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W. Marshall sculpsit.

Touch not my Anointed,
And do my Prophets no harme.

Psal: 105. 15.

London Printed for Humphrey Mosley. 1648.

Il Davide Perseguitato

DAVID
Persecuted.

Written in Italian

BY

The Marquesse *Virgilio*
Malvezzi:

And done into English

BY

ROBERT ASHLEY
GENT.

LONDON,

Printed for *Humphrey Mofely*, at
the signe of the Princes Armes
in *St Pauls Church-Yard*.

1647.

DAVID

1811

1811

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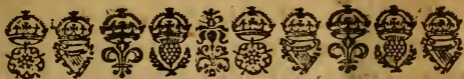
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DAVID

Persecuted.



HE Y that make a question whether it be true, or no that G O D speaks any more to men, or indeed that men have any more intelligence from G O D;

let them beleeve it for a certaine that he speaks, but they are too deaf to hear the language; let them beleeve it for a certain that he writes, but they are too blind to perceive the Character: He that will understand his voyce, he that will read his letter, let him betake himselfe to the Holy writ, that is a Vocabulary, which the Spirit of God hath left us to explain his profound discourses by, that is a key to disclose all those obscure letters that are directed to us from heaven.

Will you, O Princes, will you, O people, conceive what it is that GOD speaks when he sends a pestilence, when he sends a famine, when he sends warre, when hee brings estates to destruction, or in hazzard to be destroyed? Goe run over these names in the Vocabulary of the Almighty.

But the weak and weary eyes of our mind eschew the light of the truth, they precipitate themselves into an abyffe of of miseries, and among the obscurities of the night grope for the splendour of the Sun. Thus wee renounce the prerogatives of the new law.

It is not the way to get forth of the Clouds in which the Israelites walked, for men, but to change them. Those divine mysteries which they beheld on-ly clouded up in darknesse, are now most transparently observed in a clear skie; yet the causes of the Revolutions of States, of the increase of one, of the diminution of another, of the fall of Princes, of Famine, of Pestilence, of Warre, were openly displayed to them, and we on the contrary envelop them in the obscurity of a thousand ambiguities,

as if that were not true which the greatest Divines have told us, that the Chastisements which came upon the Israelites befell them for our example.

God speaketh but once (saith *Job*) and speaketh not againe : the holy writ is that booke in which hee hath spoken : there then ought to bee searched the causes of good or bad events, where clearely, and for our sakes they are written.

To frame Politicke aphorismes, to set downe rules for it taken from prophane authors, is in a manner to pretend that mans will is necessary and conducing.

Nay I could find in my heart to say that it is an undeifying of God, and a deifying of the second causes. He makes them serve his turne, but them he serves not. He that in discussing upon naturall events brings in God only for a reason, is but a poore Philosopher ; and hee that brings him not in, in Inquiries of Politick occurrences, is but a poor Christian ; when it is his pleasure that the fire which at one time scorched should at another coole, he must have recourse to
his

his almighty power in working miracles, but hee may very well without miracles give way, that the same action which at one time hath reared up a Prince, should at another sink him.

Our too leaden wings cannot eagle us up from this base earth, wee walke in a gloomy aire, without lifting up our eyes to that most glorious Sunne of the Empireum.

The Politick treatises of the Gentiles which are but earthly, bring us back to earth, in that they have in them but earthly causes; but the holy instructions which are sent us from heaven producing heavenly causes, bring us home to heaven. O most benigne Lord, may it please thee to give to drink of thy most cleare and living water, this thirsty wretch who forsakes the stinking and muddy Cisterns of the Gentiles, rather loathing them then satisfied with them.

If I knew not my selfe unworthy to be taken out of the darknesse of my grosse ignorance, I would most humbly and upon my knees entreat thee for one ray which like the dawning leading mee on to the most cleare Noone, might at this present

present in some part draw mee out of the obscurity of this dimme night, that I might discover those deep and profound mysteries which are concealed from the feebleness of our understandings.

The Prophet Samuel reproves Saul, because that contrary to Gods commandement he had left Agag King of the Amalekites alive, and had not slaine all his cattell.

THe disobedience of *Saul* gives the last turn to the wheele of his greatness: It is a fire which consumeth crowns, for they are lodred with obedience. Hee knoweth not what belongs to matter of state that loseth this towards God: hee teacheth others to forgoe it toward their superiours, and as much as in him lyes, destroyes the compacture of the universe.

Disobedience is the offspring either of the arrogance of the braine, or of the weaknesse of the senses; either that men thinke to doe better then they are commanded,

manded, or that they are inclined to do worse : In one of these the frailtie sometimes meets with compassion, in the other the contempt alwaies provokes to vengeance : This can never bee in regard of God, because it is not possible to bee wiser than God, and when it is practised among men, although it may often seeme to produce good fruit, yet is it alwaies naught, as that which proceeds from an evill plant. Well ordered Common-wealths have not forborne to punish it, though prosperous victories ill disciplined bringing with them more damage then defeatments doe.

Saul excuses himselfe in that the people had preserved the best of the spoil to sacrifice them to God : Obedience is better then Sacrifice (answers Samuel.)

God had already ordained the Sacrifice when he had commanded that all the men and all the Cattell of the Amalekites should bee slaine ; so many
Preists

Priests they were, that were appointed to kill them, so many sacrifices as to bee killed.

There want not this day such *Sauls*, that sacrifice to God the sacrifices of disobedience. These golden mountaines heaped up with impiety that seemes sometimes to adorne them, defile the Altars of God, they only garnish the ambition of man : Hee that thinkes with these to pacifie his divine Majesty, incenseth it : as much as in him lyes, with execrable blasphemy proclaimes that Majesty to bee most wicked, and makes him partaker of his misdeeds, as if he were bound to bee appeased with him, so hee may but have a share in the purchases of his villanies.

The Prophet replies, because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, the Lord hath rejected thee from being King. Saul saies to him I have sinned, return with me that I may worship the Lord.

SEE the power of ambition, which hath oftentimes more force upon the hearts

hearts of men than the Commandements of God have : He makes as if he repented, because hee fears to lose the Kingdome : He repents not because he cares not for losing Heaven. But (Oh the deceivable judgements of men) because he repents not; hee loseth the kingdome of Heaven; when happily had he repented, hee had lost neither the kingdome nor heaven.

He that wil learn the best art for preserving of states, let him read the decalogue, he shal find there in ten lines dictated by the holy Ghost, those directions which are the most assured for the achieving of heaven, and the least deceitfull for soveraignty upon earth : Policy is a Sea so inconstant, so turbulent, that there is no place to bee found in it where wee have not seene one Prince or other cast away, it is a peice of Architecture so decayed, that it alwayes threatneth to fall downe, that to keepe the frame of the world upon its basis ; God, that heaven and earth may not bee confounded, permits it still to bee tottering, yet sometimes under those that observe his owne precepts.

Samuel offers to depart; Saul takes him by the skirt of his garment and teares it: Even so shall the kingdome of Israel be rent from thee, addeth the Prophet.

DOe not (Oh yee Princes) spoyle your subjects ; Let the vestments of the Priests be sacred in your eyes : He that spoyleth the subject is not a Prince; hee is a Tyrant : he loseth the name if he lose not the estate.

God hath many times made garments expresse his intentions, peradventure because they are in some sort a part of our selves while they are united to us. The spirits which continually exhale out of our bodies, are those that cause this union.

The Coats of beasts are very certaine signets of their nature; as the Garments of men are of their conceit, for as that apparells the one kind, so the other doth the other: Every Country hath its difference of Garment because each hath its difference of conceit, which hath not a cloathing of her owne, hath not a Prince of her owne : Against such

a one peradventure one of the Prophets exclaimed in threatenng tearms when he said, Woe bee to you which goe clad in strange garments: It may go for a kind of a sure token, that if they have not a stranger to their Sovereaigne, they would have one. A horses coat shewes his constitution, and a mans his inclination.

Saul answereth that he hath sinned, yet prays the Prophet againe to returne with him to the Sacrifice, and to honour him before the Elders of the people.

TO leape from Religion to Hypocrisie, to offend and therewith to defend himselfe, is not to serve God, but to make God serve his turne, and when one cannot deceive him, to deceive others by him. The cause of so great an impiety is that execrable proposition never enough deplored, that 'tis all one, to bee good, and to seeme good. This may bee true in regard of men whose know-

knowledge is but opinion.

No sooner was *Saul* made acquainted with the will of God, but he seeks how to hinder it; no sooner leaves he to be religious, but he becomes a Politician; as if the cunning of state which is not sufficient to defend us against men, were able to defend us against God.

The certaine knowledge that a Prince is to lose his estate, raises up many to look after it. There is no fearing of him whose fortunes the heavens oppose, and men are very gladly instruments of Gods anger. If men were among us as zealous to remunerate the good as they are to chastise the bad, and rewards were equall to punishments, peradventure the world would be better then it is: but because punishment is many times accompanied with profit, & reward with some losse, men are more enclined to punish then to reward: And it is very convenient that in this world the Chastisements should bee greater then the Rewards, to make us know that in the other the Rewards shall bee greater then the Chastisements.

Samuel

Samuel had said that he would not returne; yet hee returneth afterward, though not to sacrifice with Saul, yet to sacrifice. Agag, not as a Minister of Hypocrisie, or of Policie, but of Religion: Hee causes Agag to bee brought before him, that hee might slay him. He considers in him the Image of a Tyrant waxen fat with the blood and substance of his subjects, and trembling at the anger of God. The Prophet saith unto him, As thy sword hath made many women childless, so shall thy mother bee made childlesse among women, and so hee killeth him.

K Now you why the Lord said, *Hee that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword?* To adde force to the law of nature, that saith, Doe not that to another which thou wouldest not have done to thee: but little would this, if GOD had not added; for that which thou doest to another shal be done to thee: the one doth instruct, and the other

other terrifie us. If GOD should not sometimes punish sinnes in this world they would not beleve that there is a God; if hee should alwayes punish sins in this world, men would thinke there were no other world for them but this.

Samuel departeth to Ramah, and there mourneth for Saul, because GOD repenteth that hee had made him King.

PRinces may well think it is no shame to remove those from their charge, that carry themselves shamefully therein: yet need they not regard that false rule of policy, that to change their Ministers before their time is to submit themselves to their subjects, to accustome them to dislike of their Governours, and a prejudiciall thing to their dominion in permitting them not to have the election, yet at least the approbation of his Ministers, who may thereby bee more apt to preferre the appetite of the people, before the service of the Prince.

The

The malignitie of men hath mistaken the tearms, this is not to give way to the people, 'tis but to give them care. It is no losse of authority, but a purchase, and it shall never accustome the subjects to complaine of such officers which deserve well, to take away those who deserve ill.

Man who is moulded of base matter attributeth to himselfe more ostentimes then to God, who though he can never repent, yet having chosen a Minister who turneth to evill, doth speake and worke as if he repented. And man who hath many occasions to repent, either repenteth not at all, or else proceeds, as if hee had not repented.

The lamentations of Samuel appease not God, and why should his weepings appease him for Saul, when Saul himselfe weepes not?

How oft doth the righteous offer sacrifice for the sinner, whiles the sinner himself is sacrificing to the Devill?
whiles

whiles the one labours to appease God, the other provoketh him farther. It might seeme unto God that the righteous intercessour were a liar in craving pardon for him that refuseth it, if God did not know that the sinner is like to a mad man, who oft hath need of one of understanding to speak to the Physician for him.

God in some sort complaines against *Samuel*, when hee saith, *How long wilt thou mourn for Saul?* God could not (if one may say so) endure his lamenting, and not hearken to his suit. These are those waters which in a manner offer violence to heaven: The spirit of God moveth upon such waters, and they make a river of oblivion in Paradise. The teares which are shed, the prayers which are said, and the supplications which are sent up to God for others, are as acceptable to God, and more peradventure then if they were made for themselves: They are esteemed of more merit, at least in regard of the moralitie of the action. Why then doe some Princes perswade themselves, that they satisfie the obligation wherein they are obliged

obliged to some one, when they yeeld him his suite which he hath made for another? Or to say more truly, why doe some favourites beleeve that there is such an impiety in their Princes? Let them call to mind that the office of a favourite is the office of an Angell, and ought therefore to present the suites and supplications of the subjects to their Lord, and to bring backe the gracious grants of the Lord unto the subjects; he that doth the contrary is a Divell, and no Angell.

Fill thy horne with oyle (*saieth God to the Prophet*) and goe to *Ishai* the Bethleemite, for amongst his sonnes I have provided mee a King: *He answers*, How can I goe, for if *Saul* heare of it, hee will kill me.

THus hee answereth, not because hee feareth death, but because hee is desirous to do service unto God; hee much prizes his life in that case wherein to dye

is not to obey. Hence let those that are employed by their Princes learn that the death of the servant is seldome the service of the Lord. It ought indeed to be received couragiously, but never to be encountred but when it is very usefull, and when the dying is an obeying. A man of worth is a high prized instrument of the greatnesse of his Prince, if he cares not to preserve himselfe for his own sake, yet hee ought to be carefull of preservation for his Lord and Masters sake. Every man that is fitted to dye is not fitted to doe service. It is true also what I have said even in the common Souldier, (whose life rather than his braine is dedicated to the Princes service) that he ought also to endeavour to obey, and not to dye. He that runs headlong on death, doth not spend his life to the advantage, but casts it away to the losse of his Lord, his service is to overcome, and not to die, and indeed they lose that are slain. To expose needlesly to death that body w^{ch} can do service to its Prince but whiles it lives, is a most pernicious desire of vaine glory, contrary to good policy, against good military discipline,
and

and an affection full of deceit and flattery ; into which even the Generals whose life is most pretious, do often precipitate themselves, as if it were a greater bravery to fight then to command. But that Army is but in a bad taking (pardon me this digression) whose safety consisteth in the arme, not in the braine of the Generall. To know how to command well in warre, is a part of the imaginative faculty. The imagination to work well requireth a good measure of heate, whose contrary is feare, which how little soever it be, the other abates, and how little soever that abates, the imagination is disturbed ; whence it comes to passe that to bee afraid and to command well cannot stand together : but how many are there that are incited more by Honour then by Courage, doe both fight and feare ? these may handle the sword well, but yet not apt for command. The heating of the braine is not in our owne power, as is the managing of the hands : we have no command over that, howsoever absolute dominion wee have over this other ; for otherwise cowardise were not blame worthy if it were

were of nature necessarily in us. Thence it followes that there is no greater or surer signe of a brave courage then to command well in a battell; where both Reputation and life, yea, and many times the State it selfe comes upon the stage.

The Lord willeth Samuel to take him a calfe out of the flocke, and to say that hee is come to doe sacrifice.

BEcause God could succour him by ordinary meanes, hee would not have recourse to extraordinary. If hee should alwayes bee doing of miracles, men would not thinke his Providence so great in creating the second causes; and if he never used miracles, he should not perhaps bee known to bee Almighty. Where God worketh many miracles, there is commonly great need of them; and where there is such need, there is but little faith. When he is not known by his Impression, Stamp, or Image, which

which hee hath imprinted in the things by him created, then he findeth it requisite to make himselfe seen in the works of his Omnipotency.

Samuel obeyeth the Lord, goeth and calleth Ishai and his sons to the sacrifice, and looking on Eliab supposeth him to be the man whom hee should anoint, because hee is the tallest and the goodliest of person.

Had the Prophet been of the opinion of those Philosophers, who have censured men of great stature to be voyd of wisdom, he would not at the first sight so much have respected the tallness of stature. I for my part am not of that opinion, but doe hold it to be most false.

IF those Phylosophers beleevd the neereness of the braine to the stomach, doth trouble the operations of the understanding, and if they have also imagined to themselves, that the
 vitall

vital spirits, which ascend from the heart, may bee made animall spirits, for the service and operation of the braine, are unapt for such effect, unless they bee first somewhat cooled : (because of the incompatibility of wisdome with heat) wherefore have they not also affirmed the taller sort of men to bee wiser then the little, as having their Braine farther distant from the perturbations of the stomach, and their spirits not so hot by reason of their long way, and larger distance from their Originall? Peradventure they are deceived, in that they believe that men are alwayes great by the forming power, through the superabundance of matter, not observing that many times there concurreth with it as a principall Instrument the Quantitie of heat, as it is commonly verified in those whose tallnesse is accompanied with slenderesse. It hath therefore been noted as a true observation, that the tall men that have little heads, and the little men which have great, have more Braine then the rest, which commeth to passe not as many have thought, because the little head in the great body,
and

and the great in the little maketh a mediocrity in the ordinary stature of men; which is false if wee measure the mediocrity of the part in respect of the whole of which it is a part : But because the little head in a great man, is a signe that the extention did proceed of heat, and by consequence that the littlenesse of that member commeth through defect of matter in the bony and fleshy parts, which being but small, produceth the the thinner and more delicate Organs which doe not obstruct, or hinder the operations of the braine. The little man having a great head, is an argument that it is full of braine, especially if hee bee but slender, for it cannot bee ascribed to the thicknesse of the skull, because that Nature would rather have imployed that matter to have made the man taller or greater. I am excusable if I seeke by reason to overthrow this doctrine, because I am willing to verifie it by the example of mine own stature.

*The Lord willeth Samuel not to regard
the countenance of Eliab, nor the tall-
ness of his stature, but hee had refused
him, judging not as men do by the
outward appearance, but beholding
the Heart.*

L Oe here the vanity of Metoposcopic
and Physiognomic is pointed at.
Beauty or Comeliness is a most perfect
consonancy, arising out of the symme-
tric and proportion of the first Quali-
ties. It gets in the eye because it is fair;
It attracts the will because it is good, it
moves the understanding because it is
true. The Poets in the vanity of their
fables have haply come neere unto the
truth, calling beauty by the name of the
Sun, of the Starres, and of Heaven:
It is certainly a peece of that Harmony
which the motions and aspects of the
Heavens, of the Sunne, and of the Stars
doe incite, and hath such a radiant light
in it selfe, that (though wee know not
why) it doth if not inforce our minds,
yet certainly incline them strongly. The
Providence of God hath seldome infor-

med the fairest body with the fairest mind, that men might not beleeve, that from the same Harmony of the temperament of the starres, from which proceeds the Beauty of the one, that of the other did proceed likewise.

Ishai having finally brought forth his sonnes before Samuel to the number of seven, he refusing them all, asketh whether he hath no more: Ishai answering, there is yet one which is feeding of the sheepe, the Prophet causeth him to bee sent for, and anointeth him in the midst of his Brethren, being the same whom the Lord had appointed in the stead of Saul.

God having at first chosen for King, the tallest that was in Israel, chuseth the second time the least that was in the house of *Ishai*: *The first shall be last, and the last shall be first,* (saith the Lord) who then chose the last to be first. There is no difference of time with God, in whose eternitie there is neither first nor second. The eldest may be stoutest, but are not usually

usually the wisest. That tendernes that commonly enfeebleth the Children of our old Age, maketh the organs of their understanding more tender and delicate. The cold of him that engendreth, gives them the more wisdom, and his organs the better discourse: whence it comes, that if the last begotten be commonly the weakest, yet they are oft and many times the wisest. He that bringeth *David* from the sheep-hook to the scepter, and exalteth him from the stable to the kingdome, it is hee that humbled himselfe from his kingdome to the stable: Hee that is both a shepheard and a King, maketh him a King who was but a shepheard. There is a kind of Analogie in all sorts of Commands. Hee that said that to know well how to order a table, was a signe that he knew also how to marshall an Army, might as well say, that he that could well keep a flock of sheep, had the skill how to govern a people well.

God from the fold hath taken Kings, from husbandry and hunting Tyrants: the husbandman would have the earth to produce that which naturally it doth not,

and that it should produce he wounds it. The hunts-man by shedding the blood of poore innocent beasts, groweth to be delighted in cruelty : But the sheeheard conducts his flock to pasture, brings it back to the fold, preserveth it from maladies, and defends it from wolves : his taking their milk, and their wool, is a disburthening of them, not a wounding. Let Kings learne to take their Ministers sometimes even of the shee-fold. The best men are not alwaies in the greatest Palaces : a lowly Cottage often times incloses a high spirit, and a ragged Rock a very cleere Diamond.

The good Spirit departeth from Saul, and the evill one entreteth into him.

Gods refusals are the devills purchases : where the one departs, if the other enters not, he at least draws very neere, either to perturbe or to possesse,

Let

*Let us seeke out one that can play well
(say the servants of Saul) that
the King may bee eased, when hee is
molested by the evill spirit.*

They beleevd peradventure that the
Melancholy humour being stirred
up, they that are oppressed by it might
bee eased by melody.

There have been some of opinion that
Melancholy is produced of the devill.
The wiser sort if they did not beleve
that it is of his production, yet judged
that it may easily prove to be of his in-
troduction, and therefore termed it the
the Bath of the devill, because it is the
Lees, because it is black, because it hath
an Analogie with the darknesse of sin:
The occasion of their beleif was the see-
ing sometimes how by the fixation therof
men were lifted up or elevated in an ex-
tasie: yea, and sometimes how the sharp-
nesse thereof irritating the brain, and
stirring the Images therein, hath made
some to speak things whereof before they
were not held capable; whence I think it
came to passe, that many oppressed with

the greatnesse of the effects produced by this humour, have often judged the animall spirits to be infernall spirits.

I deny not, there are found some melancholick persons possessed with devils, or that melancholy is an apt bath for the devill ; but I affirme it not only of the grosse, thick and dark melancholy, but even of that also which produceth the subtilest and lightest spirits. Hee hath need of active bodily instruments for his operations in the body. He joynes himselfe therefore gladly with the subtilest and finest spirits, because they being in some sort of a middle nature, being corporeall and incorporeall, are a more proportionate receptacle for a spirit to unite himselfe to a thing that is meeily corporeall. An ancient Sage beleevved that our soule which hee imagined to bee at first clothed with aire, had need of the like organs to joyne it to the body, whereunto he thought it not united but assistant ; neither are there wanting among the Divines those that have conceived the Angels to be clothed in like manner.

They

They tell Saul of David, that hee is strong, a valiant man of warre, can play well, is a wise and a comely person, and that God is with him.

HOW should the devill continue his possession, being to be assailed with so many prerogatives, but that finding in them some rayes of the glorious Archangel *Michael*, he must needs fly and hide himselfe in the bottomlesse pit of hell.

Saul sendeth to Ishai for his sonne that keepeth the sheep, whom Ishai doth send unto him with some presents.

MEN ought not to come before Princes without presents, nor to depart from them without thanksgivings.

Saul makes him his Armour-bearer, and writes unto his father that hee doth not send him his son again, because he had found favour in his sight.

AND who is hee that is so gracious in the eyes of *Saul*? It is even hee

that is to take his kingdome from him : It is an extraordinary thing amongst men, that their loves become their overthrowes : the affections of a corrupt mind, like those of a diseased body, are alwayes pernicious ; nor are they motions of Nature, but the motions of that which hath destroyed Nature, shee inclines not to that which corrupts her, if shee bee not already corrupted ; and if she bee corrupted, she is dead, she is gone.

David sung and played when Saul was vexed with the Devill, and then the Devill left him, not because of Davids Musicke, but his Goodnesse.

H Ad the devil a body, Musick might haply be able to chace him out, being unable to endure the power of Melody : he who is a friend to it, is an enemy to sin. One that writ hereof, tooke the delighting in Harmony, to be a morall signe of Prædestination : Sinne discomposeth all the consonancies in man, making

making a discord between the inferiour and superiour parts, which is the cause of all evill, and finally of all dissonancies, which is Death.

If Health bee but a Harmony of the Temperament, and sicknesse a dissonancy, why are humours molested? why farther distempered with divers medicaments, and not rather reduced to a true temper with consonancies? Musick would be the truest medicine for all Maladies, if wee knew the right and true proportion, and how to apply each to that kind of Consonancy that would correct it: if any acromatick musick hath been able to stirre up the melancholick humour and to inrage it, why should not the contrary be effectuall to qualifie and restraine it?

If Nature in our maladies did happily feele that due consonancie that were requisite, she would peradventure rouze up her selfe as well as the string of an Instrument; which though it be without life, yet stirs and moveth it selfe, as soon as it feeleth a perfect union. Shee discovers the truth hereof, in those that are stung or bitten by the *Tarantula*,
when

when wee see that Nature strives not to deliver her selfe from that poyson, until she be first stirred with that Consonancy, whose proportion doth correct her. This is not proper to that malady alone, but all other I beleeve would in the like manner be cured, if the Consonancies of all were as well known: But the ignorance of men, and the discomposed nature of sin, makes us run to the Physician, when wee should have recourse to the Musician.

The Philistims come to assault the Israelites, Saul with his Army goeth to encounter them, each of them plant his Army on the edge of a hill, and leave the valley between them: there was in the Philistims Army a man called Goliath.

HEe was a Giant, and he was a bastard; the Giant hath for his Correlative the rash and foole-hardy: he being greater then men, thinks himselfe equall with God, as if where Humanitie doth end, there must needs Divinity begin,

begin, and that there were not rather an infinite distance between. This is that Generation that opened the Cataracts of Heaven, which made the Sea overflow the Land: Antiquity could no way describe them so well as to describe their fighting against God. The greatest individuals of one Species, are for the most part *Lucifers*.

Hee was a Bastard, and Bastards are commonly valorous, because they come of Parents that were amorous. The Birth and Parentage, which ordinarily makes men hide their Talents, with the glories of their forepassed Ancestors, which bringeth them that are present and living asleep, hath no place in those who being often times poore and despised, yet finding in themselves the spirit of those that begot them in a desperate manner, get up to the steepest of the mount of Glory, alwayes egged on by the bitter touches of their spotted beginning; the continuall reproach and perpetuall spurre of generous spirits. But if on the contrary their minds bee dejected with their miseries into a dead sleep, and will not bee excited

cited and awakned with the sharp stings of Honour, they are not worthy to be reckoned amongst men; whence it ariseth that Bastards most commonly light upon the extremes either of valour or of basenesse.

This Goliah defieth the Israelites to a single combat, hee requires that the fortune of the whole warre may bee restrained to the fortune of one petty duell.

TO hazard their whole fortune, without hazarding at the same time all their forces, hath been taken to bee no well advised course: which yet peradventure might do well enough, if men could be content to lose all their fortune, before they had lost all their forces. The present victories then might facilitate the future. But such Conditions if ever they be promised, are very seldome observed. Such single Combats are but Preludiums to set battailes, and the happy successe therein is rather a signe that
men

men may conquer, then that they have done it. The Constellation of that party whose Champion hath been Victor, is then taken to be stronger, when it shall appear that he is governed by that which appertaines to the King, and not by his own peculiar.

There was none amongst the Israelites, but was afraid of this man. The King promiseth to give him his daughter in Marriage that shall overcome him.

Rewards make valour appear, which lay hid before : they produce it, they doe not create it. It is great prudence in men to moderate their promises when they are in great dangers : To make too large ones, is a token of fearfullnesse, and oftentimes doth not prevent the danger, but changeth it : To deliver from great danger, yeelds great reputation ; Rewards increase strength and reputation, and strength endangers the State : From hence it comes that Promises are not kept, not because they are made with
purpose

purpose not to keep them, but because men are changed with their change of fortune, and he that should perform, is no longer the same that promised.

David, who was returned home, comes now into the Army to bring certaine presents to the Officers under whom his Brethren did serve: He enquires concerning the businesse in hand: He asks what shall bee the reward. His elder Brother rebukes him of pride and overweening.

THis man discernes not Pride from Fortitude, because he looked on his brother with an envious eye, not with an eye of love. There are many vertues which have their operations common with vice, being distinguished only by the Intent: which because it cannot be seen, is judged of by others, and mens judgements are not alwayes without passion, it seldome happens that they judg without error. He would not have any adventure on that which hee dares
not

not adventure on : Those defects that are common, seeme rather the defects of mankind, then of any particular persons : he layes the blame on us, that by being free from such defects himselfe, acquits nature of them too.

David is brought before Sau', who seeing him so young, telleth him that he is not able to fight with the Giant, who was experienced in war from his youth.

PRinces ought not to put any upon a great enterprize, who hath not first been brought up and tryed in things of the like nature. Danger hath not the same looke with it when wee are neere it, as when we are at a distance : when 'tis far off from us, our understanding represents only the Honour and the Profit ; but when wee approach face to face, wee see nothing often times but the hor- rour of Death.

It is true that Courage is a reall thing in a man, yet neverthelesse hee knowes not that he hath it, till experience hath made him know that hee hath had it.

There

There are many that prove better upon tryall then they thought they should have done ; and many come short of the opinion they had of themselves. Wise men are very fearfull of danger, because they have considered well of it : but when they come to try it, and are no longer to consider of it, they stand no longer in feare of it. On the contrary, they which are of little judgment, imagining all things alike, when they find it otherwise then they imagined, they grow also many times to bee other manner of men, then before they held themselves for.

David to encounter this doubt of Saul, declareth how that hee had smitten Beares, and how hee had slaine Lions.

TO recount our owne doughty Acts is often times vanity, here it is of necessity : hee did not rehearse it to shew that he had overgone great dangers, but to undergoe greater ; not
to

to bee commended, but to bee commanded.

Saul resolves to let David goe to fight: Hee puts on him his own Armour, which David being not able to manage, puts it off.

EVEN as a little man cannot fight well with great Armour, so neither can the lesser Princes with those greater. He that hath not fitted himselfe with armour of his owne, is not to fight in anothers. *Patroculus* came not to his death till hee put on that of *Achilles*. This is the common Doctrin of the Politicians, yet I take it sometimes to faile in regard that there are often found men of that worth, that like *Ostriges*, they convert others Armes into their owne substance. This may come to passe, when one receiving an Army without a Head, makes himselfe to be obeyed, and managing them by his valour, brings himselfe into great estimation; If Generals that were no Princes, have sometimes drawn
by

by such meanes the Armies to be at their Devotion, and have gotten Kingdomes by such Armies as were not their own, why should not a valorous Prince be able to doe it by the Armes of his Friends?

David goeth with his staffe and his sling, with five smooth stones against the Giant.

HE had no need of other Armour, he was armed with his confidence in God. He which hath this Armour, can never perish: If we happen to be deceived, 'tis because wee deceive our selves, having our confidence in those things which we ought not, or not having so much as wee ought; to bring forth a true act of Confidence, is a very difficult thing: There is requisite a great assistance of God to make one truly and only relye on the help of God. If such acts were more frequent amongst us, we should not haply account so many events to be miracles. They that teach us how not withstanding our confidence in God,

we

wee ought to doe as much as we can, or otherwise in stead of trusting in God we should presume upon him, their meaning may haply be, that it were but a rash presumption to perswade our selves that we have produced any true act of Confidence; but not if wee firmly beleve that God for his part would assuredly helpe us, when wee for our part should produce such an Act.

The Giant derides David, curseth and disdaines him, but he putting a stone in his sling, throwes it at him, hitteth him in the forehead, makes him fall groveling on his face to the ground, and running upon him cutteth off his head with his sword.

IT hath been an ordinary thing in single combats, betweene a Giant-like man and one of a meaner stature, that the little man hath had alwayes the better: The Phylosophers would attribute the cause to the courage which is counted to be greater in the lesser heart; a small fire will heat a little room, when a larger will

will scarce be warmed with a great one. I have no assurance in this opinion, but would rather adventure (if I should not be thought too bold) to affirme that Courage consisteth not in the Heart, as is commonly held both by the ignorant vulgar, and many of the learned. Who knoweth that it is not rather produced by the same imaginative faculty out of which fear also proceedeth? - how many that in their health were exceeding faint hearted, in raging fits have become rash and desperate, which was occasioned only by the heat of the Brain? For if it proceeded from that of the Heart, they that are distempered with fevers should be alwayes the most couragious: and what is it that maketh hopelesse men so resolute? Is it their Heart forsooth growne lesse or more heated then it was before? or their understanding rather which suggesteth unto them that there is no other way to escape death but by encountring it? To what purpose doe men speak to cowards to animate them? Reasons may indeed worke upon the Braine, but are not able to heate the Heart: Who knoweth not that the not
know.

knowing of the danger makes men adventurous? Whence it comes that the wisest are not alwayes the most couragious. Hardinesse (and herein I refer my selfe to the better learned) is a certaine kind of madnesse, consisting haply in a hot distemper of the Braine, which permitteth no consideration or discourse of the danger of death. He that in fighting thinks he shall be slain, cannot fight couragiously. And albeit the Phylosophers define the valiant man to be such a one as knowing the perils goes to encounter them, because it is just and honest. I beleve it ought to be understood before he entreth into those dangers, because after hee is once engaged, if hee knew them he would faint. A wise man was of the mind, that Fencers were more fearfull then others, because they knew the danger more then others: It is not therefore the Heart, but the Brain, and if it come from the Heart, it must be in regard that same is the originall of all the operations of the mind. The Divines going a surer way, would resolve this problem by saying, that it hath been the pleasure of God by humility to over-

overthrow Pride, and by the least things to abase the greatest: If it were not so not only in men, but also in States and Empires, there would be no tydes and ebbes in the world, but he that was once the greatest should alwayes so continue, seeing hee could not be overcome by a lesser.

The Politicians would alleage Disdain to be the cause: hee that despiseth his enemy, doth not strive with all his might, but employing some part only, and that with no great heed, is often overcome by one who being weaker then he, opposeth him with the utmost of his strength and cunning: One of the greatest errours that I have observed in great Potentates, hath bin to see how applying their forces on an enterprise, they have rather taken measure of the enemy then themselves, opposing against him only so much of their strength, as they conjectured to be answerable to the present affairs; and whereas with a greater power they might have bin sure of victory, with an equall one they have either lost it, or at least prolonged the warres with more expence of men and money. It is very
difficult

difficult to measure, the proportion of things by their Beginnings. Childrens garments must bee allowed to be somewhat larger then themselves, least they growing greater, the garments become too little. It is enough for a meaner man if at the beginning he be enabled to resist a greater, that so he may but get him reputation, and by the means thereof he can procure himselfe adherents and protectors.

The Giant was no sooner slaine, but the Army of the Philistims being discomfited, betakes it selfe to flight: and the Israelites pursue and slay them.

THat Army whose trust is in the straightnesse of some passage, in the height of any situation, in the strength of their Trenches, in the valour of a man, or in any one speciall thing of good defence, is easily overcome by him who shall be assuredly perswaded, that if hee can but overthrow such a part, or slay such a man, or passe through the difficulties of such a hill, or such fortifications, he shall find

find no other resistance, and therefore shall hee set forward very stoutly and courageously : Because men having once lost that by which they were confident they should overcome, being dejected, think there is nothing left that can defend them against the valour of their enemies. But that Army which relies upon its intire self equally throughout is in a manner invincible : It may peradventure bee routed, utterly discomfited it cannot : Every one will fight to the Death, because every one trusting in himself, will not distrust of the victory, until he hath lost his life.

The slaughter being ended David returns with the Giants head. Saul enquires of Abner who he is : Abner not knowing him, goes to meet him, and brings him unto Saul : Hee asks him whose sonne hee is : Hee answers, hee is the Son of Ishai.

SEe how fading or how displeasing the memory of benefits is in Princes; either

either *Saul* did not remember *David*, or else hee was not willing to remember him: Hee that but a little before had found so much favour in his sight, hath now lost it both in his sight and memory: The memory of a benefit lasts well, if it lasts as long as the benefit, and the respect that is gotten thereby often dyes before its Father. If Reasons may be rendered for the affections of a Prince towards a Courtier, be they drawne of Profit or Pleasure, or whether accompanied with Honesty, yet it is a thing but of small continuance: If it follow Reason, it formes a habit of which cometh satiety, and if it be not grounded on Reason, the ground of such affection faileth, It is a vanity to think our selves able to yeeld a reason of the affectionate favours of Princes: Those are great, and slowly will they end, for which there can be no reason given how they came to begin. There are starres which incline them thereunto by their influences, neither are those that love alwayes happy, for neither are the aspects of these alwayes favourable: in this manner haply that great scholler ment it, though he was

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not

not so understood, when hee seemed to doubt, whether any reason could be given of the inclinations of Princes, or whether they depended on the course of their Nativity. And whereas in all other occurrents hee had shewed himselfe a friend unto reason, he never spake of this Argument or matter, but made a present recourse unto Destiny, which having once coupled and conjoynd with the course of the Nativity, there is no doubt but he meant it by the operation of the starres. Politicians may cease to teach the wayes to obtaine the favour of Princes; men must be born to it, not taught it. A man may by his valour and wisdom make himselfe well esteemed, but yet not beloved.

When hee had made an end of speaking, the soule of Jonathan was knit with the soule of David, in a knot of Amitie.

VV Underfull things are Friendship and Love, whence they proceed

proceed (with all respect, and far from all presumption be it spoken) men have not yet well declared for all their Philosophy. Some have thought them to be the daughters of Abundance, and of Want; but this were a taxing of Love and Amity with imperfection, and to deny the prime and chiefe love which we call the holy spirit: for in the three divine Persons there can be no defect. The rest of the Philosophers, have deduced the originall from the similitude of the parties loving, some from the Heaven, some from the starres, some from the temper, some from the manners, and some finally from the features, yet peradventure they have all mistaken: for if love came from the resemblance, a man should rather love the male then the female: and whereas Love is but seldome reciprocal, it should be alwayes answered with like affection; seeing one thing cannot be said to be like another, but that the other must also bee like to it. I beleeve that there are some Constellations conducing to Friendship, and others to Love, which produce in their subject, a kind of lovely Character which com-

meth not of the Temper, but rather of some (I know not what) celestiall impressions which the Heavens and starres with their operations have left imprinted in that tender body, and that hee is most beloved that hath most thereof, and that he who hath lesse cannot be the object of Love, but only of good will or respect. The reason whereof is because Beauty is the object of Love : Yet not Beauty which is like unto ours, but that which is greater, otherwise there would not (no not in *Patriâ*) bee any love lowards God : And if sometimes here wee love our equall, it is either because then we see none more worthy, or because we do not reflect thereon. But only that excellence which is in God is the adequate object of Love, because that only which is in God is the adequate object of our will : and if wee could see him as he is, hee should infallibly make us love him. But because we are here but sa in *Via*, he is not so represented unto us; we turne our eyes to admire that celestiall Beauty where we find it best imprinted among us, and is often tearmed *Gratia divisata*, which consisteth neither in

the Symmetry of the Humours, nor the Proportion of the Lincaments, albeit it oftentimes accordeth and agreeth well with them both when it is not hindred by any defect in the matter, and so sometimes, but not alwayes the fairest be the best beloved. Hence we may learn the reason of the little correspondence, and the much mutability in Love: It is not alwayes counterchanged, for if the greater Beauty bee beloved, that which is beloved will not love that which loveth it. It is changed as oft as there is represented to us greater beauty then which wee love. Yet it is not sufficient that it be represented unto us, if wee do not reflect upon it with a desire, and therefore many leave not their first love, because they permit not any new object of love to enter into their mind.

Saul suffereth not David to returne home, but setteth him over his Army: hee is very gracious in the eyes of the peop.e, and particularly of the servants of the King.

THe subject that is grown great, diminisheth the glory of his Master: What course shall a Prince take then that is but of slender worth? If he take not worthy men to him, how will hee governe his Kingdome? If he take such, how will hee be a King? Hee is not King over others that hath in his Palace a greater man then himselfe. If his state be unsetled, he loseth his state; if the state be safe, his reputation. With great reason men might complain of Nature, if they were not for the most part commanded by the better. He that holds the Scepter, is not the King, hee is but the servant of his Minister who obeyeth him. Crowns come by Inheritance, 'tis true: but not the faculties of ruling: If fortune give those to whom she pleaseeth, Nature disposeth the other to him that deserves. That Proposition of the Philosophers is most true that some are bound to command and others to obey: This is confirmed by him that divided the signes of the Zodiack into commanding and obeying signes. This truth is not overthrowen by seeing him to hold a Scepter that was born fitter for the mat
tock;

our needs become his infelicity? A wise man may indeed not desire applause, but he cannot hinder it, except he leave those qualities for which he is applauded, or depart from them that applaud him. Ought hee then to forgoe the Talents which God hath bestowed on him? or employ them only among wild beasts in the horrid wildernesses, or in solitary places? The eminent vertue of men, if it be not the cause of their death, is so of their banishment: At the first they are sought to out of necessity, and then againe they are expelled under colour of necessity. The Tree, that was esteemed for its shadow, to shelter us from the heats of the summer, is afterwards cut down to defend us from the cold of the winter. The same man whom Princes embraced in the heat of their necessity, is he whom they cut downe in the cold of their jelousie.

Saul since that never looked aright on David.

Nature teacheth when we look on our enemy to give a violent *Metum* to
our

our aspect, whether by staring fiercely, or looking askew upon him, to strike him with our very spirits, and with the greatest quantity and worst quality that may be. Hee that thinks them not to issue out of the eyes, and that they proceed not to touch the object, when it is neere them, is deceived, and he that believes it, will not deny that they have their operation on that subject. If the only diversitie of the aspect make the selfe same radiation of the starre, to be sometimes gracious, and sometimes deadly, why should not the eyes, being the stars of this little world, have power to diversifie their effects, according to the diversity of their aspects.

It was not long ere the Devill assaulted Saul again; and when David played and sung to deliver him from the oppression of the spirits, hee with a speare in his hand would have staine him, but David avoyded the blow and departed.

That

That Tyrant is put to a shrewd pinch, that is grown jealous of a subject of worth and reputation: If he kill him, he feares the rising of the people: If he suffer him, he doubts his raising of them. Now hee accounts himselfe happy if in his oppressing him, he could make the faults of his will to be layd upon the ignorance of his understanding, and with the imputation of a mad man smother that of an ungratefull. A most wicked piece of Policy, to make our greatest defects the best instruments of our Government: There hath bin one that made use of drunkenesse, to secure himselfe of the most valorous man of his Army; and *Saul* doth the like by his vexation with spirits to make *David* away: Such colourable carriages doe move the ignorant rout to compassion, rather then to rebellion, whiles they give place to Princes to bewaile the death of those, whom themselves have slain, and to make them beleve that their tears of joy are tears of lamentation.

Saul

Saul perceived that God was with David, when hee could not slay him with the casting of his speare, from which his valour could not defend him, because he did not expect it, neither his wisdom because he did not foresee it.

HEe that will know when God is with his enemy (and this is a morall and not a naturall knowledge) let him not consider the conquests made by his valour, and by that which wee call Prudence, but the helps which he receiveth from naturall inanimate things, as Clouds, winds, fire, snow, ice, raine and tempests; for they, as it is written fulfill the will of God. What avayleth our valour if God bee not with us? and what is our Prudence if God do not govern it? It is nothing (I speake of politick Prudence,) for it is a good connexion of present things, with the future and those that are past: but of that which is past, and which is present, we know but little, and of what is to come we know nothing. For my part (in regard

regard of future things) I esteeme that as we give unto God an unproper Attribute of that which he hath not, so wee suppose also a vertue in man which is not in him. God hath not properly any prescience, because there is nothing future in respect of him, neither is there any Prudence in man, because hee knoweth not what is to come. That which is in God is more properly to bee termed knowledge, because it is intuitive, and the other in man may be called Chance, because it works on a subject which may be or not be.

Then Saul began to be afraid of David.

THAT the Prince should bee afraid of his subject, and the subject stand in feare of his Prince, hath been accounted a Harmony to hold the State happily together. This opinion howsoever it may seeme a witty conceit, while such feare keeps in the meane, and groweth not excessive, notwithstanding is most false: It is true that hot and dry may bee corrected by degrees, even as
 heavie

heavie and light may by their Counterpoises, because the degrees of the one are knowne, and the weight also of the other; but the affections of the minde can hardly be counterpoised, because they have no firmenesse nor measure. Feare hath too sharpe a pricke for those that produce it, and is too troublesome a passion to them that owne it; the one with the qualitie that make them to bee feared, are spurred on forward after the Government: The other cannot willingly hold themselves in, because feare is a motion that is not naturall but violent. There is no man that desireth not to free himselfe of it: The greater part attempt it, and in attempting it the State is troubled. If the Prince bee hee that feareth, he turneth to bee a Tyrant; and if any subject make himselfe feared, t'will breed a Conspiracy; if the whole Communalty, a Rebellion. The Subject ought to feare the Justice of his Prince, & the Prince that of God; if a Subject make himselfe feared, he is no longer a Subject, or intends not to be so; if the Prince bee afraid, hee is no longer Prince, or not like long to bee. To thinke to make a
Prince

Prince good by Art, may chance prove but foppery ; they are rather borne to it then brought to it. The goodnesse of a Prince consisteth in I know not what inexpressible mystery, that cannot bee known, nor can be taught : It wanteth nothing of the last Individuation which gives it the being, and that same being and no other. This conceit of mine resolves the Problem that demandeth how it comes to passe, that many who in the managing great affaires, were held to be capable of the highest Dignity and Dominion, having after attained to it, been found to be unfit for it.

Saul made David a Colonel over a thousand Souldiers, and said after that he would give him his daughter Merob to be his wife, supposing that to obtaine her, he would so far adventure against the Philistims, that he would be slaine.

SAul would that David should bee slain, but God permitted not that he should

should be past the shame of being wicked, till hee could no more hurt *David*, that *Saul* was past it. This error of advancing men that are rising, and not to know afterwards how to take them down, hath often hapned even to those that justly and without any offence of God ought to have done it. A starre though but a Comet, because it is a light that is newly up, draweth all mens eyes to it, even theirs whose dammage it threatneth. A man of worth can no sooner begin to appear, but Princes beginne to embrace him, thinking to raise themselves by his Friendship, when indeed he raiseth himselfe by theirs, not heeding that instead of growing they decrease. It is a difficult thing for one to advance himselfe, if he be not protected or impugned by a great one: Many times when one hath begunne to advance another by protecting him, hee raiseth him higher by crossing of him, not because it is likely hee would then second him, but because he knoweth not how to extinguish him. Men are ashamed, yea, and sometimes afraid to shew themselves open enemies of one that is
thought

thought to be their friend who hath deserved well of them, and is accounted valorous. They seeke then by subtle sleights to overthrow him, and therewith advance him the more. They are not resolved to use force untill their subtilities faile them, and when there is no security in using of force. Neither yet doe I commend it if they then goe about to second them, for the things that are forward in growing should never bee seconded. *Catiline* by being opposed was overthrowne, and though in *Cesar* it had not the like effect, it happened so, because he was first seconded, and afterwards opposed: Yet was it better once to resist than alway to second him, because where the victory was doubifull, the losse had bene certaine. I am firmly perswaded that if *Catiline* had prevailed to be Emperour, and *Cesar* had been slaine, the Writers would have blamed the impugning of *Catiline*, and commended the opposing of *Cesar*; because there are many Politicians that make use of examples not to confirm their reasons, but to frame them. The errours of men consist in watering the Plant that groweth

eth, placing it in their own Garden, delighting in the the beauty of it, and not knowing that it is a kind of Wolfesbane, untill they straine at it and pull it up, and then it killeth them. If the great ones knew what hurt they receive by shewing themselves enemies to a little one, they would not permit any sparkes to flye forth, if they were not such sparks as forthwith give fire to the gun, whose bullet should destroy them.

Saul marries his Daughter Merob to Adriel, whom hee had promised to David, and causeth it to be told unto him, that hee intendeth to give him his other Daughter Michol that loved him: David answereth, that he is not worthy to be the Kings sonne in law, because hee is poore and of as meane pedigrees.

MArriages are of power to further things formerly began, whether tending to enmity or to amity. *Saul* seeth not how in deceiving *David* he deceives himselfe

himselfe ; and thinking to lay an impediment in his way to the Kingdome, he opens him the way thereunto. Some one hath made use of such meanes with better success; but with more cunning. Hee was a private person, and not yet a Prince, when hee married his Sister to his equall, not unto his inferiour, to lull him asleep without advancing him, and because he to whom he married her was not so wise as *David*, hee hoped by such a marriage to have helpe to strengthen his side, and to find a just occasion to oppress his Kinsman. But *Saul* had no need of *David*s help to attaine to that Kingdome which hee possessed already : Hee was without comparison greater then hee, and might rather feare to increase the reputation of *David*, then to bring his prudent watchfullnesse asleep, which was not like to give him any just occasion to oppress him. It is no safe advice to advance men to the end to abuse them : The advancement is alwayes successfull, but there is difficulty often found in abasing them. This is written for one of the neatest peeces of Policy,
but

but I set it downe amongst the most confused.

Saul sendeth word to David, that he doth not disdain his poverty, and that hee demands no other Dowry then a hundred fore-skins of the Philistims.

Here comes now on the stage one of the Engines which were hidden under the Honour of Marriage; to bring *David* in danger to be slaine by the Philistims. If Nature had not often accompanied the most certaine perils with the most conspicuous glories, it were a commendable course to expose them to such dangers whose reputation terrifies us; but because neere the greatest downefalls are the highest hills, it is not safe to let men clime up the tops of those mountaines where they may as well raise up as ruine themselves. Occasion is it which makes men wise, or which brings them to be known. Hee that at first sight could see into men of ability

ability by a hidden token, should under pretence of Honour make them spend their dayes in delicacy and idlenesse, and not suffer men to have a sight of that light, which untill it be stricken out doth never appeare. The seeds of Plants that are kept in vessels of Gold, or of Pearle, or of pretious stone, are honoured thereby, but being as buried and become barren, they bring forth no buds unlesse they be first cast into the soile of the earth Without motion there is no Augmentation, Resting is imperfection in things that may increase: In God onely it is perfection, because in him there is no Augmentation. It is not in our power to make our selves great. The utmost limit of our actions is in the hand of men of Fortune. How many that have bin very able in *Po:entiâ*, have come to their Grave without having any opportunity to performe an Act worthy their sufficiency?

Saul speaketh to Jonathan, and to all his servants, that they should kill David: Jonathan adviseth David, and putteth Saul in minde how much

much he is obliged to him, and what injustice it were to slay him.

BVt of what effect bee such Remonstrances of Obligations? The chiefe Obligation which a Tyrant pretends to have, is the conservation of his Dominion, and his greatest Justice is to put to death the best. To oblige were a thing very desirable if it were onely to oblige, and not to bind himsele for a farther obliging. That Obligation which seemed compleat to him that produced it, comes to bee accepted but as a beginning by him for whom it was wrought. Hee that will binde another by benefits, must joyne them one to another: The report of the one must not cease before he hath added another. The linkes that are not chained one to another doe not make up a Chaine. The resemblance hath a great force to move and receive in the Imagination even the Phantasmes that were dead.

Time is a destroyer of all things; where it destroyeth not the greatnesse of mens actions, it will destroy the marveling at it: for it frames them into

a habit, and that being once attained, makes the operations come on without difficulty, and without any reflecting. That which is passed already doth cancel the obligation of private men; and with Tyrants that also which is to come, whether they be gratefull or ungratefull, they are alwayes afraid, that they will oblige them either by their owne rewards, or through discontent of not being rewarded, will make insurrection.

The words of Jonathan seemed to have appeased Saul, who giveth order that David returne to Court.

THe Truth which passeth through our understanding doth not use to flye away so fast, but that our will taketh hold and embraceth it, unlesse the malice of our senses defile it. It is not so hard to withdraw a wicked man from his evill purposes, as it is difficult afterward to keep him in a good mind, thereto is requisite in a manner a perpetuall assistance,

assistance, for as soon as you leave him hee returneth to that from which you withdrew him.

David returneth to the Court as in former times.

They must not all bee put to death of whose valour we stand in feare, that thereby we may be secured. To use a like proceeding is inconvenient, when the persons are of a different disposition. The benefits that serve to ayd and provoke the wickedly minded against their Prince, are but as Chains, whereby generous minds are drawn to their devotions. So that to oblige them is to bind them : But the ruine of the good proceeds from the multitude of the Evill : which are not only evill, but doe counterfeit as if they were good ; so that because it is a difficult thing to discern Truth and Falshood, men will rather deceive themselves in hindring a thousand that ought to be cherished, then in cherishing one alone that ought to bee hindred;

hindred ; and because it is easier to bee ingratefull then to maintaine their gratitude, though they beleeve not alwayes that it is necessary to put deserving men to death, yet they feigne somerimes that they beleeve it, that they may cover the basenesse of their minds with the forcible jealousies of their Sovereignty.

The evil spirit returning againe to molest Saul, when David played, Saul attempted againe to smite him to the wall with a speare, but he turneth aside and escapeth.

WHen the subject once finds his Prince to be afraid of him, hee stands alwayes in feare of the Prince ; such jelousies have no other fires to consume them but impossibility ; for he that stands in feare, beleeves that whatsoever may happen unto him, will. The first perill we incurre in any thing may be ascribed to fortune, the second if it be the same is commonly attributed to our
in-

indiscretion. But the goodnesse of *David* makes him to be excusable in regard his exceeding good Conscience made him so adventurous : *David* trusteth *Saul*, because *Saul* might safely have trusted *David*. As wee naturally imagine other men to look like our selves, so wee suppose them of our owne conditions. That which shall happen to a man, is not alwayes the same that should. The consequences of the future are fallible, because the Antecedents presupposed by us are false. Hee that knew well the customes and manners of all men as they are, and upon occasion should make use of them in conjecturing what is to come, should not need to have recourse to the vanity of Astrologers.

Saul causeth Davids house to bee compassed with Souldiers that should kill him, yet gives them not order to enter into the house, peradventure because in those times it was reputed too great a wickednesse to kill one in his

bed. Having given over himselfe a prey to wickednesse, he had not haply as yet lost all respect unto goodnesse.

THat men are not altogether wicked, nor yet perfectly good, is not, peradventure, because they know not how to be so, but because they cannot possibly be so: It consisteth rather in the strength of nature than of will: For if Nature have left no power to our feebleness to reach to the height of goodnesse, why shall we beleve that she hath left any to our corruption to come to the extremity of evill? Hee that blamed a Tyrant in that behalfe, and thereupon did pretend that their ruine was for the most preordained, declared his beleefe to be, that the mischiefes which are destructions were conservations: He discovered his not knowing, that the evill which is not a being, cannot subsist without the supporting of that good which is a being, and finally he made it manifest, that hee had not read the Master of those Doctrines, with which he had honoured his writings, because his saying was, that
the

the Tyrant, when hee goeth not in the way of goodnesse, must not suffer it to be quite out of his sight, and that if he will not bee good throughout, yet that hee must at least have a moiety of goodnesse.

Michol tells David what perill hee is in; she lets him down through a window and layes an Image in his place in the Bed.

GOD makes use of the Acts of Human wittinesse, as Instrumts of his Providence; those footsteps that fly it, are the selfe same that lead to it: *Saul* makes *David* his sonne in Law, to bring him to his end; and because he is his son in Law, he escapes it: That sentence, that the Destinies lead those that follow them, and draw those that are unwilling, is an unadvised saying. They that wrote it were deceived either in denying the Providence of God, or in the manner of expressing it: Hee disposeth all things sweetly: Hee conducteth

them that goe with a good will, and those that are unwilling to goe, are conducted (if I may so say) by themselves.

Saul sendeth some again to take David, they bring word that he is sick in his bed: Finally, he loseth all respect of bed, and will have him slain however; but in stead of David they find an Image: Saul reproveth his daughter Michol, who excuseth her selfe by her Husbands threats.

Men in their desires invest themselves so far in their own interest, that they make themselves beleve that every one that knowes them should cooperate with them: but if they also invested themselves in the interest of others, and did not consider every one in reference to themselves, but rather each one in reference to himselfe, and whereas they think but of theirs alone, they formed as many interests as there are men, they would not find themselves so oft deceived.

ved. *Saul* considereth *Michol* as his daughter, & by consequence in referrence to himself; if he had considered her as *Davids* wife, then he had considered her in refernce to her selfe, and had not found it strange that she should save her husband out of her fathers hands: When women depart from their friends houses, they oftentimes leave nothing behinde them but Love.

Saul sends some after *David*, they find him in the Company of the Prophets prophesying with them: he sends others after him, and they find him in like manner: In the end full of anger and fury, hee goes himselfe, and he also remaines with them, and prophesieth in like manner:

THere are some so superstitious, that they account all things miraculous, because they are ignorant of their second causes: some againe are so head-strong,

as to deny all miracles because they know not the first cause; and in conclusion there want not those that are so sacrilegious, that they wil rather acknowledge the *Devill* to be the doer of such miraculous effects than God, because they themselves are more of the *Devill* than God. I know not whether *Saul* might be reckoned among these, or whether knowing the miracle hee suffered himselfe neverthelesse to be transported by his anger and fury to contend with the Almighty. All sinners in regard of themselves doe undeify him, yet there are found very few that do desire to undeify him, yet there are not wanting some, who in their choller would willingly they could reduce him to nothing, that hath brought them out of nothing. Hee that is in choler, I would say hath even lost his understanding, yea, I would think him stark mad, save that there remaineth only so much reason in him, as sufficeth to make his works worthy of chastisement: Choler (and perhaps I am not deceived) is a short fever; which if it were in the humours as it is in the spirits, would prove to be a frenzie, where
unto

unto it is so neere of kin, that if by a little while it continues it were not known from the other, there would scarce be any such piercing eye; that could discern betwixt them: That little reason that remaines in the cholerick man makes him to differ from the mad man; yet makes him worse then hee, because it makes him not only to erre, but to sinne.

*David flies, and going to meet Iona-
than, he asketh him what evill hee
committed that should procure Saul
to persecute him.*

HEE knew not peradventure that an eminent Vertue is no lesse persecuted then an exorbitant Vice. I am of opinion that even Tyrants themselves do like well that their Ministers be men of valour and worth, but they would measure them as they do cloth, by their arme, allowing them as much as will fit the person they represent, and no more: Good Ministers are sometimes better

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than the best, because the best are sometimes as dangerous as the worst are dishonourable. It is a happynesse in Princes, how good soever they be, to be served by good subjects equall to their affaires, for if they be of abilities above their employments, they neglect them, if beneath them, their employments ruin them. It is a fortunate thing therefore to happen on such as are fit for the purpose; seeing we ave no Instrument by which the degrees of worth may be measured, neither any one that knoweth justly how much every office requireth.

Jonathan answereth David that hee should not need to fear, because his father would not resolve upon any enterprise without communicating the same to him, and that hee would advertize him thereof: But David doth not beleieve that Saul would acquaint him with his purpose.

TO what end should a Tyrant communicate his Machinations? they are

are so shamefull, that he cannot expect commendations: Hee is so distrustfull, that he will not seeke any counsell, and so farre from trusting others, that hee scarcely trusteth himselfe. One must needs beleve this Truth, when wee see that distrusting the better part of himselfe, which is Reason, his trust is wholly in his sense: when he communicates his thoughts, hee doth not impart them to have conference about them, but to command, not to bee counselled concerning them, but to have them put in execution. He hath no regard of sons, or brethren, or wife, or friend. The interest of state is all in all with him, and besides it hee makes no account of any thing. A Tyrant is ordinarily so close by nature, and so enured by Art to conceale his intent, that when hee would willingly bee understood, hee cannot sometimes make them understand him. For not only men know not what he thinks, but many times they understand not what he sayes.

They

They agree that David should hide himselfe, and Jonathan should observe what the King saith when on the first day of the moneth he should note Davids absence from the Table, and that by a signe betweene them hee should make knowne his Fathers intent. Then they depart asunder renewing their oathes and Covenants of friendship.

THe first day of the moneth being come, *Saul* seeing that *David* appeared not, flattering his desire hee would not beleve that *David* absented himself for feare, but rather for some uncleannes: when he sees him not appeare on the second day he asketh *Jonathan* what is become of *David*, who answereth that he is gone to celebrate the solemnity; then *Saul* reproachfully reproveth his son for preferring his friendship with *David* before matter of State, by reason that while *David* lived he could not be established in the Kingdome.

To chastise an offence committed is proper to the Law : that which would be committed is reserved to God ; that which may be committed is peculiar to a Tyrant : when it is not justice, but a point of State that seeks the life of a Subject, there is scarce any remedy : If *David* had offended, he might have hoped for pardon, and haply have obtained it : But where there is no offence, there can be no recourse to Clemency, nor expectation of it. Those merits that would have countervailed his faults, do condemne his innocencies. A great occasion it must be to put an innocent to death, and because it is great, it is insuperable. When justice hath had her course in condemning, she leaves Clemency her place to absolve ; but where it is injustice to condemne, the putting to death proceeds of selfe interest. It is good for him that dyes, if hee dye innocent ; but in regard of the world it is better being guilty when he is condemned. Hee that hath done an offence, and demands pardon, speakes not a word but to the Princes praise, he confesseth his fault, declareth the vertue of Justice in the Prince,
and

and in demanding his pardon, he shewes that hee doth also beleve the vertue of clemency to be in him, But all the words of the innocent sound to the blame of the Prince; He shewes him to be unjust, he declares him to be a Tyrant, he seekes not to pacifie him; hee incenses him, and cannot hope for mercy because hee cannot aske it: if hee pray the Prince to spare him his life, hee must needs discover the cause that moves him to take it away, and because he discovers it, he is made worthy of Death.

Jonathan demands of Saul, for what offence he doth persecute David: but the King in a rage casts a speare at him, and he flies.

THERE is nothing more offensive to a Prince than to require him to declare what he desires to conceale. The word (why) or (when) imports an Interrogation, ought never to be found in their mouthes that treat with Princes: The interrogating hath I know not what superiority, because it obligeth one to answer

answer, and Princes are not to bee obliged, but rather to be obeyed.

Jonathan riseth from the Table in a great anger, he goes the next morning where David was, and gives the signe according to their agreement. David comes out of the place where he was hid: Jonathan informs him of his successe, and reiterating the Oathes of their Confederacy, and the tokens of their Amity, not without tender teares they depart asunder.

WHat thing is friendship? It is a union as one may say of two soules in one body, which in a sort doe informe it, if not truely yet vertyually; and if a soule bee so much grieved when it is to depart out of an earthly body which it informed; why should it not also be grievous to depart from another soule which she loved? Such a departure should be but as a death, were it not that the distance of place doth not breake off
the

the union of those things that doe not possess any place. But as in the parting of friends the soules are not so much afflicted, the bodies are grieved in forgoing the fomentation of those spirits that were a consolation to them. It is not credible that Nature having permitted us spirits to offend us with, hath not also granted that the spirits of a friend shou'd be comfortable unto us. Otherwise the spirits of Hatred and of Love should be the selfe same.

David flieth and commeth to Nob to Achimelech the Priest, who marvelling to see him alone, demands the occasion thereof. David answers that he goes about the Kings service, who hath so commanded.

HE saith truth, that he goes about the Kings service, for in flying he doth the King good service by bereaving him of occasion to doe a great outrage. His flight is not to escape chastisement for his

his offences, but to avoyd the mischievous requitall of his benefits.

O the lamentable condition of men of high desert, they have two most potent enemies, Envie and Feare, the one very hardly to be overcome, the other impossible, nay rather the victory over the first makes the other the greater. Envie like a mountaine, if the waters of valour increase, is sometimes overwhelmed: but feare like a ship, the more they increase, the higher doth it rise. What must they doe then, that are so beset with impossibilities? Let them couragiously make head against the obstacles of their good fortune, if where it is; and where not, let them give place to the evill. It is necessary sometimes even in a storme to strive against the winde, if wee see the Haven neere at hand, but if it be far off, it is better to strike saile and runne adrift than to make shipwracke. The most worthy when they are not the greatest, become the most infortunate: Valour can never clearly be discerned but onely in a Prince: There, because it is profitable to the subjects, they reverence and feare it not, and because it is an honour
to

to them, they commend and envie it not. It is so faire a thing, that if those two monsters Feare and Envie, did not deforme it, men would even adore it, but haply God permitteth them to deforme it, lest it should bee adored, because it is adored over much when it is not so deformed. If it bee true that it is agreeable to nature, that the best should command, it cannot be contrary to Nature, that the better should bee feared by him that doth command. If the eminency of vertue could bee laid aside, perhaps there would not some be wanting, that to lead a quiet life would willingly reduce themselves to that mediocrity that might keep them from contempt, and defend them from envie: But as that eminency is faire, and not easie to be acquired, so it is sometimes hurtfull, because it cannot be laid aside.

David receives the sword of the Giant Goliath from the Priest, and eates of the Shew-bread, because hee found no other sword for defence, nor any other bread for his sustenance.

Necessitie

Necessity enforceth him, shee sometimes makes that lawfull which at all times is no so: It is a shield, which being ill used, workes the ruine of the world. All misdeeds, how hainous soever, doe withdraw themselves out of the danger of the Law, and in stead of being condemned, to be born withall are invested with the Cloak of necessity: there is no absolute necessity in man, because he is a free agent; if hee suffer no outward violence, he hath none within him; those which we call necessities, and which wee pretend that they free from the Law, are made to bee such by the Law. They are necessary consequences by supposition, having a conditionall antecedent for their foundation: But the suppositions that are not authorized by the Law, have no consistence; for otherwise, all the actions of men should be lawfull, seeing all might bee necessary by supposing a conditionall antecedent before them, out of which a necessary consequence should arise by supposition. Therefore it is not true that necessity hath no law, but it is very true that the necessity which hath no Law is only that which is an enemy to the Law.

David

David *flics* to Achish, but seeing himselfe and his vertues known, being much afraid of his envy, he faineth himselfe to be mad, and changeth his countenance before him.

HEE that is borne into this great Theater of the world, ought to know how to suit himselfe into sundry habits, that hee may be enabled in this Comedy to represent many persons. When a man sees himselfe persecuted by envy, hee must like the shellfish fructified by the dew of Heaven, cast away his Pearle rather then be a prey to those that have him in chace. *David* puts on a forme of madnesse, and by it brings *Achish* to put off his envy. The countenance of the former is transformed before the eyes of the latter, not that the effigies of the one is altered, but the intellect of the other: If it had pleased the Lord by his mercy and benignity to root up envy out of the world, how many *Davids* would change their countenances in the presence of *Achish*? But they that hate valour and vertue, let

let them (I beseech them) tell me what thing it is they thinke they hate, they hate even themselves. Vertue cannot be odious; if it be good, it is faire also; if it be faire it is the object of love, and not of hatred. The envious is an ignorant Painter, or a malicious one; who in drawing the vertue of others deforms it; either he takes the perfections from it, or addes imprefections to it, and blames in another that which himselfe hath added of his own to it, or what he hath taken from it. Yet this were not much if he did not also expose that picture to publique view, that they who cannot see the originall might hate it,

*Take away David out of my presence,
saith Achish; Have I any need of
madmen?*

THis King is one of those that when the time comes shall call themselves selves fooles, for having believed wisemen to be fooles: I know not which error to bee the greater, either to thinke
wise

wise men to be fooles, or to account fooles to bee wise men: of this ignorance as out of a root arise all precipitated courses. The most dangerous person that is represented, and the greatest foole that can be found, is hee that takes upon him to be wise.

David departs thence; and saves himselfe in the Cave of Adullam, where his brethren and all his Fathers house come unto him.

AS a Foraigne Warre is the only remedy to unite the disordinate mindes in Common-Wealths, so are enmities and persecutions to make an attonement in families. This is a true rule when the discords are not bloody, and when proceeding no farther than to some high tearmes, they are not growne to hatred.

Those brethren that in a sort would have hindered the fortune of *David*, are they which now are willing to help him in his misery. Base minds applaud our felicities,

licities, and abandon us in our disasters ; but they that are only corrupted by envie, retaining yet a kinde of generosity, when their envie rather springs from desire of honour , than Malignity , they runne readily to assist their alies in their dangers : and if they goe not to applaud them in their glory, it is not for that they desire not to see them great, but because they themselves would gladly be great.

The malecontented also gathered together to David, and made him their Captaine.

IT is impossible but there should be some such kinde of people in a State. If the Prince be good, then the evill are malecontent ; if hee be evill, the good are : and some that are not displeas'd with the Princes government , are so with their own, by which being ruined and wasted, when they have no hope in quiet courses, they affect nothing but turbulencies. The state ought to beware of 2. most potent enemies, hope and despaire
for

for these two extremes are they that molest it, the greatest and the least of quality; the one supposing that their good fortune calleth them to a better estate: the other by their evill one are stirred to avoyd the worst: for this cause I suppose was that City preferred by a profest politick Writer which is inhabited by the middle sort of men.

The Prophet Gad adviseth David to depart, and to go into the land of Iudah, and Saul hearing that David was seene there, complaineth greatly amongst his servants, that David being not able to give them vineyards nor houses, nor make them Commanders, nor otherwise reward them, should find followers and he be abandoned.

PRinces do erre when they thinke their Rebels should not be followed in hope of reward. I speake not of *David* who was a King and no Rebell, one that

that was raised up, and not risen against his Prince; one that was flying from him, and not contending against him. The rewards expected of treachery are farre greater than those that are yeilded to fidelity. And what doe not they promise, which promise that which is none of their own? what doe they not give before they bee well advised that it is their own? Disordinate minds are not content with ordinate rewards: their troublesome heads account quietnesse their enemy, and even those of a quiet disposition doe sometimes surfet of rest, because the naturall desire of change makes felicity it selfe to be tedious.

The Subjects serving their Prince, if they will bee rewarded, oftentimes are driven to shew some excessive merit, because there are few that thinke themselves bound to those whose service is bound to them: but he that followes a Rebell, hath already merited of him in that he followeth him. That false proposition, that to worke where one is obliged diminisheth his merit, is both pernicious to Princes, and prejudiciall to Subjects. The obligation rather increaseth

seth the merit, seeing reward is due to the Subject, not only for that which he presently performeth, but for his future actions which hee hath obliged himselfe unto. The stranger that doth somewhat for the Princes service, gives him onely some fruit of his owne tree, whereas the Subject hath given him the tree it selfe with all the fruit.

Doeg the Edumean answereth Saul, that he saw David when he came to Achimelech the Priest, who gave him besides victuals, the sword of Goliah; the King sends to call him and questions him thereabout. He, who the truth being knowne, expected reward rather than punishment, doth not excuse himselfe as not guiltie, but speakes with that confidence which rather proceeds of innocency than temerity, saying. And who is among al thy Servants more faithfull than David the Kings Son in-

Law

*Law, and readier to doe all thy Com-
mandements? neither is this the
first time that I have prayed the Lord
for him. Farre be the name of a Re-
bell from me. I thought I had done
service to thee, in doing service to
thy chiefe Favorite.*

THe subjects of the Tyrant that hath
an inward Favorite, are intangled
in streights inextricable. Let them look
for ruine at all hands, if they hate him
when he is exalted, or if they love him
when hee falleth; yet what errour doe
they commit in loving him, but that
their Lord doth the same? Hee cannot
finde fault with others, unlesse hee first
condemne himselfe; and he deserves the
greater chastisement, because he ought to
have greater advertisement, inconsider-
ing who he is whom he exalts above o-
thers. It is not the part of Subjects to
examine the actions of their Sovereigne:
It is their glory to second them; and
yet it is not sufficient to obey the com-
mands of a Tyrant, if we dive not also
into his secret thoughts. Hee that seekes

to search into them, makes himselfe (as it were guilty of death; hee that doth not, easily becomes lyable. He embraces sometimes such a one as he could be content were made away by his Subjects, he dissembleth for his proper interest, yet permits not others to doe so for theirs. If his thoughts were alwayes bent toward the prosperity of his people, hee were a wicked Subject that did not bend himselfe wholly to his service.

Saul commands Achimelech and all the Priests of Nob, to be slaine.

I Who have found elsewhere that the same proceeding which provoked *Saul*, had pacified a Tyrant, should wonder at the diversity of the effect, had it not beene produced by the innocency of *David*, who left *Achimelech* no place to defend himselfe without condemning the King, not onely of an oversight as it was in the other, but even of ingratitude, perfidiousnesse, and cruelty.

Saul saith, kill Achimelech and all the Priests, but no man stirreth; he bids Doeg kill them, and hee presently obeyeth.

THe voyce that commandeth in generall, proceedeth not with so much sharpnesse, as that which is directed to some particular. The dividing of it into so many eares, makes so many divisions, that it becomes diminished in every of them. The rewards as also the punishments which are in common, come but slowly, but the private are as soone obtain'd, as they are deserved: He that would chastise generall errors, or would reward the merits of all, as those of some particulars are; on the one side hee would destroy the world, and the empty treasuries on the other: And therefore as in the great errors of a multitude, the *proportio decupla* is observed, so likewise in such great benefits, the like decimation is used, if not some greater proportion. Whence it comes that particulars are more easily wrought on to doe well, and with greater difficulty to do evill the multitude, because their feare

and hope of chastisement and reward is greater.

Saul goeth afterward to Nob, where he killeth small and great, as well of the one sex as of the other, as well men as beasts.

IF that City had been culpable, and *David* a Rebell, *Saul* perhaps had taken no ill course, that being the first and only place. That Prince is sometimes the most pious, which upon occasion is most severe: his cruelty is deep, but not large, because if it be intensive, it is not extensive. It is true that where many Cities have rebelled, the using of greater in the first that is taken, doth not dishearten the rest, but makes them desperate and obstinate in their defence to their last breath. It is such an Antidote as is not to be ministred to all that are diseased.

Abiathar sonne of Achimelech escapeth out of Nob, and commeth to David, who afflicts him greatly, saying that he is the cause of the death of so many persons.

THis is an intollerable passion, because three most potent affections are the procurers of this griefe, and inforce the revenge: The Character of friendship melting the heart, the prick of honour which enkindles it; and finally the interest which excites it. To defend our friends is so profitable for the maintaining and increasing of Monarchies, that they which have beene held to bee most prudent have endeavoured it, even in places farre remote from them, not to receive ayd or service, but onely to help and succour them: hee that knoweth not how to make use of this rule, knoweth not how to rule. The greatest Rulers and Potentates of the world have made themselves great by this Art; yea this colour is so pleasing, that it dazleth the eyes of the people, and maketh them often applaud such a one, as under the colour of defending his friends, brings

himselfe into the estates of others : but if he finde great resistance there, seeing himselfe unable to offend those whom hee would have opposed, hee oppresseth them whom he should have defended.

Word is brought unto David that the Philistims had invaded Keilah, and spoiled it : Hee askes counsell of the Lord, whether hee shall go against them ; who answers him, that hee shall goe, overcome and defeat them.

HEe that will learne the way into matter of State, let him but observe *David*, let him not enterprise with fraud, but with valour : Let him not defile his hands with civil blood, but with that of the stranger ; nor offend those whom he would have to be his subjects, but defend them. It is true indeed that most men grow great by fraud ; not because it is more safe then valour, but because it is more easie ; whence it comes that

that there are many fraudulent, but few that are valorous: notwithstanding the the greater part even of those that by fraud have made themselves Masters, in seizing on the Country in which they were borne, have first manifested their valour either in enlarging or defending it. To defend the subjects of others, is to touch the finest string of State and Dominion; if the Lord grieve at it, he seems ungratefull; if hee suffer it and say nothing, he is in little safety. The Subjects are not to be defended by any, but their own Prince: It is his proper office. He that arrogates it to himselfe, if hee bee not already, he will be in the Princes roome. The wisest Commonweales have not bin ignorant how much this poynt importeth, declaring that they knew it for a matter of much consequence, and of maine importance, when they would not permit the Subjects themselves to be the defenders of themselves.

Saul understanding that David is in Keilah, prepares to goe and besiege him; which he foreseeing, causeth Abiathar to enquire of the Lord whether Saul will come or no, who answers he will. Then whether they of Keilah will deliver him into the hands of the King, and he answers they will.

THe destruction of *Nob* had made the men of *Keilah* so ungratefull, as that they would have delivered him into the hands of his enemy, who had but at that instant delivered them out of the hands of their enemies. Gratitude works exceeding great effects in generous minds, and the greater when it hath brought forth : It is then surely prevailing over private interest, yet must it of force give place unto feare, to which all the passions give way, I meane in State affaires, because none of them can be used when wee thinke our selves to be therby endangered, without which they cannot be exercised : It hath been disputed whether the Prince or the people are more ungratefull. I am of opinion

opinion that there is ingratitude every where to be found, if our being gratefull cannot be without losse of our lives; yet rather in the people than in the Prince, because it is easier to find one man than many, to sacrifice his life to his reputation. But if the question be of augmenting or diminishing the State; I hold Princes to be the more ingratefull, because their interest is very great; and that of the people howsoever it bee in their entire body as great, is but small notwithstanding in every particular: whence it comes that men more easily part with a little, though in many it be much, than in one man alone with much, which in many would be but little.

David departs into the desert of Ziph, to hide himself in the wood. Saul hears of it, and followes him in vaine: But Jonathan goeth to him, comforts him, and saith, he is assured that hee shall reigne over Israel.

SEe here the force of Friendship, which makes Jonathan rejoyce that

David is to take the kingdome from him. Albeit that friendship seemeth to be without interest, yet is it not altogether without interest. The affection that we beare to our selves, is the rule of all our affections. They who have supposed that a friend loveth another more than himselfe, have haply been deceived, for if sometimes a man loseth his life, his goods and estate for his friend, it is not in regard that he wishes more good to another, than to himselfe, but because he acknowledgeth no other goods but vertues, which hee gaineth, when gloriously for his friends hee forgot those of fortune. But they that love riches, their estate and their life above vertue, when they saw some forgoe their goods (which they so much esteemed) for their friend, were easily induced to think that they loved not themselves so much as their freind.

I was never of opinion that it was any imperfection, to love himself above others, but have rather esteemed it an imperfection not to love himself than others. He that erreth not in this, shall never offend; because hee that sinneth,
de-

destroying G O D as much as hee can, destroyeth himselfe, or as much as hee may : seeing that all his good is depending upon the goodnesse of God.

The Ziphines give notice to Saul that David had hid himselfe in their woods, and they conduct him where hee is : David finds himselfe out of hope, seeing himselfe encompassed round about. But Saul is advertised by a messenger, that the army of the Philistines was entred into the land.

SInners many times have no recourse unto God, but in their utmost extremity, and many times God delayeth the deliverance of the faithfull to prove them : and then he heareth them : but those other are seldome delivered out of their dangers, but they return est-soones to their misdoings. He suffers them to returne thither whence his feare had
with.

withdrawn them, which departs as soon as hee hath delivered them. To reserve himselfe from ayding his friends till they be in extremity, is a thing well befitting in God, who can helpe whensoever hee will, and then willeth when it is best; but in men that have no power according to their will, it is perilous. When it moves not to distance, yet it diminisheth the obligation, and most commonly produceth Ingratitude. There is a kind of proceeding put in ure (yet not alwaies with good successe) by Potentates when they have received some disgust for the satisfying of two affections, their anger and their interest; to suffer those that have given them distaste, to be mortified, but not to bee opposed. This course is rather to be practised with enemies, and may prove well when the enmity proceeds not of emulation, if at least that act do not lift him up to a higher spheare. It is a difficult thing for a corrivall not to be alwaies an Enemy, when such emulation hath once degenerated into hatred; and when he ceaseth to be an Enemy, he will cease also to be a corrivall, either having passed into a further degree, or being

ing so overpassed himselfe. Though *Saul* were more enraged against *David*, yet he leaves pursuing him to go against the *Philistims*, with whom he hath more interest. Physitians do sometimes not only not assuage a grieffe, but suffer it also to grow; whiles they cure, a putrid Fever hapneth. Hee is very unwise, that for the healing of a part is carelesse of the whole, which when it dyeth, the part dyes with it.

David being retired into the holds of Engaddi, Saul returnes to pursue him even in rockie places, having vanquished the Philistims, and entering into a Cave for his necessary businessse, he hapned into the same, in which David and his men were hid; where they perswade David to kill him, but he is contented only to cut off a lap of his garment.

TO kill the chiefe Commander of an Army, if hee be gracious with it, when hee that killeth him hath not
! another

another Army, is the revenge of a private person to discharge his passion of hatred, but not of a Prince that desireth dominion. The Army is thereby incensed, maketh presently another chiefe, thinkes to revenge the losse of their Prince, hateth the murtherer, and is more ready to dye against him, than serve under him. *David*, who was in the way to the Kingdome by mansuetude and fortitude, accompanied with the feare of God, and by consequence a reverence toward his King, and humility withall, could forgoe those vertues, and take to him revenge with irreverence and cruelty, without losse of reputation. Hee that is come forward with one vertue, ought rather to dye than to change it: there are some who having gotten reputation by one manner of proceeding, cannot alter it, because it is naturall to them; others will not, because they are prospered with it; and those ought never to change, whose demeanour hath ever been vertuous. That power which is rising, because it riseth commonly by the meanes of reputation, must beware of losing it, and preferre it even before
life,

life, for therewith all its good is lost. Politicians have esteemed this rule to be so true, that they have made it an universall one, and will have a Prince rather to hazard his estate and life, than to lose by meanes of Peace, Truce, or Tribute his reputation. I subscribe not to their opinion, yet doe I agree, that if the greatnesse of a Prince consist in his reputation, hee ought rather to dye than to lose it; but if it bee founded on store of mony and people which are his Subjects, let him yeeld to the time, make peace and truce ever, though it bee with disadvantage of reputation; let him become tributary, though it be to an inferior Nation, and leave not any thing undone how meane soever, (so it bee not against Gods Law) rather than to adventure his estate; for any thing is better than to put that in jeopardy. If that be not lost, it is never out of season to recover whatsoever is lost: Its prudence in Princes and no Infamy; they ought not to abhorre any thing that may augment or maintaine their dominion. Private men write such weake rules, because they measure them by their owne compasse: Every degree
of

of men hath his proper and peculiar kind of reputation differing each from other, so farre forth that many things accounted infamous in one degree, are well reputed in another. A Prince that hath a great estate never loseth his reputation, if he lose not his estate, for his estate is his reputation. The world is in a confusion in such sort, that men of one degree leaping into that of others by confounding the diverse degrees, have confounded all the world. The Merchant will take upon him the Gentleman, and the Gentleman the part of the Prince; the religious that of the Souldier; and where the reputation of the one consists in suffering and forgiving of injuries, hee leapes into that of the other, whiles he seekes to requite and revenge. I am to bee excused if I am long in this matter, which is the cause of great errors in the world; for if every one would follow his owne profession, it would soone be known that reputation consists in knowing well how to performe his own profession.

David

David being on one side of a mountaine, seeing Saul on the other, calleth unto him and sheweth him his garment, assuring him of his goodwill, complaineth that hee is persecuted, but blameth the Kings Ministers, and not the King himselfe. Saul hearing that malice is imputed to his servants, doth not excuse himselfe by them, but layeth the fault on himselfe.

IT is an ordinary thing of male-contented men to comtaine, though not of the Prince himselfe, yet of his Ministers. That which *David* doth here out of modesty, is done often by others out of subtilty. To rise against the government, makes the name of a rebellion the lesse odious, deceives the people, yea, many times, the Princes themselves for a while who sometimes discern not at the first the ambition that commeth masked under discontentment. Princes ought therefore to have their Ministers about them of singular goodnesse, and of tried prudence,

dence, that upon the first rumor they may bee well assured of the false-hood of such complaints, and break the heads of such horrible Serpents at their first appearing. The reverence that the people beare toward the Prince is so great, that it would be a difficult thing to stir them up against him, but by first beguiling them; and though it be all one to rise against the government, and to rebell against the Prince, (because either the Prince is he that governeth, or he that governes is the Princes Minister) yet it appears not at first with so foule a face. It is true indeed that an insurrection of the people is occasioned by a bad Minister, in which case the Prince doth alwayes amisse to chastise him. In the people there is not alwayes one desire covered under another, but if the great ones arise against the government, it is not because they are not well governed, but because they would be governors themselves; to satisfie their demands were to consent to lose the Sovereignty, seeing such will not be satisfied, till they obtaine it.

Samuel dieth, he is buried with honour, and is by the people most tenderly bewailed.

I Know not whether mourning for the dead proceed of piety, or meer interest: It may favour peradventure of piety to bewaile when he dieth, but not after he is dead: who would not have compassion of his friend, while he sees him, or imagines tormented with the grievous agonies of death. Men are certainly in very great paine, for they are in the paine due to a very great fault: And who would not after rejoyce to see him departed victorious over humane frailty, and to triumph over death it selfe, without having left any other spoyle in that conflict than his body, and that for a very short time?

To lament the dead (if one may say) is then most impious, when it seemes most pious: and then ought most to be done, when it seemes not due at all. The death of the righteous, at which wee ought to rejoyce, makes us to mourne; and that of the wicked, which wee ought most to lament, doth rejoyce

us. It is no friendly but an envious part to be grieved at the death of that friend, whose life may make us believe that he enjoys his deserved glory. But it is a part of piety to be sorry at their death, whose wickednesse doth make us doubt that they are cast headlong into hell. The world is so mighty full of evill and desperate snares that the good should not desire to be in it, because there they may be corrupted; and so great is the mercy of the Lord our God, that the wicked should desire to be therein, that they may be amended. But if wee are grieved in regard of our owne interest, is it not more available that our friends pray to God for us, than to men? He that thinks he hath lost his friend when he dieth, if he believe the immortality of the soule, and doth not thinke him damned, must then beleve that the Characters of his vertues are lost with God. O how true it is that all our errours doe spring and grow from our muddy senses! They acknowledge no interest but earthy, no happinesse but worldly; and albeit man is elevated by his better part unto a more excellent knowledge, yet he cannot desire

fire it as he ought, because hee cannot know it as it is.

David went unto the wildernesse of Rathan, and understanding that there dwelt neere thereabout a man exceeding rich in flockes and other possessions, whose name was Nabal; hee sent unto him on the day of sheepshearing, to demand some reliefe of provision and victuals: But Nabal not only denieth him, but with ill words provoking him, declaring his avarice, to be accompanied with malice.

IT is an ordinary thing in denying of benefits to accompany the denial with injuries; I know not whether it bee to cloake their avarice with hate, or because such men loving their goods as deerely as their lives, when one demands to have any of them, are incensed with anger, as if he sought so much of their bloud; or els that it comes to passe because

because men in denying what is demanded, thinke they have made him their Enemy that 'demanded it, and framing him such in their imaginations, speake of him not as one that is become such, but as of one that is so already. Peradventure also *Nabal* denies with arrogancy to accomplish *Dauids* desire, doubting his guiltinesse might seeme to bee some signe that he stood in feare of violence, and to shew that hee doth not feare it, himselfe in termes begins to use it.

David is incensed by the answer of Nabal, and sets forward to destroy him and all his house. But Abigail, Nabals Wife, being a prudent and a beautifull woman, hearing of Dauids request, and her husbands deniall, goes with many beasts laden with victuals to meet David, and beginneth with excuse of her Husbands ignorance, and foolishnesse. Shee entreats him to accept of the present

present she brought, and pardon her Husband : And so David is appeased.

WOMEN are of so great force in perswading, that it hath beene held all one to hearken to them, and to grant their requests. Hee that forbad them to be brought up in learning, had an eye perhaps not only to their difficultie of understanding, but also to their facility in perswading. Hee that was judged by the Lord God to be the wisest, made use of such an instrument ; and that tyrant who was written among the most circumspect, was afraid of this force. Women have alwayes delight joyned with their words, and where delight is, there is also perswasion. If the understanding doth not agree to it, the will consents : so that when that which they say cannot bee believed, yet they which have said it must not bee displeas'd. Their teares are their Enthymems, their beauty is their sword : where they doe not procure love, there they move compassion ; yea, and sometimes they perswade the better, because they

they have no skill in perswading : There is no cunning suspected where there is no science, yet there is more thereof in their countenance than in all Rhetorick. It is lawfull to forgoe all fiercenesse in favour of a sex that is so amorous : The weaknesse of it makes us not ashamed to lay down all our wrath to it, yea, rather makes him ashamed that doth not lay it downe.

David doth blesse God and Abigail, for having by her prudence diverted him from revenging himselfe of Nabal.

IT is a great good hap to bee taken off from a necessity of revenging himselfe. He that can divert it and doth not, deserveth great blame ; hee that hindreth it, great commendation ; and he meriteth more that desireth to be so diverted. But there are many now a days desirous of such necessities, which if they be but small, they seek to augment them, and faine some when they finde none. They
account

account it a glory to revenge, and the name of revengefull, glorious. This is a proper art for those who having no Talents by which they make themselves knowne to be men, will make themselves known to be beasts; they know not how to make themselves honoured, therefore they will make themselves feared, as if reputation and feare were all one. The vulgar rout breed such kinde of people by applauding them, but such applauses turne to their ruines, seeing the quarrels which begin among the greater sort are for the most part quenched with the blood of the meaner. Cities will never be rid of these blood-thirsty companions, till they cease from commending their bloody proceedings, neither will the way to such false praise ever be stoped up, till the way to the true, shall be layd open; which then only will be effected, when Princes and States give place and occasion to their Subjects to make knowne their true valour, and reward them according to their due deserving.

Abigail returnes to Nabal, and because she findes him drunken, she forbeares till the morning to speake unto him, and then tells him what had passed; which when hee had heard, his heart was dead within him as a stone, and within few dayes he dyes.

WHY should *Nabals* heart become dead, seeing his offence was pardoned? or rather why should not his heart be dead, seeing he had offended? *David* doth not cast him down, it is only his owne Conscience. He that offends his neighbour unjustly offends his own reason, and although his neighbour hath pardoned him, she never pardons him: the revenge taken of him, is the remembrance of his offences. *Nabal* cannot believe that revenge to be abolished, whose characters being blotted out of the memory of men, are written in heaven; for then are they written there, when they are stricke out here. He doth not perfectly pardon, who doth not pray God to pardon; which if he doe, hee doth not thereby diminish the offences,

offences, but in some sort increaseth them. If the Iudges, whom the Holy Ghost calleth gods, did resemble God in punishing of sinnes, as they desire to be like God in superiority above others, there would not be so much offending, and there would be more pardoning. A man hath no sooner forgiven an offence, but the Iudge also pardons it; yea, sometimes also the Iudge hath absolved before the party hath pardoned. That savage fiercenesse of never pardoning an enemy would soone be abolished, if their pardoning did augment the offences in the judiciary seats of men, as it doth in a sort before the Tribunall or high Iustice of God. But when the offended pardoneth, the offences are written above, though here being remitted they are cancelled.

David taketh Abigail being a woman of singular beauty and prudence to Wife, and Saul gives his daughter, who was first the Wife of David, unto Phalti.

WHO desires to marry to beauty, may peradventure meete with a Devill: for the Devill also hath some beauty. But he that desires to bee joyned with Prudence, if he marry not an Angell, yet hee is surely married to an Angelicall vertue. Prudence is a fire which converts all Antimony into medicine, makes her pleasing that's deform'd, makes her tolerated that is poore, and her quietly enjoyed that is faire: for it is a Bezar that corrects the venome of beauty; It makes it majesticall, and not lascivious, and being majesticall it is the daughter of the radiant beames of *Jupiter*, not of *Venus*; rather enforcing reverence, than enflaming desire. He that sees her, conceits her a thing impossible to obtaine, and the will never fixeth up on impossibilities; if it bee not fixed it reflects on the object, if it doe not reflect, it loves not, for the often reflections are the producers of love.

The Ziphims goe to Saul, and advertise him that David is in their desarts

saris, and he goes to seeke him with 3000. chosen Souldiers.

SEE how the pride of *Saul* is not smitigated with the humility of *David*, perhaps because the pride was joyned with interest, and the humility with reputation. The proud man becomes meeke, not when his Enemy hath humbled himselfe, but when he himselfe hath humbled him. That humility that is begotten by feare, doth ever mitigate the pride that is not brutish: he that believed otherwise might haply have beene deceived, by confounding the one with interest, and the other with greatnesse of minde. The proud man will have his Enemy bow unto him; but if then when he boweth downe, his deeds lift him up, he doth not mitigate, but rather exasperate him, because instead of magnifying him; hee doth afflict and confound him. All the wise, yea, and wily men doe humble themselves to him that persecutes them; when their humility encreaseth their reputation, which it alwayes doth when seperated from debility. The greatest pride that may be found, goes clad in

the habit of humility ; and oftentimes is not discerned by others, but him onely against whom it is imployed; and because by the rest it is not discovered, they cannot oppose against it without being blamed.

David being enformed of Sauls arrivall, and having gotten some knowledge of his strength, calls unto him Achimelech and Abishai ; asks them who will goe with me into the Army of Saul, and Abishai answers, I will goe.

When Princes conferre a degree of Honour on a subject, they will make choice themselves ; but in a matter of danger, they use to leave him to his owne choice : and whereas the subject thinkes to make his merit the greater, by how much it is the more voluntary ; the Prince on the contrary sometimes holds himselfe lesse obliged to him whom hee hath least obliged. I blame not this proceeding, so it be not of purpose to avoyd

to be beholding, but to be assured of the sufficiency and love of the subject. To expose him to danger and to love him, doe not very well agree. To make one to offer himselfe in a voluntary manner, is not sufficient argument of such affection, if without much entreaty his offer be accepted.

David and Abishai goe to the campe of Saul, where they finde the Guard, the King himselfe, and all his Soldiers asleepe.

THE Lord God ordinarily in the effects of the world suffers his hand to be seene of them only that are very sharp sighted, because he works by naturall instruments; yet sometimes also he will be seene even of those that are blind, because he workes by the supernaturall arme of his Omnipotency. When there are operations perceived to bee contrary to the ordinary course, that the watchfull are found sleeping, that the prudent are overseene; that the valiant are faint
 F 4 hearted;

hearted; there they that are well sighted discern the hidden finger of God, who when hee intendeth the raine of some house or kingdome, or any other place, takes from it those that might save it; or otherwise alters them in such sort, that they oppose not his designs: sometimes also taking away the mark of naturall things, hee sends an Angels to burne Cities, to destroy Armys, and raiseth up Captaines, that with the light of a torch or a lamp make Cities fall downe; and then there is no eye so blinde, but seeth therein the Almighty hand of God.

Abishai would have slain Saul, David would not permit him, but takes away his speare and his pot of water.

WHO will wonder at *David*, that having been as a Lion when he slew the Giant *Goliab*, he now shawes himselfe a lambe in suffering *Saul* to live, if he were a figure of that God, who

who to the sinner was a Lambe, and a Lion to the Devill. Hee that aimeth at a dignity, in shewing himselfe faint-hearted in obtaining it, will not prove couragious when hee hath obtained it. *David* did not forbear to slay *Saul* for any reason of State, but abstained from it for the reverence and feare of God. Where hath that man been found, that knew this peece of policy at any time? It is too finely wrought to be discerned by the eyes of those that are blinded with the passions of desire to rule or revenge, untill having obtained the dominion or the revenge they desired, their eyes happily are cleared; then they begin to consider that which they should have considered before, they are afraid of the example which themselves have begotten; whence it came to passe that many have revenged the death of those Princes, of which themselves have been the procurors. They are terrified in their seat of State, they hate their Scepter, as if it threatned violent death to him that treads on it or hold it: They stand in fear of the starres that rule over that kingdome, as if the vanity of those
were

were true, as it is most false; who have beleeved that the violent constellations of kingdomes, with a very little helpe of the Kings Horoscope had the power to kill them.

David calleth out to Abner, and reproves him for not having kept the King duly.

I know not whether this were good policy to provoke the Generall of the army, but I know that *Abner* after the death of *Saul*, was he that made all the war against *David*.

He complaines againe to *Saul* of his being persecuted, saying, if God hath stirred thee up against me, let him bee appeased with sacrifice; if men have done it, accursed bee they of God.

David with his men goe to Achish, the King of Seth, which when Saul understood, hee left off pursuing him.

IT seemes lawfull to flie among the Pagans when there is no other way to save himselfe, so that hee live not like a Pagan; and he is not alwayes to bee blamed, that hath recourse to their help for the recovery or defence of his own estate. It hath beene sometimes also permitted to help them against other Pagans, so the help we yeeld them be in favour of reason and right. But it shall be alwayes recorded for a great fault to succour, to encourage, to move or to counsell the Idolaters to an Invasion of the states of true beleivers, for that were not to goe against men, but against God, to lessen his kingdome, and to enlarge the confines of the Devill.

David saith unto Achish, I am not worthy to dwell in the head City with thee.

thee. Appoint me, I beseech thee some other place: then Achish assigned him Ziklag.

D*avid* withdrawes himselfe from the Court of King *Achish*; not because Courts are to be forsaken, but hee retires himselfe, because his different religion and great valour, would have made him suspected and feared. I am not of their mind that blame and condemne the Court, it is the true Paragon of verous men: there is no place where vice is sooner discovered, and vertue more rewarded. It is a light by which mens hearts are seene and discerned, yea, it is a most cleare test to distinguish naturall gold from that of Alchimy. Hee that hath great talents let him hasten thither, for there they are gloriously spent and employed. Let him not regard the complaints of those whose talents, how great soever they have beene, have not advanced them. It may perhaps be found, if they were examined, that they were not printed with the stampe of prudence, and so of no value, because hee that had them could not utter them,

or

or because he would have them goe for more than they were worth. Hee that excells in any art or science, if he have not withall some eminent place in Court hee complaines that vertues are not regarded. Princes for the most part both esteeme and reward all men according to the greatnesse of their quality, not of their ambition: and if any one complaine, it is thought he hath more of that than of the other. A great part of the errors in the world ariseth hence, not because every one doth not give place to his better, but because every one doth not know his better; and indeed, it is a difficult thing to know him, because he goes not alwayes clad in the same cloth. Men deceive themselves in equivocating from a greatnesse, with an addition to an absolute greatnes; believing oftentimes, because they are esteemed the best in some one thing, that therefore they should be the best esteemed. He only in regard he is the greatest in his profession, shall bee in great repute above others, whose profession shall bee in estimation above others.

David

David with his men goes forth of the City to spoyle and destroy certaine Idolatrous Countries, and returning to Achish, makes him beleve that he hath beene to endamage the Israelites; and the King thereupon is perswaded that he might assure himselfe of David, believed that hee had so farre provoked the Israelites that hee could no more be reconciled.

MAny Princes when they were growne jealous of the fidelity of a subject, have used the like meanes to be secured of him, and the chiefest among Rebels doe commonly ground their hopes in putting those that follow them in despaire. Yet all such rampiers are very weake, and easily overthrowne, as soone as assaulted with the Engine of reason and state. It facilitateth pardons, makes offences to be forgotten, and overcomes all desires, because the desire of dominion, is the first begotten and eldest of all the affections. The Princes that are wary and circumspect, doe thinke themselves

selves only assured of that faith which is either enforced, or interested.

The Philistims prepare a great Army to goe against Saul. Achish inviteth David to goe with him, and hee accepts of his invitation.

I Would not that this place should serve for any example to any Christian Princes, to accompany any Infidels in oppressing the faithfull : Hee had no thought of bringing the Philistims into the Land of *Israel*, but hee was brought into the possession of that Kingdome by *Achish*, unto which God had elected him. The Philistims went not to fight against the kingdome, but against the King ; as was clearely seene, when after the overthrow given to *Saul*, they returned to their owne houses, leaving *Mephibosheth* to rule and reigne in *Israel*.

The Philistims pitch their Tents in Shunem

Shunem, and Saul with his Army in Gilboa. Saul had all the Magicians and South-sayers that had spirits in their belly to bee slaine: perhaps they had given out that the Kingdom should come into the hands of David. But hee staid not long from seeking out the reliques of those whom he had so persecuted: for being afraid when he had seene the host of the Philistims, he asked counsell thereupon of the Lord; and when he could have no answer, makes recourse to the Devill.

IT was said by a Politician, that Diviners are a sort of men deceiving those that have hope in them, unfaithfull to those that command; which should alwayes be prohibited, and ever retained in his City. But how should they bee forbidden, and yet retained? onely because that they that did so prohibit them, were the same that also retained them. There were two sorts of professors in time past running the same fortune among

mong Princes. The cunning poysoners, and the fortune Tellers: they kept still th'one sort that they might poyson others, and sometimes did banish them that they might not bee poysoned by them themselves. To th'other, they ranne to know the Nativities of great Persons: the Princes belike thinking by violence to enforce the senses, if at any time they should raise up a subject to Reigne; yet they drove them away againe, lest others in the Princes Nativitie should seeke out the time of his death, or shou'd seeke the rather to procure it, supposing heaven and the Starres to bee favourable to it:

Saul therefore disguised with two in his company, goeth to a woman having a familiar spirit; she refuseth and excuseth her art, for feare of the King; but Saul swearing that no harme should come unto her, she by her skill raiseth up Samuel, as Saul had requested; who (were it either an illusion

tion or a vision) cleere it is, that being questioned by Saul, tells him what was to come.

TO seeke to know things to come by means of the Devill, is a great error: to seeke it by the starres, is sure a greater arrogancy; by this men pretend a science, by th'other a revelation. The one we may yet know by the permissive will of God, but the other passeth our understanding; and hee that thinkes by this meanes to know what is to come, pretends also to bee God, for God onely knoweth the future without any revelation. But perhaps there is no other difference betwixt these professions, (seting aside the odiousnesse of the name) saving that in the one, men run voluntarily to the Devill; in the other, ignorantly, who knowes that those Astrologicall figures, are not as the circles of Negro-mancers, and that those same signes, and those starres have not a proportion correspondent with their Characters, by meanes of which, they bring the Devill somtimes to foretell what is to come, but
 ever

ever to deceive them? And if perchance the Devill is hee that doth by such arts reveale it, why do they seeke unto him? If to get evill, it is a meere madnesse; if to get some good, it is to much simplicity to believe that the Devill will be a minister of any good.

Samuel saith unto Saul, that he, and his sonnes, and a part of the people shall die in battell, because he fulfilled not the will of God in the victorie against the Amalekites.

THE Prince is often the occasion of the sins of the people, & the people those of the Prince; the one in permitting, the other in applauding them. Sometimes also God chasteneth the people for the Princes sinnes, not because it hath demerited with them, but because it hath so deserved. It is true indeed that when his Divine Majesty sends the signe of chastisement, it cuts downe the good as well as the bad; because that which hee sends into the world, is not the same
which

which doth sever the Wheat from the darnell.

Saul fainteth at the hearing of such bitter newes, and afterward by the intreaty of the woman, with the persuasion of his servants, having eaten somewhat, returneth to his Armie.

Here are seene two contrary effects in one selfe subject, faintnesse, and fortitude; *Saul* seemeth to faint, when his heart failed at the hearing of his death foretold: again, he seems valiant when he returns to his Army, in which hee knowes that the next day hee shall dye. But haply feares may be like unto loves: as the security of enjoying a thing that is desired, doth diminish the desire, so the assurance of falling into a thing that we feared, diminisheth the feare of it. *Sauls* bloud within him made some sudden motion at that unexpected blow; but he afterward reflecting on it with his understanding, and imagining death as already

ready

ready present, he discharged his feare, but hath nothing to do with any other time, but with the future.

The Armies gather together, that of the Philistines in Aphek, the other of the Israelites in Israel; but the Princes of the Philistines seeing David with Achish, advised him to send him away, because hee could no way better than with their heads regaine the favour of his King.

Interest is of such force with men in their operations, that it is accounted weaknesse to trust him, whose interest may move him to betray us. Sincere and plaine dealing hath nothing to doe in this case in matters of policy: who so presupposeth it in any, is sometimes deceived; and because he is sometimes deceiv'd, he doth never presuppose it. It cannot bee believed without making some errour in policy, or without some errour already made. He that makes use of it after long experience doth not erre,

yet erred then when hee made experience of it.

Achish although David had not beene with him above sixe moneths, saith that he had bin with him some years, to make it beleeved that if hee had beene evill, hee should have known him.

IT is not altogether impossible to re-
fraine nature a long time, but it is so in
the utmost confines of possibility. There
is requisite therunto a perpetual assistance
judgement; nature is ready to move
according to her inclination, if she be
not alwayes with-held: and if through
headlesnesse or wearines she be left unto
her selfe, she falls like a stone to her own
center. Herehence comes that little
truth which is found in Astrological
predictions, or rather which wee make
them have; because our inclination is a
mover that continually worketh in us,
and doth not alwayes finde a continuall
resistance. That which is violent is said

to be of little continuance, not only for the necessity in him that useth the violence to be alwayes working; but also because he is therewith so wearied, that either wearinesse or satiety makes him to cease.

David seemes to bee grieved that Achish will not take him with him, not knowing that he hath given him any occasion to the contrary: Achish answers that in his eyes hee is an Angell of God, but the Princes of the army are not pleased in him.

Loe here a means how one may lose his inward familiarity with a Prince and get not his favour. The conspiracy of great ones where they beare great sway, undoubtedly either doth ruin the favourite, or trouble the state, whensoever he that is greatest with the Prince, is not the greatest among them. In such a case men would not bee asha-

med to bow unto him, to whom though he were not the favourite, hee ought to bow : and there would be opened unto them a clear way without any dirty flattery, or thorny danger, to runne a happy course between the obsequiousnesse, and odious liberty ; but this seldome or never happens : whether by the cunning of Princes, or by nature, I know not. This Art teacheth them that the greatest in the state may not bee called into inward favour without danger of dominion, from which hee is but one pace distant. Nature teacheth to lift up the lowly, and to beat downe the mighty : and this nature is dictated of God, who raiseth the poore from the dunghill to place him among Princes, even with the Princes of his people : It is signified by the starres, whose radiation is then thought to be great, powerfull, and glorious ; which lifting men from low estate, doth seate them with Princes. It is finally manifested in the earth, whiles it favourably cherisheth and raiseth up those plants that are not wrapt in gold, that is resplendent, but buried in the basenesse of the soyle that is uncleane.

What.

What instruction may then be given to favorites for eschewing the hatred of great ones? The wittiest politicians seemes to commend such a subject, as contenting himselfe to bee the greatest of the great ones in authority about the Princes, cared not to exceed the meaner ones in dignity: I take this to be want of knowledge, how to make ones best benefit of the fortunes that befall one, or rather an abusing of them: and that it is no way sufficient to extirpate envy, to become the objects of compassion. He that thinkes riches and honours are envied, is deceived: It is the command. the applause, the obsequiousnesse, that they bring with them: if these were separated from the King, it were no desirable thing to be a King. A very small reverence, and a very little place, is sufficient to satisfie what our bodies require: but the whole world is not enough to quench the thirst of the mind; which stands also with reason, because the body may easily finde his object in a bodily world. But the mind which is a spirit, never findes it where there is no spirit. It deceives it self sometimes

in running with the body after some bodily thing, as toward a proper object; but no sooner is the same obtained, but the error is discovered. Those pleasing tastes which some altogether sensuall do account but as smoak, which are the obsequiousnesse, the reverences, the applauses, these are the greatest food to the minde, because these are the least corporcall.

There are a thousand other precepts written for favourites, both to defend them from the hatred of the great, and from every other occasion that might worke their overthrow. Some also I could adde which are not mentioned by others, but because they are all vaine and frivolous, I will not fill up the page with such vanities and weakneses: I will say one onely thing, being the truest and securest course to maintaine himselfe in the Princes favour, which may well be performd, and may well be spoken of; yet can it not be learned nor taught, which is, to preserve alwayes the love of the Prince, and the manner how to preserve it. It is true, that the favourite never falls without some cause, but the same causes have

not alway the same effects : for sometimes they are surmounted by an affection, greater than their owne , if this stands firm and sure, there can be no danger; if this shrinks, then the ruine is at hand : not because he falls without cause, but because 'tis impossible not to give some cause, and then the lesser have more force than at another time the greater would. A constellation which would scarce have caused a simple tertian in youth (by consent of those that write these vanities in Astrology) is sufficient to kill one in his decrepit age. Hee that would not have his love decline, let him hold both his eyes alwayes fixed upon the Prince, never depart from him, never seeke any other but him; for as soone as hee turnes his eyes to himselfe or others, hee is undone. His greatnesse, his affections, his pleasures, and delights, must bee in his Prince. Neither let him thinke that by this means he may misse of preferments, but rather that hee shall be sure of them, and peradventure with lesse envy. Hee that possesseth things that are subject to envie, and takes no delight in them, is rather to be pittied, than envied. But

who is hee that wi'l doe so, saving the man that is full of affection, and most tenderly enamoured of his Lord. It is a thing that cannot bee reduced into Art, though it be easily knowne. Affectation differs much from affection, which if he hath not, let him not imitate; for such imitations are odious in the schoole of love: they that will maintaine themselves in the Princes favour with Art, their Art failes them, and they then faile with their Art.

David departs from the Army, and returnes with his men to Ziklag, whereby they finde that the Amalekites have burnt the City, and carried away all the Inhabitants prisoners, with Davids Wives also; and the people therewith enraged, would have stoned him.

IT is no marvell that this multitude would have stoned innocent David: men being angry, seeke some subject on which

which they may discharge their passion; yet if they finde not those that offend them, they suppose whomsoever they meete to bee the same; yea, and sometimes when there appeares before them no other, on which they may revenge themselves, they beat the pavement with their feet, and the Walls with their fists. And this is no such folly as many doe imagine, but an instinct of nature; which feeling the heart suffocated by so great a quantity of fiery spirits, seekes to ease her selfe by diverting some part of them in the exercising of some action.

The passions of the people are too distemperate going alwayes to extremes, which is not proper to the people, as they are a people, but as they are a multitude; in which every one hath his particular passion, and participateth also with that of the others; and with that participation increaseth his owne. I have sometimes doubted, (but I say it is not a thing undoubted) that in this increasing the contracting at least of the spirits hath some part: considering that a multitude of people gathered together, finds no
thing

thing to stay it from going whither it may go without separating, and whither they would not goe with lesse danger if they were separated : from whence may be taken an instruction for them that wil fortifie themselves in a place that they have regard to accommodate in such manner, that the fortification it selfe may be able to withstand the incursion of a multitude ; or otherwise, not think their strength sufficient to maintaine it with neither fire nor shot.

David askes counsell of the Lord thereupon what shall be done, and suddenly turnes to follow the steps of the Amalekites,

THIS is the best way to withdraw himselfe out of danger to divert an angry multitude to the true object of their anger, that thereby they may forsake the false.

They

They finally find out the Amalekites, fight with them, and overcome them; recovering the prey with the Prisoners: and the spoile which they had taken, David will have divided with those that kept the baggage, and were not at the fight.

THe Captaine of a male contented company, had need bee both valourous, and circumspect: that heat that stirres up a multitude, whether for love to their leader, or anger against their Prince, groweth soone cold, and then gives place to a comparison, to which succeedeth repentance; the consequence whereof, is either the killing of their Captaine, or the abandoning of him: Neither is it sufficient for the eschewing of such a danger, to have once gotten a great reputation; time consumeth it, and how great soever it be, reduceth it to nothing. It is necessary to linke it into a chaine, not suffering the report of a great action to cease, without renewing it with another as great or greater. *David* because his flying from *Saul* might
take

take from him the reputation he had gotten in subduing the Giant, no sooner begins to flie, but he fights and overcomes the Philistines, that had sacked *Keilah*; and because that flight is an argument of feare, and that feare brings a losse of reputation, hee makes it knowne that he could twice have killed the King, to give his flight the title of reverence, and to take away the imputation of feare. Afterward being returned to *Ziklag*, that the malecontented might not have leisure to make any reflections on him to his harme; and desirous to maintaine his reputation, hee oftentimes with honour and profit to himselfe assaulteth the Infidells; and finally vanquisheth the Amalekites, and recovereth that reputation, the diminution whereof, had brought him into the perill of being stoned.

The Philistines fight with the Israelites, and have broken the body of their Army, and slaine three of the Kings sonnes; the strength of the whole charged Saul, when he turning

to his Armour-bearer, prays him to kill him, that he might not be a derision to the uncircumcised; which when hee refused Saul sets his owne Sword against his breast, and falling on it, kills himselfe.

I Know not how the description of Death to be the utmost of all terrible things, should be understood: If in this life the utmost of all delectable things be not to be had, why should the utmost of the terrible? One of the contraries cannot be admitted, but the other must also be granted. Now to live, not being the utmost of delectable things, teacheth that to dye is not the utmost of the terrible. The not finding in this our world any object that is the last of delectable and of terrible things (if we will not suppose the powers without an object) makes us beleve that it is in the other world, and in that other world, is God scene and not scene. But hee that described death the last of all terrible things, meant it of things in this world; which would be true, if spoken of the last
in

in number, and not in weight: for otherwise, if it be such in it selfe, it must then bee alway such unto all: And yet we read of many men that have imbraced it, to eschesh some other thing, which we must needs beleeve was more terrible to them. He that wonders at a resolution so extravagant as makes a man kill himselfe, may marvell at nature also which being sometimes terrified at death doth prevent it.

The Armour-bearer of Saul, seeing what his Lord had done, drawes out likewise his sword, and kills himselfe. Some Writers are of opinion that this was Doeg the Edomite, Sauls favourite; who lest he should be punished by his successor, killed himselfe.

THE Favourites of a Prince that hath a successour, if they dye not before *Saul*, yet they dye often with *Saul*. I know not how to steere them from this Rock: there hath been one, that seeing no other remedy, made at the Sovereign-
 tie

tie it selfe, and was just there destroyed. There hath been also that turned his back to the West, and fate his eyes toward the East, and towards those rayes that would have bin deadly to him, had not that Sun bin then under the line of the *Horizon*. As the sonnes of Princes cannot endure any companion in domination, no more will Princes in their love. He that thinks there is no envie betwixt the Father and the son, is deceived. The honours done to the son, if they increase that of the father, doe rejoyce him; but if they diminish his, they make him sorrowfull; which because it falls out but seldome, men suppose there is no such thing. When the favourite hath hope that by course of Nature he shall survive the Prince, it is a hard matter for him not to have an eye to the future; toward which if he cast a look, he loseth that which is present: but hee deserves no favour, that desires or thinkes to out-live his Lord. The greatest felicity that may befall the former, (it being not lawfull for any violently to charge upon death) would be to end his life just when the latter dieth. It is hard to dye before him, because it is no easie thing

thing to leave one that is his Patron, and his Love. Hee that blames Princes for having favourites, would have them inhumane and vile: What thing is a man that hath no love? or wherein may a Prince shew gracious unto others, or see himselfe his owne greatnesse, but in advancing of others? and how or why should he advance them, if he doth not love them? Would they have him alwayes masked? would they not allow him any, to whom he may unstrip himselfe, and discover the secrets of his heart? He that will give to Princes (that which surely they ought to have) leave to descend sometimes from their throne of Majesty, and to confer their inward cogitations with any one, he must allow a favourite: If the Prince lay aside his Majesty, withall he would grow contemptible; if his secrets should be imparted unto many, they could not be secrets; but if he be familiar but to one, open but to one, he is then the favorite. It is wished by them that are not beloved above the rest, that the Prince would love all alike: but why should he love all alike, since he is not beloved himselfe of all alike? A wel devoted subject ought to be grieved
th at

that any one loveth his Lord more than he, and not that his Lord loves another more than himselfe. This would bee a desire to tyrannize over the affections of Princes, which men ought to reverence. He that could make his love more fervent than that of the favorite, might peradventure make himselfe the greater favorite: but commonly men strive to unhorse him by malice, and not by vertue, because it is more easie to envie, than to love. Give mee leave also further to asseverate (if without offence I may) that it cannot bee any blame to have a favorite, unlesse men will say that Christ our Lord was to bee blamed, whose favorite was Saint John.

One passing by chance neer unto Saul, who longed to die, and asked him whence he was; and the other answering that hee was an Amalekite: Saul prayeth him to kill him, which he excuseth.

OThe unspeakable providence of God! hee peradventure permitted not Saul to kill himselfe, he consented that his sin should kill him. One of the
Amale.

Amalekites, whom against the will of God he had saved alive, God will have to put him to death. That sinner spake for all sinners, and spake divinely, that said, *My sinne is alwayes against me.* We have no enemies, but we make some: nor is *Saul* alone slaine by his sinne, for there be but few men that are not also killed by theirs. And it is very particular, that one particular should kill them; seeing it was the same that brought death into all the world: O how pleasant, and how profitable are the precepts of God! He is a Physician (under favour be it spoken) not only for the soule, but for the body also. He hath left us better rules in a few leaves to preserve our health, than are contained in the great volumes of the bookes of the Gentiles.

King Saul dieth after hee had reigned many yeares, and with the King, dieth a great part of the people, whch had demanded a King.

FAVOURS are not therefore demanded of God that he may doe them, but because hee will doe them; hee doth them by meanes of our prayers: they are obtained with the Optative, not with the Impe-

Imperative mood. He that wil command them, deserves then onely to bee heard when it is to his harme; to have beene heard to teach him that is God, neither to bee taught, nor to bee commanded. Wherefore then it was that *Saul* did lose his life, and wherefore the Kingdome of *Israel* went out of his Progeny, is easily resolved by them, who omitting the manifold other causes, have recourse to that alone, which is the first, and chiefe, and prime cause: from whose well, all the rest proceed. But why God willeth the destruction of Kings and Kingdomes, would be easie also to shew, were it not the will of God, is not alwayes effective, but sometimes also permissive: He wils that such as forsake him, lose their Kingdomes; and that they that follow him, obtaine them. Moreover, how and when it comes to passe that he permitteth sometimes those that follow him to be abased, and those that abandon him to bee exalted, I doe not know, and others peradventure know as little. Those Princes then that are not in *Gods* favour, let them alwayes feare, how prosperous soever they are: Being not able to alledge any
cause

cause of their happinesse, they must needs be afraid; if they be great, they know not why they are so: and it is to be doubted that such greatnesse cannot long endure; whereof no cause can be given for which it began. Hee who hapning to come into the house of a fortunate man, did suddenly depart thence, certainly he meant it not of them that God maketh happy and successfull, but of those whom God permitteth so to bee. The ruine of *Saul* came peradventure of his own great prosperity, his being from a base estate exalted to a Kingdome, confirmed and settled therein with happy successe; in stead of making him the more devout, made him more confident, yea, more rash and unadvised. Let us not make it lawfull to serve him the lesse, who hath prospered us to the end; we should serve him the more, as if the gifts or graces which God vouchsafeth us were but for our pleasure, and not for his glory. A great sort of men offend their God in their prosperity, and pray unto him in their adversity; yet is he still the same God, when hee delivereth us out of misery and distress, and when he overturneth our fortunate

fortunate courses and proceedings. It may seeme peradventure, that to deliver out of disasters doth more manifest the Divinity, than to abase prosperous fortunes; whence it is that men are more confident in his mercies, than fearefull of his vengeance. There is no man how wicked soever, but doth some good thing whereunto hee afterward ascribes the cause of his good successe, and equivocating betweene the reward, and the grace given him, hath no feare of losing what he pretends to have deserved. On the contrary, there is no man so good, but he committeth some evill whereunto for the most part he attributeth the cause of his misfortune, and equivocating between Gods chastising and his exercising of him, sends up sometimes his supplications to God, when he should rather have sent thanksgivings; as if the world which is the place of meriting and demeriting, were the place also of rewarding & punishing.

To conclude, *let us pray his Divine Majesty, that he will be alwaies pleased to end the persecutions of the Davids, with the death of the Sauls: And all to the glory and honour of his great Name; in which I end this Booke, as I desire also to end my life.* FINIS.

Received of the Treasurer of the
County of ... the sum of ...

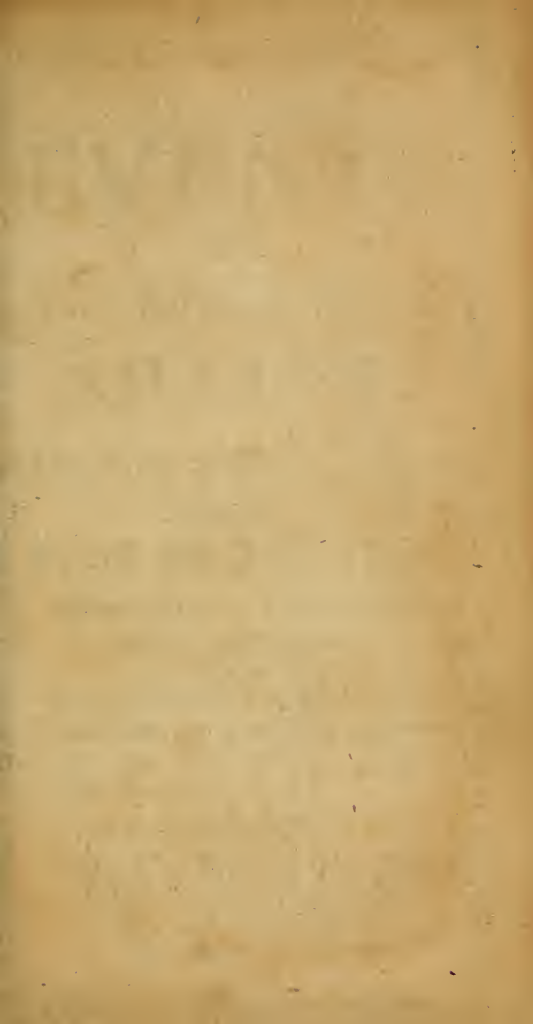
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THE CHIEFE
EVENTS
OF
The Monarchie of
SPAINE,
In the yeare 1639.

Written
By the Marquesse *Virgilio*
Malvezzi, one of his Ma-
jetties Councell of
Warre.

Translated out of th' Italian Copy
by ROBERT GENTILIS Gent.

LONDON,
Printed by *T.W.* for *Humphrey*
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Church-yard, 1647.





To the right Honourable
EDWARD, Earle of Dorset, Lord
Buckhurst, Knight of the most Honour-
able Order of the Garter, Lord Chamber-
berlaine of his Majesties Household,
and one of his Honourable
Privie Councill.

S I R,




Have presumed to present
this Translation to your
Lordships view, and send it
into the world under your Patro-
nage. And though my selfe bee not
worthy so great a Patron, yet the
Author Count *Virgilio Malvezzi*
his Workes generally are of such
esteem, that a Noble and honoura-
ble Penne in this Kingdome hath
vouchsafed to English some part of

To the Reader.

them. And this particular Historie is so inter-woven with severall grave politick Discourses, learned and pithy Speeches upon sundry occasions, that I question not but your Lordship may find somewhat in it worthy your reading at vacant houres. This, and your ever knowne love to learning, shewed by your daily favours continually flowing upon Scholars, hath encouraged mee to prefix your honoured Name to these my endeavours: in which though I come farre short of *Malvezzi's* incomparable stile, or the honourable Translators facunditie, I shall most humbly beseech your honour to cast a gracious aspect upon it, which may encourage mee to attempt higher things, if so great a one shall deigne to accept of this so small present. So praying God ever to blesse you, & all your honorable family, I humbly rest,

Your Honours most devoted and humble
servant,

Robert Gentilis.



To the Reader,

REader, I confesse, I use my uttermost skill to not write a Historie with a plaine narration and that I employ the uttermost of mine understanding to set it out, it seeming to me to be the dutie of him who is to leave unfolded to posteritie the noble remembrance of the renowned deeds and admirable actions of the greatest King in the world. The Tuscan aires the Ruggierie and Romancies, & other touches, Songs and Daunces, are playd in the streets, and Market places, and also in the Royall Palace. The Merchant, the Citizen the Gentleman, and the King, also goe clothed in Silke; but those which are playd in the Royall Pallace, are playd leisurely with
A 3 learned


To the Reader.

learned counterpoints touched with Forraigne daintinesses, stopps, quavers, accents, and spirits. This place on most noted dayes clotheth the Kings person, in a habit woven with gold and gemmes, embroidered and garnished; and so great is the art and workmanship, that the least thing that is heard in the one is the Basso, and that is seene in the other is Silke. If Royall things are so different from City ones, who shall blame my Historie onely for the manner of it? Surely if the subject is good, I have given it state, and embroided it; if bad, I have put it out of tune, and bundled it up. If Histories be written to give instruction instructing or teaching is not to take off the course and bring to an end, a thing needfull to bee done both for those which read them curiously, and for them who study them attentively, either to change vain desires, or give satisfaction to those as are well regulated. So that hee is questionlesse praise-worthy, who taketh a man out of the ordinary way, which is long and broad, and conducteth him through one that is not darke but short, full of strangenesse, sentences, expressions, which sometimes

To the Reader.

times teach, and sometimes delight. and which at sometimes mingled together doe both teach and delight.

If I have done so I have fulfilled my desire, and peradventure my duty; But because it would be pride in me to affirme I had done it, it shall be a sufficient excuse for me, I have a desire to doe it, that if I be not praised, I may at least be suffered.



The Italian Printer to the
Reader.

T*He Author is resolved to print this Booke in his owne naturall tongue, in Regard of some considerable errors, with change of the sense, which passed in the Spanish Impression at Madrid through the Printers carelesnesse, which happened whilst he was absent from that Court.*

The



The chiefe Events in the Spanish Monarchy.



Afflicted *Europe* weepes (for many ages) from time to time at her ruines, either because God doth most chastise the carelesnesse of those

whom he loveth best, and so it is good will ; or because he most punisheth the faults of them who are most bound unto him, and so it seemes revenge : he either trieth as mercifull or scourgeth as wrathfull. Sometimes she seeth her Inhabitants bloudy themselves in civill warres, and oftentimes she seeth her land overflowne with barbarous Nations. Our bitternesse calls simplicitee Barbarisme and him barbarous, who is not tedious of other mens affaires ; who is content with his owne, as long as it is able to maintaine him ; who to offer violence, will first have it offered to himselfe ; who goeth against a man through a desire of preserving himselfe

selfe, and not through greedinesse of growing great; who slayeth another to preserve his own life, who invadeth Countries to get a dwelling place; valourous without cunning; hardy without deceit, as if Nature were worse then Art, and he best who much knoweth, when much knowledge serveth him to doe the greater hurt.

Warre was once more terrible to Nations when it was moved against them to dwell in the Country, then when the aime was domination; The one; was against all, the other against one in losing, the one obliged to change a master, the other to leave being one. Now adayes also the worst would be our leader, if our lamentable times with a most evill comparison did not justifie it. The Countries were more fortunate, the men lesse evill. The necessity of living pricked men forward, and not the greedinesse of commanding, nor the hatred of him that commanded. The land changed its Inhabitants, it did not lose them, men did not destroy the houses where they meant to dwell, they did not make the land barren which was to nourish them, they
peopled

peopled it, and did not lay it waste, and it did renew it, more then ruine it; Then was Europe a prey, but to men, now it is a prey to the Sword, Fire, Famine, and Pestilence; warre taking the dominion away from one, and not gaining it to the other, if so be command is meant over men, and not over buried carkasses which are turned to dust; over fruitfull and abounding plaines, and not a desert, burnd, unmanured, and barren Countrie.

In these turbulent motions, and deplorable, times came in the yeare one thousand six hundred thirty nine, the fire of dissentions burning more then ever, and like Mount *Aetna*, shewing no signe of going out, as if it also had its *Scillaes* and *Charibdies*, which devouring the wealths of Kings and Nations, did feed upon bloud and treasure.

Germany was destroyed, full of civill warres. The French overcome, but not weakened, nor mortified, thought upon revenge. Great *Britaine* as last in the world, was rather then forgotten, reserved for the last beames which made an influence of warre over Europe, and now feeling the dammages of it, sought for a remedie.

remedie. The state of the *Austriacall* Monarchy was various; *Flanders* victorious, but not secure; *Spaine* triumphant and threatned; The affaires in *Burgundy* dangerous, in *Brasill* doubtful, in *Germany* adverse; *Weymar* possessed of *Brisack*, the *Swede* of *Bohemia*, the *Turkish* armies ready to move, the *Hans* townes wavering, the *Switzers* irresolute; The Fleet set upon by the *Hollanders*, and though not overcome, yet hindered and staid. In vain did the *Catholick King* desire peace, withstood by the *Rebels* obstinacie, the enemies greediness, & agreement of their Officers. These not being able to bee governed but by the violence of motion, and the other not satisfying, some their rage, some their envy, but with conquests of new Cities and Kingdoms, did already make easie things seeme difficult with strange pretences, and difficult things easie with new tributes, levies, and Engines.

In the meane time the body of *Christendome*, infirme, languishing, and hurt in its most solid parts consumed like an *Estick*, either finding no *Physician*, or wanting a remedy. It seemed
because

because of the sharpnesse of the season to rest, and accumulate matters to kindle a new paroxisme. The motion did not cease, passing from the body to the head, from the heart to the mind, which partly disquieted, partly necessitated, studied all meanes to trouble the bodies, and stirre up armes.

In *France* the Officers discoursed of making new conquests in *Flanders* of making sure the affaires of *Germany*, of troubling *Spaine* by Sea and by Land, little reflecting upon the businesse of *Italy*, where they weighed not the losse of small places, and thought time long in conquering great ones. That in the meane time the Spanish Army would decrease, and theirs increase. That they would goe to relieve places, and force their enemies either to give over what they had undertaken with shame, or fight with danger. That they should gaine in *Flanders*, and in *Burgundie*, and what sinister accident soever should happen, they esteemed not the losse of a place in *Italy* considerable (beyond which they imagined those powers could not reach) they having so many there,

so that they thought it impossible to be counterpoised, much more to be overcome.

In *Spain* were very different thoughts, they looked upon the affaires of *Italie*, as their chiefe scope. That it was good to goe with great strength where the reward was great, the opposition small. The dates which they set in *Piemont* would be sufficient to bring forth olive trees. That to be the most sensible part of *Europe*. Thither to be called by men, and invited by fortune, and if the one did shew themselves favourable, and the other should prove prosperous, the King of *France* his conquests would be counterpoised, and he would be called into that Province where he most feared, and be diverted from that where he had most hopes.

They were not carelesse of the defence of their other States: the provisions for *Flanders* were great both of men and money: Foure Millions and a halfe of silver; Seaventhousand Foot at the *Groix* ready for to go; an Army of Germans under the command of Count *Picolomini*, all old Souldiers, and new Levies in the Country;

Country. *Holsatia* and *Burgundia* were to be releived with an Army under the Command of *Don Francesco di Melo*. In *Spaine*, *Cantabria* was made sure with foureteene thousand Horse and Foote who asisted it. And for a supply of the Forces in the County of *Ronciglione* there were great Levies appointed to be made in that Province. A Tertia of Walloones which was comming out of *Flanders*, the *Italian* Infantrie which the gallies of *Spaine*, *Scicilie*, *Naples* and *Genoa* were to bring over in the Spring. Now for to keepe the Mediterranean Sea, and the Ocean, there should bee, the Navies which should come from *Carthagena* and *Cadiz*, that which was at the *Groine*, and the Ships of the Fleet which was expected out of the Indies. And to secure themselves totally from the threatnings of mighty Fleets which were preparing in *Britanie*, the Coast of *Spaine* was all furnished, with Men, Ammunition, and Provision. Providing for Land affaires as if they wanted defence by Sea; And thinking upon the Fleet at Sea, as if they could not defend themselves by Land.

A victorie obtained against the Hollander

der at Sea gave a beginning to this years conquests, an enemy of a long time, and yet domesticall; almost at home, and therefore continuall.

Some *Dunkirk* Ships were to goe to the *Groine* to take in some Spanish Infanterie, they went to *Mardick* to joyne with the rest having fought with theemie, who strong with a Fleet of seaventeene saile all of strength, came to besiege them at the mouth of the haven. The Generall *Michael d'Orno*, though unequal in strength, yet superiour in courage, being not able to endure the rebels insolence, with a prosperous wind came forth of *Mardick* and set upon them three times. The first time though for a little space they fought generously, yet the Hollander made some shew of giving back, the second he gave back the third he fled and getting into their owne harbours left a most glorious victory to his Majesties forces which joyfully, being but eight ships strong furrowed the waves to gather the fruites, many promising them the dominion of the Ocean yeilded by the Hollander shut up and weakened.

But

But who is the Master of the Ocean? It is not overcome, though in it one overcome, yea he often is conquered by the Sea, who hath conquered man. He that was overcome fled, and the Sea is overcome by flying it. He that overcome fighteth, and who fighteth with the Sea loofeth by it:

There arose the most horridest tempest that was in the memory of th'eldest men, it scattered the ships & tore them, so that with much toile, and almost by miracle they came into harbour, some at *Ostend*, and some at *Dunkirk*, without rudders, sailes, or masts, more like reliques of a shipwrack then ships fled from the injury of the waves.

I could note to make you bend the eye-browes the strangeness of it; there being but very few houres betwixt the rejoicing with triumph and the bewayling of losses, if I would therein follow the tracks of a wise man who for an admirable particularitie of the Sea cried out, that in the selfe same place ships were one day playing and sporting, and cast away the next. As if the Land did not produce such effects, which are not
thought

thought of nor observed, because they are more frequent. Who seeth not that in the selfe-same bed, where man taketh his best rest, and where he enjoyeth sometime amorous, sometime Matrimoniall delights, hee a so lets forth his last and vitall spirits and breathings with paine and horroure amidst tormenting sorowes?

The Marquesse of *Fuentes* care did get the ships mended, and shipping two thousand Walloons in them for the *Groigne*, caused them to set saile.

The Enemy was returned powerfull within sight of the Harbour, out of which his Majesties ships came, but not with happy successe, for some run aground, and other for want of wind could not get out; there were but five that fought. *Michael d'Orno* set upon the *Holland* Admirall with such fiercenesse, that he had almost sunke her, shee shunned the boarding, and presently fled with the rest of the ships, and in the flight met with two of the Kings ships. The Sea grew calme, the Captaine and the Admirall runne on ground, so that the enemy was left with the two ships, playing upon them with their

their Ordnance, but would not adventure to board them. So here were two great victories, which the Kings Forces obtained against the Rebels, the one was counterpoised by too much wind and the other almost changed for want of wind.

The Captaine got off, and all the rest of the ships but the Admirall; the enemys battered retired to their owne Ports for reliefe, and the Kings ships to *Mardick* and *Dunkirke* and from thence after they were mended they went away with their Walloons, and arrived safely into *Spaine*, where the Cardinall Infanta writ in what distresse *Burgundy* was, *Weymer* being come into it, and having taken *Pontaglier*, and *Joigri*, by meanes whereof he cut off that Province from all reliefe of Armes and provisions from the *Switzers*.

His Majesty sent money, and order to the Marquesse of *Leganes*, that he should assist them with men.

In the mean time Prince *Thomas* was extraordinarily importunate at Court, to get leave to goe and assist the businesse of *Italy*. That his Country did burne, that the Government was swayed by a passionate

nate woman, an unable Prince, and Officers wonne, bought, hindered, and forced by the French. That the lawes gave him and the Cardinall the tuition. That hee could not justifie to the world his stay in *Flanders* to looke upon the flames. Hee promised his Majesty fruitfull actions, and that he likewise promised to himselfe from his Majesty, justice and love, if hee should have recourse to his Clemencie, and great assistance, if there were need of power. That he had many intelligences, and that he was called thither, by his friends, malecontents, convenience, obligation, and hope.

Every one did not applaud this going into *Italy*, many believing it could doe no good, did prognosticate great damage might ensue thereupon. The malecontents within, shewed every thing to be easie for them as went out, because they should trouble the State; and these made every thing seeme easie to the King, wherein they might assist him, promising themselves more then they could performe, and promising more then they knew they could performe. Force of Armes, nor intelligence of Princes could
not

not gaine so many places to his Majesty, as the Dutchesse despaire might give unto the King of *France*. True it is, that her reason of State is not that she should deliver them into the hand of the French, and that now in case the affection of Sister should perswade her to it, the love of a Mother would dissuade her from it: But if she should imagine that they must be lost, shee would sooner fall into the armes of a Brother, then under the feet of her Kinsmen. Convenience is the reason of State, and they are all counterpoised while a state remaines, but it being lost, revenge takes the place of conveniencie, and rage the place of reason; The future is not discoursed upon, onely the present is hated, neither doe they consider which is the best, when all are bad. The sick man, whilest he hopes to obtaine health, patiently endures thirst, hunger iron, and fire, but if he once falls into dispaire, he abhorres the Physician, and hates the remedies worse then the disease. The powers of the Spaniard untill that time to have seemed to the Dutchesse to be against the French, her state to serve for a field to wrath, and not for

a reward to victories. If she see the Princes of *Savoy* with those forces she will think them to be against her. And whereas before in case of losse, the King of *Spaines* more moderate mind, did promise her restitution; the title of Kinsman might deceive her, and the just title of the King of *France*; and of both these things did assure her the emulation which was between them, and the agreement betweene the Princes of *Europe*. And she might now doubt that in this third, the contraries might agree, the emulation might be appeased, the Subjects satisfied, and the world contented; there being not wanting lawfull, specious, apparent, and hidden titles and pretences. Intelligences do worke better a farre off by their power, then neere by their person; thoughts which men have cannot be seen; but the eyes doe shew where a man meanes to hit. That Prince *Thomas* in *Flanders* did thrive and gaine as present, in *Italie* as absent, changing of countrie he might breed turmoile on the one part and doe hurt in the other, if not in both. Ostentation to be the greatest enemy that this enterprize could have, enough

nough will be done, if they can perswade that little can be done. The Dutchesse will not desperately cast her selfe into the hands of the French, and they will not go with great powers, where they imagine not to gaine great rewards, or hinder great conquests. Scarce shall Prince *Thomas* appeare, but the one, and the other growen jealous and suspicious, will stirre up every stone, and use the uttermost endeavour, they will change all governours both in holds and armies, and fill every thing with French; whereby the one side assured of the treacherie, and the other not forbearing to attempt it, cunning being in vaine employed, the time will be lost of helping ones selfe with force. Nature hath thought craft to be hurtfull to valour, and onely helpfull to cowardlinesse, granting it to the weakest kind of beasts, and denying it to the most valorous. They are both hindered when they are together, diminishing when they are mixed, and being good for nothing when they are diminished. That it was not knowne of what degree Prince *Thomas* his person should be in the army; it was not convenient he should

should be superiour to the Marquis of *Leganes*, and to have him inferiour would be dissonant. Howsoever he would breed disturbance, in Warre, in Peace, in overcoming, and (peradventure more) when he had overcome.

But wise men, and those who understood his Majesties mind aright, discoursed the contrarie. That it had alwayes bin helpfull to the conquering of counties, to have in the armies persons of their blood who ruled. This meanes which had served many to cover injustice and to deceive people, would now serve to shew the truth, and to undeceive those which went astray. That nothing could hinder his Majesties good intention more, then the not being knowne, and that nothing could make it more knowne then the presence of those who were interested. Should he feare the Dutchesse should despaire? let her do what she wil, when she hath done what she could doe she will peradventure not be more desperate (and that questionlesse) when she is assaulted. Her mind cannot be gained, it must be forced, she will give unto the French, whatsoever the Spaniards doe
not

not take. That the King ought to procure that shee might be wonne to her selfe, taking away her estate, that she may not lose it, with an intent (as a guardian) to restore it to her again when her Frenzie is over-past, and that shee hath recovered her health. In the mean time that it is necessarie to hinder her from casting it into the hands of the French, and binde these to leave that by force, which they had through covetousnesse usurped, or to restore it through envie. The presence of those Princes to bee necessary, they had not yet gathered so many intelligences, as they would gather. Let Potentates and strange Commonwealths Armies once heare them, and they will know that the King of *Spain* goeth to protect, and not to gaine. Let the Subjects see their faces, and they will believe they come to govern them, and not to fight with them. All will follow them, partly confessing themselves obliged for received favours, and partly knowing themselves freed from the oath which was given them, honour and conveniencie not hindering them, and feare and interest pricking them on. That those

people hate the French, and distrust the Spaniards, and so being unresolv'd between distrust and hatred, they shall scarce see the Princes, but without exact examination of the businesse, they will without any further consideration cast themselves into their armes. He who is in a streight betweene two contraries, feares hurt from each, and as soone as he seeth a third, without further advise, he runnes precipitously to him. The hatred will be encreas'd towards a womans government, and contempt of a childes. Distasters will be imputed, some to the ignorance, and some to the evill will of them that rule. They will desire to change their Lord, and at last they will change him.

They confessed that intelligences which are had in States, promise more then they can doe, counting of that which others shall doe, and that others are deceived in the doing, making accompt of that which hath been promised them. Hee that means to undertake an enterprise and sets intelligences foremost in an accompt, shall find himselfe deceived. These ought to follow hopes, not to
frame

frame them, doing service enough, when other things are disposed, as if they served for nothing. Great forces confirme those who are well affected, and gaine those who stand doubtfull; Small forces lose every one, even those whose understandings were before perswaded; That his Majestie did confide in the greatnesse of Armies, as in a substance, in that of intelligences, as in an accident. Who comes into a State with these two, runnes like a torrent, and the further hee goeth, the more he increaseth. That Prince *Thomas* his valour, and experience in his owne **C**ountrie (if no other circumstances did concurre) promised victories. That the **M**arquesse of *Leganes* gentlenesse of mind, (who without losing the Supream power, could yeild the supream honour) would secure all disturbances in the progresse; And the good intention of the King and Princes, after they had gone forward. The King not weighing whether it were profitable or hurtfull that Prince *Thomas* should goe into *Italie*, onely willing to satisfie the desire he seemed to have of it, granted him leave: and he came thither just at that time that

the Marquise of *Leganes* incited by many Letters of Count *Duke*, resolved to take the field.

Hee knew that to overcome the Frenches valour, it would be very advantageous to conquer their nature. Hee already for two yeares time had happily found by experience, what a great helpe celeritie was in Matiall affaires: and that greater swiftnesse was able to counterpoise greater force. The nature of the heavens sheweth it, wherein the weakest are made the swiftest, because the inferior shall not be hindered by the mightier. The Moone whose influence hath not vertue to equall *Saturnes*, sheweth her effects more cleete, and if she doth not produce them greater, shee reiterateth them more often, supplying the weaknesse of her beame, with the swiftnesse of her motion. The French is brought into streights by being prevented: either he believes not himselfe to be come time enough to opperate, and so gives himselfe over, or he moves out of time, and so loseth himselfe. The Spaniard is not so: his nature is slow, and when that slownesse imprints a quality
which

which seemes to be hurtfull, not failing in what is necessary, he brings into consequence the others which follow it, in such manner equalled with the first, that they make it profitable, or at least they doe correct it. Who so is overcome in his peculiar quality, ruines with the consequent ; Not by reason of the first which he hath lost, but of the rest which he hath not changed.

The Marquesse of *Leganes* sent *D. Martino d' Arragon*, with a part of the Army to the passes ; And hee with the rest came to *Novara* ; Thither came Prince *Thomas*, they discoursed of the surprisall of *Civasco*, and it was resolved in *Vercelli* to attempt it. The Prince with two thousand Horse did attempt it ; and having had good successe, hee being strengthened with two thousand foot which the Marquesse sent him, set upon *Jurea*, assaulted it, got within the Walls and wonne it, *Veglia* yeilded to him, and becomming Lord of both their Territories, hee became Master of the vale of *Osta*.

Don Martino of *Aragon* thinking that to gaine *Cencio*, it was first necessary for

him to take *Saliceto* a small Castle, sent *D. Lewes* of *Lincaſtro*, thither, he raiſed a Battery againſt it with two Demi-Cannon. *D. Martino* went to view the place, and a Muſket-shot hitting him in the forehead, ſlew him. A Souldier of extraordinarie valour, who had with his hand juſtified what he was; He was loving to his inferiours, affable to his equalls, and reverent to his betters. Great in place, experience, hope and merit. Worthy to live to performe greater matters, or to die upon a greater ſervice. But there was nothing to be found fault with in him, if ſo unhappy a death had not given cauſe to accuſe fortune.

The loſſe of *D. Martino*, might have occaſioned ſome competition amongſt the chiefe Officers, which uſeth to end in tumults, But *D. Lewis Ponze* of *Leon* giving no time to diſcourſes, came to remedie it with his perſuaſions, and chiefly by his example; For calling them altogether, he ſhewed them, that he was one of his Majesties Councell of warre, the eldeſt field Marshall, and of the tertia of *Lombardie*; hee ſaid that by reaſon of theſe qualities, and of ſome circumſtances,

stances, by right the government belonged to him, which he did voluntarily lay downe, sacrificing his owne interest to the good of the King his Master, who when he receives dammage by a competition, every he who is in the right doth deserve punishment : there being no private respect that can parallel a publike dammage. That advices came of the enemies approaching ; That the command might bee better deserved by fighting then by competition. If they did not agree, there would be no fighting, no commanding, and all would be lost. That the Governour of *Milan* shewed, which way he inclined when he sent *D. Antonio Sotello* to seize on the workes ; The not yeilding to this would be a thwarting of the Marqueffe his desires, and to hinder rather then to accept of the command, which if it were laid downe, ought rather to be refused with wisdom, then be afterwards forcibly left with shame.

They all approved of this discourse, content to be commanded by *D. Antonio Sotello*. The King in his Letter acknowledged himselfe to be well served by *D. Lewis* his discreet proceeding, not only

for the present act (which occasioned a Victory, and the like being not observed in times past had occasioned great losses) but chiefly in respect of the document which so rare an example would leave unto posteritie: and admitted of no exception, because that besides the having right on his side, hee wanted not great valour, and the like experience, besides the Nobility of his famous house.

This action so new, and so unusuall in the Kings Armies deceived the Cardinall of *Vallette*, and the Marquesse of *Villa*, who went with all their forces to relieve *Saliceto*, thinking to find the Souldiers without a Commander, or with many confused ones. They found them commanded by *D. Antonio Sotello*, with so much union, order, and valour, that comming to battell, they were routed and put to flight, with the death and imprisonment of the boldest. A great part of the Victory, ought to bee acknowledged from *D. Lewes Ponze di Leon* and his Regiment, who after he had modestly yeilded to his friends, fought valiantly against his enemies, shewing himself more fit to govern then ambitious of governing.

So

So was that strong place wonn, which would have troubled any other Army that had not been Spanish, for the space of a whole yeare, and was a place of great importance, one part of it standing upon the entrance of *Piemont*, and the other to secure *Finall*.

This piece of Army was returning to joyne with the Marquesse under the conduct of *Don John di Garrai*, and comming neere to *Verrua* in an evening, he tooke the out-workes; At the dawning of the day he assaulted it five wayes; wonne it, Set upon the Castle, and it yeilded to him.

Hee was revenged of the wounds which he had received in that place when he served the Duke of *Feria*, and if hee did in some way disgrace his Masters aſt taking that in foure houres, which his Master could not take in three moneths; yet did hee doe much credit to his advice, the Dukes Counsell being then to assault it, not to besiege it; Then hee joyned with the Marquesse of *Leganes*, who laid Siege to *Crescentino*, and though it had a dike full of water, deepe; and well fortified, and kept

by a Garrison of thirteene hundred French, yet in eight dayes he wonne it.

It will not peradventure be distastefull if I here set downe what reason moved the King of *Spain* at first to invade the Duke of *Savoy* his Dominions, for the sting of revenge, reason of State, nor rigor of justice are not sufficient motives for his mild piety, to bring him on to endamage other men, if he were not otherwise violently moved thereunto.

Marquesse *Forni Amadeo*, Duke of *Savoy* his Ambassadour was in *Madrid*, who in the name of the Duke his Master, promised all friendship, and forbearance of hostiity, when the Duke at the selfesame instant joyning with *France*, entred into the State of *Milan*; when (for feare of breeding jealousie) it lay in a manner disarmed: with an Ecclesiasticall person over the Politick government, and an old man over the Militarie; So that from one skirmish to another, it came to that passe, that if they would not yeeld without any more stirring, they must bee forced to adventure it upon a battell at *Tornevento*, with so much disadvantage, that nothing (necessity excepted) could have

have freed it from the judgement of a most rash act.

Being as it were by miracle escaped out of these streights, Duke *Amadeo* died. And what rational man then would have said, that it was not then just for the King of *Spain* to overthrow his Dominions, who had deceived him with publick faith? and joyning with his enemies, had assaulted the State of *Milan*, and brought it in jeopardy of losing. What Politician would not have judged it necessarie, not to leave an example so pernicious to all Monarchies, *viz.* that they might bee set upon by inferiour Princes, and those Princes receive no other damage thereby, but the not obtaining of the issue of their desires? And what humane heart of flesh would have blamed the King for running upon a revenge necessarie in Policie, and lawfull in Justice; Yet his Majesty courteous, not vindicative: magnanimous, not Politick, pious with Justice, and not just with rigour, propounded Peace to the Dutchesse if she would forbear to assist the French, taking upon him to make an agreement between her and the Princes her Allies; what could

could he doe more to have this Vine produce Grapes? yet it brought forth nothing but wilde ones. What could he do lesse, then come in with fire and Sword, to shew what gentlenesse provoked with ingratitude, and mercy sleighted by obstinacie can, and is able to doe? Yet hee hath not done it; he burned onely to fatten the soile, and destroy the weeds; He cut downe to engraft Plants, to cause them bring forth fruits in stead of thorns; He overcame the Mother, that she might not ruine her Sonne; He moved war to establish peace, and seized on dominions to restore them.

The French were already come into low *Germany*, with two mighty Armies, the one under the command of *Migliari*, to goe upon the Country of *Artois*, the other led by *Fucchiere* to enter upon the land of *Luxenburg*. The designes were to renew the name & recover the Kingdom of the ancient *Anstrasia*. Surely a great thought, and besitting a high mind that were not most Christian. The provocatives were the remembrance of *Charles* the great, and the greatnesse of the house of *Austria*, the end to renew the first, and ruine the last.

The

The first things wherein Princes are in their younger yeares instructed, are the great acts of their Predecessors; They hear them rehearsed with delight, whilst they are not able to act them (infirmity of humane nature, which not to remaine without glory, having none of their own, appropriate other mens to themselves, and takes from the fortune of Birth, that which springs onely from the worth of the person.) But if their spirit growes up with their age, those relations which once seemed to please, do now torment, to praise, reprove, and tormenting and reproving enflameth them, first to be imitators of their Auncestors, and to follow their steps; then to emulate and outgoe them, which ever tieth them either to live idle in despaire, or troublesome to disquiet the world: And if by chance to the memory of those who are past, be added an emulation of some that are present, finding greater in their owne and other families by reading and practise experience. And if equalling the first consists in overcoming the last, What provocations will these bee to fight with them? Surely very sharpe ones.

And

And what shall be the ends of fighting with them, certainly peace and quietnesse, not of the world, but their owne, for not being able to attaine unto those ends, but by overcoming the world, they set that at variance, and conquer it not, but disquiet, and ruine it.

Happy is the King of *Spaine* (and by his meanes the Christian world) who hath no emulators, who being greater then he, doe disquiet him, and hath no memories of any Ancestors, but such as tie him rather to keep what he hath, then to gaine more. His quiet is not moved, but he appeaseth motions, he shuns war, and loves peace: never takes up Armes, but to cause them to be laid down.

The Cardinall *Infanta* gave order to *Piccolomini* to goe set upon *Fucchieres*, and bid him battell. The Marquesse of *Fuenes* to oppose *Migliare* his proceedings, who after the burning of certaine Castles and Townes, had laid siege to *E-dino*. And the Count of *Fera* was to watch the Hollander, who was drawing neere to the Island of *Bommell*. Things seemed here to be well ordered, but a sudden accident had like to have disturbed

bed them. *Banier* had routed, six thousand of th' Imperiall Foot, the Emperour desired so many men of *Piccolomini* to supply that want. It was judged in *Flanders*, that to send those men, would but little helpe the Empire, and occasion the totall ruine of that Province.

That the French was to be more looked after then the Swede. That *Banier* would not effect that which the King of *Sweden* could not doe, the King of *France* might doe it. Nothing is more easie then to know his intent, and there is no Prince or Common-wealth in *Germanie*, but if he knew it, would take up armes to hinder it. All of them might hinder it, if they would determine so, and they would all know it, if they would reflect upon it.

The first thing the King of *France* desires, is to make himselfe Emperour, and it will bee the last hee will attaine to; His Ancestors began with the taking of *Metz, Tul*, and *Verdun*, he hath followed these with the taking in of *Alsacia* and *Lorraine*. Being Lord of *Teonville*, hee will now take *Luxemburge*, *Burgundie* will totally fall, the *Palatinate* will not

bee able to defend it selfe, hee will become Master of the Land of *Treuer*, and all the old *Austrasia*, hee will subdue th'Ecclesiasticall Electors, the Kings of *Spaine* will lose *Flanders*, *Cesar* the Empire, and the Common-wealths of *Germanie* their Liberties, and the Princes their States.

The Father of this Emperour found himselfe in th'extreamest streights having nothing left him but *Vienna* (and that besieged) whilest he was not as yet Emperour. The King of *Spaine* relieved him with reputation, Armies and Treasures, which he could not have done, had he not been Lord of *Flanders*; Hee became victorious, subdued his enemies, recovered his Dominions, made himselfe Emperor, & his Son King of the Romans.

It is a great Error for a little evill not to shut the doore against greater ones, which will suddenly happen, and then bee remediless; and a great losse of reputation, for a small losse, to forsake the interests of *Germanie*, *Italy*, *Westphalia* and *Flanders*.

The emperour and the King of *Spaine* their Dominions are separate, to enjoy every

every one his owne, in time of peace, but they are not divided upon occasion of defence in time of Warre; Where dangers are common, it is not good to make the interests particular. A man ought not to take more care of his owne state then of anothers, if his greatest interest lieth in the others.

If the case require it th' Infanta would goe in person to defend him; And would leave (as hath beene done at other times) the King his Masters Dominions to assist him, but th' occasion doth not now require it.

If *Piccolomini*'s his Forces should goe away (which in a manner bridle the bounds of *Westphalia* and the *Rhine*) the Princes who are friends, and if they faulter not, doe at least feare) losing courage, would accept the enemies proffers, which they would not doe, let the pretences bee never so specious, if they were not put to despaire.

It would be fourtie dayes before these Forces could come to the place where there was need of them; in the meane time there might either bee no need of them,

them, or greater would bee required, which might then bee sent him, seven thousand Foot being daily looked for out of *Spaine*, there being new levies in the Countrie, and daily hopes of routing the enemy.

The Forces might be defeated by the way, and the French might set upon *Piccolomini* being weakened, and overcome him, or with a few Horse set upon this reliefe, and rout it, so that it would arrive too late and defeated or being overthrowne, would not come thither at all.

These reasons shewne by the Cardinall to *Piccolomini*, perswaded him to stay till further order, and being likewise represented to the Emperour, he was contented to desist and presse it no further.

The King of *France* his Fleet consisting of forty great men of warre, and more terrible by reason of thirty fire shippes, which sailed along with it, set saile being commanded by th' Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, who thus encompassed with fire and Sword (as *Tasso* describes *Lucifer* withstanding heaven) carried *Vulcan* in *Neptunes* lappe, to fire rather then fight.

Hee came within sight of the *Groine*. There commanded on the shore, the Marquesse of *Valpraiso*, who endowed with Spanish valour had also some French fantasticalnesse in him; The shipping was under the command of *Don Loze di Ozes*, a valiant Souldier, and most expert Mariner, most happy in all his enterprises whensoever he struggled with the Sea, or fought with his enemies, if so be the fire was not his enemy, or the Sea became not a Hell. Th'Archbishop endeavoured to draw neere the Haven, hee was put back with losse. He tried to burn the shipping, & he was opposed by floating timber which shut off the entrance of the Haven.

These things passed by Sea, and by Land were greater dangers threatned by the preparation of Armes, and provision which was made at *Narbona*: the report went the Prince of *Conde* was to invade the Countie of *Raciglione* with a powerfull Army.

This Monarchy was ordained to have warres, either for him, or by him; And hee alwayes to retire, either into *Spaine*, being persecuted by the French, or into *France*.

France, being pursued by the Spaniard, by a retreat receiving curtesies, and with another repaying them.

Wise men imagined, the Enemies intent to be rather to amaze with reports, then to set upon with Armes, to threaten rather then assault, to divert rather then conquer. The diversion possible to be obtained by setting up three or foure Colours at home, without displaying them in the field, Lifting men, without stirring them. Conquests to be almost impossible, disgraces easie, and the dammages certaine. No account to be made of *Salsas*, and though it should chance to be lost. *Perpignane* not to be feared though it should be assaulted, being strong of it selfe, back'd by a Province abundant in provision, rich in coine, and numerous in hardie and valiant men. That the King of *Spaine* would be the hardlier turned, by reason he was tied to defend himselfe being assaulted by great Forces, and had strength enough to doe it, and because of th'effect which the love of their King, and the hatred they have to the French, might worke in the hearts of the Catalonians. That his Majestie had with the
Havens,

Havens, the Dominion of the Sea, his Gallies might hinder any one else from becomming master of it. This gate being closed, it would be impossible for the French to maintaine a potent Army, seeing hee was to bring Ammunition and provision on his backe, so farre for it. The fire to bee kindled in *Italie*.

Piemont in eminent danger to bee lost, and the Kings Sister with it. That it was good to draw the Spaniards thither, where the reward was great, and whither they could not come but by Sea, where the Climate is different, and where once routed, it was hard for them to bee recruited. That Nature had parted these two Nations with th'Appenines; the Spaniards Foote to bee more valiant, and the French more numerous in Cavallerie; The one to bee forced to come into the Mountaines to move warre, where they can make no use of that wherein they most abound, and the others to descend into the plaine, where that was needfull, which they most wanted. To so many motives of reason, and naturall cares, was added the ancient experience, and especial-

especially the moderne of *Fonterable*, where the last yeare they lost so many men, and so much reputation.

But now in these dayes experience is followed, onely wherein it is favourable; if adverse, it must bee overcome, and though its authority be not denied, yet it must be interpreted; The cause is attributed to chances, which alwaies accompany every great enterprize, and the crosse of chances imputed to the Commanders, changing of which in stead of taking away th'inconveniencies, they alter the Generalls, in stead of amending the evill, they multiplied and increase it.

One runneth not twice into an error, when in the same there is both shame and losse, for the danger of losse will not suffer them to adventure the shame. Enterprises obtaine not their effects, either because they are projected, or badly executed, the error is sometimes in the one, sometimes in the other: but the fault is alwayes laid on him who can least helpe it.

It is common to all men to erre, but proper onely to brave men to confesse their

their error; He that hath often dealt infallibly, if he receive blame for being once deceived, receives no shame by confessing that he was deceived, It is no abasement of spirit, nor losse of reputation; It is a confidence in ones owne credit, which is not feared to be lost in one onely action. Hee that confesseth an error, bindeth himselfe to the cancelling of it by some great attempt; whereas he that denieth it, seemes to be subject to commit a greater. And it is strange that an ignorant man will never confesse one, when the wise man affirmes, that the just man commits seven in a day.

The French Army (numerous being of twenty thousand Foot, commanded in chiefe by the Prince of *Conde*, a Lord of a great bloud, and secondarily by the Duke of *Luin*, a Souldier of great valour) was by the most Christian Kings Officers sent into the Countie of *Ronciglione*, as though they would overcome the bounds of nature, the valour of the Spaniards, and alter the Generalls fortune; Fortune smiled, but did not favour; Valour overcome by multitude, appealed to time: Nature was betrayed, and not overcome.

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The Governour of the Castle of *Oppoli*, a small place, a passage of those Mountains of a craggie situation, inaccessible by Ordinance, and almost impenetrable to man, suffered himselfe to be surprised by a Fanatick terror. The cries of the French threats entred into his eares, the number of the men presented it selfe before his eyes, and in stead of viewing them with emissive rayes, which he might have done a farrre off from the foot of the hill, he received th'impression of them in th'eyes of his imagination, he figured them to himselfe, as if they were before him, and was disturbed, and before hee could come to himselfe againe, he lost his courage, his discourse and himselfe : for yeilding up the Castle to the French, hee and his Lieutenant were put to death at *Perpignane*, punishing him, and by his punishment giving others example.

The Count of *Santa Colomba* governed the Province of *Catalonia* in those dayes to the King and peoples great satisfaction, a Gentleman of great hopes, though but of small experience. The defect of this quality suffered him not then to bee an eminent Souldier, the plenty of other promised

promised he would be one. Hee was noble, apt, prudent, calme, and valiant. In a peaceable government, you could have desired no more : And in warre hee so behaved himselfe, that it seemed that did him no hurt, which he was defective in; For providing discoursing, and doing every thing exceeding well, none could judge he needed that which hee onely wanted.

Hee did not find himselfe to have strength enough to resist the enemy in the field; The men he looked for to recruit that Armie were not yet come; greater conveniencie, therefore was to be expected, it being reasonable to doubt in things not to be questioned at that time.

The Marquesse of *Leganes* businesse would not permit to have six thousand Foot taken from the Army which were allotted for that place, seeing he had lost many men in the Conquest, and employed many to secure the conquered places. The Gallies of *Naples* and *Sicily*, thinking their orders for comming into *Spaine* had a connexion with those six thousand Foot comming, stayed for new orders.

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whereby they retarded the arrivall of the *Tertia* of *Modona* of the Levies made within the Territories of *Lucca*, and of the old Gally souldiers. The Catalaines, either because they did not imagine the enemy would at that time set upon those parts, or because they were too much tied to the Letter (construing their priviledges too straitly and rigorously) had not made any fitting preparation. To all these accidents there concurred at last (to the great wrong of wisdome, which opposed is the ruine of wise men) some French Officers had intercepted certaine Letters sent by the Marquesse of *Leganes*, importing that the Prince of *Conde* with his Forces in *Linguadoc* was to march towards *Italy*. It was easily believed, for if it was not, it ought to have been so; and though it did not perswade to desist from being carefull, yet it dissuaded from using compulsion.

Spaine was encompassed with enemies, a mighty Fleet at the *Groine*, a great Army in the County of *Ronciglione*, threatened in the Mediterranean by the Ships and Gallies of *Marseilles*, in *Cantabria* by the Forces which were gathering together

gether in *Bayona*, and yet the people (a thing worthy of note) which last yeare were affrighted with one Siege, in a place of no great danger, were no more moved at the rumour of so many forces, then if there were none. Whether it were because the French, who have no power to overcome, but at the first shock, could affright them but at the first ; Or that the people being assaulted, where they thought they could not bee endammaged, believed their owne judgement to be deceived, and not the enemies. And not finding what reason moved him, because they could not find it, they judged it to be great, and finding it once vaine and weake, giving over unreasonable feare, they fell into a foolish securenesse.

Novelty deceives the judgement, either because it goeth before the discourse, or because it disturbeth it. In a moment it strikes to the understanding, and forceth it presently to frame a confused and indistinct conception : and with deceit increaseth those passions, which ignorance would abate. Every thing in the world is vaine, when it is once knowne. There is no delight can please the mind.

nor feare can terrifie it ; Habit diminisheth our passions, not through any power it hath from custome, but through the want we have of the true objects ; Novelty increaseth them, not because it is unusuall, but because it is unknowne.

But whether the Spaniards or the French-mens nature caused these various motions ; Sometimes ignorance, sometimes undeceiving, sometimes the novelty, sometimes the habit, Certaine it is that above all other things, that wrought in it (which the eyes of all *Spaine* saw the yeare before) the Kings great wisdom, wise phantasie, and sure direction ; The certaine judgement, eminent understanding, quick execution, and uncessant labour of the Count *Duke*, whence arose the confidence which encreaseth the courage, and perswades obedience ; which if it be not deceived in the object, assists the Victories, and being deceived, it hopeth for them. And if it be not sufficient to make one overcome, it sufficeth at least to make him fearlesse.

The Marquesse of *Villa Franca*, went to command the Spanish Gallies which were in *Barcellona*, *Gianattino d'Oria*
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arived thither with them of *Genoa*, Frigets were sent to hasten away them of *Sicily* and *Naples*. It was ordered that the remnant of the Count *Dukes* regiment should march, and with it six thousand of the choicest foot in *Cantabria*. That *Perpignane* should be fully ammuni-tioned, and that the forces should lie under shelter of it; That the *Marquesse* of *Torracusa* and *Arena* should goe thither; That onely five hundred horse should stay for the defence of *Cantabria*, and the rest should march to *Perpignane*; That money, munition and victuals should be provided. That the Levies in *Arragon*, and *Valencia* should bee hastened; that these should be perswaded to defend their Countrey, and all should remember the bond wherein they were tied to their Liege Lord.

The King of *France* his Fleet lay at the *Groine*, and vexed the coast of *Spaine*. The *Hollanders* lay in the Channell, and hindered the sending of men appointed for *Flanders*; And because it was necessarie to defend the one, and relieve the other, the Count *Duke* called the *Junta* of the Councells of State and Warre, without

which he hath done nothing, and in which hee hath done every thing. If he spake first, the voting ended in him; Hee left way for nothing but for applause; If last from him it tooke beginning, mending errors, or by him it got perfection, bettering what was defective.

To desire to be the onely adviser of a King, makes not an Officer great, it makes him odious, and exposeth him to danger, and oftentimes is a signe of a rash mind, which arrogates too much to it selfe; sometimes of a suspicious and mistrustfull heart, and many times also of a weake breast, which shunneth the test, fearing to divide the Kings favour, and lose it, if he prove inferiour.

There was scarce ever any great Officer, but that desired to doe every thing himselfe, and doing it, hath not been ruined. But if the wisest men could not keep themselves from this itching desire surely there must be some great conveniencie in it; And if so many have beene wracked thereby, there must lie hidden in it some great danger. Two great qualities which the Count *Duke* hath, make these so intricate points even, namely his moderation

moderation and valour, doing every thing by the advice of counsell, and in counsell prevailing above all; whereby he enjoyeth the conveniencie, of avoyding hatred, and converting it into admiration.

I desire not to bee alone believed in what I say of this great Officer. Let the Originall consultations of both the great Councells of state and warre together be looked upon, and you shall find (which is a thing worthy of wonder) that the vote comming last to the Count *Duke*, upon some particular considerations of his, many Consultations have bin altered, all confessing that they had erred.

The meanes was canvassed in the *Junta* how to remedy the present inconveniences; It was voted by all, that the Coast should be defended by land, and that the reliefe should be conveyed into *Flanders*, (if the French Army did not hinder it) by sayling about *Scotland*, with a long compasse, exposed to many misfortunes, and by a parcell of Sea, naturally threatening shipwracks.

But the Count *Duke*, in whose understanding lyeth joyned the whole frame

of the Monarchie, whose breast is capable of two worlds, considering what vessells were in *Cantabria* in foure townes, namely, in the *Groine, Lisbon, Cadiz, Alicant,* and *Cartagena*, some Merchants Vessells which were come out of the Indies, together with those as were every day expected with the Fleet, made it appeare that his Majesty had a Fleet sufficient to fight with the French, carry reliefe into *Flanders*, and also to passe into the Mediterranean Seas, and for a need, fight with the Turke, and relieve the Venetians.

His Majesty and the whole *Iunta* agreed with the Count *Duke* his opinion, who sent Orders, and provided for necessaries, that these Fleets might as soon as possibly they could, be ready to set saile.

From hence let it bee gathered, how great the forces of the Spanish Monarchy are, and which most to bee regarded. When these did not so much as come in sight nor thought worthy consideration, though they were greater then some, as other great Potentates would make their last refuge and ground their highest thoughts, and liveliest hopes upon.

Piccolomini was marching towards *Luxemburg*, to fight with *Fucchieres*, but could not reach him so soon, but that hee was first entrenched and besieging of *Tenovill*. He set upon him, disordered two of his quarters, made him breake up, relieved the place, passed over the *Mose*: fought with him squadron after squadron, where for a time th'enemy fought valiantly, then gave way, and at the last fled.

The French have swift and subtile spirits, easie to be moved, and being moved, easie to be dissolved, and because swift and moveable, they run presently where they find occasion, and united in the selfe-same time and place, they make the subject at the first greater then man and because they are tender and subtile, and apt to consume in the end being weakned, destroyed, and dissolved; they forsake him, and leave him a dead carkasse. Such like effects are seene every day in a candle before it goeth out, and in a sick man before he dieth. The candle because it shall not ruine at the first, by framing a great light, is hindered by the tenacity or grossnesse of the matter, which at the lat-

ter end being softened & rarified, moveable, and light, runs without delay to foment the flame, and increase it; it doth it; but for a little time, because there is but little matter left. In a sick man the spirits being subtilized by diet, not overburthened, nor hindered by the body already brought low, consumed & wasted; finding themselves at liberty and loof, fiercely set upon the disease; & being more active then ever they were, at first they overcome, but being tender, they consume in overcoming, & being consumed, not finding where to refresh themselves, having none to second them, if they overcome not in an instant, they die. The slaughter was great, because the foot were all slaine or taken. The victory was the more famous by the chiefe Commanders being taken. This Noble man a Politician, and a souldier, of greater experience in States-businesse then in warres, was advised more by politick, then Military art, did rather follow the time, then manage his forces; and lost, seeking to prevent losse. Hee knew by th'example of former Captains, that there was no meane; that hee must either conquer, or lose himselfe, amongst
his

his friends with shame, or amongst his enemies with glory. For in *France*, where the unwillingness of losing, was not admitted for a sufficient reason of not having overcome, there remained no proofe of a mans not being able to overcome, but onely by losing.

Piccolomini stayed not to enjoy the victory, he thought to increase it by trying *Mouzone*, and if hee had attempted it presently, he had surely taken it, but want of provisions hindered him.

Man proposeth an end unto himselfe, and for that end he prepareth his means; if upon a new occasion he change his end, if he provide not new meanes, he loseth himselfe, and while he doth provide them, he loseth his opportunitie. He that goeth about one enterprize, ordinarily cannot performe two, and hee that will undertake two, seldome performeth any. Some have not followed victories, because they could not, and so have lost their credit; and some, when they ought not, having gone on to follow them, have quite lost them. When one partie is in possibility of being overcome, the other is not alwaies fitting to set upon him.

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The flaying of his Majesties Officers, gave the Marshall of *Castillon* time to come and relieve it, causing the forces which *Piccolomini* had sent thither to retreat, whilst hee marched on speedily with the Cavalrie (sent for by the Cardinall *Infanta*) to relieve *Edino*, brought to the last gaspe.

The Cardinall of *Richelieu*, the most Christian Kings great Officer, had brought his Lord to the Frontiers of *Artois*, very neere to *Edino*, were it a purpose to give the King the honour of it as *Joab* did, or upon necessitie to encourage the Army, that it might not disband. Confidence of overcomming, or provision to overcome, had so much the more ingaged him, because that having counterpoised the losse with the gaine, the following of the enterprize, with the deserting of it; he found it was more reproachfull to retreat halfe flying, then glorious to enter into a small place when it was wonne. *Joabs* successe then had some conveniencie in it, now adayes it is become a meere curiositie. *David* was a great Commander, it might be thought of him, that by his braine he had taken
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the place, though he was farre off, whereas it would not be thought so of other men, though they were neere. But if this were imprudencie, (which I will not affirme) over carelesnesse transformed it into wisdome. For the Garrison wanting powder, being well assaulted, better defended, wanting Ammunition, it was lost, not being not able to subsist eight dayes, which had been enough to have made this yeare, the gloriousst yeare that the Monarchy of *Spaine* had ever seene. The Cardinall *Infanta* could not relieve it for want of Horse, the Governour for want of Powder, and *Piccolomini* for want of time.

He came to the Army, and was there received with applause; Hee was born of Auncestors famous both in Peace and Warre; renowned sometimes by the Keyes, and sometimes by the Sword; he served his naturall Lord at Court, in his childhood; Being yet but young, he went to the German warres, and in his first beginnings shewed himselfe worthy of the chiefe degrees; He arrived thereunto by the lesser; for whereas they use to stay for a time, that yeares may increase
valour

valour, they were faine to stay a time, that his age might increase, because that which was proportionable to his merit, might not be disproportionable to his yeares; so that leaving it to be questioned whether fortune or valour were greater in him, I will onely affirme that he hath been longer va'orous then fortunate; Generous, magnanimous, fearlesse, liberall, and ordained for victories, hee made them spring in the middest of losses, and conquered where he did not overcome. So fortunate, that valour seemed to superabound in him, and that hee had no need of it. So valorous, that it seemed fortune was superfluous to him, and that he even forced her. This enemy to merit, when she cannot beat it downe by abandoning it, will follow it, to make it seeme lesse: and weakens glories, by dividing that which is not to be divided and requiring share in that wherein she hath not wrought. In his first age he was valiant without any defect of wisdom, in his second wise without any diminution of valour. Happy in all occasions, victorious at all times, so that nothing hinders him from being compared with the
greatest

greatest Commanders of our time, but this onely, that he was never overcome. His Majesties forces overranne *Piemont* without any resistance. Prince *Thomas* propounded to the Marquesse of *Leganes*, to goe before *Turin* with the Armie, not to trie the strength of it by force, but onely to shew himselfe, and encourage those friends which he had within it. But all were not of that mind.

Some said that there was no reason to goe thither, but onely upon hope of intelligences, which hope was easily perceived, when there was no other, and once perceived, was easily crossed. That the Citizen was nothing worth, where the Souldier was armed and forewarned. That darknesse and suddennesse did favour turbulent designs, light and time would dissipate them. That what might be would for that time be made impossible, by shewing ones selfe; And the surprizall for ever, by making ones selfe knowne. That the course of Fortune ought not to be stayd, nor reputation endangered, time lost, and given to the enemy.

Notwithstanding all these reasons the
Marquesse

Marquesse knowing that it was good to trie any thing which could not bee hurtfull, and dealing with carelesse men, that might prove easie which seemed most difficult; and to avoid the censure of Criticks, which alwayes thinke well of that which hath not been tried, he did not oppose Prince *Thomas* his desires, and disposed the businesse in that kind, that hee would be sure to lose no reputation by beginning any trench; nor any time by staying there but few dayes, and not to give over his conquests by sending *Trotti* to *Pontestura*.

Being come within sight of *Turin*, the Enemy opposed him with Horse and Foot, our men routed them, slew many, and tooke some prisoners, and some few that fled they pursued to the very *Purcullisses* of the Citie. The Dutchesse sent the Popes Nuntio, to negotiate an agreement between her and her Kinsmen; Her Propositions now when she lost all were as high, as if she were a Conquerour; Shee seemed to give, rather then take lawes. Her demands were great and once granted could not be recalled; And all shee promised, was as nothing,
and

an ſ that revocable when ſhe pleaſed.

The Treaty broke off, th'intelligences failed, and the Marqueſſe went away, and becauſe *Trotti* having taken the town of *Ponteftura*, found much reſiſtance in the Caſtle, he reſolved to divide his Army into two parts. Prince *Thomas* with the one part went to *Villanova*, and tooke it by ſtorme; with the other, the Marqueſſe marched towards *Ponteftura*; Hee overthrew the enemies reliefe, tooke the Caſtle, went to *Moncaluo*, and having taken that place, he lay downe before *Aſti* with his whole Army. The *Piemonteſſes*, terrified by the Kings forces, brought the Keys of the Citie to the Princes, and the Spaniards valour overcame the obſtinacie of them that kept the Fort.

The Marqueſſe his deſires aimed at the taking in of *Trino*, a place of it ſelfe being of importance, and beſides it cut off reliefe from *Casal*, and ſafeguarded the State of *Milan*. Hee had ſent his Cavalrie thither, (whileſt he'e lay before *Aſti*) to hinder th'emie from ſending in any forces. They tooke much Ammunition which would have gone in, and cut off
almoſt

almost a whole reliefe of five hundred chosen French, whom the Marquesse of *Villanova* sought to bring in there. *Trino* is held to be almost impregnable, fortified without and within, a bogge neere it not to be medled with, deep water in the Motes, a strong Garrison, and well victualled. Notwithstanding the Marquesse besieged it, made a Trench, and withall his approaches as neere as hee thought fitting for raising of Batteries, and resolved to give a generall assault, hoping thereby to gaine some of the outworks. He gave the assault, tooke all the outworks, the Citie, and the Castle, which having no time to receive the Soldiers that fled thither being unprovided, and amazed, yeilded within few houres; It was impossible to hinder the Army (victorious and heated) from pillaging, slaying and burning.

Who shall deny valour to break forth? it groweth with the heat of victory, and snatching the reines out of judgements hands, it guides a man, and more then that it carries him? Whereby being heated, he goeth where he thought not, and being in cold blood, he findeth himselfe
where

where now he could not goe, because hee went not, but was carried thither.

It would be needfull here to set forth the Marquesse of *Leganes* his glories, who hath filled *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Italy* with his acts and victories; mortified *France*, and made *Spaine* glorious. But what greater testimony can I give him of it, but to make it knowne that a Letter of the Kings spake his deserts; A Monarchs Pen was requisite therein, that authoritie might cause it to be believed; The whole world unanimously with one hand setting downe those glories, which conformity causeth it to spread abroad with one tongue.

The affaires in the County of *Ronciglione* went on with various fortune, the enemy had taken the Castle of *Oppoli*, and having put a Garrison into it, had laid siege to *Salsas*.

This place lieth almost in a Semicircle at the foot of the Pirenean Mountaines; high hills, small hillocks, and standing waters are the theatre of it. On the South it lookes towards *Catalonia*, on the North are the *Apennines*, the Sea is on the East, and on the West a Poole which

which falls from the Pireneans, almost to the Walls; The Country may be called barren, the aire subtile, by reason of the Mountains which overtop it, and foggie, because of the water which is so neere it, which mixture rather hurts it then mends it. The Place if you consider the situation is not very sufficient to defend the Country; if the Fortifications, not to defend it selfe; The Motes are full of water, the Walls massie, high, and countermined; by the forme it is altogether exposed to the enemies injurie, by the matter partly defensible. The hardnesse of the stone will not suffer any breach to be made in it, the smallnesse of the Flankers will not hinder the approaches. It was strong enough in those dayes, when the art used in assaulting tied men to no greater defence. The last who put it in a posture of defence, found it so scituate, that it was necessary, either to fortifie or sleight it; He fortified it, because it was, not because it should be there.

The Governour valorous, but not of experience equall to it, resolved to lose himselfe before he would yeild the place, more faithfull then warie, thinking onely upon

upon the not yeilding of it, failed in the means of keeping it; he defended not the counterscarff, he came not out of the wals, he fortified not himselte in the Motes, he did not sufficiently meet the Mines, nor he did not disturb them in their Workes. Every time the enemy came with force upon him, he beat him back, but he did not hinder him when he used art, wherby after fourty daies resistance *Salsas* was lost by carelesness, & after so many more of siege it was won by surprize. For the enemy having in vain attempted with foure Batteries to beat down the wall, comming to it with the mattock had very good success by reason of a Mine, which springing, made a hole in stead of a breach, by which (though little) there went in a great many French before the besieged espied it, or at least had time to hinder them. Wherefore running too it too late, and to no purpose, some of the valiantest died there. The Governour being lame of the Gout, was not present at the action, and yeelded upon Composition, with those souldiers which he had left. Many think they have performed their duties, if they doe not yeild up a Hold, as if yeilding them, or having them taken were not the same thing.

thing. It is better for a Captaine to want valour, then experience, the Souldier sometimes helpeth the one, and addeth confusion to the other. There is nothing worse then ignorance accompanied with valour, the heart goes against th' understanding, the one will doe, and the other knoweth not what to doe, so that one doth, and knowes not what he doth.

Warre requires art and valour, and all enterprises, doe not require these two qualities in an equall proportion, sometimes there is most need of the one, sometimes of the other; but because this distinction is seldome made, and lesse knowne, though many times one overcome with one alone, it is judged he hath done it with both. So men deceived sometimes by th' understanding, and most times by the heart, doe give the command of all enterprises to such as are not good for all.

To few men hath nature given both great valour, and great understanding, whether because they require a contrary temperature, which is impossible to be given them, or an even counterpoise which cannot be joyned to them. Some-
times

times the great heat of the heart, overheath the braine, and sometimes the coldnesse of the braine, does coole the heart too much. And though in Armies there be seen more valorous then understanding men Commanders, it is not because these be lesse necessary, but because they are not so easily found; It is hard in warres to become famous without valour, and men attaining to command if they be not famed; Vnderstanding attaines not to it for want of heart, and the heart because it hath no understanding loseth it, after it hath attained unto it.

Th' Archbishop of *Burdeaux*, seeing his attempts vaine at the *Groine*, despairing of force, and his art being bound up by our men with chaines of timber, set ashore two thousand men at *Perol*. His Majesties forces (though not great) caused them to retreat rather confusedly then in order. He returned to the *Groine*, then putting to Sea, he sailed out of sight, leaving every one suspicious and doubtfull.

In the *Junta* of State and warre th'opinions were different. Some believed the enemies thoughts were deep and impene-
rable.

trable. Some said their ends were to take the *Groine*, some that it was to hinder the reliefe of *Flanders*, some to ransack the Fleet, some to passe into *Italy*, some to joyne with the *Holland* Fleet in the Channell, some to burne our ships in their harbours, and some that it was to set upon *Cantabria*. Amongst so many, and so various opinions, there was one who began to speake thus ;

S I R, Though man may well be deceived in seeking, to divine or imagine what the ends and intents of mighty ones are, and the imagining to have found them may be hurtfull, yet it is necessarie to discourse thereof, not to affirme what they will doe, but to hinder them from doing it. And as it is true that great Princes ends cannot be understood, so it is likewise certaine that the ends of great affaires may be found out, for the greatnesse it selfe discovers them.

It is the opinion of some, that this great Fleet was raised for inscrutable ends. I forsake the opinion, or feare not the ends, especially in *Spaine*, where we need not doubt of any traitors that will yeild up Holds, or raise tumults in Kingdomes,
and

and much lesse in this *Junta*, full of so excellent men, that it cannot be doubted that they should in discoursing, omit any thing which may be possible. And if the enemies end be any of those that is discoursed of, it is not impenetrable, if it be known, it will be avoided, if not knowne, it will not be feared.

But because it is more easie to denie then to affirme; in affirmations, for the most part, arguments of likelihood being used, and in negations, certaine demonstrations, it will be the easiest way to shew the intent of raising this Fleet, by making known for what intent it was not raised; for often-times where the truth of an opinion cannot make it selfe known by it selfe, one may attaine to the doing of it by the falshood of other opinions. And that which cannot come to effect by proving, may be gained by disproving.

It was not raised to th'end to ransack the Indian Fleet which they ought suppose to have been already come into *Spaine*, nor to hinder the reliefe for the Lowe Countries, which they might imagine already arrived into *Flanders* nor

to fire the Navie which they believed was gone. All these things being ordered to be done, some months before it came out of the harbours of *France*, and all (save onely the Fleet) staid upon such accidents, as the French could neither see nor imagine. The Forces, which the enemy hath sent to *Luxemburg*, and into the County of *Artois*, have caused some to thinke, that the intent was to land them in *Flanders*, an open and rich Countrie, abounding in fodder and victuals. And this opinion might be confirmed by the instances the Hollanders made to the King of *England*, when he came to *Cadis*, that he should forsake the hopes of the barren sands of *Spaine*, and land his men in those fruitfull Provinces. But the King of *France* hath too many Forces in the Low Countries, and is too neere, and too mighty to have the Hollanders suffer him to set footing there, much lesse to invite him to it.

This opinion is controlled (as likewise another, *viz.* that they should imagine to find some part of *Spaine* unprovided, to land their Forces there, and to take it) by an advertisement or animadversion, which

which is this ; Fleets doe manifest which way their enterprises tend by their forces. If their greatest strength consists in shipping, their intents are for the Sea, if in the strength of men, traine of Artillerie, provision of horses, they intend land service. But this Fleet being powerfull in vessells of great burden, without any horses, or carriages for Ordnance ; weake in men, which are new raised, of a base condition, and violently shipped, gives no cause to feare any conquests by Land ; And much lesse can we be perswaded that it is intended for *Italy*, by reason of the place where they were built, namely the Ocean Sea ; the greatnesse of the ships dangerous for the **Mediterranean**, and the prosperous wind they have had to goe thither, and went not.

The enemies thought may (in mine opinion) be to draw us, with the feare and report of the Army, to furnish all the sea-coasts of *Spain* with men; and they to assault with the Navie of *Marseilles* the Countie of *Ronciglione*, encouraging the Army which is there, and hath already taken *Salsas*, to besiege *Perpignane*, and with the Fleet in the Ocean, and the

forces which are raising about *Bayona*, by Sea and Land to invade *Cantabria*, lay siege to *St. Sebastian*, first disperse our forces into divers parts, and then force them to come strongly into severall places, thinking it impossible for us to defend a vast Countrie, and with two mighty Armies to relieve two invaded Provinces.

There is an erroneous opinion spread amongst the chiefe Officers of *France*, that the Spaniard hath no men, and amongst the common sort of Spaniards another, that the French have no mony. A Monarch that hath great store of mony, may find men enough. And a King that hath great store of men, if obedience be not wanting, never wanteth mony. I am confirmed in this opinion by seeing that this Fleet hath already layen a moneth sailing to and fro before the *Groine* without attempting any thing; It workes towards its end, without doing any thing.

I believe it would willingly set upon the Fleet, burne our shipping and gladly hinder the reliefe of *Flanders*, and much rather discomfit it and that if it found a Port of importance neglected, it would set

set upon it, as things casually and occasionally laid before them, which fall in their way, and sometimes come to be easier effected, then those which were at first conceived; Like unto the difference there is between a child at first conceived, and one that is bringing forth, the one coming forth into the light alive, and the other sometimes vanishing away, wasting in its beginning, or when it is reduced to an embrio.

I promise not my selfe, that I have penetrated into th'intent of the French, neither doe I care. When the enemy will performe an enterprize, and set upon that can performe no other, it conduceth much to a defence, if one can penetrate into it; but when he thinketh to doe one thing, and may doe many, the best defence is ignorance. Notice causeth man to secure that part which is threatned, and suffer the rest to be neglected. And that being safeguarded, causeth the enemy to alter his mind, and the other neglected, helps him to attaine to that upon which his altered mind is fixed.

Hee that hath not power to defend himselfe in all parts, doth necessarily lose

himselfe, for want of strength. He that hath sufficient, loseth himself sometimes through carelesness, and sometimes through too much providence. The knowledge of the assailing enemies intention is an ease when it is good to know it, and a difficultie when the notice of it is hurtfull. For where he can doe but onely one thing, it is likely secured, and where hee may doe diverse, the understanding knoweth not how to resolve upon one, and it would make the other easie if it were resolved upon.

The Count *Duke* hath with admirable wisdom secured the difficulties of provisionall things. The chief Ports are sufficiently furnished. *Cantabria* is set in posture of defence, to hinder the enemy if hee shou'd assaile it. *Catalonia* ready to thrust him out when he is come in. *Don Antonio Ochendo*, ready in the streights to secure the Fleet. The Marquis of *Villa Franca* with the Gallies to oppose the shippes of *Marseilles*. Every thing provided for and armed.

But our discourses and the enemies designs were carried away with the wind, which rising tempestuous, & lasting three
dayes

dayes (a thing unusuall at that time of the yeare) brought the Fleet in danger of over setting or sinking. The lesser Ships perished in the Ocean, in the furie of the tempest. The biggest of them in a calme Sea, when they were going into harbour. As if it did presage danger of shipwracke to great ones in tranquillitie of peace, entring into harbour, or in the harbour it selfe, by some revolution of State, after the little ones were perished in the turbulencies of Warre.

The enemy being become Master of the field by taking of *Salsas*, tooke all places which lay open, and ordinarily follow the fortune of the most powerfull. He never skirmished nor fought with our cavallery, but we carried away the best of it, shewing that the Spanish horse are no way inferiour to the French, if we had them. The long peace this Province hath enjoyed, the warres at Sea where there is no use of horses, forraigne warres, sometimes in the Indies where we could not convey them, sometimes in *Flanders* where foot did the greatest execution, sometimes in *Italie*, or *Germany* where we found Auxiliarie ones,

made us first to neglect the use of them, then grow carelesse in bringing them up.

But it is either the convenience or fate of the greatest Monarchies, to have their chief strength and prop to consist in the foot; the *Romanes* in their Legions, the *Macedonians* in their Phalanges, making up their Cavallerie, alwayes with strangers, friends, or Auxiliaries.

Many yield to opinion, when they have neglected art, and after they have yielded for a time, going to try whether the conceipt be true or no, they are overcome, and yield againe, confessing themselves inferiour in valour, when they are onely inferiour in practise. Through this deceit the Spaniards would have tried and yielded a thousand times, if warres had not happened in *Spaine* it self, where necessitie hath forced, and time undeceived them.

His Majesties Army had not as yet any convenient number, it did enough, doing nothing, seeing it hindered the enemy from much doing. But the Soldier partly valorous, and partly inexperienced, some for shame, & some through
interest

interest, desired to come in sight of the French, and fight with them, and he desired it most who had never seene the enemy, nor knew not what fighting was.

The Commanders for a while did stay their heat, rather then allay it. Being perswaded, that as in a sick man, so in a Souldier, one ought to hope, where he hopeth, and feare, where he feareth (a rule which is false, in that hope, which often deceiving, causeth good to be looked for where there is evill, and onely true in the feare, which though deceived, may bring forth evill, even where it doth not finde it) they went with a small Army, partly of new, and partly of not disciplined men, to see the enemy, and saw his advantage so great, that they retreated without doing any thing. The King and his Councell had presently a lively feeling of this disorder: what incouragement the enemies might gaine, and our men lose. And because the Army consisted of people of that country, commanded by the Count of *Santa Colomba* and of hired men, haste was made to send them a valorous and expert Chieftaine, who with generall applause was *Don Phi-*

lip Spinola Marquis of *Balbafes*.

This man was sonne to Marquis *Ambrose Spinola*, the renownedst Generall of our age, and one of the greatest that histories mention. He followeth his Fathers stepps in martiall affaires to revive the glories of them and he filleth them up so, what with valour, what with wisdom, that it shall serve to say for the praise of them both; of the one that he was borne of such a father, and of the other that he begot such a sonne.

The Count *Duke* gave him his first imboffement in the best way as such a Subject could doe, who being one of the greatest Generalls is defective in no quality. Which this one thing would make envy it self confesse. Namely that his engagement of being present in all Armies by direction, hindered not his genius from being personally present in one. His not fighting in any, may hinder him from being stiled a great Souldier, but his commanding there will admit to the title of a great Generall.

He that knoweth (as the Count *Duke* doth) both his Kings, and the enemies forces; The art of fighting, the place
where

w here they fight, and hath (like him) had experience of so many warres, framed so many Armies, withstood so many disasters, given advice in so many enterprises, and with his counsell disposed and obtained so many Victories, may well governe Armies, and stay at home, command them, and be absent. The swiftnesse of Posts makes that which is farre off to be neere, the strength of the understanding foreseeeth what is to come, and though he cannot affirme what an enemy will do before he doth it, it is sufficient if hee knoweth what he should doe. The good is onely one, but the evill manifold: The first is to be knowne by great wisdom, and the other is no great matter whether it be knowne or no. To instruct a Generall of an Army, it is enough to teach him wayes to defend himselfe from the enemy, and how to offend, when hee doth well, for if otherwise his own errour will instruct him by erring.

The Cardinall of *Valletta* was already strong in *Italie*, and did houely look for the Duke of *Longeville* to come with those Troopes which were destined to the harmes of *Burgundie*. The Dutchesse

openly professed she would receive them in *Monmiglian*, *Susa*, and *Carmagnuola*.

The Marquis of *Leganes* lay under *Santia*, which being taken, *Casal* was quite blocked up; and though it was a very strong Castle, it had victuals but for eight dayes: Prince *Thomas* was of opinion to goe into *Piemont* with the Army, to win those p'aces before the coming in of the French. Urging that the Countries were willing to receive them, and invited them thither. That they once lost their oportunity of besieging *Trino*, through the desire of streightning *Casal*. That the Frenches stay, before they came into *Piemont*, and the Spaniards quicknesse in winning of that place, had caused the opportunity to be rather deferred then lost.

That if now they would retard upon the same pretence, and stay till *Santia* was taken, the occasion would be lost. That remedies should not be sought for the feet, where the disease proceeded from the head. That *Santia* might be held in play with small forces.

That being in sight of the enemy in *Piemont*, he could not relieve *Monferrat*;
the

the Duke of *Longevill* might be hindered from joyning with the other forces: those Holds would be taken, and so they would remaine masters of the field, and of the passes of *Savoy* to *Burgundy*, and *Flanders*: that the French would be confined in *Pinarole*, without victuall to maintaine themselves, or Country to resist, whereby they would bee forced to come into these parts with great strength to defend themselves, and so forsake the hopes of *Flanders* and *Burgundie*, give over molesting of *Spaine*, and laying downe their vast imaginations be brought to a good peace.

That giving them time to get into those Holds, was the dividing of *Piemont*, and bringing perpetuall warre into it, more dangerous for him that is neereft with his state, and furthest off with his forces. That the enemy might there with small forces defend himselfe, and put *Flanders* in danger; or come with much strength, and indanger the state of *Milan*.

If the Dutchesse did not admit them into *Turin*, it would bee impossible for them to relieve *Casal*; and if shee did
admit

admit them, it would be difficult; they would be opposed by evill passies, deep rivers, and dangerous places of abode.

That for a small reliefe it would bee sufficient if any neighbour Garrison were encreased with fifteen hundred Foot; and as for a great one it could no way bee compassed: fighting would become necessary, and then one might consider whether it were better to give battell in the entrance of *Piemont*, with so many retiring places at their backs, to goe into upon occasion of losse, and so many before them to conquer, in case they overcame; or to give it upon the very Frontier of the State of *Millan*, farre from any place to conquer, and neere to lose all.

That his Majesties Commanders had stumbied at *Casal* (as at a fatall stone) with much danger to the Monarchy; Once thinking to surprize it by intelligence; and another to take it by force, and this would be the third in going about to block it up from reliefe.

The Marqueesse of *Leganes* being scantred of men by diseases which had killed many, by overthrowes which he had given, still with some bloud; and by places
which

which he had taken, and was bound to put garrisons into, thought he could not without danger goe farre from what hee had gotten, and expose himselfe with small tired forces to fight with a multitude of fresh souldiers: which either occasion, or necessity might easily have enforced him to. That the Kings chief interest consisted in defending the State of *Millan*. that *Santia* being taken *Casal* remained quite cut off from all reliefe. That staying in those parts, he could make all hee had gotten sure, unlesse it were *Ci-vasco*. the endangering of which could not counterpoise so many conveniences. That no hopes invited them into *Piemont*, but onely intelligences: which he had so often found vaine, that to confide in them would be a folly, and much more to put themselves into irrecoverable hazzard if they should faile. That it was no great matter whether the French did get into those holds or no; they could do no more in them, then out of them. They would ingage a number of men in them, would vex the Inhabitants, and make them their enemies who before were their friends.

The taking of *Santia* was made difficult to the Marquis. The hold of it selfe being strong, the ground without unfit for batteries, wanting wood to make sconces, and being without water. He resolved to besiege it at large. But the enemies forces recruited came marching towards *Asti* to relieve them. The Marquis encamped himselfe in such sort that he could hinder their designs and yet not goe from the place, insomuch that the enemy lying on the other side of *Dora*, within seaven miles of the place, victuals failing the besieged, they yielded themselves. The Cardinall of *Valetta*, and Marquis *Villa*, despairing of doing any good in those parts, went to besiege *Civasco*. Prince *Thomas* and the Marquis drew neere it with their Army. but finding the enemy already fortified, and without comparison surpassing in number, they did not enleavour to relieve it, and so the place was lost.

In the meane time *Conio* a strong hold, and of great consequence for the gaining of *Nizza*, and *Villa Franca* declared it self to hold with the Princes, The French

set upon it, and were forced with great losse to retreat. The Cardinall of *Valletta* came thither with all his Army to besiege it. The Cardinall of *Savoy* (respecting it as his owne creature) with more resolution then care, threw himselfe into it to defend it. Prince *Thomas* nor the Marquis of *Leganes* had not consented to his engagement. But seeing the danger, they sought for a remedie.

They marched towards *Turin* with their Army, not with any certainty, but onely with a kind of hope to divert the enemy from his former enterprize, and call him thither. And to make it sure, the Prince with the Marquis his advice resolved to attempt it. Which he did, and advancing forward one night with two thousand horie, and a thousand foote, he hung a pettarre upon the gate, set scaling ladders to the walls, and (though with resistance and bloud) he wonne the Citie, where (a thing which seldome cometh to passe) the prisoners were more in number, then they who tooke them. The dutchesse recovered the Cittadell, but so closely pursued, that for want of
time

time she was forced to leave even her very jewells behind her.

In this action were most taken notice of, the Marquis of *Carcena* *Don Martino* of *Mexica*, and *D. Francisco Tuttavilla*, who bravely relieving one another, revived the almost extinguished hopes, and perfected the designe which was almost desperate.

And this is the effect which the Cardinall of *Savoy* his phantasticalnesse brought forth, who bringing his brother and his friend into a streight, occasioned the taking of *Tarin*.

As births come not forth of a woman with child without great paine, so the understanding cannot bring forth without great labour. The expulsive vertue worketh not unlesse it be provoked, and best, when most; valour increaseth, and falls, according to wrath and interest; and the understanding through affliction. There is none naturally carefull or valiant man, but may be carelesse and fearfull, in respect of him who is made carefull by danger, and valorous through dispaire.

The King of *France* his Fleet rather
patched

patched up then repaired covering its nakedness, with the spoiles of English, German, and Holland ships which lay in the harbours of *Brittanie*, set saile againe, and comming in sight of the Province of foure Cities, after some tacking about came into *Laredo*, an open place, without any forts to relieve it, or souldiers to defend it, he tooke the towne, sacked it, wasted the country about, and robbing, ruining, and burning went aboard againe. With the news of *Laredo* there arrived into *France* the the newes of the surprize of *Turin* by Prince *Thomas*.

Paris and the whole Kingdome murmured, that so many millions should be laid out upon such a powerfull Fleet, to no other end or profit but to sack a poore place, which had been a small matter for a poore sea rover to have done. Upon a mighty Army to take a Castle which brought more losse then gaine with it, causing a great Army to be kept there, wasting many men, and much money. That with these costly vanities, the interest of *Italie* was abandoned, friends, and the Royall bloud exposed to

to dangers, fraudes, accidents and fortunes. They accused the Officers of vanitie, that they made difficult the surest enterprises where something might be gotten, wasting time, and the bloud and substance of subjects, in those things which made but a faire shew, and a great deale of noise. Perswaded sometimes by passion, sometimes by emulation, rather to kindle coales, then conquer states.

To those who defended them by saying, that the powerfullest way to destroy the Monarchie was to set upon it in *Spaine*; for keeping the Warre there, and diverting it from other places, the rest of the dominions were cut off from reliefe, where there was continuall need of men and money; They answered that to defend *Italie* by invading *Spaine*, *Flanders* and *Burgundie*, was to make one plant grow by sowing of another; that it was wasting of Gold in Alchimie; and like thinking to make Gold of *Mercurie*, and brasse, and give over digging it out of the mines.

That it was not to be thought a small matter to divert the Marquis of *Leganes* fortune

fortune in its fierce beginning, and that it was impossible to doe it with a Fleet in the Ocean that fired three or foure straw ricks, or with a powerfull Armies taking a small Castle in the County of *Rou-ciglione*, and that they could much lesse make *Piemont* secure with onely diverting the enemies forces, and not defending it.

That diversion required, an opportune time; great forces, and prosperous fortune. That the Romans did not make use of it with Aniball in the torrent of his victories, but after his first violence was past, and when (though his course were not staid) his fury was asswaged. That they opposed him strongly in one place to call him to another; that they forsooke not the defence of *Italie*, when they invaded *Africk*, and did not only divert him with Armies, but tyed him to it with victories.

But whosoever shall at this time attentively consider the state of *France*, the houses full of bloud, the neighbouring Islands full of exiled men, the Kingdome of tributes, the publick priviledges cancelled private mens goods taken away,
Subjects

Subjects discontented, Hereticks multiplied under the name of overcome, the Province destroyed under pretence of reforming, every thing by nature turned upside downe, and by violence kept quiet, may know that the endeavours which are used to maintaine the *Swede* in *Germanie* with store of money, to assault *Spaine*, *Flanders*, and *Germanie* with powerfull Armies, are prudent and necessarie, that the evill may not penetrate into the inward parts of a body full of very evill humours. And that the glory of being an invader, losses dissembled; conquests multiplied and increased, may so fill the ears of the Parents, that they may not heare the grievous groanes of their sacrificed children resounding in their aire.

Order was given the Count of *Santa Columba*, that he should not undertake any new enterprize before th'arrivall of the Marquesse of *Balbases*, who stayed so long, that before him came the Marquesse of *Torracusa*, the rest of the Count *Dukes* Regiment, the old tertiales of *Cantabria* the horse and foot disembarqued out of the Neapolitan and Sicilian Gallies,

lies, so that at his comming he found the Army numerous and valiant, desirous of enterprises, and able to performe great ones; But because the enemy prevailed in number of Cavalrie, and many recruits were by him daily expected; it was considered of in the *Junta* of State and warre, whether it were good to goe find him out and fight with him. And there was but one who was of opinion that we should not give battell.

That we ought not to fight with the enemy, when we were too weake, and that if we were too strong we could not. Hee would retreat into *France*, where the pursuit of him would bee impossible through want of victuals, fotherage, and traine of Artillery. And that we were then to fight with them in their owne Country where their reare was secured, their provisions certaine, and their Cavalrie advantagious.

When the enemy is not afraid, if it be a shame to feare, yet it is wisdom to doubt, and this Monarchie ought not to be exposed to a doubtfull fortune, which adverse may make us unhappy, and prosperous can adde no felicity to us.

Princes take Citizen-like advise, when they adventure their estates upon a point of reputation, which consists not in the losse of a Castle in the mid't of warres, but in the ending of them with great Conquests, or an honourable Peace.

Finally it would doe small good to overthrow the French Army in Autumne, and to regaine *Salsas* much lesse, but to lose a battell, might bee a great prejudice.

And if we should win it, the enemy by vertue of their numerous Cavallerie might retire with little losse with the remainder of their Army by th'assistance of the Sea, it being now *October*, and having so populous a Country might by the Spring be recruited. Ours would diminish in the fight, and more afterwards. Those of the Province thinking the enterprize to bee at an end, and that they had done enough to maintaine their reputations, being raw in the profession, weary of the field, and troubled by the waters which were naturally neere upon comming would hinder the besieging of *Salsas*, or the gaining of it, if it were besieged.

To know what his Majesties victorious Army would doe in *Catalonia*. let it be considered what they did in *Cantabria*. If any thing had remained to doe after the Battell, there was nothing left to doe it withal. Armies raised in *Spain*, (as if they were raised but for one end) all but for one enterprize.

The profit attained by the winning of *Salsas*, would not counterpoise the dammage that might follow a disaster, which God forbid. This Army being overthrowne; which for want of Horse (if conquered) would bee quite destroyed; How could it be recruited in a Country scarce both of horse and men, at such a time as the proud conquering enemy, emboldened, would prepare to assault *Cantabria* by land, and having a mighty Fleet at Sea, would engage us; either to secure this vast circumference of *Spaine*, or oppose them with a greater Fleet beside, that which is needfull to convoy the Plate Fleet, defend *Brasil*, and guard the Streights.

Where should men be levied, if there were fighting in so many places, especially if we imagined we were to fight where

there is now no fighting, being bound to defend all this Province, besides *Italy*, *Germanie*, *Burgundie*, *Flanders*, and the *Indies*?

That the enemy had an advantage above us, *viz.* that hee could beare many losses. Hee was this yeare overthrowne at *Theorville*, and routed with great slaughter, and at the same time he tooke another Hold, and within few dayes came into the field againe with a new Army. The last yeare at the Siege of *Fountainarabie* hee lost a Battell, and he is now returned more powerfull both by Sea and Land, giving us cause of feare one way, and another way besieging Holds, and winning them.

If the French doe not take *Perpignane*, they have done nothing, nor we, if wee take not *Narbona*. They will not take *Perpignane* with keeping *Salsas*, nor wee *Narbona* by routing of them.

The best revenge one can take, is to take none. The greatest conquest is to be content with losse. If a man cannot alwaies conquer, when he loseth, a small losse, it seemeth to be a great victory, and many times it is a preparation to it.

It is easier to goe on in prosperous fortune, then to stop in a disaster. The one doth not please the mind with so powerfull a charme, as the other with a sharp goad wounds it. He that stops in good successe, oftentimes loses it, he that doth it in a disaster, oftentimes changeth it.

Two small things ruine a foole, a little victory, and a small losse; in the one hee groweth carelesse, in the other he is provoked. Being carelesse, hee loseth that which he had not gotten, and provoked, hee adventures that which hee had not lost.

That Battells ought to bee given in *France* by any other way but this, getting into the heart of it, and driving it to defend it selfe. There is a difference between fighting with one who defendeth himselfe, and with one that offends. The first being overcome, hath lost the means of defending himselfe, and the other may defend himselfe with that which he hath not lost.

The Romans at the same time as they avoided fighting with the Carthaginians in *Italy*, sent *Scipio* to fight with them in *Africk*.

Hee that overcommeth in *France, Italy* and *Germany*, shall be the umpire of the world.

That it was not fitting to leave it to a Generalls will, to fight, or not: if they be not much inferiour, they will fight. They see those who last yeare dissuaded it, have lost their credit. They find this counsell inclining to it, and they will adventure to put that reputation in question by fighting, which they would be sure to lose by retiring.

The Count of *Lanta Columba* would have fought before it was time; *Marquesse Spinola* doth judge it to bee time now. One is moved by one reason, the other by another, and both (if they be left to their own mind) will fight.

This Army, which is the most flourishing that hath been seen in this Monarchie since the memorie of man; either may be lost in battell, or wasted in a siege, and either lost or wasted, there will not such another bee gotten together in a hundred yeares, for it is a hundred years since any such was seen.

They should keep it till such time as they might better secure themselves from losses,

losses, and profit themselves more by victories. They should imagine *Perpignane* was the Frontire. They should lodge their Army, maintaine it, increase it. The Spring would shew where it might best bee employed : and the Gallies would convey it where need should require.

Contrary to this another began to say ; *S I R*, There is amongst Counsellors a maxime more wylie then honest, profitable for themselves, but most pernicious to Princes, *viz.* not to give any dangerous counsells, but to let Princes take them of themselves. The intent is to avoid danger, and hatred, which is done by exposing their Lord to hatred, and abandoning him to danger.

It is a mistake of a shallow braine, rather then deepe wisdom to dissuade battells when there is no greater reason then the danger of trying it. That which is lost cannot be recovered nor that defended which is assaulted, but by endangering what remaines.

The preservative power in man, which sweetly governs the body, when it is in health, if once set upon by sicknesse goeth not about to sooth it up, it useth violence,

assaults it, and adventures to overcome it, putting it to the fortune of a Duell, either to live or die.

If your Ancestors had not adventured themselves in battells, they had not conquered, if your Majesty doth not adventure, he will lose. No Monarchie did ever subsist long, if it did not sometimes adventure.

Saying, that the enemy ought to be gotten out of *Spaine* by diverting not by battell is a vanity. Either he would not be turned away, and we shall then remain weaker, or if he be diverted, wee should but onely change our danger. Consider nature, which employing its forces to divert humors raw, before she hath overcome them, if being violented they yeeld unto her, it lames, and kills, not heales; if they contumaciously resist, having weakened her strength by seeking to divert them, it remains unable to overcome them: she then obtaines her end, when she first concocts, and then diverts them. That is a wise diversion which is made not with an intent to begin Victories, but to perfect them when they are begun.

The fortune of the French is sudden like
their

their temperature : it rises and sets in the same field, and as it is hard to overcome it when it growes, so it is secure when it declines. When occasion is come, he that through weaknesse loseth it, or through ignorance doth not know it, never seeth it againe. He that passeth by ripe fruit, and doth not gather it, when he comes again, either it is gone, or grown rotten ; whether it be that nature is an enemy to simplicitie and ignorance, or that th' imperfection of worldly perfection comes late, staves but a while, and falls suddenly. Fortune comes to every one at some time; most are put off because they knew her not, not because they had her not, and all may become happy, if they knew how to goe about it. When the Romans determined to give battell no more in their owne Country, they had given it there foure times already ; It was not wisdome but faintnesse, not because they had gotten more brain, but because they had lost their hearts in so many battels with such unfortunate successe. That which disheartened them, ought to encourage us, who have once given bastell and won it, and have overcom, as often as we have sought.

If the *Romanes* had gotten the better in the first battaile, *Hannibal* must have dyed there, or gon back discomfited. And it would now have runne in Politicians pennes that we ought to fight with the enemy presently, and not give him time to take footing in the country, nor assault it, to dishearten the men, & destroy the land: If fortune should prove adverse, we might with the remainders keepe the country, and with these entire parts at the back of them renew the Army, and try our fortunes againe, if it should prove prosperous we might undoe the enemy. One victory would suffice to become conquerors, and by one overthrow we should not be overcome. But because the *Romanes* were overcome, the Councell is blamed, whereas the execution of it should, having lost rather through want of va'lour and discipline, then of wildome.

It is much that *Scipio* a young man his advice, who was more rash for his owne glory then for the profit of the common wealth, great in estimation not for what he was, but for what he came to be, applauded onely by the people, not by the Senate

Senate suffered rather than allowed of when they could neither disswade nor hinder him, should now bind men in all ages to follow him, being favoured by fortune which onely did approve of him, condemned by *Fabius Maximus* his reasons, by the authority of a whole Senat, and much more by the experience of his Father and Uncle who in the selfe same enterprife with little glory lost part of their Army and their lives.

Many opinions are defended (by the respect is borne to gray haire, and many are borne up to the reverence due to the Majestick memory of antiquitie. It is more harsh to bring ones mind to thinke they are false, then to find they are so: and yet it is a manner of deifying antiquity to believe their sayings, without examining them.

When *Scipio* went into *Affrick* it had peradventure bin better to have changed Captaine then Country. With that power, that Army, and that his valour, he might more securely have conquered in *Italie*. And if he lost in one place he might also have lost in another. Neither could he have recovered himselfe; being

so farre from the *Romans* assistance, nor peradventure they, having sent him away so farre from them. He overcame, it is true, but who will deny that he might have bin overcome? if he had fought in *Italie* he had made sure the victory; because he overcame in *Africk* he increased the common-wealth, if he had lost, he had ruined it. The conquest had bin vaine in one part, to have remedied the losse in the other. In *Italie* the common-wealth had gon to ruine, in *Africk* *Scipio* had become King.

Then if all that the *Romanes* had, consisted in the end, successe, and fortune, of the forces of *Italie*, why did they weaken, and abandon it?

In our times the Duke of *Bavaria* joyned with the Spanish forces, might have taken the *Palatinat*, and yet he went to seeke the Palsgrave, where he had his Army, not his dwelling, Knowing that if he lost in *Bohemia* it was in vaine to Conquer in the *Palatinat*.

Let what hath bin in times past, be as it will, either well discoursed according to reason, or favoured by fortune. This Monarchy, now the biggest that ever was,

was, must not make use of others examples, she of it selfe, ought to be an example to it selfe.

One ought not leave the doing of a good thing, to doe a better; when both may be done, especially when they doe not hinder, much more when they further one another. In our case conquering the enemy in *Ronciglione* doth assist, and not disturbe the going to *Paris*.

Let us then Sir try to overthrow the French here, to profit our selves by the victory, to call him to defence, to offend him elle where, and overcome him every where. It was not *Scipio* his Army in *Africk* that overcame the *Carthaginians*, but those forces which they had consumed in *Italie*. So it may befall the French to lose themselves at home, by going to much abroad.

Let us fight with this enemy in *France* in *Italie*, in *Flanders*, by Sea, by Land, wheresoever we find him, seeing we Conquer him wheresoever we fight with him. The dangers which seeme to threaten, are not such as at first they seeme to be. There was seldome a battaile lost but that some part of the Army hath
bin

bin saved: The remainders, though never so small, will serve to hinder the enemy from further proceedings, the gold and men of *Spaine*, to repaire it on all sides: the Officers valour sufficient to doe it, and the season, will afford time for it.

They are deceived that hold *Spaine* to be a desert place. There be ditinhabited and barren places, but there are likewise many populous, and fruitfull. And it is so large, that not counting the first, measuring onely the last, it would be found bigger then the fruitfulest Country of *Europe*.

Deductions and consequences from times past to the present are dangerous, their examples are not available. The knowledge of events, if nere at hand are decitfull, if farre off, false. Fighting now is diverse from what it was, there are other men, another age, and (I will say it) another world.

The *Iunta* agreed that battaile should be given, Marquis *Spinola* who advanced to seeke out the French Army. Overtaken by night when he drew nere it, he never laid hand to spade made no trench.

trench, defence, or fortification, but set his Army open in battaile array. The enemy retired towards his owne Country, drew nere to *Salsas*, under the safeguard of that place, at the recovering of which the minds of the greatest part of the Spanish Commanders seemed to ayme.

Marquis *Spinola* was perplexed. He had many important difficulties before his eyes. The time of yeare farre spent, the Country cold, the Climat unhealthfull; the long drough which had bin, threatned, great store of raine, small provision of food, none of Fother, the ground bare to make hatts for his Army, stony to intrench it, no stuffe to make any shelter, no Pioners, nor Gunners, nor Founders, few instruments to worke with, miners fewer, the former unfitted, the latter inexpert. The place fortified without and lined within, Ordnance, Ammunition, and Men, more then abundant. The enemy encamped about it, to hinder it from being besieged and it ready to receive him if he were assalted. Forced to fight before he could besiege, and expose himselfe to a dangerous battaile,
for

for to begin an incertaine enterprize : a losse would put him in great danger, and one Victory not sufficient to make a conquest.

The water, the sword, and want would undoe the Army. The Souldiers would forsake their Colours, being wounded, sick, and wearied. They must be relieved with men out of *Cantabria*, the Shippes and the Gallies with old and new Levies; To forsake their enterprises, would make the reliefe of *Italic* impossible, weaken the defence of other Provinces, and growing obstinate about a small Castle, would make all provisions for the future field difficult.

And if the enemy should refuse to fight, and goe back with his Army entire, rest it, encrease it, and having an eye upon ours, when he saw it diminished and wearied, should set upon it powerfull and fresh; it would be a shame to retreat dangerous to meet him, and more to stay for him. The ordinary manner of intrenching would be hard, the extraordinary impossible. The quarters of necessitie must bee so distant, that they should not in an instant relieve one another. e-
very

very thing would be weak and disunited ; so that the enemy might in a darke night give alarme in divers places, set upon one quarter strongly, and take it, so we might lose them all without fighting, but oneiy with the hands of a few, and peradventure the weakest. If we should goe to meet him, wee must either forsake and slight our trenches, and the labour of many dayes would be lost, which (the time of yeare considered) would not bee made good againe in many weekes. Or wee must leave men to guard them, and that would weaken the Army, tying it to fight with notable disadvantage.

The Marquis desired nothing more then to give battell, and nothing assured him of victory more, then to give it quickly.

In this perplexity was *Spinola*, when by the advice of the Count of *Santa Columba*, and other head Officers, it was resolved to send all the Horse, and foure thousand Foote to view the place, and the enemy,

These forces were commanded by the Maquis of *Torrecura*, Field-Marshal Generall, and with him the Marquis of *Arena*.

Arena. Being arrived, they found the French quartered behind the Fort *Torre-cusa* determined to try them with horse and foot; he caused *John de Arza* the field Marshall to advance with a flying squadron, he gave the charge of the foot skirmish to the Marquis of *Mortara*. It began with such valour of our Horse and Foot, that gaining ground; they presently forced the enemy, terrified and lost, to forsake their stand, and retire under command of Musquet shot of *Salsas* with great losse of men, and greater of reputation, leaving their quarters and tents in the hands of the conquering Spaniards. The reliefe of the Ordnance and Musquet shot from the Castle would not have saved them, if night, and a confused retreat, and orderly flight with much silence had not conveyed them further off.

This fight had engaged the Kings Generalls to advance with the whole Army, and though they arrived before day, thinking to fight with the enemy at the dawning, yet they found him already retreated. They determined to seiz upon a Fort royall, and Redout which was upon the hill;

hill; wherein they had prosperous success.

Death stayed the course of many, yet abated no mans courage, where it hit not it terrified not, stirring up wrath in the rest, instead of compassion as it ordinarily doth where valour is above feare.

They put the enemy to flight, they entered the Fort and Redout and having got these, with the same valour they gained the rest of the out-workes.

Then the whole Army charged the place with more courage then discipline, For the officers endeavoured to have them stay, and shelter themselves there. But the souldiers in that rage refusing it could not be stayd by fear nor wounds. For though their Flankes were discovered, and lay open to bullets, fire, and stones, many drunke with valour runne to the very Gate to hang on a Petard, and others into the Dike to assault the Wall, not discerning possibility from impossibility, esteeming every thing easie for the couragious, and nothing shut up from a valiant man. In this fight, all the Field Marshalls and particular men behaved themselves

themselves valiantly, especially the Count *Duke* his Regiment, which being all of old souldiers, and reformadoes, Comman- ded by the Marquis of *Mortara*, and *Don John di Arxa*, made it selfe to bee knowne for the chiefe Squadron of the Army.

In the enemies flight, or retreat, the French his Letters happened in the Spaniards hands; There were some of the Cardinall of *Richlieues* which spake somewhat modestly. Some from a Secretary of State, which were more arrogant *viz.* that they expected in *Paris* to heare that the King of *France* his Army was penetrated into the very bowells of *Spaine*, made the Provinces desolate, and taken the Royall Pallace of *Madrid*. The Duke of *Luin* his conceits gave more scandall then any thing else. For he being esteemed a valiant and wise Captaine, it was strange to heare, that when our men had set upon his Cavallerie, (which was divers times) and had alwayes made it retire or runne away, hee should write That our men having presumed, to set upon a few of their Horse, with many men, some eight or ten of their Gentle-
men

men coming in, had caused ours to run away, as if he would make *Ariosto* be believed, and turne him from a Poet to a Chronicler, making that a history, which was once but a fable.

Nothing manifested the deceit more plainly then his last Letter, when hee lay with all his men under the shelter of the Fortifications of *Salsas*, he certainly promised that the King of *Spain* his Army would not dare to looke them in the face, nor come within Canon shott of them, And yet within few houres he saw a parcell of it set upon him in his quarters, drive him out, rout him, and put him to flight.

Whilest they writ with so much contempt of the Spaniards valour, the Letters of his Majesties Officers in the Army spake very honourably of the French, made their forces great, and (though truth had shewed them to be faint-hearted) gave an honourable report of them.

This which seemes in one part to be folly, in the other weaknesse, if it be not art which foresees the want, is nature that provides for it. Where courage is wanting, it is good to take away the understanding,

derstanding, and where one cannot encourage to deceive. It is needlesse to shew a valiant man, to have him fight, the securenesse of the businesse, if he but knowes what he should doe, He takes his vertue from him, that conceales the danger to him. He deserves the name of valiant, who knowing the danger by discourse, meets it, with reason.

The French manner produceth this effect, that he being deceived, sets fiercely upon his enemy, thinking he will runne away. But if he finds him stiffe he oftentimes loses his courage, and recovers his brain; and whereas his first motion was of an inconsiderate violence, his last comes to be an abject mind, The Spaniards valiant in their onset, pursue their enemies rashly, for having imagined a resistance; overcoming it, they think to find none greater. Therefore the French scarce being set upon, fled, and the Spaniards being Conquerours, runne against the Wall, thinking the very stones would yeeld to that steele, which trenches and men had yeilded to.

Amidst these prosperous, pleasing, and happy successes, the Army put to flight,
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the Fortifications wonne, and the enemy retired into the Hold dejected: the difficulties of the siege seemed to the Marquesse to be increased by the death of so many valiant Commanders and Souldiers rather then decreased, yet hee resolved to besiege it. Whether it was because the victory did likewise enflame him, which suffered him not to consider of every thing or whether fortune called him, which must many times be followed blindfold, or whether the Armies valour perswaded him to it? or whether most of all likelihood bound him thereto, not knowing how to justifie himselfe, if hee did not bessege it to avoid the blame of great, and small; ignorant and wise, when every Commander and Souldier gave it up for taken.

Counsell is hard against likelihood: It requires a great understanding, penetrating into the truth: a strong resolution against murmuring, a heart not void of interest, and not caring for his owne credit, things rare and necessary in a subject, and either are not to be found, or are not available. Likelihood doth almost alwayes deceive, whether it be a punishment

ment for Princes against flattery, or the reward of wise men, for the welfare of liberty. If their advices were believed, it would prevent the seeing of effects, the onely way to undeceive a man.

So happy and prosperous a beginning encouraged, and perswaded the Officers and Souldiers; it is halfe the worke if we believe wise men, the whole, if Astrologicall foolishnesse, which judging the event by the constellation in which the action began, will believe this to bee favourable, and him happy if it began well. *Weymar* was still in *Burgundie*, who besides being a great Souldiour, was also a great Politician. I cannot affirme whether his great understanding made him such, or whether time, occasion, and fortune made him onely seeme so. He began at first to assist the French; he knew hee could not grow great that way; then he caused the French to assist him, and this hee knew could not last; if hee got for himselfe hee should want helpe, if for others, hopes. He thought to make use of the most Christian Kings forces to begin great enterprises and by beginning them grow full of reputation, with reputation

to gaine forces of his owne, and with them, and that, to accomplish his intents.

He saw the King of *France* desirous to gaine *Burgundie*, and that he knew not how to obtaine it, or being diverted could not. He endeavoured to take part of it himselfe, thinking to exchange it for *Colmar*, *Leistar*, and *Benfelt*. With which he designed to overthrow *Strasburg*, and so maintaine himselfe with his owne forces, to alter the Scene, and personate another man; set up a party of himselfe, and gaine reputation by Warre or to conclude peaces with advantage. These thoughts seeme great, and are so. Yet they were no way disproportionab'le with the fortune and valour of that renowned Commander. The King of *France* who favoureth no man, so farre as to assist him, but onely to be assisted, On the one side fearing the Switzers anger, threatned by the injuries received from *Weymar* in *Veiglia*, a Country usurped from the Canton of *Berna*; On the other side growen jealous of his conquests in *Burgundie*; urged by the *Swedes* earnestnesse, and called upon by the Marquis of *Leganes* victories, would have had *Wey-*
mar

war give over troubling of *Veiglia*, agree with the *Switzers*, entrust him with the conquests in *Burgundie*, and divert the *Austrians* in *Germanie*.

All these things were instantly moved to him by the French Ambassadour resident in *Switzerland*, who met with him. The discourses were long. Hee promised to give the *Switzers* satisfaction, and fit himselfe to the times, for the tolls of the *Rhine*. For that which he had conquered in *Burgundie*, and for greater conquests which he promised to achieve he desired supply of men and money. And because the Ambassadour perswaded him to goe and assist the *Swede* in *Germanie*, and did peradventure encroach upon him more then *Weymars* spirit would beare, though tractable yet sterne, they say (being moved) he answered;

That the King of *France* did alwaies request of him, sometimes Sieges, sometimes diversions, but he never sent him neither men nor mony. That hee had many Holds to defend; That hee was threatned by the Duke of *Bavaria* his Army affrighted by the King of *Spaine*, and th'Archdutchesse *Claudias* forces, which

which were to joyne with him, if the *Swede* should be overcome by the *Aultrians*, all *Germanie* would fall upon him, round begirt with enemies, having no confederate Prince neere him, onely *France* which was farre off, and did not assist him. That he wanted men, his being almost all dead by war and diseases; That the Country was able to maintaine him no longer, and his mony was spent in providing for *Nova-Villa*, *Brisack*, *Friburg*, *Than*, *Rinfelt*, *Launsenburg* and other places upon the *Rhine*. That hee should fall into the hands of the first that came against him, and in a day lose what he had gotten in so long time, and with so much labour. That hee had no hope left but in his Sword, and the valour of those Officers who followed him. That he knew his fortune was no better then other Princes who had assisted the *French*, hee was to be thankfull to her, because she had remained longest with him, he being the last to fall.

The Ambassadour sought to quiet him; He promised him money, and did indeed share some amongst the Souldiers: and whilest they were negotiating the taking

of *Salins*, thereby to gaine the good will of the *Switzers*: or that of *Dola*, or *Besancon*, to goe forward in their proceedings, there came news of the overthrow of *Teonville*, and the conquests of the Spanish forces which daily increased in *Italy*, whereupon laying aside, or deferring these hopes, that meeting was ended. In the meane time the *Switzers* were met at *Baden*.

The late Conquest of *Brisacke* whereby the Navigation of the *Rhine* was shut up the former and present proceedings in *Burgundie*, by the King of *France*, and his confederates forces, and the greater which were feared, caused the most attentive Politicians to cast their eyes, to see what the *Switzers* would doe therein, who were bound by confederacie, interested by traffick, and by all that as was or might befall. Some said that old grudges not yet forgotten, suspicions (though vaine) often renewed, Militarie art abandoned, valour qualified, weapons rustied, and profit proffered, all put together would smother up conveniencie and reason of State; But the wisest sort held suspicions to be so vaine, and the conveniencie

niencie so apparant, that they were confident to see the *Switzers* armed in defence of Justice.

If they would know what the King of *Spaines* thoughts were, they should consider this Province, which subject to him, hath most happily enjoyed all the blessings of liberty, and profits of Monarchy, the King acting there the part, rather of a Protector then a King; Leaving to them the pleasure of living free, and taking upon himself the burthen of maintaining their freedome; That in *Burgundie* there is liberty, because they enjoy it, and a Lord because they have none. That in cannot be imagined he will goe about to make of *Common-wealths* subjects, who of subjects makes *Common-wealths*.

If the King of *Spaine* hath *Burgundy*, they border upon a great power, but small because he himselſe doth not border upon *Burgundie*. If the King of *France* hath it, they border upon the lesser power, but all. And if it were their convenience, and not their ruine rather, to let that Province be lost, why should they bee enticed to it by proffers of the Salt pits?

It is not to be believed that he desireth a companion in his conquests, that taketh away from companions, friends, kinsmen, nephews, and from them most that he can get most.

That Common-wealths may be bought as well as conquered. When it may a-vaile the King of *France* to give away that which is other mens, to gain States; theirs were not secure, nor they Lords of them. Hee would give them another to subject them, and hee should prevaile most in the world who possessed least, having the more to give away. That a vaine mistrust of the Spaniards, and a most vaine confidence in the French deceived them. That which may doe most hurt, ought to bee feared, though it were profitable; and that which can doe none, is to be upheld though it may bee thought hurtfull. Let them not feare the Austrians, but the French. A great power dis-joynd from its Lord by having cut the bonds in sunder with the Sword, and abolished the memorie thereof with time, (there bee many examplss of it) hath returned to its ancient yoake. And many are likewise read of, that have fallen
under

under another, onely to keep themselves from the first, whom they ought not to be afraid of, his anger being allwaged, the shame forgotten, and the strength overcome: and yet there is nothing that doth more ruine them then this mistrust, to free themselves from which, they fall where they thought not. Even so a starting horse being on the secure side affrighted by some vaine object, casting himselfe inconsideratly on the other side, breakes his neck downe a precipice. One might truly doubt that things would returne to be as they were, by the figure of the heavens from whence they have their influences. But what then? Though it be circular, they move with such diverse motions, and that heaven which giveth most influences, moveth so slow a pace, that though every instant they vary their aspect, there would an infinite number of yeares passe away, before they (if it were possible at all) returned to the same being.

A Nation so vigilant, that hath formerly been moved through a little zeale, and once moved, hath gained such glorious victories, a terrible name, and warlike

renowne, how can it now choose but bee stirred up with mistrust, wrath, and shame, seeing a King of *France* endeavour himselfe to be Lord of *Burgundie*, after he had stolne away *Lorraine*, partly usurped, and partly bought *Alsacia*, made himselfe master of divers places in *Savoy*, *Piemont*, and *Montferrat*, under pretence of preserving them? That trieth to enter into *Flanders*, and *Spaine*, to ruine *Germanie*, to overthrow the Empire, and make himselfe Emperour. And if he should come to be so (as he undoubtedly would if the house of *Austria* did not hinder him) who would then defend them from so great a violence? Peradventure that Justice which would have no Tribunal Seat to appeale unto? Titles are not wanting, where there is power. The greedy desire of commanding, though it be a most unjust plague, seemes to be the mother of Justice, time the Father, and both being joyned, seeme to bring it forth.

That the King of *France* already blocked up their passages from reliefe and trading, and would shut them up likewise for corne, impoverish, starve, and subdue them;

them; they being not able to live free, who have not meanes of subsistence coming to them freely.

If they should so basely forsake their confederates, they would lose the reputation which their Ancestors had gained with the losse of so much blood, and so many conquests, and seeing the default could not bee ascribed, either to conveniencie, or reason of State, it would be attributed to feare, and they would fall in contempt if not slavery; That to preserve their libertie, it was necessary for them, to fight; And for those, against whom they fought, to obtaine it; It was determined at the Diet, (as it was divulged) that to not engage themselves they would mediate with the King of *France*, rather to obtaine a neutrality in *Burgundie*, then to oppose him with violence.

Any one may bee a mediator in those things which are already counterpoised in matter of interest, for they want nothing but one to interpose himselfe, but when they are unequal there is no other way, but to make ones selfe a party; For in seeking to equall two unequalls, hee loseth his credit, time and friends, the

one thinking himselfe offended, because he desired to hinder his fortunes, the other because he would not helpe him in his diafaster.

In warres which are already ancient, there ought to be great cause to make one entermeddle with them. They see those Countries which were fruitfull, and plentiūll, made barren, and poore, men impoverished, houses ruined, all things full of blood, death, and miserie. They compare those losses, to their happinesse. Neither doe they thinke that any bond, shame, or conveniencie, can be sufficient meanes to counterpoise the disasters of warre, with the emoluments of peace.

When there are bloody and lasting warres between mighty Kings, they that are not ingaged in them, looke on astonished, and dejected, and though they may wrong them, and sometimes doe, yet they can take no true counsell nor resolution. This which is true in all formes of State, is almost infallible in a popular: it lives more conformable to nature then to art, it teacheth onely to defend its own when occasion serves, and never before. Monarchie and Aristocracie often lose themselves

themselves by seeking to get what is anothers : and Democracie sometimes by suffering it to be taken away.

The *Switzers* to the persuasions of neutrality, had added a protestation, That if the most Christian King followed the warres in *Burgundie*, they should be driven to recall their forces which served him. And because they were but small, of no profit, and great charge to the King of *Franoe*; it was a threatening hurtfull to them onely that made it which caused every one to judge it vaine, and of no moments.

Yet I will adventure to say, that the hurtfuller the Protestation was to the *Switzers*, the more it was to be feared by the French King. Hee that doth hurt in shewing himselfe to be distasted, seemes to be by that already satisfied. Hee that receives hurt shewes a token that he will have satisfaction.

I cannot believe that so warlike and honourable a Nation will so shamefully forsake the *Burgundians* in such an urgent case without any occasion, or infamously by taking a reward to doe it.

Weymar left *Portaglier* and *Joux*, con-

trary to his conveniencie, it being a most important passe. And burned them contrary to his promise, for which hee had received money sufficient. Hee went towards *Alsacia*, and without attempting any great matter, either there or in *Burgundie*, he died.

This Nobleman was a man of his own interest. He was no friend to the King of *France*, whom he being a German abhorred as a stranger; Hee was an enemy to the house of *Austria*, which hee (descending from Duke *Maurice* of *Saxonie*) hated; he was of a turbulent minde, various in fortune, he lost oftner then he got, yet got more then he had lost. His spirits were generous, his blood royall; expert, and very valiant in warres; better known through our mens defaults, then his owne victories. Seeing the greatest that he obtained were the overthrowing of *John Vert*, when he was carelesse, and the taking of *Brisack* when it was unprovided. The hopes which through his reputation he had framed, for the raising of his Familie, ended with his life.

There happened this yeare no losse of any value in *Burgundie*. The faithfulnessse, prudence,

prudence, trust, attention, and vigilancie of *Don Antonio Sarmiento*, who by the Kings command was there; *Marquis de Leganes* his victories, which drew from thence the Duke of *Longueville* his forces; The battell *Piccolomini* wonne, which broke *Weymars* designes, and his death which gave no time for the reundertaking of them, defended it.

The Kings Fleets which were in the Harbour of *Cadiz*, set saile, one very powerfull towards *Italy*, commanded by the Duke of *Naccara*, and *Maccheda*, to be employed for the Common-wealth of *Venice*, if need required; the other commanded by *Don Antonio di Ochendo*, directed its course towards the Ocean to fight with the French shippes, and having spent much time in putting out into the Maine to come up with a scarce wind to the Capes *St. Vincens* and *Finisterre*, fell just upon the *Groine*. It came not into the Harbour, but stayd onely till the shippes under the command of *Don-Lope de Oxez* came out of it which though hee performed with all possible celeritie; yet they could not come so soone, but that the French ships were retired into their own harbours.

Almost

Almost at the same time came his Majesties Army out of *Perpignane*, and the Fleet from the *Groine*; the rumour of the one made the Duke of *Luin* returne into *France*, and the report of the other cau.ed the Archbishop of *Burdeaux* to forsake his place.

The coast of *Spaine* being freed from the enemy, they undertooke their voyage to carry the reliefe into *Flanders*. Being come into the Chanel, they discovered seventeen *Holland* shippes. *Don Antonio* appointed his to goe on, and hee followed with the Admirall, but they staying, and he thrusting forwards, found himselfe alone in the front of the enemies, who had placed themselves in form of a halfe moone for to deceive them. Hee desired to board their Admirall, which to attaine unto, he was, for almost an houre, forced to be the aime of all their shot, without answering with his, intending to make use of it at the boarding. So soone as he came neere, hee began to shoot, and when he thought to board, the enemy hoysed up his Sailes, and went further off. The next day being made stronger by sixteen shippes, he shewed himselfe
againe

again; There began the horriblest fight that ever was seene at Sea. The noise of so many pieces of Ordnance hindered their hearing, and the smoake their sight, that little as could be seen or heard, was the battering of ships, tearing of sailes, shivering of masts, the voyces of Commanders, and the groanes of dying men.

One of the Kings Ships and a Hulke inconsideratly, or ignorantly straying from the rest, fell into the hands of the Hollanders reare-ward, *Don Antonio* went to rescue them, he rescued the ship, but not the Hulke, finding it already taken by the enemy. The time being farre spent, the Fleets tacked about to get the wind, and were parted, that of Generall *Ochendo* having sailed within sight of the coast of *France*, found it selfe neere the English shore, where the securenesse of the Harbours, the friendship and peace between the two Kings, and finding his Admirals ship evill intreated (having alone fought with sixteene ships of the enemies) made him resolve to Anchor at the Downes, from whence hee sent over almost all the reliefe to *Mardick* in small vessells, though the Hollander were in the
same

same Harbour increased in shipping to the number of one hundred and fourteen.

The Spanish Fleet seemed to lie there secure, and was to be so by the capitulation between the King of *England*, and the Catholick King. But the Hollander was not long before he undeceived the world, (if there were any one in it so simple as to be deceived) by setting upon his Majesties Fleet though the two Generalls of *Spaine* and *Holland* had both passed their words to the Vice-Admirall of the King of *England*, that they would not offend one another, the Vice-Admirall being there, and threatening to fall upon them who should break their Covenants.

A great boldnesse and presumption in those Ports and harbours which are their *Afylums* and places of refuge, and a dishonour done by them to that King whose Ancestors first set up their reputation.

But what dare not those people doe? They are pernicious to all men, and lesse to those to whom they most seeme to bee so, more powerfull in stratagems then valorous in strength, without God, without Law, without Faith; riends or enemies;

they

they measure all in one manner. They hate all that is not common-wealth, and lay snares for any thing that is a Principallitie. In one part they fight against a Monarch, and in another against Monarchie. They seeke to augment the one, and diminish the other. In some places they assault states, in some the formes of them; And having bin assisted while they were rebels, they likewise assist rebellion. They are every where framing common-wealths, which they have ready framed in their minds, and goe about actually to set them up. Part is, and part will be seen.

I hold *France* to be no Monarchie, it is halfe a Common-wealth; if not all, it will be: it is no matter though Hereticks possesse no Cities there. Walls make not the forme of a state, but lawes; which on the one part grant them liberty of conscience, and perswade it their bodies on the other. If it be said they are dispersed, it is so much the worse, they worke the more, and lie closer hidden; a fault not common to great and small things, but peculiar to spacious Kingdomes in which great evils are nourished: they lie hidden, and are not knowne
untill

untill they be past remedie. So bodies of strong complexions beare great defects, and when they can no longer beare them, they cannot cure them, having employed all their strength not in correcting but entertaining them: being entertained they grow, growen they overflow, and not corrected, they kill. Evills that they may not grow, must be hindered, and good things that they may not decrease, need help. Mixed together if the one be not assisted and the other hindered, they unite in a body so corrupt, that it admits no cure neither of Steele nor fire.

I would be deceived. But I feare it, because I have not bin deceived in foreseeing the like cases; whosoever hath seene my writings some few ycares since knoweth it. This is not boasting, but zeale, not to gaine glory, but credit with them to whom it may doe good if I gaine it.

I take on my course, having digressed for others sakes that they may get out of laberinth, *Don Antonio Ochyendo* finding himselfe forced to fight, came out of the harbour. One and twenty of his ships followed

followed him, the rest (I know not the cause) peradventure they were out of order, but staying behind, at last ran on ground most of them.

There began a cruell fight, and though the enemy had a great advantage (having one hundred and fourteen ships to one and twenty) yet the Hollander continually shunned the aboard; The Admiralls ship wherein were the Generall *Ochendo*, and *Michael d'Orno* Admirall, was encompassed with a multitude of ships, and so was the *Teresia* commanded by Generall *Don Lope de Ozes*: But they all fought generously. The enemy plied them with Ordnance to sinke them, and with fire ships to burne them, they had their purpose in the *Teresia*, which irrecoverably perished in flames, with so much Ordnance, so many men, and (which is most of all) with so great a Noble man. *Ochendo* though he much endeavoured to come at it, could not rescue it. They fought fiercely for many hours. Night parted them, leaving six ships in the enemies hands, and they having lost above twenty. *Don Antonio* was comming for the coast of *Spaine*, but the wind turning, he

he was forced to put into the Haven of *Mardick*, onely with the Admirall of *Dunkirk*, and seven other ships, the fight and tempest having severed him from the rest.

This was th'event the Kings Fleet had. Which having set saile to drive away the French from the coast of *Spaine*, and to carry reliefe into *Flanders*, performed both. And fighting with such disadvantage, wonne more then it lost. Victories being not measured by the losses in a mighty Monarch who wants no mony; But onely by the glory, which consists in obtaining his end, and the meanes of obtaining it.

In *Italy* the most Christian Kings Officers (under the name of the Dutchesse of *Savoy*) propounded a Truce, making the world believe they did it to please the Princesses womanish humours, that she might not goe live in *France*, nor give over commanding in *Italie*.

Their ends were because they would not seeme to grow weake, nor breed any suspicion, thinking under colour of her to cover their designes, and salve their reputations. But all was perceived and
known,

knowne, and the French themselves could not conceale it, no mans breast being vast enough to hide such a great desire.

They sought to better the businesse, by propounding a Peace in *Italie*, and make it the easier, by propounding a generall one. They asked whither the Kings Officers had any authoritie to treat of it, and being answered yea, they asked time untill they might send for the like : and did all things, with indirect, various, doubtfull and confused meanes, so that they caused every one to imagine they meant to deceive.

The Marquis of *Leganes* called a Councell of the chiefe Commanders, to discusse the businesse, and found them almost all for a Truce.

They alleaged that Truces were alwaies profitable to them who were in possession, and especially for such as were in danger of losing. That his Majesties Army diminished, and would daily grow lesser, even to such a proportion, that it would scarce beare the name of an Army. That those Souldiers which had escaped the Sword and sicknesse, were so tired with continuall lying in the field, and weakened

weakened with continuall sufferings, that they were not able to labour any longer. That fodder began to grow very scarce, and it might be imagined within a while it would quite faile: And if they should be forced to a retreat, how should they doe it (between two Rivers) without losing themselves?

That hope of Supplies diminished every day, there being warres in all places: so that they were onely to reckon upon those they had there, which were few and unserviceable. That the enemy superiour in strength, with daily supplies comming out of *France*, found himselfe numerous in fresh Souldiers, who were able to endure hardnesse, having yet endured none; Provision they had more then enough, having so much land behind them. The attempting any thing against him was impossible, to defend every thing from him difficult, hindering him from relieving the Cittadel of *Turin*, past hope, to set against him openly a madnesse. The enterprise would bee made everlasting and impossible, and not without danger of losing the City, in steed of taking the Cittadell, if so be the enemy more numerous,

rous, and better fortified should go about to assault it. That he wanted not recruits, there comming every day fresh to him out of *France*, and expecting greater daily.

The Truce would give time to fortifie our selves within *Turin* against the Citadell, which being a great Worke, could not be done in few daies, and with a few folke, that our men being once secured, we might thinke upon the besieging of it. In the meane time our Souldiers might recover their health, and refresh themselves. The French would waste, and his heat of fighting being abated by the Truce, he would leave his Colours and returne into *France* as hee used to doe. And in case he should goe into *Burgundie*, he might be followed.

There was no need to feare making a Truce, much to refuse it. Our Army not to be in state of gaining any thing in so small a time, and yet that little, was sufficient to secure that which was gotten.

That ceasing from hostility, did usually give way to discourses, and discourses to Treaties of peace. A truce would appease and coole mens hearts, and being so calmed,

calmed, many times such things were concluded, as they would not so much as heare spoken of when they were heated. That we might when the Truce was ended, if the Treaties proved vaine, and we found it not good to confirme it, againe begin warre with more advantage.

Some who held the contrary said, that all the reasons the Spaniards urged to make a Truce, were grounded onely upon likelihoods and conveniencie. But the French proposing it with losse of reputation, seemed to yield. That their nature was knowne to bee such, that they never would desire such ends, but when they were so streightened, that they could doe no otherwise, wherefore they might be thought to doe it through necessitie. And therefore there would bee as much inequality in it, as there is between conveniencie and necessitie.

The profit and advantage of the one side, in warre was not to bee measured simply in it selfe, but with relation to the other side whence groweth the littlenesse or the greatnesse of it. A man is victorious that kills his enemy in single duell though he receives many wounds.

The enemy who proposeth a thing, bee it what enemy it will, alwayes gives occasion of suspecting it to be evill: if hee be a French man, it is assuredly so.

That the reasons alleaged for our side, were in the realitie, not in the understanding onely, so cleere and manifest, that either they were false, or if true, known to the enemy. And that those of the contrary part, (if they might bee known to us) were so weake and shallow, that they would not counterpoise ours, if true. And therefore wee must imagine the one to be made greater by a vaine feare, and the other strengthened by some secret designe, which ought alwaies to be reputed great, it being knowne that there is one, but not what it is.

That Princes and Common-wealths may know what is good or evill for them, by measuring it with their interests, and the states which they possesse. A Governour of *Milan* his interest lieth a great way off from the State and he ought to be governed by that which hee doth not governe. To undertake great affaires, be it to move discord or warre, or to conclude Peace or Truce, he ought
to

to have the consent of *Spaine*. And hee that should doe otherwise, might bee thought worthy of punishment by reason of the great danger in which he might at any time put the Monarchie by not certifying concerning it.

That the enemy may plot to assault *Burgundie*, set upon *Flanders*, not be divetted out of *Spaine*, and secure *Alsatia*. *Burgundy* known to be unprovided. *Flanders* with small power to defend it seise. *Spaine* with the losse of one place easily rescued. *Alsatia* by the death of *Weymar* recoverable. To make a Truce at this time, might be called letting loose the enemy who was called thither, and their chained, conquered & dejected to th'end he may runne where fortune is more favourable to him and the warre easier to encrease his victories.

If the truce be because we want strength, how shall we keepe him back if he be going into *Burgundie*? it will be harder to follow him out of *Italie*, then to conquer him in *Piemont*.

The Cittadell of *Turin*, if we should make a truce for seventy dayes, could not be besieged till the spring, that it was sufficiently

sufficiently beset for what could be done to it for the present, and we had time enough to provide against the future.

If we abounded not in provisions, the enemy was likewise very scarce of them; if our Army grew weake, the French grew to nothing, being subject to the same diseases, and wanting that patience to endure; apter to runne away, and having more opportunitie to doe it.

It is not to be denied but that Truces are good for them who are in possession, if they be made for a long time, and those who are in possession pretend to keepe that which they have conquered; and wanting for that purpose sufficient strength and just titles, seeke to have their strength encreased, and make their title just by prolonging of time.

The Marquis of *Leganes* not content with the opinions of those Commanders who were present and almost all inclining to a truce; did likewise by letters give his Majesties chiefe Counsellors notice of it, in whom finding no contradiction, he also finding it necessary, concluded it for seaventy dayes. They framed articles (which are inserted

at the end of the booke, because wee would not interrupt the course of the history) and they who signed them on the one part were Prince *Thomas*, and the Marquis of *Leganes*; On the other part the Cardinall of *Valette* and the Duke of *Longueville*, in the name of the Dutchesse also, promising that within the limited time she should ratifie them.

The French kept not the truce, and the Dutchesse did not accept of it. The one because they tooke many places, which before they had not; and she because she did not ratifie it, according to their promise.

The Marquis of *Leganes* found himselfe obliged to hinder th'exchange of six hundred souldiers in *Casal*. The Cardinall of *Richilieu* heard of it and writ him a letter which in few lines, with great art, contained many, but weake, reasons. He praised the Marquis, to gaine his good will. Made shew as if he believed not, that the exchange was hindered by order from him. He vindicated the Dutchesse in that particular of not presently ratifying, saying it was sufficient that it was done, and that it was no breach of truce being

being sent so soon as it was certified that it was not received. Concerning the exchange of the garrisons of *Susa* and *Avigliana*, he interpreted the articles as though they did not any way hinder it. He confirmed his reason by an argument taken *a simile* from the like case, viz. by what was done by the Spaniard in *Nizza*, and confirmed it with another argument taken *a majori*, viz. That the decree made at *Turin* against the Dutchesse was of a nature quite different, making by it one order against the other. Finally when he had interlaced the letter with many faire wayes of perswasion, at the last he inserted odious wayes of threatnings, mitigated with a pleasing kind of insinuating them, shewing rather then threatening what dammages might befall them who did not observe the covenants.

On the other side the Marquis had many reasons to lay down wherfore though he were as courteous in the manner of doing it, he could not be so brieve in his expressions. He thanked his eminencie for the commendations he gave him and more for the good opinion he had of his

Majesties Officers; That if his gentleness deceived him in the one, in the other he shewed his understanding.

That he was glad to have to doe with so eminent an Officer, and of so great worth, in the discussing of this case, who would easily be capable of understanding the truth; That the Dutchesse ratification was promised within a limited time, and the Contract was voided by the not having received it within the time limited, though it were made, and not required, and much more, it not being made, Shee staying (as it was said) for order from the most Christian King, and they having (as it was knowne) demanded it. That this clause, not accomplished, excluded her highnesse out of the Treaty; and the King of *France* being included therein, it severed him from his Sisters interests; Shewing that his Majesties Officers also had therein committed a default, by not withdrawing their Forces out of such places where they were employed in her Highnesse service; because the Truce concluded in *Italy* with the King of *Spaine*, did not admit of the securing any of his enemies places: whence
might

might be perceived how much they had gone beyond that which was agreed upon, by entering into *Susa*, *Avigliano*, and *Canor*: as if it were the same thing to exchange a Garrison, and to take possession of a new one; to leave the state of things as it was, and to better it by the gaining of three places. An act so farre from what was agreed upon, that though the Dutchesse had ratified the contract, and made of two parties one, it could not choose but be a manifest breach. He marvelled not, that his Eminency had spoken nothing of *Canor*, for having neither reason; likelihood, nor shew to defend the seizing upon it, he would take no notice of the doing it, seeing the Governour thereof had immediatly before the Truce by a Letter subscribed with his Captaines hands, made an acknowledgement of it, to be the Princes Cardinall and *Thomas*. That which his Eminencie insisted upon of the like done by us, by bringing in Garrisons, where those of *Piemont* were, was not as yet done. And if it had, it would have been a thing very different. The King his Master with the Princes, being but one party, whereas the King of

France, and the Dutchesse were two. That it was true *Nizza*, had changed Lord, but many dayes before the Truce. But the French had bettered themselves in their Workes under the Castle of *Villa Franca*, against and since the capitulation; That the Decree published in *Turin*, was no act of hostilitie, of policie it was granted, and that if it were of hostilitie, it might be done against the Dutchesse, already excluded from the suspension of Armes; That his Eminencie might know that the Spanish officers had observed the Truce, as if it had been ratified; And that the most Christian Kings Officers had broken it, though it had been ratified. And howsoever that the want of the ratification did debarre the most sophisticall understandings, from questioning the defects of the one part, and the subtilties of the other.

His Eminencie must excuse him if hee did not satisfie his request, and that hee could not remedie the inconveniencies, or understand them otherwise, but that he must hinder the exchange of the six hundred Souldiers from *Casal*. Nor would he doe it, if the Dutchesse would ratifie,

ratifie, and the King of *France* desert those places, which his Officers had taken; not binding them with so much rigour, but that they might yet have so many dayes after the truce, to amend what was past.

The Marquis concluded his Letter which was full of the Cardinalls praises, with proffers, and thankes; I have herein, trusting to the Readers capacitie, not so farre enlarged the reasons, nor unfolded them with so much spirit, as the Marquis did write them. Yet I have not added any thing of mine owne, nor taken away any thing of the substance.

In the meane time the Fort of *Salsas* in *Spaine*, was set upon in foure places; In the most dangerous place wrought the Count *Dukes* Regiment commanded by the Marquis of *Mortara*, and *Iohn d'Arza*. There th'enemy made out trenches, sallied, sprung Mines, leaving nothing unattempted to hinder the designe; but all in vaine. When he sallied, he was driven in sometimes by the one Commander, sometimes by another, still with excellent valour, and by both of them first beaten into the out Dikes, and after-

wards from thence dislodged, giving our men thereby leave to advance, which they valiantly did. The Governour with great care and watchfullnesse giving every one way to obtaine reputation.

The enemy was closely besieged, without any more hopes of sallying out; the Count *Dakes* Regiment being gotten within the Dike, close to the wall to undermine it. The great fall of raine hindered the worke for a time: then the report of the enemies comming on to relieve it, caused it to be intermitted, and at last was quite given over through a deceitfull report, or relation of deceived men; For some being runne out of the Fort, or at least dissembling as though they had forsaken it, said there was not provision within to maintaine it for a weeke, and that the Souldiers died for hunger. They shewed some of the Bisket mouldy and stinking, and added so many circumstances, that the Captaines tooke the newes for certaine, And to avoid the shedding of blood about a place of no great importance, and because of the incommodities of rainie and cold weather, the intemperatnesse of the aire
which

which caused diseases in men, and the necessity of fortifying our selves against the approaching reliefe; they determined to lie still, till famine caused it to yeeld, seeing by force it was not to bee wonne in lesser time. The terme of many dayes being spent, and no yeelding spoken of it was attributed to the Governours obstinacie, never perceiving the deceit. And one weeke passing away after another, the enemy within, and without, still maintaining the report of the famine, it was a'waies judged ill done that they had not set upon it by force; and it was now thought it could never be taken. Every day some precedent error was blamed, and some new one committed; losing time through th'opinion of having lost it.

I doe not affirme there was any error committed, but if there were, it may bee called a most fortunate one: it stayd not the Conquest so long, as it increased the glory of it taking away from the enemy all manner of excuse, for covering his defects, even of time.

Leaving men enow to besiege the place close, they began to cast up out-workes

and though they were large, they brought them to that perfection that there might be some hope of defending them.

All this worke, which caused the effect of the enterprize, must be attributed to the Count *Duke*, who whilest the Generalls writ sometimes of impossibilities, sometimes of difficulties, with effectuall Letters, shewing them it was not impossible, relieving them with men, engaged them to goe on with the work, and made it so easie, that in the end of the Siege it was almost inpregnable.

In *Flanders* the King of *France* his Army being divided in two parts, one under the command of the Marshall of *Chatiglion*, the other of *Migliare*, the Cardinall *Infanta* opposed the first with *Piccolomini*, and the other with the Marquis of *Fuentes*. Few passages happened on either side, the King of *France* being drawne into *Italie* by the Marquis of *Leganes* his proceedings, and *Piccolomini* into *Germanie* by *Baniers*.

The greatest matter the French attempted, was, after they had rased the Fort of *Rbuminghem*, and in vaine assaulted *Bovignes*, to seeke to passe the
river,

river, *Don Andrea* set forward with three hundred Musquetiers, to view them. The Enemy endeavouaed to cut him off: The skirmish began very hot, & growing on by degrees, the Marquis was enforced to engage his whole body. They fought Pike to Pike, and Sword to Sword with so much valour, that the enemy lost a thousand men, the Spaniard lost two hundred and fiftie men, counting the kill'd, wounded, and prisoners. The Marquis of *Fuentes* obtained the renowne of a brave Commander, having with two *Terciaes* onely, opposed the French Army, and hindered their great designs, and also of a valiant sculdier, having with his owne hand taken prisoners, wounded and flaine many of th' enemies. What the Prince of *Orange* did this yeare, I will speake in few words, and all at once, for it was almost nothing, if it be not thought much to have diverted and kept idle so many forces of his Majesties. and to observe their movings. Hee desired to take the passe of *Gaunt*, but the Count of *Fera* his vigilancie did frustrate his intentions. Hee fortified himselfe about the *Phillippines*, and besieged *Gelders*. The Cardinal

Cardinall *Infante* who drew neare with the Army, caused him to retire in the night, not without confusion and losse of men. He faced *Rhinebergh*, and sought to lie before *Harst*, but because *Van Namen* was beaten back when he went to set his men a shore, and Count *Fontana* happened to be thereabouts with the Kings Army, and the Cardinall *Infante* drawing apace that way, he resolved to give over the enterprise.

These were the Hollanders (I know not whether I should say) motions, or desires, when the King of *France* pricked them forward to undertake some notable enterprise.

I cannot enter into these mens policy: it may be beyond mine understanding, or it may erre. Composers of a fable, movers of engines, spectators of a tragedie, the end whereof (if it be dolefull) may be the beginning of theirs. If he overcomes who was their Lord they will be as they were; if he that is their companion, they make themselves as they desire. He that hath not thought it a shame to forsake them in time of peace to settle his Crowne upon his head, will not be

be scrupulous, being a conquerour to subject them to enlarge it. To say that these two soveraignes powers are counterpoised, that they wasse, and not end, that they will both lose, and neither overcome: that being afflicted and wearie, they will be brought to a good peace; in which looking narrowly to their owne reputation, the good of their confederates will be well provided for, would be a good thought if the supposition were not incertaine and the consequence false, if War were alwaies ended with peace, & not sometimes with conquest, if armes were laid downe, and Warres maintained with the same passions; if experience had not shewen the contrary, and reason demonstrated it. Rage and hatred being ceased or abated, the scene is altered before the eyes of the principall parties. Being at peace with his enemy, he considereth his companion, who hath incited him to Warre, helped, that he might be consumed, hindered, that he might not overcome. false lying and deceitfull, and seemeth the more to have bin an enemy, because he should have bin a friend, and was not. The turmoile by reason of
which

which the heat of emulation could not be avoided, Or the hope of great conquests: The former being now quenched, and the latter lost, are now examined, and proves a vexation. And being boren withall whilst the Warre lasted, is now revenged (when peace is concluded; the desire whereof comes not, without hatred of that which caused the other. He that layeth downe armes and hath gotten nothing, thinketh he hath consumed his money and men, in the service of his confederates, and coming to make peace seeketh to repaire his losse with their dammage, counterpoising it with the profit which he pretends he hath received. The cause which bindeth two enemies to come to agreement, who have bin so obstinate in Warre, and grown old in emulation is alwayes so powerfull, that it suffers them not againe to renew such an appearance, more like then convenience, to not give an example to posterity; and especially when at other times it hath bin given, and hath done hurt. Either they must accommodate themselves to others wills, or War with their owne powers.

But if through the victories of either of the two Monarchies, dangers hang over their heads, by peace they receive damage, by Warre profit, why doe they not, before this ease, or that begin, stay the wheele of fortune, and accommodate themselves with their Lord, who to overcome his competitor with a glorious victory, or bind him to an honourable peace, would peradventure yield to that, which at any other time he would deny? Who is a better neighbour, he that is a borderer upon them with all his power, or he that doth it, but with a small part. He whom they have known to governe in time of peace without tyrannizing, in time of trouble fight without subjecting them, in time of truce helpe by inviting them. Or he who in time of peace was alwayes an enemy, in Warres, sometimes hath comforted, sometimes forsaken them, and at no time ever sufficiently assisted them, looking upon nothing but his owne proper interest, and conveniency, that never joines with them, but when it doth them hurt.

Surely I write as I conceive it to be; I have no recourse to Metaphysicks, nor
use.

use any art but thinke to write the truth, plainly and sincerely, and either love deceives me, or hatred blinds them.

Under *Salsas Spinola* found greater resistance in the enemy, then many imagined, and in our men lesse constancie. The country people began to retire home, to avoid the falling waters and the unwholesomnesse of the aire; whereunto adding the necessary retreat of many sick and wounded men, the dearth of fodder; and the doubtfull provision of food, the Army was so decreased, that he was forced to represent unto his Majesty, the danger of forsaking the siege, or the necessitie of being relieved with Souldiers, munition, labourers, and provision.

The letters were read in the *Iunta* of State and War, and newes being brought that the Duke of *Maccheda*, and *Don Charles d' Suarda* were arrived in *Catalonia* with the other Fleet; the landing of those forces, was thought the onely remedy for to gaine *Salsas*.

Nor could the promise which was made of it to the *Venetians*, be any obstacle, seeing the Turke was not knowne

to stirre any way And when a mans owne house is on fire, a wise man will not carry his water to quench anothers. The *Venetians* would not blame it, the world would find no fault with it, and his owne subjects would commend it. To this consultation the King made answer, that they should not thinke upon the Fleet, he had engaged his word to the Ambassadour *Contarini*, to send it into *Italie* to be at the disposall of that common-wealth, and he would not faile therein by any meanes. His Majesties intent was either to assist it in its breaches by employing his forces, or further its accommodations by shewing hee would have employed them. He slighted the dammages he himselfe received, touching his reputation with a competitor, in respect of those a confederate common-wealth might receive in its dominions by the hands of Gods enemies, and preferred her service to his owne; With the lawes of friendship he overcame the sharpenesse and provocations of emulation which is most powerfull in operation, inmisleading mens hearts. He laid aside th' affection of a competitor

competitor, which is alwayes greatest in greatest men, and shewed he was not void of that of friendship, which usually taketh root in none but the meaner sort. The one was occasioned by the greatnesse of mind, and State, which admits of no competitor, the other by the sincerity of the heart which never deceives, nor forsakes a friend. This King hath (a thing which peradventure is not in other men) all the qualities which are required for the compleating of a Gentleman, without hurting thereby them which make a King great. He hath recalled from banishment the morall vertues, and hath placed them amid'st thrones, and scepters, which vertues had bin expelled, not by the reasons, but the vices of Politicians. Shewing that they which belong to a Prince, and to a private man are the same; and if there be any difference, it is not in the kind or *species* of them, but in the superiority of quality, converting them out of private into Royall ones, and practising them as King.

Who would have bin so sincere in this corrupt age? in which (peradventure through meere emulation) we hate our
mothers

mothers, fight with our brethren, forsake our Sisters, persecute our Kindred, and abandon our friends. Or who hath done the like in better ages?

It is much that this King though he were bred up in good customes, hath not suffered himselfe to be carred away by an evill ones, by time nor example, and that he is so pious, when it might be pietie enough in him, to not be impious. But he can pretend no excuse, from any such imitation, or time, from which his vertues have alwayes kept him. And he ought alwayes to shew himselfe as different from mens actions, as he hath bin from their vices.

The strict and continuall instances of Marquis *Spinola*, and the seeming impossibility of remedying all wants, seemed to incline and almost force the minds of many to raise the siege.

The Count *Duke* who amidst other mens hopes, had not voted that *Salsas* should be besieged, in their despaire would not suffer it to be given over. He thought it a small conquest to take it, and a great losse to not take it after it was besieged. He durst not with his
vote

vote endanger his Lords reputation, but it being endangered by others, hee was with his valour bound to secure it. The difficulties were many, each one in it self great, and all laid together, seemed impossible to be overcome.

But what cannot a subject of eminent understanding doe, having great power, and that infused into him by a great Monarch? He can doe what hee will, and it is no marvell if another knoweth not what he can doe, since hee himselfe doth not know it, before he hath tried it.

Who feareth dammage from such kind of men, erres so much the more, the more he engageth them in great affaires; They performe alwayes the greatest, because they are greater then any thing they undertake. The wise man hath no certaine bound, he groweth with th'occasions, encreaseth with operating, and like Powder, gaires force by receiving it.

What one onely man may availe the greatnesse of a Monarchie, hath not as yet been tried, as now adaies. Or hath not been known, either because he hath not been eminent, or because he hath not
been

been so alone. So many subjects, famous, and worthy of respect, both in peace and warre, dying within few yeares, might have prognosticated some unhappy events, to these most happie states, the Lord being wont, when hee will ruine a Country, to take away such persons as may sustaine it; if it were not, that hee doth it also when he will make some one subjects worth apparent and profitable, by taking away such, as with their credit might usurpe his glories, or hinder them by their competition.

The Venetians who knew by experience, that to stay the course of a barbarous horse, a golden bit was better then an iron one: after they had with great preparations valorously showne, they feared not warre; wisely bought their peace, and obtained it good and honourable. Whereby the King being freed from his promise, gave the Fleet order, to send men, instruments, gunners, and what els they could to the reliefe of the Army under *Salsas*.

The greatest and most difficult businesse was the want of provisions, and especially of fodder. From the neighbour Countries

Countries, it could not be expected, seeing they were spoiled, burned, and wasted. And to have them brought out of other Kingdomes, the distance of place, the season of the yeare, it being Autumne, the foulness of the weather, and the suddenness which the urgent necessity required, made it almost impossible to be done by any humane diligence. But the Count *Duke*, with the greatnesse of his understanding found a remedie for it; and effected it with so much celeritie, that within few dayes the Army was abounding in provisions and fodder. Hee was not content to provide for them one way, hee appointed them to come out of *Sardinia*, *Arragon*, and *Majora*, and they came from all these places; Hee knew there was no way to secure hard enterprises, but to provide therein abundantly, and that errors may happen without reviving. And so those things at last proved easie, which seemed impossible.

To provide in a Country totally ruined, for a numerous Army, not competence, but abundance of provisions, and especially of fodder, from far Kingdomes, in the end of a rainie Autume, not by a former

former determination, but by a suddenly changed resolution, taken in an instant, in the straitness of time, when a delay of few dayes might have lost both the designe and the Army, when it seemed impossible that letters should returne soone enough by Posts, and much more provisions, is such a case, as is certainly unexampled in former ages, and must passe unimitated to ensuing times, requiring for the performance of it, many things whereof each one of it selfe is singular, and altogether necessarie. Great power, an eminent understanding, a worthy brest, and extraordinary activity. Which qualities cannot come together, if there be not a Monarch resolute in commanding, a supreme Officer full of spirit, watchfull Officers to put in execution, and most obedient subjects to not disturb them.

When an enemy brings one into streights, it makes him know what may be done; Many times because it increaseth the understanding, and for the most part, because it leaves a man to his free will, taking away the power of Law, with that of necessitie. In engaging hee disengageth,

gageth, in raising difficulties hee makes them easie, changing just things into unjust, and making that necessary which was but convenient.

Nature, be it slow, wise, or sparing, delayeth her uttermost endeavours, for the last violent assaults; True it is, that reserving it selfe to be able to doe it, it often dies without doing it, and oft-times because it hath not done it. One ought not to runne upon conquests every time as one may.

In the execution of these orders which were the soule of the enterprize of *Saljas*, it is fitting to speake with honour of the vigilancie and care of *Don Hierome* of *Villanova*, *Protonotarie* of *Arragon*, a most qualified Officer, acute of understanding, quick in executing, great in intelligences, and most faithfull in his services. To have great designes come to a good end, it is enough if hee undertakes them, losing one hope he despaires not, and never forsaking the businesse, either he attaines to it by valour, or tireth it with diligence, and alway overcommeth it.

This Hold which *Marquis Spinola* besieged against his will, being ledd unto it
by

by chances, engaged in it by fortune, kept there through obedience, he wonne not onely by great valour, gallantnesse and vigilancy (qualities by which men use to winne such holds) but also by diffidencie, which ordinarily loseth them. He did as much as a Generall could doe to bring an enterprize to passe; and writ as much as an officer could, to desert it, sometimes shewing a desire to raise the siege, and almost still giving occasion to be commanded to continue it.

This way, which gon about by a dejected mind, would have ruined the enterprize, being undertaken by a high spirit, secured it. The Count *Duke* was not daunted, like one that had no heart, nor grew not obstinat, like those that have no braine. Constancy engaged him to find a remedy for diffidencie, and he stood not to dispute the matter with reasons, but went on to overcome difficulties with providing money, ammunition, provision, and men; and the seemingnesse of want to be greater then it was, became the cause of having the conquest by a meanes thought impossible.

The eminency of understanding cau-

seth a man to be fearfull, and a great heart to be rash, where they are equall they oppose one another to get the conquest, the braine would intimidat the breast, and the breast would make the braine valiant. From that conflict comes forth a mixt, which is not feare, but consideration; and there they two being qualified, leave off the contention betweene themselves, and with one accord set upon the difficulties, the breast will not yeeld to them, the braine will overcome them; and whereas severall they might have lost, the one being abject and fearefull, the other obstinate and rash, being united they overcome with constancie and providence.

I know not whether next to God and the King the glory of the enterprise be due to the Count *Duke*; but I know he gave it knowledge, power, will, and accomplishment, giving them order they should not give off the siege, teaching them how to secure it, providing for the maintenance of it and with so much abundance that it might be overcome.

The Cavallerie lay idle under *Salsas*. There came Intelligence that the enemy had

had laid up in a Castle in *France* fodder, and victuall, and had not left a sufficient guard to defend it from a sodaine assault. The Generalls with the advice of other commanders resolved to send Duke *St. George* with eight hundred horse and five hundred musquettiers to fire it. The enterprize seemed to be bold, and painefull, as grounded onely upon doubtfull and unlikely advices.

The Duke set forward, and by the way met with a body of Cavallery more numerous then his owne standing in a readinesse, whether it were there before, or by chance, or upon notice given. This unexpected accident, forced him to alter his mind, but not his valour nor wisdom, and made him resolve to alter his fire into steele, and conquer where he could not burn. He sent th' Infantrie to take the passes to make his retreat good in case he should discover more forces, and he with his Cavallery went to charge those horse which were in sight, he routed, and put them to flight, slew them, and tooke but few prisoners because he would not trouble himselfe, and so returned victorious to the Camp,

This Cavalier is sonne to the Marquis of *Torrecausa*; his actions which speake for him, shew his father to be not onely valiant in fighting but also happy in begetting of children; Leaving it doubtfull in what fortune hath most subjected him to envy, either in what he hath performed, or in that he hath begotten.

The King of *France* his Army consisting of twenty thousand horse and foot, shewed it self entrenched upon a little hill, with some few squadrons descending into the plaine, viewed the outward workes, to relieve the Place. Marquis *Spinola* had disposed all things with watchfull prudence, fearelessly expecting th' assault. A troope of horse about midnight endeavoured to come neere the trenches, but the ground slippery, and yeelding by reason of the great quantitie of raine water engaged some to forsake their horses, which were fallen and mired there, and the rest to retreat. A thunder bolt fell in the mid'st of them the noise gave alarme to the trenches. The night was darke, tempestuous and rainy. His Majesties army stood impatient, and desirous to fight. Having laid
aside

aside their musquets as unprofitable, they expected their enemy with pike and sword, when a light descended upon them, which shewed the points of their armes bright in proportion of a starre. Whether it was naturall, as well it might be, & signified the clearing up of the aire; or supernaturall, which may be belieyed in a caule so just, and shewed heaven to be favourable to us. But whether it indeed proceeded from a heavenly, or ethereall, knowne, or unknowne beginning, it was a light, and every one saw it.

The Walloones whose fortifications the enemy threatned, after much silence, gave a great shout.

In doubtfull cases every thing is great. There is no meane betweene silence, and shouting. The spirits which in danger runne to the heart, cannot move the tongue, and there is silence. If need require to advantage our selves by uttering our voice, being all heaped up in a vitall part, they runne with such violence to the organs of speaking, that they must needs frame a great sound. The enemy had a great number of forced, and new men, who being already fearfull of their

owne nature, and dejected by reason of the waters which incessantly powred downe, terrified and amazed, with the light, armes, and shouting, as if the thunder and lightning had followed them. fled away; the valiantest sought to stay them, and when they found that to be in vaine, they likewise retired and fled confusedly. Their tents, armes, waggons of ammunition and victuall were left behind for a prey. It seemes that these new forced and base men are good for nothing but to encrease the number, and with the number, difficulty to maintaine an army; an engagement to fight, with shame if they be overcome, a hinderance to conquest, and confusion in retreating. They prevent danger with their flight, and never stay for it; whereby others are affrighted and follow them, or endeavour to stay them, and are disordered. If they did but stay for th'incounter, and a little oppose the enemy, they would be good for something. And it is hard if the one part be not routed through the others disorder, For they will follow them that flye, and they that flye being disordered, they who follow must needs imitate them,

them: so that by the flight of the baser sort, one may rout the most valorous, and being wearied and disordered slay them.

But experience having so often shewed the hurt they doe, when the businesse hath come to a triall, it seemeth strange to me, that at the instant when one goeth to fight, they will fill up Armies with such kind of folke. I know not whether mans vanity ought to be blamed for this error, which habituated more in shew then substance, and accustomed to gaine thereby, cannot (though it do him hurt) recede from that habitude, or ignorance, which erring in the manner of framing an argument, concludes that cowards mixed amongst valiant men will gaine valour, whereas it should rather be inferred, that valiant men mixed amongst cowards, will lose their valour. Peradventure also it is neither vanitie nor ignorance, but a secret providence of human nature. The great number, if they doe not come to triall, availeth much, and especially to avoid the triall: a thing which nature above all things desireth, when it makes the least shew of

desiring it. It loves not to come to tri-
all of the arme, and to that end it useth
all kind of meanes, sometimes multi-
tudes which shall be either fantastickall or
fruitlesse. Sometimes the quality of their
out-sides, long haire, gilded armes, hu-
morous apparell, scarfes, and feathers.
Sometimes the noise of horrid outcries,
threatning death, or a deepe silence re-
presenting it. Sometimes a motion, which
being violent may make one runne away,
or forget to offend.

There came newes into the Leaguer,
that the enemy had an intent to attempt
the relieving of the place by water, and
by land, both at one time, and to that end
had armed at *Leucata* certain Brigandines,
and great store of Boates, with men and
munition, defended by a great Trench
guarded with Musquettiers. It was jud-
ged fitting to fire them. The first attempt
tooke no effect, for it being to bee done
by night, our men lost their way. The
second time taking expert Pilots, the
charge thereof was given to Lieutenant
Don Diego Sanchez; he to worke more
like a souldier then an incendiarie,
though hee might with ease have fired
them,

them, would by force bring them away. Being come to the place, he landed some Musquetiers, who holding them in the great Trench in play, did so farre divert them, that he having seized their Boats, imbarqued his men, and returned victorious to the camp.

The praise for th'execution of this notable act must be attributed to the Lieutenant, the advice to the Count *Duke*; who many times voted in the *Junta*; that some Boates should be fitted and armed in the poole, and though they did it not (pretending it to be needlesse or impossible, onely because they made it so) hee still insisted upon it, till at last *Don Francisco d'Inarra* comming thither; finding the truth of it, did put it in execution, and after the enemy had beene divers times damnified thereby, at last it hindered them from this notable reliefe..

Onely by overcoming great difficulties, are obtained great Conquests. Hee whom they are against useth all his endeavours to overcome them he that hath them on his side, trusting in them groweth carelesse; and whereas hee should oppose his enemies wit, with his whole

understanding; hee opposeth it with rocks, woods, hills, and seas, as though mans understanding had not known how to goe over rocks and hills, and passe through Seas. Hee is deceived that trusts the resistance to a pregnant understanding to any thing but to a more pregnant.

The Prince of *Conde* blamed the raine in the last attempt, and thinking with valour to relieve the place, having rallied his Armie, he came again within sight of it, and fortified himselfe upon the same hill. And having chosen the best spirits amongst his whole body, hee sent them downe into the plaine, backed by all the Cavallerie, with the Duke of *Luin*, to set upon the Fortifications in two places. The onset was terrible and dreadfull, made by men who were of noble blood, undaunted hearts, valiant, worthy to live for the defence of Religion, or die in defending it. Five hundred Gentlemen died in the field, and most part in the Trenches, finding death and buriall in the same place, and leaving their memories written in the bloud of honourable wounds. May they rest in peace, and let a forraigne Pen applaud them, to make their

their actions live, who died gloriously valiant.

Amongst our men were most noted, the two Field-Marschals, *Melinguen* a Knight, and *Don Giusto di Torres*, whose quarters were set upon. The Field-Marschall *Jokv di Arze*, who went with part of the Count *Dukes* Regiment to relieve them. This man raised his fortunes in *Flanders* by his valour, and passing through all the degrees of honour, attained to that of Field-Marschall. Hee is brother to *Don Peter de Arze*, Secretary of State. The one employes his Pen, the other his Sword; the one fights, the other writes and gives advice. They strive who shall doe the best service. Which of them deserves best I know not. seeing there is no difference, in their abilitie, or will, but onely in their profession. It will then appeare when the competition between the Pen and the Sword is decided.

But above all shined the valour of the Marquis of *Torrecausa*, who sometimes Leading the head on, sometimes heartening the men, omitted not any thing pertaining to a Commander or Souldier; but hee did command, and performe

performed it. Hee encouraged with words, and when need required with deeds. The enemy being gotten upon a Trench, taking a pike in his hand, hee hindered, disordered, and overthrew him.

Let Poets have leave to describe their *Orlandoes*, and *Rinaldoes*, if under those fabulous narrations they intended to set downe this truth, That one mans valour is sufficient to gaine a victorie.

An Army when it hath no Commander, is a meere dead carkasse, when it hath one, it is sometimes valiant, sometimes cowardly, according to the soule which assists it. Even as the Members runne to the danger where the head is, so the souldier where it goeth. That hand, that arme, that fearfully avoides and shunnes the blow which intends to wound it rashly runs on to meet it, in defence of the head. When one brutish, and unadvised man goeth, all the rest will follow, (though coward) to precipitate themselves. So doe not the wise. He suffers himselfe most to be led who hath least wit, the danger diminisheth wit in many, and takes it quite away from the
most

most part, making them like brutes follow him who goeth before them. Having lost their owne discourse, they now discourse with anothers. They hold it more secure to fight in his company, then to fly without him. They would all runne blindfold into a precipice, some through valour, and the most part through ignorance, were it not that many who should lead on, sometimes stay behind to meet the danger, till it is too late, and the Army runnes away: and whereas before ignorance would have been favourable to cause him to be followed, it now becomes dangerous to cause him to be obeyed. All trust remaining now in good advisement which is hard for to find place in him that feareth, and most necessary to alter the course which he is in. I say not that all the Commanders ought to be such, but such a one there must be, and that Army which wanteth such a one as the Marquis of *Torrevesa* is, shall not bee without a head, but without a heart. The Prince of *Conde* retired into *France* with the body of his Army, or to say better, hee dragged it along, like a sad and lifelesse corps.

He is a man ordained to doe harme where he hath received benefits, that fortune which being aduerse, caused him to receive them, seeing him in his prosperi-ty unthankfull, returnes to be aduerse to cause him to repay them, shewing it selfe contrary to his designes, yet favourable to his engagements, where without being either treacherous or ungratefull, he serves his King faithfully, and because of his ill fortune serves his benefactor happily. And if he alone be happy, that (according to the opinion of the wise) cannot be unhappy, who can be so, more then this Prince, who is alwayes sure to obtaine noble renowne, whether he lose or conquer, by either deserving much, or paying a great debt?

The enemy having already twice in vaine attempted the reliefe of *Salsas*, driven back sometimes by valour, sometimes by fortune, being now past hope, drew his Army into quarters.

The Truce being expired in *Italy*, the enemy entred into *Chiers*, a place which may be termed to have no walls, and had nomen in it. The Marquis drew neere unto them, and hindered their designe of besieging

besieging *Turine*; He cut them off a Convoy of a thousand Souldiers; hee proffered battell divers times, and they refusing it, drove them to retire to the hills, hee followed and overtooke them, and forced them five times to change their Stations, still gaining them from them, and had he not wanted time, hee had strength and courage enough to have destroyed that Army in two houres.

The enemy left in the field, many dead men, store of baggage and munition, and found himsele so rent, that hee durst not hinder the Marquis from taking of *Bubio*, and *Wesme*, two great Castles which they had left in those passes.

The proceedings of his Majesties Armies this yeare in *Italy* were those wee have rehearsed which are peradventure greater, then either ancient or moderne histories mention to have beene performed in the short space of so few moneths, with so many painfull circumstances.

The war was betweene Nations, warlike, both renowned and experienced; In a fruitfull Land, full of strong holds, provided of victuall and Ammunition, assisted with old forces and Garrisoned

soned with valiant Souldiers.

The glories gained, were Armies routed, and overthrown, reliees sometimes hindered, sometimes given; Forts assailed, won & defended; walls scaled, great store of places taken, sometimes by sudden assaults, sometimes by short sieges, none through intelligence, one onely through cunning, & that valorously; Very few voluntarily, & they first terrified, some yeilding to strength, som to fear, & al to justice.

The Conquests have been th'enlarging of his Majesties Dominions, from *Milan* to the *Alpes* by *Yurea* and *Turin*, & to the Sea by *Monferrat* and those places. Thus were the consultations and advices of the French Ministers of State deceived, who by not coming into *Italy* with great forces, bcū led within a smal cōpasse the possibility of cōquests to the Spanish armies.

The Spaniard who workes least, and fights best of other Nations, changing his fighting into labouring lost his advantage, and amidst the bankes of earth rather hid his valour, then defended his person. But at last (were it chance, necessitie or choice) throwing away the spade, and taking the sword in hand; he
shewed

shewed the souldiers were not different from their ancestors, but rather the commanders; not the valour, but the way of fighting. This sodaine metamorphosis, which in the conquering of places, changed dayes into houres, was misinterpreted by them who should have believed it, and because they would not respect true valour where it was, they accused falsehood where it was not, and endeavouring rather to secure themselves from that, then defend themselves against the other, deceiving their owne understanding they found themselves to be faithfully served and valiantly overcome.

To hide the enemies valour from the vulgar sort, because they may not be disheartned, is a conveniency of State. To punish innocent persons, and conceale the guilty, to deceive the people, to gaine repute with the Prince favours of damnable policy. But for a man to deceive himselfe, and not believe what he sees, as if the not believing of it, could unmake the truth, and th' imagination make the case, is neither humane nor diabolicall conveniency. It is true that the one destroys the truth, and the other frames
the

the case ; but it being not in the thing its selfe, but onely in the understanding. by such an errour they lose both th'understanding. and the thing.

It was dayly expected at Court to heare of the yeelding of the place, and that shortly, prisoners, and those which runne over to us, did assure us of it ; affirming they drunke cisterne water, eat rotten-bisket, wanted wood and salt ; that souldiers fell sick, and dyed, and those who were living did mutiny. That the Governour talked, though he did not parley : and though his words were rather of sending to the Prince of *Conde* then of yeilding the place it was a signe of faintnesse, and he would yeild it. Likelyhood perswaded these things to be true, and especially the desire of those who were unwilling to premeditate, and knew not how to provide for the dammages which delay might breed, made it serve for a cōfort, & a remedy to perswade themselves and others that it would quickly yield.

It is necessary for an officer to provide for all as he can imagine, and not for that chiefly which is most likely, but for that which is most dangerous. To expect

pect a good event quickly, it is necessary first to secure ones self from evil. One that is to be deceived is never quite and utterly deceived; there alwaies remaines somewhat, in which being not totally deceived, though it doth not undeceive, it troubleth.

Hope which is framed to sustaine one, in great misfortunes being ill used, precipitates us into miserable calamities. Not content through it to keep our selves from dispaire, we would thereby attaine to happinesse. The future becomes present, hope is turned into security; And being deceived by our owne desires, and not hopes promises, we call it deceitfull and false; which would not be deceitfull if we did not make it so, nor false if we did not falsifie it. It deceives none, but leaves them perplexed without any determination; and he that determineth, changeth it by his opinion.

The Count *Duke* who made use of hope, with a proviso that it should not prejudice wisdom, comforted himselfe through it, as if it were certaine, and did use prevention against it, as if it were false. At this time the art and deceit of the French was to be more looked too, then

them their valour, who have changed their custome, though not their nature, their head, though not their heart.

That the Prince of *Conde* was their generall, who had openly said in *Dola*, that his understanding was much to be feared, his force not so much, and his fortune but little. That it was unlikely he having had so much time and so convenient a season had not sufficiently vi-
stualled the place.

That it was to be imagined the Governour fearing force, more then want, to prevent that, feigned he feared that most which he feared least. To eat rotten bisket was in wise men, not so much a demonstration of want as an argument of providence, as they who reserved what was good, against a greater faintnesse, and for a smaller number; little regarding the health and life of souldiers, when they can doe no better service, then to dye.

When shew is made in any besieged place either of abundance or want, the contrary is alwayes to be doubted.

His advice was that two thousand of the best old souldiers should be left in the trenches; the rest should be lodged some
where

where nere thereabouts to refresh themselves, and be ready upon any occasions. That the void place, which they left, should be filled up with men out of *Catalonia*, *Arragon*, and *Valencia*, with a promise of exchanging them if the siege should last long, and if ended soone, to discharge them. That the Gallies should returne to *Naples* and *Sicilie*, having first landed reliefe into the State of *Milan*, and the rest remaine in *Spaine*. And that the ships should make ready for the Indian voyage.

This opinion was applauded by all men, but not wholly effected, by reason of a rumour which began to be raised of a great reliefe preparing in *France*. And likewise because that some few weekes after, the Governour upon honourable conditions (which are set downe in the end of the booke) covenanted to yeeld up the place, if he were not relieved by the day of th'Epiphanie.

In the meane time the Marquis of *Balbases* writ to the Duke of *Ferrandina*, how he heard the enemy was advancing with a numerous and strong Army, having a double intent; Namely, either to force their

their out-workes, or to keep away our provisions. Hee shewed that the former was not impossible to be done, and the latter vere easie. He spake, concerning both, with much valour, and yet with some diffidence, an ordinary thing in wise men, and being done with moderation is profitable to secure one against future times. If it falls out well it credits the valour which hath overcome the difficulties: if ill, the advice which hath given notice of them.

The Marquis of *Villa Franca* sent the Letter to the Count *Duke*.

I have affirmed this to be a great Generall, who from his Closet can command Armies. I would be silent in many things concerning the Count *Duke*, if I framed a Poem, but I relate them, because I write a Historie. The former makes use of what is likely, though false, the later leaves not out that which is unlikely so it be true.

Be it then granted mee to prove the truth of the most unlikely thing. I can speake in the commendation of this great man to honour my Historie by the Letter he writ to Marquis *Spinola*. I will set
downe

set down a true copy of it word by word, without adding or diminishing. I shall secure my selfe from the blemish of infamy, if not amongst ignorant and malicious men (the praile and dispraile of whom I equally contemne) yet amongst understanding and well minded folk, who alone can commend and discommend.

SIR, There arrived here this morning a letter from the Marquis of *Villa Franca* dated the 29 of the last month, and one inclosed from your Excellency of the 27. I confesse that if the advices your Excellency writes of, are those which you expected for certaine, I find my selfe disburthened of three quarters of the cares I tooke. An Army which hath two designes, doth much weaken the action with the diversity of two intentions, whereas having but one it may doe much, there remaining no appeale to the second. I will now discourse with your Excellency upon your letter to the Marquis after I have cursorily touched something concerning the time given for the yeilding of the place, it being judged to be somewhat long; and though here others consider other points of the capitulation

tulation, I only insist upon that of having water in the dike, which being so extravagant and new to me, maketh mee suspect (finding no other reason for it) they desired it, to th'end they might have water to drinke; and if they wanted water (seeing thirst cannot be endured two dayes,) I would by no meanes have made any agreement with them, but for a very short time. And if this bee a customary clause, and there be other reasons to enforce it, I referre my selfe to experience, which though it cannot hinder the prefixed time from being thought long, may satisfie the strictest difficultie, and chiefest ground. Now comming to your Excellencies Letter, wherein you relate the enemies twofold designs, I will speake what I thinke of it.

As for the first, to force the out-works, I assuredly believe that after so many moneths time they are settled in very good forme, and that by that meanes, and with the helpe of the Cavallerie, it will be more then difficult for the enemy to force those workes. in such sort as to enter them with their Horse and Ordnance which not comming to passe, it will bee impossible

impossible for him to obtaine his desire, which I fear the lesse, because I know those two thousand men are making ready for your Excellencie, which I suppose you onely wanted to secure the Workes; As for the hindering you from victuall, if I may speake the truth, I hold it impossible, your Excellencie hath within your Trenches provision sufficient for twelve dayes at the least, according to the reiterated orders, and peradventure for longer. They who must hinder them, must return back to take the way of *Estagel*, and consequently must passe under your Excellencies Canon, whereby besides the discouragement an Army receives by going back, you may have them pursued in the reare; and if that should not hinder their good order, yet might you keepe backe their reliefes and provisions, in those rough, and narrow waies, and provide as is fitting for *Perpignane*. Out of which in my opinion it would bee good to leave some Commanders of Horse and Foot, who uniting themselves with the men of the Province might upon any occasion either obstruct the enemies provisions, or bring him in between those Troops and

your excellencie. For as it may be believed, and as upon the last Orders advice is given, that the Catalanes were raising forces, whereof the faintest part, increasing the bulk, and the best, strengthening *Perpignane*, would make, the enemies intentions exceeding difficult, if not impossible. Besides, I hold it very painfull, there being no provisions ready upon the Frontiers the 24th day, to bring all necessary provisions from *Sicas*, to *Rivas altas* for an Army (which stands in want of it) by reason of the great compasse which by reason of the ill way they must fetch, and the short time of ten dayes, which they have to worke in, your Excellencie being abundantly stored with every thing for above twelve. If the enemy should make his attempt by the way of *Rivas altas*, your Excellencie would not have so much time as I, think of between the one, and the other action. But before any such passage could bee made, you would have had it, by that which I have spoken of *Perpignane*, and alwayes cut off the enemies Convoyes, they being at such a distance, or burne their provisions in their Magazines. For it is impossible, and
not

not to be imagined that he can keep such a guard upon his provisions and other places, and secure himselfe.

Wence shall he provide such a strong Army both in quality and quantity as might stand for seaven whole leagues in every place stronger then the body of your Excellencies, to secure him from receiving a blow, which may disorder them, and utterly overthrow his designe?

I beseech your Excellencie to pardon me, as *Don Pietro de Toledo* was wont to say, if I souldiour it with so great a souldiour, who am altogether inexpert in that art. I conclude Sir, that we are and ought to be Gods; hoping he will not forsake his cause. I send your Excellency money.

I will also rehearse the circumstances; they will seeme weake, but they are necessary to lay open the great ones; they will abase my stile, but what is that to the purpose, so they doe exalt anothers glories. He did not elaborate this letter with his pen, he did dictate it without any intermission, not when he was quiet and farre from any noise, sit-

ing at his desk, but in his coach running, not imparting it to any, onely dictating it to *Don Antonio Carnero* one of his secretaries, a man of great understanding and knowledge, of most unspotted fidelity, and cleane hands, in service attentive and infatigable.

I beare with them who set me out for a flatterer. They see me rewarded, they examine my talent, and because they find no great worth, they blemish it with a great vice. They find me a writer of great actions, they examine what they can doe, and because they find it come short, they call my relations fables. The conscioussesse of what themselves would doe, causeth them to thinke ill of him that writes, & that which they cannot do to misunderstand him that doth it. An Historian of understanding flatters himself if he imagines he can avoid flanders. He hath somewhat within him which he concealeth, a great vertue and a great vice, which being hid from the eyes of the vulgar, when it comes to be manifested, it seeming he addeth it of his own (because that though it were so, it was not knowne) they call him, if he writes

of excellent good ones, a flatterer, if of exceeding bad ones, a malicious person.

I would be pleasing to heare vice re-
proved, but with modesty, and vertue ex-
tolled, but with moderation ; and its
displeasing to have the secrets of vertues
and vices discovered: They would be wil-
ling to embrace the one, and not have it
knowne, and to not labour for the other,
and yet have it imagined that they have
it. They heare the writers expressions
blame vice wholly, but in vertue praise
onely the greatest, and men having com-
monly of the one and the other, and few
of the latter excessively, participating of
the reproof, which extends it selfe even
to mediocrity, and not of the praise,
which goeth onely upon the extreames,
on the one part they remaine ill satisfied,
on the other offended. Upon the report
of the reliefe comming out of *France*, his
Majesties Army was increased by a con-
siderable number of *Catallanes* (who in
this occasion carried themselves cun-
ningly) and by many souldiours who ha-
ving recovered their healths went to em-
ploy it in their masters service.

Above all others remarkeable was the

arrivall of the Duke of *Naccara* and *Maccheda* not so much because he brought three hundred of the choicest musquettiers of the Fleet with him, as for the person of so compleate a Gentleman, who not through any other perswasion but of his own well-guided coueage, voluntarily came to increase it in that Army, and whereas before he without feare stood expecting the enemy, now fearelesse came to challenge him. He put himselfe in the regiment of the Count *Duke*, under the Command of the Field Marshall *Don Iohn de Arze*, to make himselfe famous with his pike in his hand.

Let it be a sufficient attestation for the nobility of his bloud, that I have named him; Of the great endowments of his person, the relation of this action. In the former are rehearsed the memories of his many illustrious forefathers, and a person is set forth in whom is made the union of all those greatnesles; in the latter shines, modesty, wisdom, valour, and devotion to the King, and gallantnesse in serving him.

Th^r intelligences which many wayes
came

came out of *France* were, That the most Christian King was resolved to have the Fort relieved. That to that purpose came out of *Paris*, *Monsieur de Poncourle* Marquis of *Coastin* Nephew to the Cardinal of *Richelieu*. That the old and new Forces of *Languedock* were appointed for that purpose, foure companies of forraign Nations, the Regiment of *Lionnois*, the Regiment of guards, eight which came out of *Lorraine* downe the *Rone*, all the Cavallerie that was in pay, the bound Nobility which was bound to come, and that which came voluntary; and because they should be enow for such a great enterprize, there being a scarcitie of them in *France*, they resolved to remedy it by the same way as it came, taking the Baron of *Bassumpier* out of prison (for so they write him) that hee might with the Duke of *Luin*, and Marshall *La Force*, goe to the reliefe.

All this rumour ended with the approach of the Vanguard within foure miles of the place, the day before that which was agreed upon for the yielding of it; And to th'eud the default might be imputed to want of time, or peradven-

ture to the Governour, because it was not then relieved, and for the former time to the Generall, because he could not relieve it. They did nothing at all, and left it to be doubted what they would have done if they had fought. But what they would have done, may be knowne by what they did, when they did fight before. The time was long enough being foure moneths; the Governour deserved commendations, having (before he yeilded) suffered long famine, deadly diseases, and great mutinies. The Generall was justified by the two reliefes which he attempted, and by this third which was not attempted.

The Governour came out of the Hold according to the agreement the day of the Epiphanie.

The Lord would not have our King want this place to offer up that day wherein other Kings present their gifts unto him. And because it should bee manifest what his Majesties directions doe operate in all enterprises, what the Princes hopefulnesse begins to operate, and what the Count *Dukes* advice had operated, this could not happen upon a fittinger day then this, which is his Majesties day
by

by his preheminencie amongst Kings. The Princes by his name of *Balthasar*, and the Count *Dukes* by reason it was his birth day. The Sunne shines not upon the birth-day of him who was borne for the greatnesse of this Monarchie, nor returnes not to the place where hee was on that day, or celebrates the festivall of it, with a lesse favourable aspect, then the conquest of a place regained with so much valour and glory.

There the world being spectator, beheld as on a Theatre too great and terrible Provinces, *Spaine* and *France* fighting a Duell, not for their states, but for their reputations, expecting, as the reward of victory, the renowne of being the most vaillant.

There with foure thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, was the enemies whole forces set upon in their own quarters, and routing them, they were faine to be beholding to the darknesse of the night, to not have it knowne whether they retreated or fled.

There in little more then an hour, were assaulted gained and throwne downe their Forts, halfe Moons, Trenches, and

what ever else in so many dayes was set up about that place by French art, and understanding, to safeguard him from the the Spanish valour.

There a few forces tired with want, and sickly by reason of the unseasonablenesse of the aire, defended a large and weak circuit of trenches, against a most powerfull Army of the French,

many of the King of *France* increased in great number by the Souldiers, & Gentry of the adjoyning Provinces, and by old regiments from far parts much reinforced.

There along the Poole with weake Barkes was overthrown a Convoy, and a great aide overcome, which the enemy had embarqued to relieve the place with victuals and Ammunition.

There after they had gathered together all the power of *France*, they durst not appear in the field, being disheartened by the horror of seeing their dead companions, and discouraged with the remembrance of the overthrowes they had there received.

Finally the Spaniards have there been alwayes conquerors, a foot a horse-back, by land, by water in open field or intrenched, in assalting, or in defending trenches;

ches; Let it be knowne that nature on the one side raines downe plenty, on the other it instilleth valour, to some it gives number, to others solidnesse, and hath imprinted the character of superiority in the breast of them who exceed in valour, not in number.

Articles of suspension of Armes between the two Crowns. The Lady Dutchesse, and the Lords Princes of Savoy, from the 14th of August, to the 29th of October, 1639.

IT being judged necessary for furthering the Propositions made betweene the Dutchesse and the Princes of Savoy, and to prevent the ruine of *Piemont*; to have a Suspension of Arms betweene the two Crownes, the Dutchesse and the said Princes, as well in *Italy*; as in all other her highnesse of Savoy's Dominions; The said Suspension was agreed upon, for the publick good and quietnesse and in regard of the good offices done by th' Archbishop of *St. Severina*, Apostolicall Nuntio untill the 24th of *October* next of this present yeare 1639. to give their
Majesties

Majesties notice thereof in the meane time, and to receive an answer concerning their pleasures therein. During which time, all manner of hostilities shall cease on all sides, and that upon the conditions following.

That the Cittadell of *Turin* shall remaine in the Dutchesse and the Frenches possession, and the City of *Turin* in the Princes of *Savoy* and the Spaniards possession, as they are at this present with such numbers of men as shall bee judged fit for the guarding of the said places.

That they both may work within the said places during the time of the said suspension, or as it may be agreed between them, as shall bee appointed for the said purpose, and as it shall bee set downe in the Covenants made and confirmed this present day.

The two Armies shall retire each to the Provinces and Townes of their owne side, and into their severall Holds, (as more particularly it hath been covenanted and agreed in another writing bearing date with these present) without making any incursions, or doing any other acts of hostility. And if any thing should

should happen contrary to this Article, the damage shall be made good againe, and satisfaction given upon the complaint without any breach of this suspension thereby.

That in such places as are possessed by the two Crownes, the Dutchesse, and the said Princes of *Savoy*, none of their officers, nor any other person of their partie, shall without a Passport goe to places belonging to the other party, nor into their Armies, or much lesse into any such places, as is covenanted they should retire into.

As concerning *Casal*, things shall remaine in the state they are at this present, and no act of hostility to be done on either side.

It shall be lawfull for the Field Marshalls and Officers of Justice, and treasure, and other Officers of the most Christian Kings Armies, to goe and returne to and from the said *Casal*, and other places of *Monferrat*, where the said most Christian King hath any Garrison, as likewise those as shall bee sent by his Majesties Generalls and Officers, or such as shall be within the said places, with
Passes

Passes from the most Christian Kings Generalls, or the Governours, or any other person as shall have the command of the place from whence they shall come, which Passes being shewne both at going and comming to the Governours of such places as shall be held by his Catholick Majestie, and the said Princes of *Savoy*, they shall bee tied to suffer them to goe and come freely without any lett on either side.

All Officers which doe not belong to the said Garrison of *Casal*, and are not at this present in it, and shall goe into it during the time of the said suspension, shall be tied to come forth againe before it be ended, according to the order which shall be given them so to doe by the most Christian Kings Generalls, upon paine that all Officers as shall herein offend, shall be dealt with as breakers of this suspension and Treaty. That the sicke and wounded of the Spanish Army may freely be carried and conveyed from *Turin* into the State of *Milan* along the River *Po*, with Passes from the Governour of the City of *Turin*, together with such as shall conduct the said sick and wounded men, their

their goods and baggage, shewing the said Passes to the Governours of *Casal* and *Civasco*. And the Boat-men may likewise returne to *Turin* with their empty Boats, wherein they shall have carried the said infirme men, without needing any other Passes then such as they shewed at their going, which they shall againe shew to the said Governours of *Civasco* and *Casal* at their comming back, without any molestation on either side.

As for the Garrison of the said *Casal*, it may be renewed to the quantitie of six hundred men, during the said suspension, taking out as many of them that are in it, in the presence of a Commissary of each part.

The most Christian Kings Officers may cause any goods as they desire to be brought out of the said place, and carried to what place they please.

The prisoners of both Crownes shall for this time be exchanged; Captaine for Captaine, and other Officers, for Officers of the like qualitie, and souldier for souldier. And in case there bee a greater number of prisoners one the one side then

then on the other, they shall be freed, paying for their ransomes one moneths pay, and their charge, excepting Collonels, whose ransomes shall be agreed upon by the Generalls; And as for the prisoners of war, who are in the Dutchesse hands, and the Princes of *Savoy's*, of either Armies belonging to the two Crownes, they shall be included in the precedent Article. And as for other prisoners which are in the Dutchesse or Princes hands, they shall be exchanged one for another, and being more of one side then the other, they shall be particularly treated of between the Dutchesse and the Princes.

And upon the said Articles the said Suspension hath been agreed upon, beginning from this present day the 24. of *October* this yeare 1639. Which shall begin in *Turin* the day of the date, and in *Piemont* and *Monferrat*, foure dayes after, and in *Nizza* and *Savoy* six dayes. Meaning that it beginning from this day, the Armies which are in *Turin* shall not doe any acts of hostilitie on neither side to any place whatsoever, and if they doe, satisfaction shall be given.

For the fulfilling and performing wher-

of the under written Lords, doe faithfully and sincerely bind themselves, and it witnesse thereof have bin subscribed two copies, the one in Spanish by the most Illustrious Prince *Thomas* and the most Excellent Lord Marquis of *Leganes*; And the other in French, by the Cardinall of *Valletta*, and the Duke of *Longueville* the 14. of *August* 1639.

Articles agreed upon in the treaty of suspension of armes between the two Crowns, the Dutchesse, and Princes of Savoy, concerning the places of Piemont which are to remaine at the disposall of each party.

First all the lands of the territorie of *Asti*, betweene *Po*, and *Tanaro*, to the lands of *Monferrat*, shall remaine at the disposall of the said Princes beginning from *Santena*, *Casanova*, *Ternavas*, *Pralormo*, *la Monta*, *St. Damian* and *Gouon* unto the *Tanaro*, together with *St. Steven* where neither shall lye; and the *Inne* which is on this side of the *Po* shall remaine neutrall. And all the land from the side of *Cherasco* and *Carmagnuola* shall remaine

remaine in the Dutcheſſes diſpoſall. All the lands of the territory of *Aſti* on the other ſide the *Tanaro* toward *Nizza della Paglia* and of the marſh ſide ſhall likewise be at the Princes diſpoſal, beginning from the way to *Aſti* to *Ceva*, *Coſtigliode*, *Collozo*, *St. Steven of Belbe*, *Coffano*, *Caſto*, *Mombarche*, *Mullazano*, *Ceva*; And *Caſtagnola* ſhall remaine neutrall, and all the other townes on the ſide of *Alba*. And from the aforeſaid Townes to the *Tanaro*, they remaine under the Dutcheſſes command. And likewise it is agreed that the ſaid *Coffano*, and the fort of it ſhall remaine neuter, becauſe of the paſſage from *Alba* to *Bobbio*, & *Vefme*.

The towns going from *Ceva* to *Conio* on the mountain ſide ſhall be likewise at the diſpoſing of the ſaid Princes; beginning from *St. Michael*, *Villanova*, *Morrozo*, *Margarita*, *Montaner*, *Caſtelletto* and *Conio*. And to goe from *Conio* to *Revelto*, *Busca* ſhall likewise belong to the Princes; and *Carde* ſhall remaine neuter for the paſſage. And likewise to goe from *Conio* to *Dromero*, and *Valle di Maira*; *Berney* and *Carallio* ſhall in the foreſaid manner remaine at the Princes diſpoſall.

And

And all the townes, except the afore-
said of *St. Michael, Margarita* and the o-
ther which are mentioned being on the
side of *Bene, Fossano, Savigliano* and *Saluzzo*, together with the *Vallie* of *St. Paire*, shall be at the Dutcheffes disposing, with the rest of the Townes of *Piemont*.

And all the townes to goe from *Ju-rea* to *Masse*, and from *Masse* to *Flet* by the way of the mountaine, which remaine betweene the *Dora Baltea*, and the river *Orco* shall be at the said Princes disposing. And to goe from the said *Masse* to *Turin*; *Follizo* and *Liini* shall remaine neuter; as also *Borgaro* and *Settimo* to goe from the Cittadell of *Turin* to *Civasco*. And all the other townes from *Masse* to *Civasco*, and from thence to *Flet*, with those of the river *Orca* to *Susa* shall be at the Dutcheffes disposing, as also *Cimena* and its territorie, *St. Raphael*, and *Castanetto*.

And along by the vale of *Lanzo* beginning from the said place the country shall be free without any quartering, onely it shall contribute to the Dutcheffes horse which shall lie in *Vin*, because the
sayd

said Vale may provide, and carry provisi-
on to the City, and Cittadell of *Turin*,
whither the Inhabitants of the said Vally
shall be suffered to goe and sell the said
provisions at their pleasures. And it is
further agreed, that in the places belong-
ing to the Abby of *St. Benigno*, none shall
quarter unlesse they be passengers.

And in the Lands of *Beinasco*, *Grogliasco*,
Cogliegno, and *Altesano*, none shall
quarter, nor much lesse shall any quarter
neer to any of the said places where there
is a Garrison of the one or the other side,
by two miles.

*Articles agreed upon between the most Ex-
cellent Lords, the Marquis of Balbases,
and the Count of Santa Colomba Gene-
ralls of the Armies of Cantabria, and
Catalonia. And Monsieur d'Espinan,
Field-Marshal of the most Christian
Kings Armies, and Governour of the Ca-
stle and Fort of Salsas, this Friday 23th
December 1639. in the Leaguer under
Salsas.*

First, it is agreed that the said *Mon-
sieur d'Espinan* shall come forth of the
Castle

Castle and fort of *Salsas* with all the Garrison, Chieftaines, Officers, Souldiers, and Persons of what condition soever, the sixt day of *January* next at nine a clock in the morning punctually, in case the place be not relieved the same day, at the same houre. By relieving is meant, if the most Christian Kings Army doth force the outward Trenches, and the Army which besiegeth the place to retreat; or doth relieve the place with provisions as much as it wants: so that there being any of those things wanting, the Place shall not be understood to be relieved; and the besieged shall be bound to yeeld it up at the appointed houre, though they might bee relieved within a moment after it.

The besieged shall come out secure in their lives and persons, without any distaste or grievance, with all their Armes and baggage, Drums beating, Colours flying, Matches lighted at both ends, and Bullets in their mouthes.

They shall likewise have one of the French peeces of Ordnance which are in the Castle with its Carriages and other instruments, and Ammunition sufficient to make twenty shot.

The besieged shall be conducted to *Narbona*, the shortest and directest way, and shall goe away the same day, and houre as is agreed upon, and shall march that night to *Sixas*, to which place they are to be convoyed, that they may arriue thither safely. And the next day being the seventh of *January*, though the Convoy returne, they shall depart to *Narbona*, unto which place they shall carry the Hostages. And word is given, that they shall passe to the said City with the same security.

The besiegers shall furnish them with Waggons as many as shall be needfull to carry away their unable men, their baggage and Armes if they bee laid on, and *Monsieur d'Espinan*, and the Captaines shall have horles.

The besieging Army doth covenant, that the water shall runne into the Mote on both sides, the same day as Hostages shall be given. It lying at their discretion to turne it away again, foure dayes before notice of the reliefe bee given: the besieged being not to hinder them from doing it, by no way nor meanes.

In case the reliefe should appeare in sight on the eve of the day, the Truce shall

shall bee broken on either side, and all manner of hostilitie shall bee allowed, which till then shall have ceased, as likewise all manner of offensive workes shall cease till that time on both sides, and the besiegers shall not worke but onely within their Trenches; nor the besieged shall, much lesse, make any Workes, either within, or without, whereby the besiegers may be endamaged. And in case the reliefe be beaten back, though it stand in sight without doing any thing at the appointed houre, the capitulation shall bee kept, and the place yielded up, all the Articles here rehearsed, being observed.

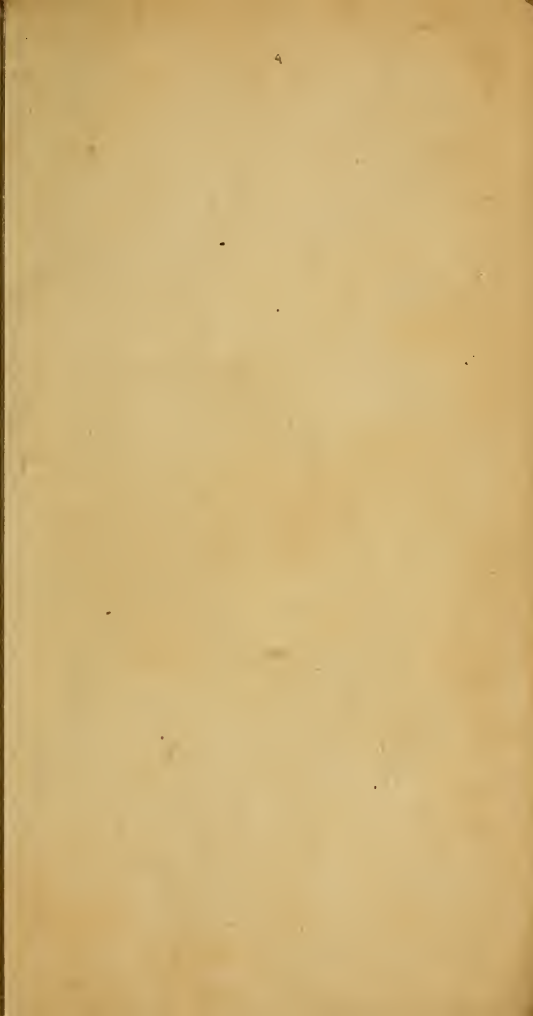
It shall be lawfull for *Monsieur d'Espinan* to send one of his men to his Generall, to give him an accompt of this present Treaty, Conditionally that the person who goeth from the said *Monsieur d'Espinan* shall not return again into the place, but may return as far as the Leaguer, and spake with *Monsieur d'Espinan* in the presence of such persons as shall bee appointed for that purpose by the Generalls Excellencies, or shall write his mind to him, the Letter comming open into their Excellencies hands. Giving the person
which

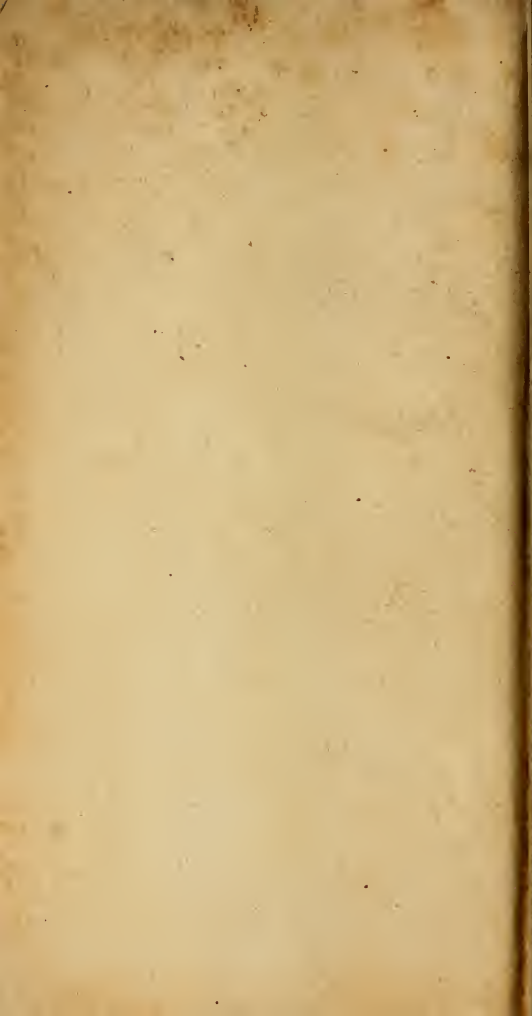
which shall come forth a passe, & a trumpetter, as farre as the *Cavagne of Palma*.

And for the more assurance of this treaty; Hostages shall be given on both sides. Namely a Captaine of the army of that guard which is commanded by the Marquis of *Mortara*, and another of a *Tercia* of Spaniards, another of th' Italians, and another of Walloons. And on *Monsieur d'Espinan* his side shall be delivered, two Captaines of the regiment of the Duke of *Enguien*, and two more of the other two regiments that are in the hold. Which hostages shall be kept on both sides untill this treaty be accomplished, and the horses and carts which shal have conducted the besieged being come to *Narbona*, shall be sent back againe, and the hostages likewise, all which things being arrived to the army, their hostages shall be sent away safe, with a trumpetter.

For the performance of which treaty it shall be subscribed by the most Excellent Lords Generall of the besiedging army, and by *Monsieur d'Espinan*, and the heads of the regiments which are within *Salsas*. Given at the leaguer before *Salsas* the 23. December 1629.

FINIS.





15. 5. 19

