forces of either of them, above Measure, the One to the Other: And sometimes, he that deales between Man and Man, raiseth his owne Credit, with Both, by pretending greater Interest, then he hath in Either. And in these, and the like Kindes, it often falls out, that Somewhat is produced of Nothing: For Lies are sufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on Substance. In Militar Commanders and Soldiers, Vaine-Glory is an Essentiall Point; For as Iron sharpens Iron, so by Glory one Courage sharpneth another. In Cases of great Enterprise, upon Charge and Adventure, a Composition of Glorious Natures, doth put Life into Businesse; And those that are of Solide and Sober Natures, have more of the Ballast, then of the Saile. In Fame of Learning, the Flight will be slow, without some Feathers of Ostentation. Qui de contemnendâ Gloriâ Libros scribunt, Nomen suum inscribunt. Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were Men full of Ostentation. Certainly Vaine-Glory helpeth to Perpetuate a Mans Memory; And Vertue was never so Beholding to Humane Nature, as it received his due at the Second Hand. Neither had the Fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her Age so well, if it had not been ioyned, with some Vanity in themselves: Like unto Varnish, that makes Seelings not onely Shine, but Last. But all this while, when I speake of Vaine-Glory, I meane not of that Property, that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus: Omnium, quae dixerat, feceratque, Arte quadam Ostentator: For that proceeds not
of Vanity, but of Naturall Magnanimitie, and discretion: And in some Persons, is not onely Comely, but Gracious. For Excusations, Cessions, Modesty it selfe well Governed, are but Arts of Ostentation. And amongst those Arts, there is none better, then that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of; which is to be Liberall of Praise and Commendation to others, in that, wherein a Mans Selfe hath any Perfection. For saith Pliny very Wittily; In commending Ano- ther, you doe your selfe right; For he that you Commend, is either Superiour to you, in that you Commend, or Inferiour. If he be Inferiour, if he be to be Commended, you much more: If he be Superiour, if he be not to be commended, you much lesse. Glorious Men are the Scorne of Wise Men; the Admiration of Fooles; the Idols of Parasites; And the Slaves of their own Vaunts.
**Of Honour and Reputation**

The Winning of *Honour*, is but the Revealing of a Man's Vertue and Worth, without Disadvantage. For some in their Actions, doe Woe and affect *Honour*, and *Reputation*: Which Sort of Men, are commonly much Talked of, but inwardly little Admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their Vertue, in the Shew of it; So as they be under-valued in opinion. If a Man performe that which hath not beene attempted before; Or attempted & given over; Or hath beene atchieved, but not with so good Circumstance; he shall purchase more *Honour*, then by Effecting a Matter of greater Difficulty, or Vertue, wherein he is but a Follower. If a Man so temper his Actions, as in some one of them, hee doth content everie Faction, or Combination of People, the Musicke will bee the fuller. A man is an ill Husband of his *Honour*, that entret into any Action, the Failing wherein may disgrace him more, then the Carying of it through can *Honor* him. *Honour*, that is gained and broken upon Another, hath the
quickest Reflection; Like Diamonds cut with Fascets. And therefore, let a Man contend, to excell any Competitors of his in Honour, in Out-shooting them, if he can, in their owne Bowe. Discreet Followers and Servants helpe much to Reputation: Omnis Fama à Domesticis emanat. Envy, which is the Canker of Honour, is best extinguished, by declaring a Mans Selfe, in his Ends, rather to seeke Merit, then Fame: And by Attributing a Mans Successes, rather to divine Providence and Felicity, then to his owne Vertue or Policy. The true Marshalling of the Degrees of Soveraigne Honour are these. In the First Place are Conditores Imperiorum; Founders of States, and Common-Wealths: Such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael. In the Second Place are Legis-latores, Lawgivers; which are also called, Second Founders, or Perpetui Principes, because they Governe by their Ordinances, after they are gone: Such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Eadgar, Alphonsus of Castile, the Wise, that made the Siete Partidas. In the Third Place, are Liberatores, or Salvatores: Such as compound the long Miseries of Civill Warres, or deliver their Countries from Servitude of Strangers, or Tyrants; As Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, K. Henry the 7. of England, K. Henry the 4. of France. In the Fourth Place, are Propagatores or Propugnatores Imperij; Such as in Honourable Warres enlarge their Territories, or make Noble defence against Invaders. And in the Last Place, are Patres Patriæ; which reigne justly, & make
Of Honour and Reputation

the Times good, wherein they live. Both which last Kindes, need no Examples, they are in such Number. Degrees of Honour in Subjects are; First, Participes Curarum; Those upon whom Princes doe discharge the greatest Weight of their Affairs; Their Right Hands, as we call them. The Next are, Duces Belli, Great Leaders; Such as are Princes Lieutenants, and doe them Notable Services in the Warres. The Third are, Gratiosi; Favourites; Such as exceed not this Scantling; To be Solace to the Soveraigne, and Harmless to the People. And the Fourth, Negotijs pares; Such as have great Places under Princes, and execute their Places with Sufficiency. There is an Honour likewise, which may be ranked amongst the Greatest, which happeneth rarely: That is, of such as Sacrifice themselves, to Death or Danger, for the Good of their Countrey: As was M. Regulus, and the Two Decii.
JUDGES ought to remember, that their Office is Ius dicere, and not Ius dare; To Interpret Law, and not to Make Law, or Give Law. Else will it be like the Authority, claimed by the Church of Rome; which under pretext of Exposition of Scripture, doth not sticke to Adde and Alter; And to Pronounce that, which they doe not Finde; And by Shew of Antiquitie, to introduce Noveltie. Judges ought to be more Learned, then Wittie; More Reverend, then Plausible; And more Advised, then Confident. Above all Things, Integritie is their Portion, and Proper Vertue. Cursed (saith the Law) is hee that removeth the Land-marke. The Mis-laiier of a Meere Stone is to blame. But it is the Uniust Judge, that is the Capitall Remover of Land-markes, when he Defineth amisse of Lands and Propertie. One Foule Sentence, doth more Hurt, then many Foule Examples. For these doe but Corrupt the Streame; The other Corrupteth the Fountaine. So saith Salomon; Fons turbatus, & Vena corrupta, est Iustus cadens in causâ sub coram Adversario. The
Of Judicature

Office of Judges, may have Reference, Unto the Parties that sue; Unto the Advocates that Plead; Unto the Clerkes and Ministers of Justice underneath them; And to the Soveraigne or State above them.

First, for the Causes or Parties that Sue. There be (saith the Scripture) that turne Judgement into Worme-wood; And surely, there be also, that turne it into Vinegar; For Injustice maketh it Bitter, and Delaies make it Soure. The Principall Dutie of a Judge, is to suppressse Force and Fraud; whereof Force is the more Pernicious, when it is Open; And Fraud, when it is Close and Disguised. Adde thereto Contentious Suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the Surfet of Courts. A Judge ought to prepare his Way to a Just Sentence, as God useth to prepare his Way, by Raising Valleys, and Taking downe Hills: So when there appeareth on either side, an High Hand; Violent Prosecution, Cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Power, Great Counsell, then is the Virtue of a Judge seene, to make Inequalitie Equall; That he may plant his Judgement, as upon an Even Ground. Qui fortitèr emungit, elicit sanguinem; And where the Wine-Presse is hard wrought, it yeelds a harsh Wine, that tastes of the Grape-stone. Judges must beware of Hard Constructions, and Strained Inferences; For there is no Worse Torture, then the Torture of Lawes. Specially in case of Lawes Penall, they ought to have Care, that that which was meant for Terrour, be not turned into Rigour; And that they bring not upon the People, that Shower,
whereof the Scripture speaketh; *Pluet super eos Laqueos*: For Penall Lawes Pressed, are a *Shower of Snares* upon the People. Therefore, let *Penall Lawes*, if they have beeene Sleepers of long, or if they be growne unfit for the present Time, be by Wise *Judges* confined in the Execution;

*Indicis Officium est, ut Res, ita Tempora Rerum, &c.*

In *Causes of Life and Death*; *Judges* ought (as farre as the Law permitteth) in Iustice to remember Mercy; And to Cast a Severe Eye upon the Example, but a Mercifull Eye upon the Person.

Secondly, for the *Advocates* and *Counsell that Plead*: Patience and Gravitie of Hearing, is an Essentiall Part of Iustice; And an Over-speaking *Judge* is no well tuned Cymball. It is no Grace to a *Judge*, first to finde that, which hee might have heard, in due time, from the Barre; or to shew Quicknesse of Conceit in Cutting off Evidence or Counsell too short; Or to prevent Information, by Questions though Pertinent. The Parts of a *Judge* in Hearing are Foure: To direct the Evidence; To Moderate Length, Repetition, or Impertinency of Speech; To Recapitulate, Select, and Collate, the Materiall Points of that, which hath beeene said; And to Give the Rule or Sentence. Whatsoever is above these, is too much; And proceeddeth, Either of Glory and willingnesse to Speake; Or of Impatience to Heare; Or of Shortnesse of Memorie; Or of Want of a Staid
Of Judicature

and Equall Attention. It is a Strange Thing to see, that the Boldnesse of Advocates, should prevail with Judges; Whereas they should imitate God, in whose Seat they sit; who represeth the Presumptuous, and giveth Grace to the Modest. But it is more Strange, that Judges should have Noted Favourites; Which cannot but Cause Multiplication of Fees, and Suspicion of By-waies. There is due from the Judge, to the Advocate, some Commendation and Gracing, where Causes are well Handled, and faire Pleadeth; Especially towards the Side which obtaineth not; For that upholds, in the Client, the Reputation of his Counsell, and beats downe, in him, the Conceit of his Cause. There is likewise due to the Publique, a Civill Reprehension of Advocates, where there appeareth Cunning Counsel, Grosse Neglect, Slight Information, Indiscreet Pressing, or an Over-bold Defence. And let not the Counsell at the Barre, chop with the Judge, nor winde himselfe into the handling of the Cause anew, after the Judge hath Declared his Sentence: But on the other side, Let not the Judge meet the Cause halfe Way; Nor give Occasion to the Partie to say; His Counsell or Proffes were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concernes Clerks, and Ministers. The Place of Justice, is an Hallowed Place; And therefore, not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace, and Precincts, and Purprise thereof, ought to be preserved without Scandall and Corruption. For certainly, Grapes, (as the Scripture saith) will not be gathered of Thornes or Thistles: Neither can Justice yeeld her Fruit
with Sweetnesse, amongst the Briars and Brambles, of Catching and Poling Clerkes and Ministers. The Attendance of Courts is subject to Foure bad Instruments. First, Certaine Persons, that are Sowers of Suits; which make the Court swell, and the Country pine. The Second Sort is of those, that ingage Courts, in Quarells of Jurisdiction, and are not truly Amici Curiae, but Parasiti Curiae; in puffing a Court up beyond her Bounds, for their owne Scraps, and Advantage. The Third Sort is of those, that may be accounted, the Left Hands of Courts; Persons that are full of Nimble and Sinister Trickes and Shifts, whereby they pervert the Plaine and Direct Courses of Courts, and bring Justice into Oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the Fourth is, the Poler and Exacter of Fees; which justifies the Common Resemblance of the Courts of Justice, to the Bush, whereunto while the Sheepe flies for defence in Wether, hee is sure to loose Part of his Fleece. On the other side, an Ancient Clerke, skilfull in Presidents, Wary in Proceeding, and Understanding in the Businesse of the Court, is an excellent Finger of a Court; And doth many times point the way to the Judge himselfe.

Fourthly, for that which may concerne the Soveraigne and Estate. Judges ought above all to remember the Conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables; Salus Populi Suprema Lex; And to know, that Lawes, except they bee in Order to that End, are but Things Captious, and Oracles not well Inspired. Therefore it is an Happie Thing in a State, when Kings and
States doe often Consult with Judges; And againe, when Judges doe often Consult with the King and State: The one, when there is Matter of Law, intervenient in Businesse of State; The other, when there is some Consideration of State, intervenient in Matter of Law. For many times, the Things Deduced to Judgement, may bee Meum and Tuum, when the Reason and Consequence thereof, may Trench to Point of Estate: I call Matter of Estate, not onely the parts of Soveraignty, but whatsoever introduceth any Great Alteration, or Dangerous president; Or Concerneth manifestly any great Portion of People. And let no Man weakly conceive, that Jist Laws, and True Policie, have any Antipathie: For they are like the Spirits, and Sinewes, that One moves with the Other. Let Judges also remember, that Salomons Throne, was supported by Lions, on both Sides; Let them be Lions, but yet Lions under the Throne; Being circumspect, that they doe not checke, or oppose any Points of Soveraignty. Let not Judges also, be so Ignorant of their owne Right, as to thinke, there is not left to them, as a Principall Part of their Office, a Wise Use, and application of Lawes. For they may remember, what the Apostle saith, of a Greater Law, then theirs; Nos scimus quia Lex bona est, modò quis cēt utatur Legitimi.
Of Anger

To seeke to extinguish Anger utterly, is but a Bravery of the Stoickes. We have better Oracles: Be Angry, but Sinne not. Let not the Sunne goe downe upon your Anger. Anger must be limited, and confined, both in Race, and in Time. We will first speake, How the Natrall Inclination, and Habit, To be Angry, may be attempred, and calmed. Secondly, How the Particular Motions of Anger, may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing Mischiefe. Thirdly, How to raise Anger, or appease Anger, in Another.

For the first; There is no other Way, but to Meditate and Ruminate well, upon the Effects of Anger, how it troubles Mans Life. And the best Time, to doe this, is, to looke backe upon Anger, when the Fitt is throughly over. Seneca saith well; That Anger is like Ruine, which breaks it Selfe, upon that it fall's. The Scripture exhorteth us; To possesse our Soules in Patience. Whosoever is out of Patience, is out
of Possession of his Soule. Men must not turne Bees;

—Animasque in vulnere ponunt.

Anger is certainly a kinde of Basenesse: As it appeares well, in the Weaknesse of those Subiects, in whom it reignes: Children, Women, Old Folkes, Sicke Folkes. Onely Men must beware, that they carry their Anger, rather with Scorne, then with Feare: So that they may seeme rather, to be above the Iniury, then below it: which is a Thing easily done, if a Man will give Law to himselfe in it.

For the Second Point; The Causes and Motives of Anger, are chiefly three. First, to be too Sensible of Hurt: For no Man is Angry, that Feele not himselfe Hurt: And therefore Tender and Delicate Persons, must needs be oft Angry: They have so many Things to trouble them; Which more Robust Natures have little Sense of. The next is, the Apprehension and Construction, of the Iniury offered, to be, in the Circumstances thereof, full of Contempt. For Contempt is that which putteth an Edge upon Anger, as much, or more, then the Hurt it selfe. And therefore, when Men are Ingenious, in picking out Circumstances of Contempt, they doe kindle their Anger much. Lastly, Opinion of the Touch of a Mans Reputation, doth multiply and sharpen Anger. Wherein the Remedy is, that a Man should have, as Consalvo was wont to say, Telam Honoris crassiorem. But in all Refrainings of Anger, it is the best Remedy to win Time; And to make a Mans Selfe beleive,
that the Opportunity of his Revenge is not yet come: But that he foresees a Time for it; And so to still Himselfe in the meane Time, and reserve it.

To containe Anger from Mischief, though it take hold of a Man, there be two Things, whereof you must have speciall Caution. The one, of extreme Bitternesse of Words; Especially, if they be Aculeate, and Proper: For Communia Maledicta are nothing so much: And againe, that in Anger, a Man reveale no Secrets: For that makes him not fit for Society. The other, that you doe not peremptorily break off, in any Business, in a Fitt of Anger: But howsoever you shew Bitternes, do not A&I any thing, that is not Revocable.

For Raising and Appeasing Anger in Another; It is done chiefly, by Choosing of Times, when Men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Againe, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can finde out, to aggravate the Contempt. And the two Remedies are by the Contraries. The Former, to take good Times, when first to relate to a Man, an Angry Businesse: For the first Impression is much; And the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the Construction of the Injury, from the Point of Contempt: Imputing it, to Misunderstanding, Feare, Passion, or what you will.
LVIII

Of Wicissitude of Things

SALOMON saith; *There is no New Thing upon the Earth.* So that as Plato had an Imagination; *That all Knowledge was but Remembrance:* So Salomon giveth his Sentence; *That all Noveltie is but Oblivion.* Whereby you may see, that the River of Lethe, runneth as well above Ground, as below. There is an abstruse Astrologer that saith; *If it were not, for two things, that are Constant;* (The one is, that the Fixed Starres ever stand at like distance, one from another, and never come nearer together, nor goe further asunder; The other, that the Diurnall Motion perpetually keepeth Time:) *No Individuall would last one Moment.* Certain it is, that the Matter, is in a Perpetuall Flux, and never at a Stay. The great Winding-sheets, that burie all Things in Oblivion, are two; *Deluges, and Earth-quakees.* As for Conflagrations, and great Droughts, they doe not meereely dispeopple, and destroy. *Phaetons Carre went but a day.* And the *Three yeares Drought,* in the time of *Elias,* was but Particular, and left People Alive. As for the great *Burnings by*
Lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow. But in the other two Destruc-
tions, by Deluge, and Earth-quake, it is further to be noted, that the Remnant of People, 
which hap to be reserved, are commonly Igno-
rant and Mountanous People, that can give no 
Account, of the Time past: So that the Oblivion 
is all one, as if none had beene left. If you 
consider well, of the People of the West Indies, 
it is very probable, that they are a Newer, or a 
Younger People, then the People of the Old 
World. And it is much more likely, that the 
Destruction, that hath heretofore been there, 
was not by Earth-qua
ekse, (As the Ægyptian 
Priest told Solon, concerning the Island of 
Atlantis; That it was swallo
ew by an Earth-
quake;) But rather, that it was desolated, by a 
Particular Deluge. For Earth-qua
ekes are sel-
dome in those Parts. But on the other side, 
they have such Powring Rivers, as the Rivers of 
Asia, and Affrick, and Europe, are but Brookes 
to them. Their Andes likewise, or Mountaines, 
are farre higher, then those with us; Whereby 
it seemes, that the Remnants of Generation of 
Men, were, in such a Particular Deluge, saved. 
As for the Observation, that Macciavel hath, 
that the Jealousie of Sells, doth much extin-
guish the Memory of Things; Traducing Gre-
gory the Great, that he did, what in him lay, 
to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities; I doe not 
finde, that those Zeales, doe any great Effec
ts, 
nor last long: As it appeared in the Succession 
of Sabinian, who did revive the former Anti-
quities.
The *Vicissitude or Mutations*, in the *Superiour Globe*, are no fit Matter, for this present Argument. It may be, *Plato's great Yeare*, if the World should last so long, would have some Effect; Not in renewing the State of like Individuals (for that is the Fume of those, that conceive the Celestiall Bodies, have more accurate Influences, upon these Things below, then indeed they have) but in grosse. *Comets*, out of question, have likewise Power and Effect, over the Grosse and Masse of Things: But they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their Journey, then wisely observed in their Effects; Specially in their Respective Effects; That is, what Kinde of *Comet*, for Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beames, Placing in the Region of Heaven, or Lasting, produceth what Kinde of Effects.

There is a Toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say, it is observed, in the *Low Countries* (I know not in what Part) that Every Five and Thirtie years, The same Kinde and Sute of Years and Weathers, comes about againe: As Great Frosts, Great Wet, Great Droughts, Warme Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like: And they call it the *Prime*. It is a Thing, I doe the rather mention, because computing backwards, I have found some Concurrency.

But to leave these Points of *Nature*, and to come to *Men*. The greatest *Vicissitude of Things* amongst *Men*, is the *Vicissitude of Sects*, and *Religions*. For those Orbs rule in Mens
Minds most. The True Religion is built upon the Rocke; The Rest are tost upon the Waves of Time. To speake therefore, of the Causes of New Seels; And to give some Counsell concerning them; As farre, as the Weaknesse of Humane Judgement, can give stay to so great Revolutions.

When the Religion formerly received, is rent by Discords; And when the Holinesse of the Professours of Religion is decayed, and full of Scandall; And withall the Times be Stupid, Ignorant, and Barbarous; you may doubt the Springing up of a New Seel; If then also there should arise, any Extravagant and Strange Spirit, to make himselfe Author thereof. All which Points held, when Mahomet published his Law. If a New Seel have not two Properties, feare it not: For it will not spread. The one is, the Supplanting, or the opposing, of Authority established: For Nothing is more Popular then that. The other is, the Giving Licence to Pleasures, and a Voluptuous Life. For as for Speculative Heresies (such as were in Ancient Times the Arrians, and now the Arminians) though they worke mightily upon Mens Wits, yet they doe not produce any great Alterations in States; except it be by the Helpe of Civill Occasions. There be three Manner of Plantations of New Seels. By the Power of Signes and Miracles: By the Eloquence and Wisedome of Speech and Perswasion: And by the Sword. For Martyrdomes, I reckon them amongst Miracles; Because they seeme to exceed, the Strength of Human Nature: And I may doe
the like of Superlative and Admirable Holinesse of Life. Surely, there is no better Way, to stop the Rising of New Setts, and Schisms; then To reforme Abuses; To compound the smaller Differences; To proceed mildly, and not with Sanguinary Persecutions; And rather to take off the principall Authours, by Winning and Advancing them, then to enrage them by Violence and Bitternesse.

The Changes and Vicissitude in Warres are many: But chiefly in three Things; In the Seats or Stages of the Warre; In the Weapons; And in the Manner of the Condufl. Warres in ancient Time, seemed more to move from East to West: For the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the Invaders) were all Easterne People. It is true, the Gaules were Westerne; But we reade but of two Incursions of theirs; The one to Gallo-Grecia, the other to Rome. But East and West have no certaine Points of Heaven: And no more have the Warres, either from the East, or West, any Certainty of Observation. But North and South are fixed: And it hath seldome or never been seene, that the farre Southern People have invaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest, that the Northern Trafl of the World, is in Nature the more Martiall Region: Be it, in respect of the Stars of that Hemisphere; Or of the great Continents that are upon the North, whereas the South Part, for ought that is knowne, is almost all Sea; Or (which is most apparent) of the Cold of the Northern Parts, which is that, which without
Aid of Discipline, doth make the Bodies hardest, and the Courages warmest.

Upon the Breaking and Shivering of a great State and Empire, you may be sure to have Warres. For great Empires, while they stand, doe enervate and destroy the Forces of the Natives, which they have subdued, resting upon their owne Protecting Forces: And then when they faile also, all goes to ruine, and they become a Prey. So was it, in the Decay of the Roman Empire; And likewise, in the Empire of Almaigne, after Charles the Great, every Bird taking a Fether; And were not unlike to befall to Spaine, if it should break. The great Accessions and Unions of Kingdomes, doe likewise stirre up Warres. For when a State growes to an Over-power, it is like a great Floud, that will be sure to overflow. As if hath been seene, in the States of Rome, Turky, Spaine, and others. Looke when the World hath fewest Barbarous Peoples, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know meanes to live; (As it is almost every where at this day, except Tartary) there is no Danger of Inundations of People: But when there be great Shoales of People, which goe on to populate, without foreseeing Meanes of Life and Sustentation, it is of Necessity, that once in an Age or two, they discharge a Portion of their People upon other Nations: Which the ancient Northern People, were wont to doe by Lot: Casting Lots, what Part should stay at home, and what should seeke their Fortunes. When a Warre-like State growes Soft and Effeminate,
they may be sure of a Warre. For commonly such States are growne rich, in the time of their Degenerating; And so the Prey inviteth, and their Decay in Valour encourageth a Warre.

As for the Weapons, it hardly falleth under Rule and Observation: yet we see, even they have Returns and Vicissitudes. For certain it is, that Ordnance was known in the Citty of the Oxidrakes in India; And was that, which the Macedonians called Thunder and Lightning, and Magicke. And it is well knowne, that the use of Ordnance hath been in China, above 2000. yeares. The Conditions of Weapons, & their Improvement are; First, The Fetching a farre off: For that outruns the Danger: As it is seen in Ordnance and Muskets. Secondly, the Strength of the Percussion; wherein likewise Ordnance doe exceed all Arietations, and ancient Inventions. The third is, the commodious use of them: As that they may serve in all Wethers; That the Carriage may be Light and Manageable; and the like.

For the Conduct of the Warre: At the first, Men rested extremely upon Number: They did put the Warres likewise upon Maine Force, and Valour; Pointing Dayes for Pitched Fields, and so trying it out, upon an even Match: And they were more ignorant in Ranging and Arraying their Battales. After they grew to rest upon Number, rather Competent, then Vast: They grew to Advantages, of Place, Cunning Diversions, and the like: And they grew more skilful in the Ordering of their Battales.

In the Youth of a State, Armes doe flourish:
In the Middle Age of a State, Learning; And then both of them together for a time: In the Declining Age of a State, Mechanical Arts and Merchandize. Learning hath his Infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost Childish: Then his Youth, when it is Luxuriant and Juvenile: Then his Strength of yeares, when it is Solide and Reduced: And lastly, his old Age, when it waxeth Dry and Exhaust. But it is not good, to looke too long, upon these turning Wheeles of Vicissitude, lest we become Giddy. As for the Philology of them, that is but a Circle of Tales, and therefore not fit for this Writing.
A FRAGMENT, OF AN ESSAY,

Of Fame

The Poets make Fame a Monster. They describe her, in Part, finely, and elegantly; and, in part, gravely, and sententiously. They say, look how many Feathers she hath, so many Eyes she hath underneath: So many Tongues; So many Voyces; She pricks up so many Ears.

This is a flourish: There follow excellent Parables; As that, she gathereth strength in going; That she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That, in the day time, she sitteth in a Watch Tower, and flyeth, most, by night: That she mingleth Things done, with things not done: And that she is a Terour to great Citties: But that, which passeth all the rest, is: They do recount, that the Earth, Mother of the Gyants, that made War against Jupiter, and were by him destroyed, thereupon, in an anger, brought forth Fame: For certain it is, That Rebels, figured by the Gyants, and Seditious Fames, and Libels, are but Brothers, and Sisters; Masculine, and Feminine. But now, if a Man can tame this Monster, and bring her to feed at
the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowle, and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected, with the stile of the Poets. To speak now, in a sad, and serious manner: There is not, in all the Politiques, a Place, lesse handled, and more worthy to be handled, then this of Fame. We will, therefore, speak of these points. What are false Fames; And what are true Fames; And how they may be best discerned; How Fames, may be sown, and raised; How they may be spread, and multiplied; And how they may be checked, and layed dead. And other Things, concerning the Nature of Fame. Fame, is of that force, as there is, scarcely, any great Action wherein, it hath not, a great part; Especially, in the War. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a Fame, that he scattered; That Vitellius had in purpose, to remove the Legions of Syria, into Germany; And the Legions of Germany, into Syria: whereupon the Legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Caesar, took Pompey unprovided, and layed asleep his industry, and preparations, by a Fame that he cunningly gave out; How Cæsars own Souldiers loved him not; And being wearied with the Wars, and Laden with the spoyles of Gaul, would forsake him, as soon as he came into Italy. Livia, setled all things, for the Succession, of her Son Tiberius, by continuall giving out, that her husband Augustus, was upon Recovery, and amendment. And it is an usuall thing, with the Basshaives, to conceale the Death of the Great Turk from the Jannizaries, and men of War, to save the Sack-
ing of Constantinople, and other Towns, as their Manner is. Themistocles, made Zerxes, king of Persia post apace out of Græcia, by giving out, that the Græcians, had a purpose, to break his Bridge, of Ships, which he had made athwart Hellespont. There be a thousand such like Examples; And the more they are, the lesse they need to be repeated; Because a Man, meeteth with them, every where: Therefore, let all Wise Governors, have as great a watch, and care, over Fames, as they have, of the Actions, and Designes themselves.

The rest was not Finished.
OF THE

COULERS

OF

GOOD AND EVILL

A FRAGMENT.

1597.
1. Cui ceterè partes vel secuta secundas unanimiter deferunt, cum singulis principatùm sibi vindicent melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quaeque ex zelo videtur sumere; secundas autem ex vero tribuere.

2. Cuius excellensia vel exuperantia melior id toto genere melius.

3. Quod ad veritatem referatur maius est quàm quod ad opinionem. Modus autem, & probatio eius quod ad opinionem pertinet hae est. Quod quis si clam putaret fore facturus non esset.

4. Quod rem integram servat bonum quod sine receptu est malum. Nam se recipere non posse impotentia genus est, potentia autem bonum.

5. Quod ex pluribus constat, & divisibilius est maius quàm quod ex paucioribus & magis unum: nam omnia per partes considerata maiora videntur; quare & pluralitas partium magnitudinem pro se fert, fortius autem operatur pluralitas partium si ordó absit, nam inducit similitudinem infiniti, & impedít comprehensionem.

6. Cuius privatio bona, malum, cuius privatio mala bonum.

7. Quod bono vicinum, bonum, quod a bono remotum malum.

8. Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, maius malum, quod ab externis imponitur minus malum.

9. Quod opera, & virtute nostra partum est, maius bonum, quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia fortunae delatum est, minus bonum.

10. Gradus privationis maior videtur quàm gradus diminutionis, & rursus gradus inceptionis maior videtur quàm gradus incrementi.
IN deliberatives the point is what is good and what is evill, and of good what is greater, and of evill what is the lesse.

So that the perswaders labor is to make things appeare good or evill, and that in higher or lower degree, which as it may be perfourmed by true and solide reasons, so it may be represented also by coulers, popularities and circumstances, which are of such force, as they sway the ordinarie judgement either of a weake man, or of a wise man, not fully and considerately attending and pondering the matter. Besides their power to alter the nature of the subiect in appearance, and so to leade to error, they are of no lesse use to quicken and strengthen the opinions and perswasions which are true: for reasons plainely delivered, and alwaies after one manner especially with fine and fastidious mindes, enter but heavily and dully; whereas if they be varyed and have more life and vigor put into them by these
fourmes and insinuations, they cause a stronger apprehension, and many times suddenly win the minde to a resolution. Lastly, to make a true and safe judgement, nothing can be of greater use and defence to the minde, than the discovering and reprehension of these coulers, shewing in what cases they hold, and in what they deceive: which as it cannot be done, but out of a very universall knowledge of the nature of things, so being perfourmed, it so cleareth mans iudgement and election, as it is the lesse apt to slide into any error.
A TABLE of Coulers, or apparances of good and evill, and their degrees as places of perswasion and disswasion; and their severall fallaxes, and the clenches of them.

1. Cui cetera partes vel sectae secundas unanimiter deferunt, cum singulæ principatum sibi vendicent melior reliquis videtur, nam primas quæque ex seło videtur sumere, secundas autem ex vero & merito tribuere.

So Cicero went about to prove the Secte of Academiques which suspended all asseveration, for to be the best, for sayth he, aske a Stoicke which Philosophie is true, he will preferre his owne: Then aske him which approcheth next the truth, he will confesse the Academiques. So deale with the Epicure that will scant indure the Stoicke to be in sight of him, as soone as he hath placed himselfe, he will place the Academiques next him.

So if a Prince tooke divers competitors to a place, and examined them severallie whome next
themselves they would rathest commend, it were
like the ablest man should have the most second votes.

The fallax of this couler hapneth oft in re-
spect of envy, for men are accustomed after
themselves and their owne faction to incline to
them which are softest, and are least in their
way in despite and derogation of them that
hold them hardest to it. So that this couler of
melioritie and preheminence is oft a signe of
enervation and weakenesse.

2. Cuius excellentia vel exuperantia melior, id toto
generet melius.

APPERTAINING to this are the fourmes;

Let us not wander in generalities: Let us
compare particular with particular, &c. This
appearance though it seeme of strength and ra-
ther Logicall then Rhetoricall, yet is very oft a
fallax.

Sometimes because some things are in kinde
very casual, which if they escape, prove excel-
 lent, so that the kinde is inferior, because it is
so subject to perill, but that which is excellent
being proved is superior, as the blossome of
March and the blossome of May, whereof the
French verse goeth.

_Bourgeon de Mars enfant de Paris_,
_Si un eschape, il en vaut dix._

So that the blossome of May is generally better
then the blossome of March; and yet the best
blossome of March is better then the best blos-
some of May.
Sometimes, because the nature of some kindes is to be more equall and more indifferent, and not to have very distant degrees, as hath bene noted in the warmer clymates, the people are generally more wise, but in the Northerne clime the wits of chiefe are greater. So in many Armies, if the matter should be tryed by duell betweene two Champions, the victroy should go on one side, and yet if it be tryed by the grosse, it would go of the other side; for excellencies go as it were by chance, but kindes go by a more certaine nature, as by discipline in warre.

Lastly, many kindes have much refuse which countervale that which they have excellent; and therefore generally mettall is more precious then stone, and yet a dyamond is more precious then gould.

3. Quod ad veritatem referetur maius est quam quod ad opinionem. Modus autem & probatio eius quod ad opinionem pertinet, haec est, quod quis si clam putaret fore, facturus non esset.

So the Epicures say of the Stoicks felicitie placed in vertue, That it is like the felicitie of a Player, who if he were left of his Auditorie and their applause, he would streight be out of hart and countenance, and therefore they call vertue Bonum theatrale. But of Riches the Poet sayth:

Populus me sibilat, At mihi plaudo.
And of pleasure.

Grata sub imo
Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulante pudorem.
The fallax of this couler is somewhat subtile, though the aunswere to the example be readie, for vertue is not chosen \textit{propter auram popula-rem}. But contrariwise, Maxime omnium teipsum reverere, So as a vertuous man will be vertuous in solitudine, and not onely in \textit{theatro}, though percase it will be more strong by glory and fame, as an heate which is doubled by reflexion; But that denieth the supposition, it doth not reprehend the fallax whereof the reprehension is, alow that vertue (such as is ioyned with labor and conflict) would not be chosen but for fame and opinion, yet it followeth not that the chiefe motive of the election should not be reall and for it selfe, for fame may be onely \textit{causa impulsiva}, and not \textit{causa constituens}, or \textit{efficiens}. As if there were two horses, and the one would doo better without the spurre then the other: but agayne, the other with the spurre woulde farre exceede the doing of the former, giving him the spurre also; yet the latter will be iudged to be the better horse, and the fourme as to say, \textit{Tush, the life of this horse is but in the spurre}, will not serve as to a wise iudgemente: For since the ordinary instrument of horsemanship is the spurre, and that it is no manner of impediment nor burden, the horse is not to bee accounted the lesse of, which will not do well without the spurre, but rather the other is to be reckoned a delicacie then a vertue, so glory and honor are as spurres to vertue: and although vertue would languish without them, yet since they be alwayes at hand to attend vertue, vertue is not to be sayd the lesse, chosen for it selfe, because it needeth the spurre
of fame and reputation: and therefore that position, Nota eius rei quod propter opinionem \& non propter veritatem eligitur, hac est quod quis si clam putaret fore fallurus non esset is reprehended.

4. Quod rem integrum servat bonum, quod sine receptu est malum. Nam se recipere non posse imponentia genus est, potentia autem bonum.

HEREOF AESOPE framed the Fable of the two Frogs that consulted together in time of drowth (when many plashes that they had repayred to were dry) what was to be done, and the one propounded to goe downe into a deepe Well, because it was like the water woulde not fayle there, but the other aanswered, yea but if it do faile how shall we get up againe? And the reason is, that humane actions are so uncertaine and subieçte to perills, as that seemeth the best course which hath most passages out of it.

Appertaining to this perswasion the fourmes are, you shall ingage your selfe. On the other side, Tantum quantum voles sumes ex fortuna, you shall keepe the matter in your owne hands. The reprehension of it is, That proceeding and resolving in all actions is necessarie: for as he sayth well, Not to resolve, is to resolve, and many times it breedes as many necessities, and ingageth as farre in some other sort as to resolve.
So it is but the covetous man's disease translated into power, for the covetous man will enjoy nothing because he will have his full store and possibilitie to enjoy the more, so by this reason a man should execute nothing because hee should be still indifferent and at libertie to execute any thing. Besides necessitie and this same \textit{iacta est alea} hath many times an advantage, because it awaketh the powers of the minde, and strengtheneth indevor. \textit{Caeteris par\textit{es necessitate certe superiores estis.}}

5. \textit{Quod ex pluribus constat et divisibilitius est minus quam quod ex pueroribus et magis unum: nam omnia per partes considerata maiora videntur; quare et pluralitas partim magnitudinem pra\textit{e} se fert; fortius autem operatur pluralitas partium si ordo absit, nam inducit similitudinem infiniti et impedit comprehensionem.}

\textbf{T]HIS couler seemeth palpable, for it is not pluralitie of partes without maioritie of partes that maketh the totall greater, yet nevertheless it often carries the minde away, yea, it deceyveth the sence, as it seemeth to the eye a shorter distance of way if it be all dead and continued, then if it have trees or buildings or any other markes whereby the eye may devide it. So when a great moneyed man hath devided his chests and coines and bags, hee seemeth to himselfe richer then hee was, and therefore a way to amplifie any thing, is to breake it, and to make an anatomic of it in severall partes, and to examine it according to severall circumstances,
And this maketh the greater shew if it be done without order, for confusion maketh things muster more, and besides what is set downe by order and division, doth demonstrate that nothing is left out or omitted, but all is there; whereas if it be without order, both the minde comprehendeth lesse that which is set downe, and besides it leaveth a suspition, as if more might be sayde then is expressed.

This couler deceyveth, if the minde of him that is to be perswaded, do of it selfe over-conceive or preiudge of the greatnesse of any thing, for then the breaking of it will make it seeme lesse, because it maketh it appeare more according to the truth, and therefore if a man be in sicknes or payne, the time will seeme longer without a clocke or howre-glasse then with it, for the minde doth value every moment, and then the howre doth rather summe up the moments then devide the day. So in a dead playne, the way seemeth the longer, because the eye hath preconceyved it shorter then the truth: and the frustrating of that maketh it seeme longer then the truth. Therefore if any man have an overgreat opinion of any thing, then if an other thinke by breaking it into severall considerations, he shall make it seeme greater to him, he will be deceyved, and therefore in such cases it is not safe to devide, but to extoll the entire still in generall.

An other case wherein this couler deceyveth, is, when the matter broken or devided is not comprehended by the sence or minde at once in respect of the distracting or scattering of it, and
being intire and not devided, is comprehended, as a hundred pounds in heapes of five poundes will shewe more, then in one grosse heape, so as the heapes be all uppon one table to be seene at once, otherwise not, or flowers growing scattered in divers beds will shewe, more then if they did grow in one bed, so as all those beds be within a plot that they be obiect to view at once, otherwise not; and therefore men whose living lieth together in one Shire, are commonly counted greater landed then those whose livings are dis-persed though it be more, because of the notice and comprehension.

A third case wherein this couler deceyveth, and it is not so properly a case or reprehension as it is a counter couler being in effect as large as the couler it selfe, and that is, *Omnis compositio indigentiae cuiusdam videtur esse particeps*, because if one thing would serve the turne it were ever best, but the defect and imperfections of things hath brought in that help to piece them up as it is sayd, *Martha Martha attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit*. So likewise here-upon Aesope framed the Fable of the Fox and the Cat, whereas the Fox bragged what a num-ber of shifts and devises he had to get from the houndes, and the Catte saide she had but one, which was to clime a tree, which in proofe was better worth then all the rest, whereof the pro-verbe grew,

*Multa novit Vulpes sed Felis unum magnum.*

And in the morall of this fable it comes likewise to passe: That a good sure friend is a better
helpe at a pinch, then all the stratagems and policies of a mans owne wit. So it falleth out to bee a common errour in negociating, whereas men have many reasons to induce or perswade, they strive commonly to utter and use them all at once, which weakeneth them. For it argueth as was said, a needines in every of the reasons by it selfe, as if one did not trust to any of them, but fled from one to another, helping himselfe only with that.

*Et que non prosunt singula, multa iuvant.*

Indeed in a set speech in an assemblie it is expected a man shoulde use all his reasons in the case hee handleth, but in private persuasions it is alwayes a great errour.

A fourth case wherein this colour may bee reprehended is in respecte of that same *vis unita fortior*, according to the tale of the French King, that when the Emperours Amb. had recited his maysters stile at large which consisteth of many countries and dominions: the French King willed his Chauncellor or other minister to repeate and say over Fraunce as many times as the other had recited the severall dominions, intending it was equivalent with them all, & beside more compacted and united.

There is also appertayning to this couler an other point, why breaking of a thing doth helpe it, not by way of adding a shew of magnitude unto it, but a note of excellency and raritie; whereof the fourmes are, *Where shall you finde such a concurrence?* Great but not compleat, for it seemes a lesse worke of nature or fortune to
make any thing in his kinde greater then ordinarie, then to make a straunge composition.

Yet if it bee narrowly considered, this colour will bee reprehended or incontrued by imputing to all excellencies in compositions a kind of povertie or at least a casualty or ieopardy, for from that which is excellent in greatnes somwhat may be taken, or there may be decay; and yet sufficiencie left, but from that which hath his price in composition if you take away any thing, or any part doe fayle all is disgraced.

6. Cuius privatio bona, malum, cuius privatio mala, bonum.

THE formes to make it conceyved that that was evill which is chaunged for the better are, *He that is in hell thinkes there is no other heaven.* Satis quercus, Acornes were good till bread was found, &c. And of the other side the formes to make it conceyved that that was good which was chaunged for the worse are, *Bona magis carendo quam fruendo sentimus, Bona à tergo formosissima,* Good things never appear in their full beautie, till they turne their backe and be going away, &c. The reprehension of this colour is, that the good or evil which is removed may be esteemed good or evil comparatively and not positively or simply. So that if the privation bee good, it follows not the former condition was evil, but lesse good, for the flower or blossome is a positive good, although the remove of it to give place to the fruite be a comparative good. So in the tale of Æsope;
when the olde fainting man in the heat of the
day cast downe his burthen & called for death,
& when death came to know his will with him,
said it was for nothing but to helpe him uppe
with his burthen agayne: it doth not follow that
because death which was the privation of the
burthen was ill, therefore the burthen was good.
And in this parte the ordinarie forme of *Malum
necessarium* aptly reprehendeth this colour, for
*Privatio mali necessarij est mala*, and yet that
doth not convert the nature of the necessarie
evil, but it is evill.

Againe it commeth sometimes to passe, that
there is an equalitie in the chaunge or privation,
and as it were a *Dilemma boni* or a *Dilemma
mali*, so that the corruption of the one good is a
generation of the other,

*Sorti pater æquus utrique est:*

And contrarie the remedy of the one evill is
the occasion and commencement of an other, as
in *Scilla* and *Charibdis*.

7. *Quod bono vicinum, bonum: quod a bono remo-
tum malum.*

**S**UCH is the nature of things, that thinges
contrarie and distant in nature and qualitie
are also severed and disioyned in place, and
thinges like and consenting in qualitie are placed,
and as it were quartered together, for partly in
regarde of the nature to spredde, multiplie and
infect in similitude, and partly in regard of the
nature to break, expell and alter that which
is disagreeable and contrarie, most thinges do eyther associate and draw neere to themselves the like, or at least assimilate to themselves that which approcheth neer them, and doe also drive away, chase and exterminate their contraries. And that is the reason commonly yeelded why the middle region of the aire shold be coldest, because the Sunne and stars are eyther hot by direct beames or by reflection. The direct beames heate the upper region, the reflected beames from the earth and seas heate the lower Region. That which is in the middest being furthest distant in place from these two Regions of heate are most distant in nature that is coldest, which is that they tearme colde or hot, _per antiperistasin_, that is invironing by contraries, which was pleasantly taken holde of by him that said that an honest man in these daies must needes be more honest then in ages heretofore, _propter antiperistasin_ because the shutting of him in the middest of contraries must needs make the honesty stronger and more compact in it selfe.

The reprehension of this colour is, first many things of amplitude in their kind doe as it were ingrosse to themselves all, and leave that which is next them most destitute, as the shootes or underwood that grow neare a great and spread tree, is the most pyned & shrubbie wood of the field, because the great tree doth deprive and deceive them of sappe and nourishment. So he saith wel, _Divitis servi maximè servi_: And the comparison was pleasant of him that compared courtiers attendant in the courtes of
princes, without great place or office, to fasting
dayes, which were next the holy daies, but other-
wise were the leanest dayes in all the weeke.

An other reprehension is, that things of great-
nes and predominancie, though they doe not
extenuate the things adioyning in substance; yet
they drowne them and obscure them in shew
and appearance. And therefore the Astrono-
mers say, that whereas in all other planets con-
junction is the perfectest amitie: the Sunne
contrariwise is good by aspect, but evill by con-
junction.

A third reprehension is because evill ap-
procheth to good sometimes for concealement,
sometimes for protection, and good to evill for
conversion and reformation. So hipocrisie draw-
eth neer to religion for covert & hyding it selfe:

* Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni,*

& Sanctuary men, which were commonly in-
ordinate men & malefactors, were wont to be
neerest to priestes and Prelates and holy men,
for the maiestie of good things is such, as the
confines of them are revered. On the other side
our Saviour charged with neerenes of Public-
canes and rioters said, *The Phisitian approch-
eth the sicke, rather then the whole.*

8. *Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, maius malum; quod ab externis imponitur, minus malum.*

**THE** reason is because the sting and remorse
of the mind accusing it selfe doubleth all
adversitie, contrarywise the considering and re-
cording inwardly that a man is cleare and free.
from fault, and just imputation, doth attemper outward calamities: For if the evil be in the sense and in the conscience both, there is a gemination of it, but if evil be in the one and comfort in the other, it is a kind of compensation. So the Poets in tragedies do make the most passionate lamentations, and those that fore-runne final dispaire, to be accusing, questioning and torturing of a mans selfe.

*Seque unum clamat causamque caputque malorum.*

& contrariwise the extremities of worthie persons have beene annihiliated in the consideration of their owne good deserving. Besides when the evil commeth from without, there is left a kinde of evaporation of griefe, if it come by humane iniurie, eyther by indignation and meditating of revenge from our selves, or by expecting or foreconceyving that *Nemesis* and retribution will take holde of the authours of our hurt, or if it bee by fortune or accident, yet there is left a kinde of expostulation against the divine powers.

*Atque deos atque Astra vocat crudelia Mater.*

But where the evil is derived from a mans own fault there all strikes deadly inwardes and suffocateth.

The reprehension of this colour is first in respect of hope, for reformation of our faultes is in *nostra potestate*, but amendment of our fortune simplicie is not. Therefore *Demosthenes* in many of his orations sayth thus to the people of *Athens*. *That which having regarde to the*
time past is the worst pointe and circumstance of all the rest, that as to the time to come is the best: What is that? Even this, that by your sloth, irresolution, and misgovernement, your affaires are grown to this declination and decay. For had you used and ordered your meanes and forces to the best, and done your partes every way to the full, and notwithstanding your matters should have gone backwards in this manner as they doe, there had beene no hope left of recoverie or reparation, but since it hath beene onely by your owne errours &c. So Epidetus in his degrees saith, The worst state of man is to accuse externe things, better then that to accuse a mans selfe, and best of all to accuse neyther.

An other reprehension of this colour is in respect of the wel bearing of evils, wherewith a man can charge no bodie but himselfe, which maketh them the lesse.

Leve fit quod bene fertur onus.

And therefore many natures, that are eyther extremely proude and will take no fault to themselves, or els very true, and cleaving to themselves (when they see the blame of any thing that falles out ill must light upon themselves) have no other shift but to beare it out wel, and to make the least of it, for as wee see when sometimes a fault is committed, & before it be known who is to blame, much adoe is made of it, but after if it appeare to be done by a sonne, or by a wife, or by a neere friend, then it is light made of. So much more when a man
must take it upon himselfe. And therefore it is commonly scene that women that marrie husbands of their owne choosing against their friends consents, if they be never so ill used, yet you shall seldome see them complaine but to set a good face on it.

9. Quod opera & virtute nostra partum est maius bonum; quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia fortune delatum est minus bonum.

THE reasons are first the future hope, because in the favours of others or the good windes of fortune we have no state or certainty, in our endeavours or abilities we have. So as when they have purchased us one good fortune, we have them as ready and better edged and inured to procure another.

The formes be, you have wonne this by play, you have not onely the water, but you have the receit, you can make it againe if it be lost &c.

Next because these properties which we injoy by the benefite of others carry with them an obligation, which seemeth a kinde of burthen, whereas the other which derive from our selves, are like the freest patents absque aliquo inde reddendo, and if they procede from fortune or providence, yet they seeme to touch us secreatly with the reverence of the divine powers whose favours we tast, and therfore worke a kind of religious feare and restraint, whereas in the other kind, that come to passe which the Prophet speaketh, Latantur & exultant, immolant plagis suis, & sacrificant reti suo.
Thirdely because that which commeth unto us without our owne virtue, yeeldeth not that commendation and reputation, for actions of great felicitie may drawe wonder, but prayselesse, as Cicero said to Cesar: Quæ miremur habemus, quæ laudemus expectamus.

Fourthly because the purchases of our own industrie are ioyned commonly with labour and strife which gives an edge and appetite, and makes the fruition of our desire more pleasant, Suavis cibus a venatu.

On the other side there bee fowre counter colours to this colour rather then reprehensions, because they be as large as the colour it selfe, first because felicitie seemeth to bee a character of the favour and love of the divine powers, and accordingly worketh both confidence in our selves and respeéte and authoritie from others. And this felicitie extendeth to many casuall things, whereunto the care or virtue of man cannot extend, and therefore seemeth to be a larger good, as when Caesar sayd to the sayler, Cæsarem portas & fortunam eius, if he had saide, & virtutem eius, it had beene small comfort against a tempest otherwise then if it might seeme upon merite to induce fortune.

Next, whatsoever is done by vertue and industrie, seemes to be done by a kinde of habite and arte, and therefore open to be imitated and followed, whereas felicitie is inimitable: So wee generally see, that things of nature seeme more excellent then things of arte, because they be inimitable, for quod imitabile est potentia quadam vulgatum est.
Thirdly, felicitie commendeth those things which commeth without our owne labor, for they seeme gifts, and the other seemes peny-worths: whereupon Plutarch sayth elegantly of the actes of Timoleon, who was so fortunate, compared with the actes of Agesilaus and Epaminondas, That they were like Homers verses they ranne so easily and so well, and therefore it is the word we give unto poesie, terming it a happie vaine, because facilitie seemeth ever to come from happines.

Fourthly, this same prater spem, vel prater expextatum, doth increase the price and pleasure of many things, and this cannot be incident to those things that procede from our owne care, and compasse.

10. Gradus privationis maior videtur quam gradus diminutionis; & rursus gradus inceptionis maior videtur quam gradus incrementi.

It is a position in the Mathematiques that there is no proportion betweene somewhat and nothing, therefore the degree of nullitie and quidditie or act, seemeth larger then the degrees of increase and decrease, as to a monoculos it is more to loose one eye, then to a man that hath two eyes. So if one have lost divers children, it is more grievfe to him to loose the last then all the rest, because he is spes gregis. And therefore Sybilla when she brought her three books, and had burned two, did double the whole price of both the other, because the
burning of that had bin gradus privationis, and not diminutionis. This couler is reprehended first in those things, the use and service whereof resteth in sufficiencie, competencie, or determinate quantitie, as if a man be to pay one hundredth poundes upon a penaltie, it is more for him to want xii pence, then after that xii pence supposed to be wanting, to want ten shillings more: So the decay of a mans estate seemes to be most touched in the degree when he first growes behinde, more then afterwards when he proves nothing worth. And hereof the common fourmes are, Sera in fundo parsimonia, and as good never a whit, as never the better, &c. It is reprehended also in respect of that notion, Corruptio unius, generatio alterius, so that gradus privationis, is many times lesse matter, because it gives the cause, and motive to some new course. As when Demosthenes reprehended the people for harkning to the conditions offered by King Phillip, being not honorable nor equall, he saith they were but aliments of their sloth and weakenes, which if they were taken away, necessitie woulde teach them stronger resolutions. So Doctor Hector was wont to say to [the] Dames of London, when they complayned they were they could not tell how, but yet they could not endure to take any medicine, he would tell them, Their way was onely to be sicke, for then they would be glad to take any medicine.

Thirdly, this couler may be reprehended, in respect that the degree of decrease is more sensitive, then the degree of privation; for in the minde of man, gradus diminutionis may
The Coulers of

worke a wavering betweene hope and feare, and so keepe the minde in suspence from setling and accommodating in patience, and resolution; here-of the common fourmes are, Better eye out, then alwayses ake, make or marre, &c.

For the second braunch of this couler, it depends upon the same generall reason: hence grew the common place of extolling the beginnung of every thing,

*Dimidium facti qui bene capit habet.*

This made the Astrologers so idle as to judge of a mans nature and destiny by the constellation of the moment of his nativitie, or conception. This couler is reprehended, because many inceptiones are but as Epicurus termeth them, *tentamenta,* that is, imperfect offers, and essayes, which vanish and come to no substance without an iteration, so as in such cases the second degree seemes the worthiest, as the body-horse in the Cart, that draweth more then the fore-horse, hereof the common fourmes are, The second blow makes the fray, The second word makes the bargaine, *Alter principium dedit,* *alter [modum] abstulit,* &c. Another reprehension of this couler is in respect of defatigation, which makes perseverance of greater dignitie then inception, [for chaunce or instinct of nature may cause inception,] but setled affection or judgement maketh the continuance.

Thirdly, this couler is reprehended in such things which have a naturall course, and inclination contrary to an inception. So that the
inception is continually evacuated and gets no start, but there behoveth perpetua inceptio, as in the common fourme. Non progredi, est re-gredi, Qui non proficit, deficit: Running against the hill: Rowing against the streame, &c. For if it be with the streame or with the hill, then the degree of inception is more then all the rest.

Fourthly, this couler is to be understooode of gradus inceptionis à potentia, ad aësum comparatus; cum gradu ab aësu ad incrementum: For other[wise], maior videtur gradus ab impotentia ad potentiam, quàm a potentia ad aësum.
APPENDIX

ESSAIES

OF STUDIES

CAP: i

STUDIES serue for pastimes, for ornaments, for abilities: their cheife vse for pastimes is in privatenes, and retiring: for ornaments, in discourse; and for ability in Judgement: for expert men can execute, but learned are men more fit to Judge, and censure: to spende to much time in them is sloth: to vse them to much for ornament is affectation: to make Judgement wholly by their rules is the humor of a scholler: they perfect nature, and are themselues perfected by experience: crafty men contemne them, wise men vse them, simple men admire them. for they teache not their owne vse, but that there is a wisdome without them, and aboue them wonne by observation: Reade not to contradict, nor to beleue, but to weigh, and consider. Some
bookes are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some fewe to be chewed, and digested: that is: some are to be reade onely in partes, others to be reade but curiously, and some fewe to be reade wholly with diligence, and attention. Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready, and writing an exact man: therefore if a man write litle he had neede of a greate memory; if he confer litle, he had neede of a present wit, and if he reade litle, he had neede haue much cunning to seeme to knowe that he doth not knowe: Histories make men wise; Poets witty: the Mathematiques subtile; Naturall Philosopphie deepe: Morall graue: Logique, and Rethorique able to contende.
OF DISCOURSE

CAP: 2

SOME in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to holde all arguments, then of Iudgement in discerning what is true: as if it were a praise to knowe what might be saide, and not what should be thought: some haue certaine common places, and theames, wherein they are good, and want variety: wch kinde of Poverty is for the most parte tedious, and now, and then ridiculous: the honorablest parte of talke is to giue the occasion, and againe to moderate, and passe to somewhat else: It is good to vary, and mixe speache of the present occasion wth arguments; tales wth reasons: asking of questions wth telling of opinions: and Iest wth earnest: but some things are priviledged from Iest, namely, Religion, matters of state, greate persons, all mens present busines of Importaunce, and any case that deserveth pitty: He that questioneth much, shall learne much, and content much, especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the party of whom he asketh: for he shall giue them occa-
sion to please themselues in speaking, and him-
selxe shall continually gather knowledge: if some-
times you dissemble your knowledge of that you
are thought to knowe, you shallbe thought an-
other time to knowe, that wch you knowe not:
speache of a mans selxe is not good often; and
there is but one thing wherein a man may com-
mend himselxe wth good grace, and that is
commending vertue in another: especially if it
be such a vertue as wherevnto himselxe pretend-
eth: Discretion of speache is more then elo-
quence, and to speake agreeably to him wth
whome we deale, is more then to speake in good
wordes, or in good order: a good continued
speache, wthout a good speache of Interloquu-
tion showeth slownes; and a good second speache
wthout a good set speache showeth shallownes.
to vse to many circumstaunces ere one come to
the matter is wearisome, and to vse none at all
is blunt.
HE that is onely reall, needeth exceeding greate partes of vertue, as the stone had neede to bee exceeding riche that is set without foyle: but commonly it is in praise, as it is in gaine: for as the proverbe is true, that light gaines make heavie purses, because they come thicke: whereas the greate come but now, and then: so it is as true that small matters win greate commendation, because they are continu-ally in vse, and in noate, whereas the occasion of any greate vertue commeth but on hollidaies: to attaine good formes it sufficeth not to despise them, for so shall a man obserue them in others, and let him trust himselfe wth the rest: for if he care to expresse them he shall loose their grace, wch is to be naturall, and unaffected: some mens behaviour is like a verse, wherein every sillable is measured: how can a man ob- serue greate matters, that breaketh his minde to much in small observations? not to vse cere- monies at all, is to teache others not to vse them againe, and so diminish his respect: especially
they are not to be omitted to straungers, and straunge natures: among a mans equalls a man shallbe sure of familiarity, and therefore it is good a litle to keepe state: among a mans inferioris a man shallbe sure of reverence, and therefore it is good a litle to be familiar: he that is to much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety maketh himselfe cheape: to apply ones selfe to others is good, so it be wth demonstration that a man doth it vpon regarde, and not vpon facility: it is a good precept generally in seconding another, yet to adde somewhat of his owne: if you graunt his opinion let it be wth some distinction: if you will folowe his motion let it be wth condition: if you allowe his counsaile, let it be wth alledging farther reason.
OF FOLLOWERS, AND FREINDES

CAP: 4

COSTLY followers are not to be liked, least while a man maketh his traine longer, he maketh his winges shorter: I reckon to be costly not them alone wch charge the purse, but wch are wearisome, and importunate in suites: ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions, then countenaunce, recommendation, and protection from wrong: factious followers are worse to be liked wch followe not vpon affection to him wth whome they raunge themselues, but vpon some discontentment received against some others, wherevpon commonly insueth that ill intelligence, that many times we see betweene greate personages: the following of certaine states awnswerable to that wch a greate personage himselfe professeth: as of soldiers to him that hath bin imploied in the warres, and the like hath ever bin a thing civill, and well taken euen in Monarchies, so it be wthout too much pompe, or popularity: but the most honorable kinde of following is to be followed, as one that intendeth to advaunce vertue, and
desert in all sortes of persons: and yet where there is no imminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, then with the more able: in government of charge it is good to use men of one ranke equally: for to countenaunce some extraordinarily is to make them insolent and the rest discontent, because they may claime a due: but in favours to use men with much difference, and election is good, for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest affectionous, because all is of favour: it is good not to make to much of any man at first, because one cannot holde out that proportion. to be governed by one is not good, and to be distracted by many is worse: but to take advise of freindes is ever honorable: for lookers on many times see more then gamsters, and the vale best discovereth the hill. there is little freindeship in the worlde, and least of all betweene equalls, that which is, is betweene superiour, and inferiour, whose fortunes may comprehende the one the other.
OF SUITERS

CAP: 5

MANY ill matters are undertaken, and many good matters with ill mindes: some embrace suites which never meane to deale effectually in them, but if they see, there may be life in the matter by some other meane, they will be content to win a thanke, or take a second rewarde: some take holde of suites onely for an occasion to crosse some others, or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise haue apt pretext, without care of what become of the suite, when that turne is served: nay some undertake suites with a full purpose to let them fall to the ende to gratify the adverse party, or competitor. surely there is in sorte a right in every suite, either a right of equity, if it be a suite of controversy, or a right of desert, if it be a suite of petition: if affection leade a man to favour the wrong side, in Justice rather let him use his countenaunce to compound the matter then to carry it: if affection leade a man to favour the lesse worthy in desert, let him doe without depraving, or disabling the better
deserver: in suites which a man doth not understand, it is good to refer them to some freinde of his, of trust, and Judgement, that may report whither he may deale in them with honour: Suters are so distasted with delays, and abuses, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in suites at first, and reporting the successe barely, and in challenging no more thankes then one hath deserved is growne not onely honorable, but also gratious. in sutes of favour the first comming ought to take but little place, so farfoorth consideration may be had of his trust, that if Intelligence of the matter could not otherwise haue beene had but by him, advauntage be not taken of the note: to be ignoraunt of the value of a suite, is simplicitie, aswell as to be ignoraunt of the right thereof is want of conscience: secrecy in suites is a greate meane of obtaining: for voycing them to be in forwardnes, may discourage some kinde of suiters, but doth quicken, and awake others: but timing of suites is the principall: timing, I say, not onely in respect of the person that should graunt it, but in respect of those, which are like to crosse it: nothing is thought so easie a request to a greate man as his ire, and yet not in an ill cause, it is so much out of his reputation.
OF EXPENCE

CAP: 6

RICHES are for spending, and spending for honour, and good actions: therefore extraordinary expence must be limited by the worth of the occasion: for voluntary undoing may be aswell for a mans countrey, as for the kingdom of heauen: but ordinary expence ought to be limited by a mans estate, and governed with such regarde as it be within his compasse, and not subject to deceite, and abuse of servauntes, and ordered by the best showe, that the billes may be lesse then the estimation abroade: it is no basenes for the greatest to discende, and looke into their owne estate: some forbeare it not of negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselues into melancholy, in respect they shall finde it broken: but woundes cannot be cured without searching: he that cannot looke into his owne estate, had neede both choose well those whome he imploynet, and chaunge them often: for newe [men] are more timerous, and lesse subtile: in clearing of a mans estate he may aswell hurt himselfe in being to suddaine,
as in letting it runne out to long; for hasty sell-ing is commonly as disadvantageable as interest: he that hath a state to repaire may not despise small things: and commonly it is lesse dishon-our to abridge petty charges, then to stoope to petty gettings: a man ought warily to begin charges whch begun must continue, but in mat-ters that returne not, he may be more liberall.
OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH

Cap: 7

THERE is a wisdome in this beyonde the rules of phisicke; a mans owne observation, what he findes good of, and what he findes hurt of, is the best phisick to preserue healthe, but it is a safer conclusion to say, this agreeth well wth me, therefore I will continue it: I finde no offence of this, therefore I may vse it: for strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses, wch are owing a man till his age; discerne of the comming on of yeares, and thinke not to doe the same thinges still: beware of any suddaine chaunge in any greate pointe of diet: and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it: to be freeminded, and cheerfully disposed, at howres of meate, and of sleepe, and of excercise, is the best precept of long lasting: if you fly phisicke in healthe altogether, it will be to strong for your boddy when you shall neede it: if you make it to familiar it will worke no extraordinary effect when sicknesse commeth: despise no newe accident in the body, but aske opinion of it: in sickness principally respecete healthe, and in healthe
action: for those that put their bodyes to indure in healthe, may in most sicknes wch are not very sharpe, be cured onely wth diet, and good tending: Phisitions, are some of them so pleasing to the humors of the patient, that they presse not the true cure of the disease, and some others so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient: take one of a milde temper, and forget not to call aswell the best acquainted wth your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.
OF HONOUR, AND REPUTATION

Cap: 8

THE winning of Honour, is but the revealing of a mans vertue, and worth without disad-
vauntage: for some in their actions doe affect honour, and reputation, wch sorte of men are
much talked of, but inwardly litle admired: and some darken their vertue in the shewe of it, so
that they be undervalued, in opinion: If a man performe that wch hath not beene attempted
before, or attempted, and giu'n over, or hath beene atcheived, but not wth so good circum-
staunce; he shall purchase more honour, then by effecting a matter of greater difficulty wherein
he is but a follower: if a man so temper his actions, as in some of them he doe content
every faction, the musicke willbe the fuller. a man is an ill husband of his honour, that enter-
eth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more then the carying it through
can honour him: discreete followers helpe much to reputation: Envy wch is the canker of hon-
our is best extinguished by declaring a mans selfe in his endes, rather to seeke merrit then
fame, and by attributing a man's success rather to providence, and felicity, then to his own virtue, and policy. The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these: in the first place. Conditores, founders of states. In the 2d place are. LEGISLATORES. Lawgivers, wch are also called seconde founders: or PERPETVI. PRINCIPES. because they govern by their ordinances after they are given. In the 3d place are LIBERATORES. such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their country from the servitude of strangers, or Tirauntes. in the 4th place. are PROPAGATORES. or. PROPVGNATORES. IMPERII. such as in honorable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against the Invadors: and in the last place are PATRIÆ PATRES. wch reign lustly, and make the times good wherein they live. Degrees of Honour in subjects, are first. PARTICIPES CVRA-RVM. those upon whom Princes doe discharge the greatest weight of their affairs, their right handes as we call them: the next are. DVCES. BELLI. greate Leaders, such as are Princes Lieutenants, and doe them notable service in the wars: the 3d are. GRATIOSI. FAVORITES. such as exceed not this scantling to be solace to their sovereign, and harmless to the people. and the 4th are called NEGOTIIS. PARES, such as have greate places under Princes, and execute their places wth sufficiency.
OF FACTION

[Cap: 9]

Many have a newe wisdome, otherwise called a fond opinion, that for a Prince to governe his estate, or for a greate person to governe his proceedings according to the respect of factions is the principall parte of policie: whereas contrariwise the chiefest wisdome is either in ordering those thinges which are generall, and wherein men of seuerall factions doe nevertheless agree; or in dealing with correspondent persons one by one: but I say not that the consideration of factions is to be neglected: meane men must adheare, but greate men that haue strength in themselues were better to maintaine themselues indifferent, and neutrall: yet euen in beginners to adheare so moderately as he be a man of the one faction, which is passablest with the other commonly giveth best waye: the lower, and weaker faction is the firmer in condition: when one of the factions is extinguisshed, the remaining subdivideth, which is good for a second: it is commonly seene that men once placed take in with the contrary
faction to that by which they enter: the traitor in factions lightly goeth away with it, for when matters haue stuck long in ballancing the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thankes.
OF NEGOCIATING

CAP: 10

It is better generally to deale by speeche, then by letters, and by the mediation of a third, then by ones selfe: I res are good, when a man would drawe an aunswere by letter backe againe, or when it may serue for a mans Justification afterwardes to produce his owne ire: to deale in person is good, where a mans face breedes regarde, as commonly with inferiours: in choise of Instruments it is better to choose men of a plainer sorte, that are likely to doe that whch is committed vnto them, and to report back againe faithfully the successe; then they that are cunning to contrue out of other mens busines somewhat to grace themselves, and will helpe the matter in reporte for satisfactions sake: It is better to sounde a person with whome one dealeth a far of, then to fall vpon the pointe at first, except you meane to surprize him by some short question: It is better dealing with men of appetite, then with those who are where they would be: if a man deale with another vpon conditions, the start, or first
performaunce is all, wch a man cannot reasonably demaunde, except either the nature of the thing be such, wch. must goe before, or else a man can perswade the other party that he shall neede him in some other thing, or else that he be counted the honester man: all practise is to discover, or to make men discover themselues in trust, in passion, at vnawares, and of necessity, where they would haue somewhat donne, and cannot finde an apt pretext: If you would worke any man, you must either knowe his nature, and fashions, and so leade him: or his endes, and so win him; or his weaknesses, or disadvauntages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him, and so governe him: In dealing wth cunning persons, we must ever consider their endes, to interpret their speaches, and it is good to say litle vnto them, and that wch they least looke for.

FINIS.