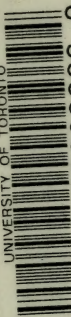


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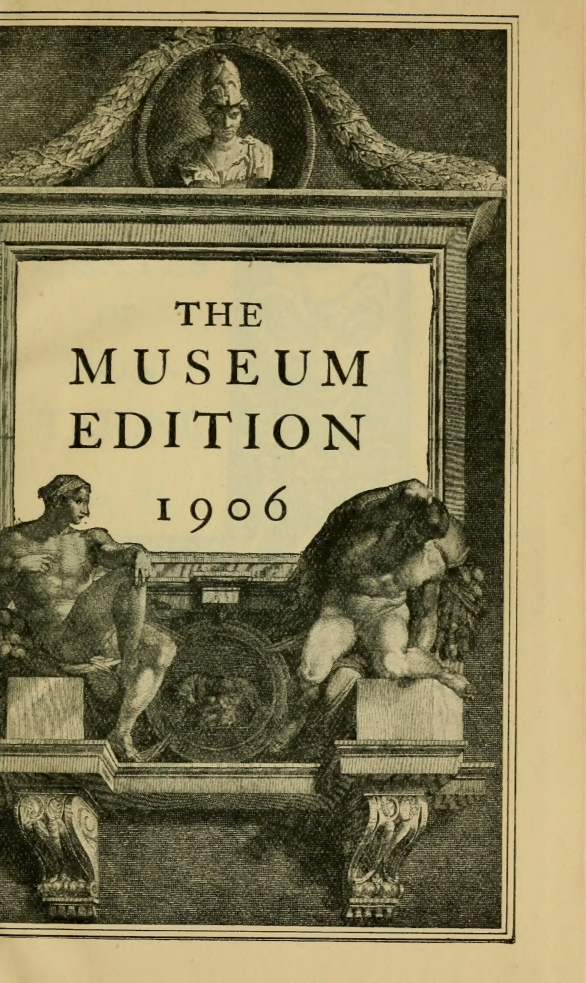


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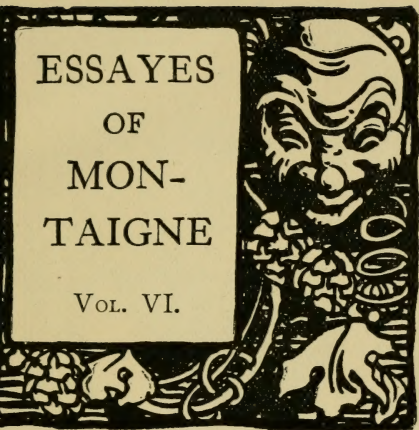
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ESSAYES
OF
MON-
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VOL. VI.





MICHEL SEIGNEUR DE MONTAIGNE

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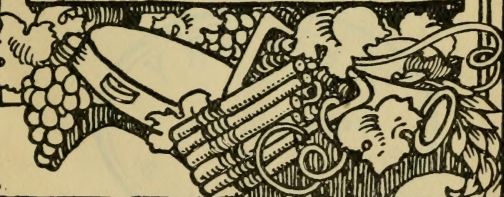
THE ESSAYES OF
MONTAIGNE

VOL. SIX

TRANSLATED BY
JOHN FLORIO

1603

LONDON: GIBBINGS & COMPANY



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THE ESSAYES OF MICHAEL
LORD OF MONTAIGNE.



The Third Booke—*continued.*

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

Of Vanitie.

THERE is peradventure no vanity more
manifest, then so vainely to write of
it. What Divinity hath so divinely
expressed thereof unto us, ought of all
men of understanding to be diligently and
continually meditated upon. Who seeth
not, that I have entred so large a field,
and undertaken so high a pitch, wherein
so long as there is either Inke or Paper in
the world, I may uncessantly wander and
fly without encombrance? I can keepe no
register of my life by my actions: fortune
placeth them too lowe: I hould them of my

fantasies. Yet have I seen a gentleman, who never communicated his life, but by the operations of his belly; you might have seene in his house, set out for a show, a row of basins for seaven or eight dayes: It was all his study; it was all his talke: All other discourses were unsavory to him. These are somewhat more civile, the excrements of an ould spirite, sometimes hard, sometimes laxative; but ever indigested. And when shall I come unto an end of representing a continuall agitation or uncessant alteration of my thoughts, what subject soever they happen upon; since Diomedes filled six thousand bookes only with the subject of Grammar? What is idle babling like to produce, since the faltring and liberty of the tongue hath stuft the world with so horrible a multitude of volumes? So many words onely for words. Oh Pythagoras, why didst thou not conjure this tempest? One Galba of former ages, being accused for living idlie; answered, that all men ought to give an account of their actions, but not of their abiding. He was deceived; for justice

hath also knowledge and animadversion over such as gather stubble (as the common saying is) or looke about for gape-seed. But there should be some correction appointed by the lawes, against foolish and unprofitable writers, as there is against vagabonds and loiterers: so should both my selfe and a hundred others of our people be banished. It is no mockerie: Scribling seemeth to be a Symthome or passion of an irregular and licentious age. When writ we ever so much as we have done since our intestine troubles? or when filled the Romans so many volumes, as in the times of their ruine? Besides that, the refining of wits in a common wealth, doth seldome make them the wiser: this idle working proceedeth of this that all men doe over-slowly give themselves to the office of their function, and are easily withdrawne from it. The corruption of the times we live in, is wrought by the particular contribution of every one of us: some conferre treason unto it, some injustice, other some irreligion, tyranny, avarice and cruelty; according as they are more or

lesse powerfull : the weaker sort, whereof, I am one, imparte foolishnesse, vanity and idlennesse unto it. It seemeth to bee the season of vaine things ; when the damageable presse us. In a time, where to doe evill is common : to do nothing profitable, is in a manner commendable. One thing comforts me, that I shall be of the last, that shall be attached : whilst they shall provide for the worser sort and the most hurtfull, I shall have leasure to amend my selfe : For, mee thinkes it would bee against reason busily to insist and pursue petty inconveniences, when great ones infect us. And the Phisition Philotimus, to one that offred him his finger to dresse, by whose face, looke and breath he apparently perceaved, that he had an impostume in his loonges ; “ My friend ” (quoth he) “ it is now no fit time to busie your selfe about your nayles.” Yet concerning this purpose, I saw not many yeares since a friend of mine, whose name and memory (for diverse respects,) I hold in singular account, who in the midst of our troublous mischiefes : when, no more then at this time, neither

lawe, nor justice, nor magistrate was executed or did his office, published certaine silly reformations, concerning the excesse of apparrell, gluttony and diet, and abuses committed among petty-fogging lawiers. They be ammusings wherewith a people in a desperate taking is fed, that so men may say they are not cleane forgotten. Even so doe these others, who mainely apply themselves to forbid certaine manners of speach, dances and vaine sports, unto a people wholly given over to all licenciousnesse and execrable vices. It is then no convenient time for a man to wash and netifie himselfe when he is assailed by a violent fever. It onely belongs to Spartans, to tricke, to combe and wash themselves at what time they are ready to cast themselves into some extreme hazard of life. As for me, I am subject to this ill custome, that if but a pump sit not handsomly uppon my foote, I shall also neglect my shirt and my cloake: for I disdain to correct my selfe by halfes: when I am in bad estate, I flesh my selfe on evil and

abandon my selfe through dispaire, and run to downefall, and (as the saying is) cast the haft after the hatchet. I grow obstinate in empairing ; and esteeme my selfe no more worthy of my care, eyther all well or all evill. It is a favour to me, that the desolation of our state doth sutably meet with the desolation of my age : I rather endure that my evils should thereby be surcharged, then if my goods had thereby beene troubled. The wordes I utter agaynst misfortune, are wordes of spite. My courage insteede of yeelding, doth grow more obstinate ; and contrary to others, I finde my selfe more given to devotion, in prosperous then adverse fortune : according to Xenophons rule, if not according to his reason. And I rather looke on heaven with a chearefull eye, to thanke it, then to begge any thing. I am more carefull to increase my health when it smiles upon me, then to recover it when I have lost it. Prosperities are to me as discipline and instruction, as adversities and crosses are to others. As if good fortune were incompatible with a good conscience, men

never become honest but by adverse and crosse chances. Good fortune is to me a singular motive unto moderation, and forcible spurre unto modesty. Prayers winne me, menaces reject me, favoures relent me, feare imperverseth me. Amongst humane conditions, this one is verie common, that we are rather pleased with strange things then with our owne: we love changes, affect alterations, and like innovations.

*Ipsa dies ideo nos grato perluit haustu,
Quod permutatis hora recurrit equis.*

Times therefore us refresh with welcome ayre,
Because their houres on chang'd horse doe repayre.

And my share is therein. Such as follow the other extremitie, onely to bee well pleased with and in themselves; and selfe-conceitedly to over-esteeme what they possesse above others; and acknowledge no forme fayrer, then that they see; if they bee not more advised then we, they are indeed more happy. I envie not their wisdom, but grudge their good fortune: This greedy humour of new and unquenchable desire of unknowne things, dooth much increase and

nourish in me a desire to travell: but divers other circumstances conferre unto it. I am well pleased to neglect and shake-off the government of mine owne household. It is some pleasure to command, were it but a mole-hill, and a delight to be obaied. But it is a pleasure over-uniforme and languishing. Besides that it is ever necessarily intermixed with troublous cares, and hart-wearing thoughts. Sometimes the indigence and oppression of your owne people; sometimes the contentions and quarels of your neighbours, and other times their insulting and usurpation over you, doth vexe, doth trouble and afflict you,

HOR.
Car. 1.
iii. Od.
i. 29.

*Aut verberatæ grandine vineæ,
Fundusque mendax, arbore nunc aquas
Culpante, nunc torrentia agros
Sydera, nunc hyemes iniquas.*

Or Vineyards beate and wet with haile and raine,
Or grounds defrauding hope, while trees complaine;
Sometime of waters, sometime of those starres,
That scorch the fields, sometime of winters warres.

And that God will hardly once in halfe
a yeare send you a season, that shal
throughly please your Bayly, and content

your Receaver: and that if it be good for your vines, it be not hurtfull for your meddowes.

*Aut nimis torret fervoribus ætherius Sol,
Aut subiti perimunt imbres, gelidæque pruincæ,
Flabrâque ventorum violento turbine vexent.*

LUCR.
l. v. 215.

Or with excessive heate heav'ns Sunne doth toast,
Or sodaine stormes do kill, and chilling frost,
Or violent whirle-winde blasts doe vex the coast.

As that new and well-shapen shoe of that man of former ages, which hurts and wrings your foote: and that a stranger knowes not what it costes you, and what you contribute to maintaine the show of that order, which is seene in your housholde: and which peradventure you purchase at too high a rate. It was very late before I betooke my selfe to husbandrie. Those whom nature caused to be borne before mee, have long time ridde mee of that carefull burthen: I had already taken another habite, more sutable to my complexion. Neverthelesse by that I have observed therein, I finde it to be rather a troublesome, then a hard occupation.

Whosoever is capable of any other thing, may easily discharge that. If I would seeke to grow rich; that way would seeme over-long and tedious to mee: I would then have served our kings; a trade more beneficiall then all others; since I pretend but to get the reputation, that as I have gotten nothing, so have I not wasted any thing; sutable to the rest of my life; as unfit to affect any good, as improper to worke any evill of consequence: and that I onely seeke to weare out my life, I may (God be thanked) doe it without any great attention: if the worst come to passe, before poverty assaile you, seeke by prevention to cut of your charges, and by husbanding your expences keepe afore hand with it; that is it I trust unto, and hope to reforme my selfe before it come neare or enforce mee to it. As for other matters, I have forestalled many degrees and established sundry wayes in my minde, to live and rubbe out with lesse then I have. I say to live with contentment. *Non aestimatione census, verum victu atque cultu,*

CIC.
Parad.

terminatur pecuniæ modus: “The measure of money is lyimited not by the estimate of wealth or place, but by the manner of living and other furniture.” My very neede doth not so precisely possesse my whole estate, but that without touching to the quick or empairing the maine, fortune shall finde something to play upon, or take hold of. My very presence as ignorant and grim as it is, affordeth much helpe to my houshold affaires: I apply my selfe thereunto but somewhat dispightfully: considering the manner of my house, which is, that severally to burne my candle at one end, the other is thereby nothing spared. Travels do not much hurt mee, were it not for the charges, which are exceeding great and beyond my ability: having ever beene accustomed to journey not onely with necessary, but also decent equipage: and that’s the reason I make but short jorneis and travel not to often: wherein I imploy but the scumme and what I can well spare, temporising and differing, according as it commeth more or lesse. I will not have

the pleasure of my wandring to corrupt the delight of my retiring. Contrary-wise my intent is, that they nourish and favor one another. Fortune hath steaded me in this ; that since my chiefest profession in this life, was to live delicately and quietly, and rather negligently then seriously, it hath deprived me of need to hoard up riches, to provide for the multitude of my heires. For one, if that be not sufficient for him, where with I have lived so plentiously, at his owne perill be it. His indiscretion shall not deserve, that I wish him more. And every man (according to the example of Phocion) provideth sufficiently for his children, that provideth they be not unlike to him. I should by no meanes be of Crates his mind, or commend his proceeding. He left his mony with a banquier upon! this condition : That if his children were fooles he should deliver it them : but proving wise and able to shift for themselves, hee should distribute the same amongst the greatest fooles. As if fooles being least capable to make shift without

it, were more capable to use riches. So it is, that the hurt proceeding from my absence, doeth not (in mine opinion) deserve, so long as I shall have meanes to beare it, I should refuse to accept the occasions that offer themselves, to distract mee from this toylesome assistance. There is ever some peece out of square. Sometimes the businesse of one house, and other times the affaires of another, doe hurry you. You pry too neare into all things: herein, as well as els where, your perspicuity doth harme you. I steale from such occasions as may moove me to anger; and remoove from the knowledge of things, that thrive not: yet can I not so use the matter, but still I stumble (being at home) upon some inconvenience, which displeaseth me. And sleight knaveries, that are most hidden from mee are those I am best acquainted with. Some there are, which to avoyd a further mischief, a man must helpe to conceale himselfe: vaine prickings (vaine sometimes) but yet ever prickings. The least and sleightest hindrances, are the

sharpest. And as the smallest letters hurt our eyes most, so the least affaires grieve us most: A multitude of slender evils offendeth more then the violence of one alone, how great soever. Even as ordinary thornes being small and sharpe pricke us more sharpely and sans threatning, if on a sudden we hit upon them. I am no Philosopher: Evils oppresse me according as they waigh; and waigh according to their forme, as well as according to the matter; and often more. I have more insight in them, then the vulgar sort; and so have I more pacience. To conclude, if they hurt me not, they lie heavie upon me. Life is a tender thing, and easie to be distempered. Since I began to grow towards peevish age, and by consequence toward frowardnes, *nemo enim resistit sibi cum ceperit impelli*: "For no man stayes himselfe when he is set on going." What ever fond cause hath brought me to it; I provoke the humour that way: which afterward by his owne motion is fostred and exasperated, atracting and heaping

SEN.
Ep. i.
13 f.

up one matter upon another, to feede it selfe withal.

Stillicidii casus lapidem cavat :

By often falling on,
Even water breakes a stone.

These ordinary distilling drops consume and ulcerate me. Ordinary inconveniences are never light. They are continuall and irreparable, if they continually and inseperatly aryse from the members of husbandry. When I consider my affaires a farre off, and in grosse, I finde, be it because I have no exact memory of them, that hitherto they have thrived beyond my reasons and expectation. Me thinks I draw more from them, then there is in them: their good successe betraieth me. But am I waded into the businesse? See I all these parcels march?

Tum vero in curas animum deducimus omnes.

Then we our minde divide,
To cares on every side.

VIRG.
Æn. l.
v. 720.

A thousand things therein give me cause to desire and feare. Wholy to forsake

them is very easie unto me: without toyl-
ing and vexation altogether to apply my
selfe unto them; is most hard. It is a
pittyfull thing, to be in a place, where
whatsoever you see, doeth set you a worke
and concerne you. And me thinkes, I
enjoy more blithely and taste more choisely
the pleasures of [a stranger house, then of
mine owne: and both my minde and taste
runne more freely and purely on them.
Diogenes answered according to my humor
when being demanded what kinde of
Wine he liked best: "Another mans,"
said he. My father delighted to build
at Montaigne, where he was borne: and
in all this policy of domestik affairs, I
love to make use of his examples and
rules; unto which I will as much as pos-
sibly I can tie my successors. Could I
doe better for him, I would performe it.
I glory his will is at this day practised by
mee, and doth yet worke in me. God
forbid I should ever suffer any image of life
to perish under my hands, that I may yeeld
unto so good and so kinde a father. If I

have undertaken to finish any old peece of wall, or repaire any building either imperfect or decayed: it hath certainly beene, because I had rather a respect to his intention, then a regard to my contentment. And I blame my negligence or lithernesse, that I have not continued to perfect the foundations he had laid, or beginnings he had left in his house: by so much the more, because I am in great likelihood to be the last possessor of it, namely of my race, and set the last hand unto it. For, concerning my particular application, neither the pleasure of building, which is said to be so bewitching, nor hunting, nor hauking, nor gardens, nor such other delights of a retired life, can much embusie or greatly amuse me. It is a thing for which I hate my selfe, as of all other opinions, that are incommodious to me. I care not so much to have them vigorous and learned, as I labour to have them easie and commodious unto life. They are indeed sufficiently true and sound, if they be profitable and pleasing. Those, who hearing mee relate mine owne insuffi-

ciencie in matters pertaining to husbandry or thrift, are still whispering in mine eares, that it is but a kinde of disdain, and that I neglect to know the implements or tooles belonging to husbandry or tillage, their seasons and orders; how my wines are made, how they graft; and understand or know the names and formes of hearbes, of simples, of fruits, and what belongs to the dressing of meats wherewith I live and whereon I feede; the names and prizes of such stufes I cloath my selfe withall, only because I doe more seriously take to heart some higher knowledge; bring me in a manner to deaths doore. That is meere sottishnesse; and rather brutishnesse then glory: I would rather be a cunning horseman, then a good Logician.

VIRG.
Euc.
Ecl. ii.
71.

*Quin tu aliquid saltem potius quorum indiget usus,
Viminibus mollique paras detexere junco?*

Why rather with soft wings make you not speed,
To worke-up something, whereof there is need?

Wee hinder, our thoughts from the generall
and maine point, and from the causes and

universall conducts ; which are very well directed without us, and omit our owne businesse ; and Michael, who concernes us neerer then man. Now I most commonly stay at home, but I would please my selfe better there, then any where else.

*Sit meæ sedes utinam senectæ,
Sit modus lasso maris, et viarum,
—— Militiæque.*

HOR.
Car. 1.
ii. Od.
vi. 6.

Some repaire and rest to mine old age I crave,
Journeying, sailing, with a weary warring,
O let an end have.

I wot not whether I shall come to an end of it. I would that in lieu of some other part of his succession, my father had resigned me that passionate love and deare affection, which in his aged yeeres he bare unto his houshold husbandrie. He was very fortunate, in conforming his desires unto his fortune, and knew how to be pleased with what he had. Politike Philosophie may how it list accuse the basenesse and blame the sterilitie of my occupation, if as hee did, I may but once finde the taste of

CICER.
Amic.

it. I am of this opinion, that the honorablest vacation, is to serve the Common-wealth, and be profitable to many. *Fructus enim ingenii et virtutis, omnisque præstantiæ, tum maximus accipitur, quum in proximum quemque confertur*: “For then is most fruit reaped, both of our wit and vertue, and all other excellencie, when it is bestowed upon our neighbours.” As for me, I depart from it: partly for conscience sake; (for whence I discern the want, concerning such vacations, I also discover the slender meanes I have to supply them withall: And Plato a master workman in all politike government, omitted not to abstaine from them) partly for litheresse. I am well pleased to enjoy the world, without troubling or pressing my selfe with it; to live a life, onely excusable: and which may neither bee burthensome to mee, nor to any other. Never did man goe more plainly and carelesly to worke in the care and government of a third man, then I would, had I a ground to worke upon. One of my wishes at this instant, should be to finde a sonne in law, that could hand-

somely allure and discreetly beguile my old yeeres, and lull them asleepe; into whose hands I might depose, and in all soveraigntie resign the conduct and managing of my goods; that he might dispose of them as I doe, and gaine upon them what I gaine: alwaies provided he would but carry a truly-thankfull and friendly minde. But what? wee live in a world, where the loyaltie of our owne children is not knowen. Whosoever hath the charge of my purse when I travell, hath it freely and without controll: as well might hee deceive me in keeping of reckonings. And if he be not a Divell, I bind him to deale well and honestly, by my carelesse confidence. *Multi fallere docuerunt, dum timent falli, et aliis jus peccandi suspicando fecerunt*: "Many have taught others to deceive, while themselves feare to be deceived, and have given them just cause to offend, by suspecting them unjustly." The most ordinary assurance I take of my people, is a kinde of disacknowledge or neglect: I never presume vices, but after I have seene them: and trust more yong

men, such as I imagine to be least debauched and corrupted by ill examples. I had rather heare at two moneths end, that I have spent foure hundred crownes, then every night when I should goe to my quiet bed, have mine eares tired and my minde vexed with three, five, or seven. Yet in this kinde of stealing, have I had as little stolne from mee as any other : True it is, I lend a helping hand to ignorance. I wittingly entertaine a kinde of troubled and uncertaine knowledge of my money : untill it come to a certaine measure I am content to doubt of it. It is not amisse if you allow your boy or servant some small scope for his disloyalty and indiscretion. If in grosse we have sufficiently left to bring our matters to passe, this excesse of fortunes-liberalitie, let us somewhat more suffer it to stand to her mercie : It is the gleaners fee. After all, I esteeme not so much my peoples fidelitie, as I disesteeme their injurie. Oh base and absurd study, for a man to study his money, and please himselfe with handling and counting the same : for that's the

way whereby covetousnesse maketh her approaches. Since eighteene yeeres, that I have had the full disposing of my goods in mine owne hands, I could never yet be brought to over-looke, neither titles nor bookes, no not so much as the principall affaires, that should necessarily passe thorow my knowledge and care.

It is no Philosophicall contempt, to neglect worldly and transitorie things: my taste is not so exquisitly nice; for I value them according to their worth at least: but truly it is an inexcusable slothfulnesse and childish negligence. What would I not rather doe, then reade a contract? And more willingly, as a slave to my businesse, with carke to over-looke, and care to survay a company of old-dustie bookes, and plod upon mustie writings? and which is worse, other mens, as so many doe daily for money? I have nothing so deare as care and paine: and I only endeavour to become carelesse and retchlesse. I had, in mine opinion, beene fitter (if it might be) to live by others fortune, without bounden dutie or bondage. And

yet I wot not (the matter being thorowly sifted) whether according to my humour and fortune, what I must endure with my affaires, and pocket up at my servants and familiars hands, hath not more abjection, importunitie and sharpnesse, then the following of another man should have, better borne then my selfe, and who should guide me somewhat at mine ease. *Servitus obedientia est fracti animi et abjecti arbitrio carentis suo*: "Service is an obedience of an abject broken heart, that cannot dispose of it selfe." Crates did worse, who voluntarily cast himselfe into the liberties of povertie, only to ridde himselfe of the inconveniences, indignities and cares of his house. Which I would not doe: I hate povertie as much as grieffe; yet could I finde in my heart to change this manner of life, with another lesse glorious and not so troublesome. Being absent, I discharge my selfe of all such carefull thoughts, and should lesse feele the ruinous downe-fall of a Towne, then being present, the fall of a Tile. Alone my minde is easily freed, but in companie, it endureth

CIC.
Parad.
v.

as much as a Plough-mans. My horse uncurb'd, his reines misplaced, or a stirrup or a strap hitting against my legge, will keepe me in a checke a whole day long. I rouze my courage sufficiently against inconvenience ; mine eies I cannot.

Sensus ó superi sensus !

At home I am ever answerable for whatsoever is amisse. Few masters (I speake of meane condition, as mine is ; whereof if any be, they are the more happie) can so fully relie upon a second, but still a good part of the burden shall lie upon them. That doth peradventure take something from my fashion, in entertaining of guests or new commers ; and happily I have beene able to stay some, more by my kitchin, then by my behaviour or grace : as doe the peevish and fantasticall ; and I greatly diminish the pleasure I should take in my house, by the visitations and meetings of my friends. No countenance is so foolish, or so ill beseeming a gentleman in his owne house, as to see him vexed or troubled about

his houshold or domesticke affaires ; to see him whisper one of his servants in the eare, and threaten another with his lookes. It should insensibly glide-on, and represent an ordinary course. And I utterly dislike, that a man should entertaine his guests with either excusing, or boasting of the entertainment he affoordeth them. I love order and cleanlinesse.

HOR. l.
i. *Epist.*
v. 23.

— *et cantharus et lanx,*
Ostendunt mihi me.

My dish, my drinking kanne,
Shew me what kinde of man,

well nigh as much as plentie : In mine owne house I exactly looke unto necessitie, little unto state, and lesse unto ornament. If your neighbours servant be fighting with his companion, if a dish be overthrowen, you but laugh at it : you sleepe quietly whilst Sir such a one is busie casting up of accounts, and over-seeing his stocke with his steward, and all about your provision for to morrow. I speake according to mine opinion : omitting not in generall to thinke, how pleasing an amusement it is to certaine

natures, to see a quiet and prosperous household, directed by a formall and guided by a regular order. But not intending to fasten mine owne errours and inconveniences to the matter: Nor to gaine-say Plato, who deemeth that the happiest occupation any man can follow, is, to apply himselfe to his owne private businesse, without injustice. When I journey, I have nothing to care for but my selfe, and how my money is laid out: which is disposed with one onely precept. Over-many parts are required in hoarding and gathering of goods: I have no skill in it. In spending, I have some knowledge, and how to give my expences day; which indeed is it's principall use. But I attend it over-ambitiously, which makes it both unequall and deformed: and besides that immoderate in one and other visage. If it appeare and make a good shew, if it serve the turne, I indiscreetly goe after it; and as indiscreetly restraine my selfe, if it shine or smile not upon mee. Whatsoever it bee, either Art or nature, that imprints this condition of life into us, by relation to

others, it doth us much more hurt than good. In going about to frame apparances according to the common opinion, wee defraud our selves of our owne profits. Wee care not so much, what our state, or how our being is, in us and in effect, as wee doe how and what it is, in the publike knowledge of others. Even the goods of the minde, and wisdome it selfe, seeme fruitlesse unto us, if onely enjoyed by us: except it bee set foorth to the open view and approbation of strangers. There are some, whose gold runnes by streames in places underground, and that imperceptible: others extend the same in plates and leaves: So that to some, pence are worth crownes, to others the contrary: the world judging the employment and value, according to the outward shew. All over-nice care and curious heed about riches, hath a touch or a taste of avarice. Even their dispending and over regular and artificiall liberalities are not worth a warie heede-taking, and countervaile not a painefull diligence. Who so will make his expence even and just, makes

it strict and forced. Either close-keeping or employing of money, are in themselves things indifferent; and admit no colour of good or evill, but according to the application of our will. The other cause that drawes mee to these journeies or vagaries, is the dissent or disparitie in the present manners of our state: I could easily comfort my selfe with this corruption, in regard of the publike interest;

—— *pejoraque sæcula ferri,
Temporibus, quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa
Nomen, et à nullo posuit natura metallo.*

JUVEN.
Sat.
xiii. 28.

Times worse then times of Iron, for whose bad frame
And wickednesse ev'n nature findes no name,
Nor hath from any metall set the same.

But not for mine owne: I am in particular
over-pressed by it. For round about where
I dwell, we are, by the over-long licentious-
nesse of our intestine civill warres, almost
growen old, in so licentious and riotous a
forme of state,

*Quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas ;
As where of good and bad,
There is no difference had.*

VIRG.
Georg.
l. i.
505.

That in good truth, it were a wonder, if it should continue and maintaine it selfe.

VIRG.
Æn. 1.
ix. 612.

*Armati terram exercent, semperque recentes
Convectare juvat prædas, et vivere rapto.*

They armed plow the land, and joy to drive,
And draw new booties, and on rapine live.

To conclude, I see by our example, that the societie of men doth hold and is sewed together, at what rate soever it be : where ever they be placed, in mooving and closing, they are ranged and stowed together ; as uneven and rugged bodies, that orderlesse are hudled in some close place, of themselves finde the way to be united and joined together one with another : and many times better, then Art could have disposed them. King Philip assembled a rabble of the most leaud, reprobate and incorrigible men he could finde out, all which he placed in a Citie, which of purpose he had caused to be built for them, of whom it bare the name. I imagine, that even of their vices, they erected a politike contexture amongst themselves, and a commodious and just societie. I see not one

action, or three, or a hundred, but even divers manners, admitted and commonly used : so extravagant (namely in disloyaltie) and so barbarous in inhumanitie, which in my conceit, are the worst and most execrable kinde of vices, that I have not the heart so much as to conceive them without horreur : All which I in a manner admire as much as I detest. The exercise of these egregious villanies, beareth a brand of vigour and hardinesse of minde, as much as of error and irregular confusion. Necessitie composeth, and assembleth men together. This casuall combining is afterward framed into lawes. For, there have beene some as barbarously-savage, as humane opinion could possible produce, which notwithstanding have kept their bodies in as good health and state, in long life, as those of Plato or Aristotle could doe. And to say true, all these descriptions of policie, fained by Art and supposition, are found ridiculous and foolish, to bee put in practise. These great and long-continuing altercations, about the best forme of societie, and most commodious

rules to unite us together, are altercations onely proper for the exercise of our wit: As in arts, divers subjects are found, that have no essence but in agitation and disputing, without which they have no life at all. Such an Idea of policie, or picture of government, were to be established in a new world; but we take a world already made and formed to certaine customes: wee engender not the same as Pyrrha, nor beget it as Cadmus. By what meanes soever we have the privilege to re-erect and range the same anew, wee can very hardly wrest it from the accustomed habit and fold it hath taken, except we breake all. Solon being demanded, whether hee had established the best lawes he could for the Athenians: answered, yea of those they would have received: with such a shift doth Varro excuse himselfe; saying, that if hee were newly to beginne to write of religion, he would plainly tell what his beleefe were of it: But being already received, he will speake more of it according to custome, then to nature. Not to speake by opinion, but consonant to truth,

the most excellent and best policie, for any nation to observe, is that under which it hath maintained it selfe. It's forme and essentiall commoditie doth much depend of custome. We are easily displeas'd with the present condition: yet doe I hold that to wish the government of few, in a popular estate: or in a Monarchie, another kinde of policie, it is a manifest vice and meere follie.

*Ayme l'estat tel que tu le vois estre,
S'il est royall, ayme la royauté,
S'il est de peu, ou bien communauté,
Ayme l'aussi, car Dieu t'y a faict naistre.*

PIBRAC.

Love thou the state, as thou seest it to be,
If it be Regall, love the royall race,
If of a few, or Common-weale, embrace
It as it is; borne there God pointed thee.

So was the good Lord of Pibrac wont to speake of it, whom we have lately lost: a man of so quaint and rare wit, of so sound judgement, and of so milde and affable behaviour. The untimely losse of whom, with that of the Lord of Foix, both fatally hapning to us at one time, are surely losses of great consequence unto our crowne. I

wot not well, whether France, amongst all the men it hath left, is able to afford us two such other Gentlemen, as may either in sinceritie and worth, or in sufficiencie and judgement, for the counsell of our Kings, match these two Gascoynes. They were two mindes diversly faire ; and verily, if we respect the corrupted age wherein we live, both rare and gloriously-shining, every one in her forme. But alas, what destinie had placed them on the Theater of this age, so dissonant and different in proportion from our deplorable corruption, and so farre from agreeing with our tumultuous stormes ? Nothing doth so neerely touch and so much overlay an estate, as innovation : Only change doth give forme to injustice, and scope to tyrannie. If some one peece be out of square, it may be underpropt : one may oppose himselfe against that, which the alteration, incident, and corruption, naturall to all things, doth not too much elonge and draw us from our beginnings and grounded principles : But to undertake to re-erect and found againe so huge a masse,

and change or remoove the foundations of so vast a frame, belongeth only to them, who in stead of purging, deface ; and in lieu of cleansing, scrape out : that will amend particular faults by an universall confusion, and cure diseases by death : *Non tam commutandarum quàm evertendarum rerum cupidi* : “Not so desirous to have things altered, as overthrowen.” The world is fondly unapt to cure it selfe : So impatient with that which vexeth or grieveth it, that it only aimeth to ridde it selfe of it, never regarding at what rate. Wee see by a thousand examples, that it doth ordinarily cure it selfe at it's owne charges : To be freed from a present evill, is no perfect cure, except there be a generall amendment of condition. The end of a skilfull Chirurgeon, is not to mortifie the bad flesh, it is but the beginning and addressing of his cure : he aimeth further, that is, to make the naturall to grow againe, and reduce the partie to his due being and qualitie. Whoever proposeth onely to remoove what gnaweth him, shall be to seeke : for good

doth not necessarily succeed evill: another, yea a worse evill may succeed it. As it hapned unto Cesars murderers, who brought the common-wealth to so distresfull a plunge, that they repented themselves they ever medled with the same. The like hath since fortunèd to divers, yea in our daies. The French that live in my times, know very well what to speake of such matters. All violent changes and great alterations, disorder, distemper and shake a state very much. He that should rightly respect a sound recovery or absolute cure, and before al other things thorowly consult about it, might happily grow slacke in the businesse, and beware how he set his hand unto it. Pacuvius Calavius corrected the vice of this manner of proceeding by a notable example. His fellow Citizens had mutinèd against their magistrates; He being a man of eminent authoritie in the City of Capua, found one day the means to shut up the Senate in the Guildhall or Palace, then calling the people together in the market place, told them; That the day

was now come, wherein with full and unresisted libertie, they might take vengeance of the tyrants, that had so long and so many waies oppressed them, all which he had now at his mercy, alone and unarmed. His opinion was, that orderly by lots, they should be drawn out one after another: which done, they might particularly dispose of every one: and whatsoever should be decreed of them, should immediately be executed upon the place; provided they should therewithall presently advise and resolve to nominate and establish some honest and undetected man, to supply the roome of the condemned, lest their Citie should remaine void of due officers. To which they granted, and heard no sooner the name of a Senatour read, but a loud exclamation of a generall discontent was raised against him: which Pacuvius perceiving, hee requested silence, and thus bespake them. "My countrey-men, I see very well, that man must be cut off, hee is a pernicious and wicked member; but let us have another sound-good man in his

place ; and whom would you name for that purpose ?” This unexpected speech bred a distracted silence ; each one finding himself to seeke and much confounded in the choise. Yet one, who was the boldest-impudent amongst them, nominated one whom he thought fittest ; who was no sooner heard, but a generall consent of voices, louder then the first, followed, all refusing him : as one taxed with a hundred imperfections, lawfull causes and just objections, utterly to reject him. These contradicting humours growing more violent and hot, every one following his private grudge or affection, there ensued a farre greater confusion and hurly-burly in drawing of the second and third Senatour, and in naming and choosing their successeurs ; about which they could never agree. As much disorder and more confusion about the election, as mutuall consent and agreement about the demission and displacing. About which tumultuous trouble, when they had long and to no end laboured and wearied themselves, they began, some heere, some there, to scatter and steale away from

the assemblie: every one with this resolution in his minde, that the oldest and best knowen evill, is ever more tolerable, then a fresh and unexperienced mischiefe. By seeing ourselves piteously tossed in continuall agitation: for what have we not done?

*Eheu cicatricum et sceleris pudet,
Fratrumque: quid nos dura refugimus
Ætas? quid intactum nefasti
Liquimus? unde manus juventus
Metu Deorum continuit? quibus
Pepercit aris?*

HOR.
Car. 1.
i. Od.
xcv. 33.

Alas for shame of wickednesse, and scarres
Of brother-country-men in civill warres.
We of this hardned world, what doe we shunne?
What have we execrable left undone?
To set their hand whereto hath youth not dared
For feare of Gods? what altars hath it spared?

I am not very sudden in resolving or concluding.

— *ipsa si velit salus,
Servare prorsus non potest hanc familiam:*

This familie if safetie would
Keepe safe, I doe not thinke it could.

TER.
Adel.
act iv.
sc. 7.

Yet are wee not peradventure come unto our last period. The preservation of states, is a thing in all likelihood exceeding our understanding. A civill policie (as Plato saith) is a mighty and puissant matter, and of very hard and difficult dissolution; it often endureth against mortall and intestine diseases: yea against the injury of unjust lawes, against tyrannie, against the ignorance and debordement of Magistrates, and against the licentiousnesse and sedition of the people. In all our fortunes, we compare our selves to that which is above us, and looke toward those that are better. Let us measure our selves by that which is beneath us; there is no creature so miserably wretched, but findes a thousand examples to comfort himselfe withall. It is our fault, that we more unwillingly behold what is above us, then willingly what is beneath us. And Solon said, that should a man heape up in one masse all evils together, there is none, that would not rather chuse to carry backe with him such evils as he alreadie hath, then come to a lawfull division with

other men of that chaos of evils, and take his allotted share of them. Our Commonwealth is much crazed, and out of tune. Yet have divers others beene more dangerously sicke, and have not died. The Gods play at hand-ball with us, and tosse us up and downe on all hands. *Enimverò Di* PLAUT.
Capt.
Prol. *nos homines quasi pilas habent*: “The Gods perdie doe reckon and racket us men as their tennis-balles.” The destinies have fatally ordained the state of Rome, for an exemplar patterne of what they can doe in this kinde. It containeth in it selfe all formes and fortunes that concerne a state: whatsoever order, trouble, good or bad fortune may in any sort effect in it. What man may justly despaire of his condition, seeing the agitations, troubles, alterations, turmoiles and motions, wherewith it was tossed to and fro, and which it endured? If the extension of rule, and far-spreading domination, be the perfect health of a state, of which opinion I am not in any wise (and Isocrates doth greatly please me, who instructeth Nicocles, not to envie those

Princes, who have large dominations, but such as can well maintaine and orderly preserve those that have beene hereditarily escheated unto them) that of Rome was never so sound, as when it was most sicke and distempered. The worste of it's forme, was to it the most fortunate. A man can hardly distinguish or know the image of any policy under the first Emperors : it was the most horrible and turbulent confusion that could be conceaved, which notwithstanding it endured and therein continued ; preserving, not a Monarchie bounded in hir limites, but so many nations, so different, so distant, so evill affected, so confusedly commanded, and so unjustly conquered.

LUCR.
l. i. 82.

— *nec gentibus ullis*

*Commodat in populum terræ pelagique potentem,
Invidiam fortuna suam.*

Fortune doth to no other nation lend
Envie, against that people force to bend,
Which both by land and sea their force extend.

All that shaketh doth not fall : The
contexture of so vast a frame houlds by

more then one naile. It houlds by it's antiquity: as olde buildings, which age hath robbed of foundation, without loame or morter, and neverthelesse live and subsist by their owne waight,

— *nec jam validis radicibus hærens*
Pondere tuta suo est.

LUCR. l.
i. 138.

Though now to no strong roote it sticke so fast,
Yet is it safe by selfe-waight, and will last.

Moreover he goes not cunningly to worke, that onely survayes the flankes and dykes: to judge well of the strength of a place; he must heedily marke how, and view which way it may be approached, and in what state the assailant stand. Few vessels sinke with their owne waight, and without some extraordinary violence. Cast wee our eyes about us, and in a generall survay consider all the world; all is tottring; all is out of frame. Take a perfect view of all great states both in Christendome and where ever els we have knowledge-of, and in all places you shall finde a most evident threatning of change and ruine:

*Et sua sunt illis incommoda, parque per omnes
Tempestas.*

Their discommodities they knowe :
One storme alike ore-all doth grow.

Astrologers may sport themselves, with warning us, as they doe of imminent alterations and succeeding revolutions: their divinations are present and palpable, wee need not prie into the heavens to finde them out. Wee are not only to draw comfort from this universall aggregation of evils and threats; but also some hope for the continuance of our state: forsomuch as naturally nothing falleth, where all things fall: a generall disease is a particular health: Conformitie is a qualitie enemie to dissolution. As for me, I nothing despaire of it, and me thinks I already perceiue some starting holes to save us by:

HOR.
Epod.
xiii. 10.

*Deus hæc fortasse benigna
Reducet in sedem vice.*

It may be, God with gracious entercourse
Will re-establish these things in their course.

Who knowes, whether God hath determined it shall happen of them, as of

bodies that are purged, and by long grievous sicknesses brought to a better and sounder state; which thorowly purged diseases do afterward yeeld them a more entire and purely - perfect health, then that they tooke from them? That which grieveth me most, is, that coumpting the symptomes or affects of our evill, I see as many meerely proceeding of nature, and such as the heavens send us, and which may properly be termed theirs, as of those that our owne surfet, or excesse, or misse-diet, or humane indiscretion confer upon us. The very Planets seeme orderly to declare unto us, that we have continued long enough, yea' and beyond our ordinary limits. This also grieves me, that the neerest evill threatning us, is not a distemper or alteration in the whole and solide masse, but a dissipation and divulsion of it: the extreamest of our feares. And even in these fantastical humors or dotings of mine, I feare the treason of my memory, least unwarily it have made me to register somethings twise. I hate to correct and

agnize my selfe, and can never endure but grudgingly to review and repolish what once hath escaped my pen. I heere set downe nothing that is new or lately found out. They are vulgar imaginations; and which peradventure having beene conceived a hundred times, I feare to have already enrolled them. Repetition is ever tedious, were it in Homer: But irkesome in things, that have but one superficiall and transitorie shew. I am nothing pleased with inculcation or wresting-in of matters, be it in profitable things, as in Seneca. And the maner of his Stoike schoole displeaseth me, which is, about every matter, to repeat at large, and from the beginning to the end, such principles and presuppositions, as serve in generall: and every hand-while to re-allege anew the common arguments, and universall reasons. My memorie doth daily grow worse and worse, and is of late much empai red:

HOR.
Epod.
xiv. 3.

Pocula lethæos ut si ducentia somnos,

— *Arente fauce traxerim.*

As though with drie lips I had drunke that up,
Which drawes oblivions sleepe in drowsie cup.

I shall henceforward be faine (for hitherto thanks be to God, no capitall fault hath hapned) whereas others seeke time and occasion, to premeditate what they have to say, that I avoid to prepare my selfe, for feare I should tie my selfe to some strict bond, on which I must depend. To be bound and tied doth somewhat distract me: namely when I am wholly to relie and depend on so weake an instrument, as is my memorie. I never read this story, but I feele a certaine proper and naturall offence. Lyncestez being accused of a conspiracie against Alexander, the very same day, that according to custome, he was led forth in presence of all the armie, to be heard in his owne defence, had in his minde a premeditated oration, which he had studiously learn't by rote, whereof, stammering and faltring, having uttered some words: And wrestling with his memory, and striving to run-it over againe, he was sodainly charged by the soldiers that were about him and slaine with pikes; as they who held him to be convicted. His

amazement and silence, served them as a confession. For they supposed that having had so long leasure in prison to prepare himselfe, it was not (as they thought) his memory failed him, but his guilty conscience bridled so his tongue and deprived him of his wonted faculties. It was truly wel spoken. The very place, the company and expectation astonieth a man, when he most aimeth at an ambition of well-speaking. What can a man doe, when a meere oration shall bring his life into consequence? As for mee, if I bee tide unto a prescript kinde of speaking, what bindes mee to it, doth also loose me from it, when I have committed and wholly assigned my selfe unto my memory; I so strongly depend on the same, that I overwhelme it: she faints under her owne burthen. So much as I refer my selfe unto her, so much am I divided from my selfe: untill I make tryall of my countenance. And I have sometimes beene in paine, in concealing the bondage whereunto I was engaged: whereas my dessigne, in speaking, to represent a

maine carelesnesse of accent and countenance, suddaine and unpremeditated, or casull motions as rising of present occasions ; rather loving to say nothing of any worth, then make shew I came provided to speake well : a thing above all unseemely, to men of my profession, and of over strict an obligation, to one that cannot hold much : Preparation gives more to hope, then it brings with it. A man doth often strip himselfe into his doblet, to leape shorter, then he did in his gowne. *Nihil est his, qui placere volunt, tam adversarium, quam expectatio* : “There is none so great an enemy, to them that would please, as expectation.” It is written of Curio the Orator, that when he proposed the distribution of the parts of his oration, into three or foure ; or the number of his arguments and reasons, it was his ordinary custome, either to forget some one, or adde one or two more unto it. I have ever shunned to fall into such an inconvenience : as one hating these selfe-promises and prescriptions : Not onely for the distrust of my memory ;

but also because this forme drawes over neare unto an artiste. *Simpliciora militares decent*: "Plaine wordes and manners become Martialists." Sufficeth, I have now made a vow unto my selfe, no more to undertake the charge, to speake in any place of respect For, to speake in reading what one hath written: besides that it is most foolish and absurde, it is a matter of great disadvantage to such as by nature were interressed or might do any thing in the action. And wholly to rely or cast my selfe to the mercy of my present invention, much lesse: I have it by nature so dull and troubled, that it cannot in any wise supply me in sudaine, and stead me in important necessities. May it please the gentle reader, to suffer this one part of Essay to runne on, and this third straine or addition of the rest of my pictures peeces. I adde, but I correct not: First, because he who hath hypothekised or engaged his labour to the world, I finde apparance, that he hath no longer right in the same: let him, if hee be able, speake

better els where, and not corrupt the worke he hath already made sale-off; Of such people, a man should buy nothing, but after they are dead: let them throughly thinke on it, before they produce the same. Who hastens them? My booke is alwaies one: except that according as the Printer goes about to renew it, that the buyers depart not altogether empty-handed, I give my selfe law to adde thereto (as it is but uncoherent checky, or ill joined in-laid-worke) some supernumeral embleme. They are but over-waights, which disgrace not the first forme, but give some particular price unto every one of the succeeding, by an ambitious pety subtilty. Whence notwithstanding, it may easily happen, that some transposition of chronology is thereto commixt: my reportes taking place according to their opportunity, and not ever according to their age. Secondly, forsomuch as in regard of my selfe, I feare to loose by the exchange: My understanding doth not alwayes goe forward, it sometimes goes also backward: I in a manner distrust

mine owne fantasies as much, though second or third as I doe when they are the first; or present, as past. We many times correct our selves as foolishly, as we taxe others unadvisedly. I am growne aged by a number of yeares since my first publications, which were in a thousand five hundred and foure score. But I doubt whether I be encreased one inch in wisdom. My selfe now, and my selfe anon, are indeede two; but when better; in good sooth I cannot tell. It were a goodly thing to be old, if wee did onely march towards amendment. It is the motion of a drunkard, stumbling, reeling, giddie-brain'd, formeles; or of reedes, which the ayre dooth causally wave to and fro, what way it bloweth. Antiochus in his youth, had stoutly and vehemently written in favor of the Academy; but being olde hee changed copy, and writ as violently against it: which of the two I should follow, should I not ever follow Antiochus? Having once established a doubt, to attempt to confirme the certainty of humane opinions, were it

not an establishing of a doubt, and not of the certainty? and promise, that had he had another age given him with assurance to live, hee should ever have beene in termes of new agitations; not so much better, as other and different? Publike favor hath given me some more bouldnes, then I hoped for: but the thing I feare most, is to breed a glutting sacity. I would rather spur, then bee weary. As a wise man of my time hath done. Com-mendation is ever pleasing, from whom, from whence, or wherefore soever it come: yet ought a man to be informed of the cause, if he will justly please and applaud himselfe therewith. Imperfections themselves have their meanes to be recommended. Vulgar and common estimation, is little happy if it come to encounter: And I am deceived, if in my dayes, the worst compositions and absurdest bookes have not gained the credit of popular breath. Verily I am much beholding to divers honest men, and I thanke them, that vouchsafe to take my endeavours in good parte. There is

no place where the deffects of the fashion doe so much appeare, as in a matter, that in it selfe hath nothing to recommend it. Good reader blame not me, for those that passe here, either by the fantazie or unwarinesse of others: for every hand, each workman, brings his owne unto them. I neither medle with orthography (and would onely have them follow the ancient) nor with curious pointing: I have small experience in either. Where they altogether breake the sence, I little trouble my selfe therewith; for at least they discharge me. But where they will wrest-in and substitute a false sence (as often they doe) and wyre-draw me to their conceits, then they spoile me. Neverthelesse, when the sentence is not strong or sinnowie according to my meaning, an honest man may reject to be mine. Hee that shall know how little laborious I am and how framed after mine owne fashion, will easily beleewe, I would rather endite anew, as many more other Essayes, then subject my selfe to trace these over againe, for this childish correc-

tion. I was saying erewhile, that being plunged in the deepest mine of this new kinde of mettall, I am not onely deprived of great familiarity with men of different custome from mine; and other opinions, by which they holde together by a knot, commanding all other knots: but am not also without some hazard, amongst those, with whom all things are equally lawfull: most of which cannot now adayes empaire their market towarde our justice: whence the extreame degree of licenciousnesse proceedeth. Casting over all the particular circumstances that concerne mee, I finde no one man of ours, to whome the inhibition of our lawes costeth any thing, eyther in gaine ceasing, or in losse appearing (as Lawyers say) more then unto my selfe. And some there bee, that in chollericke heate and humourous fury will cracke and vaunt much, that will performe a great deale lesse then my selfe, if once wee come to an equall ballance. As a house at all times freely open, much frequented, of great haunt and officious in entertaining all

sortes of people (for I could never bee induced, to make an implement of warre thereof: which I perceiue much more willingly to bee sought-out and flocked unto, where it is furthest from my neighbours) my house hath merited much popular affection: And it were a hard matter to gourmandize my selfe upon mine owne dung-hill: And I repute it a wonderfull and exemplar strangenesse, that having undergone so many stormie-wrackes, so diuers changes and tumultuous-neighbour agitations, it doth yet to this day continue free, and (as I may say) an undefiled virgine from shedding of blood, spoile or sacking. For, to say true, it was possible for a man of my disposition to escape from a constant and continuall forme, whatsoever it was. But the contrary invasions, hostile incursions, alternations and vicissitudes of fortune, round about me, have hetherto more exasperated, then mollified the humor of the country: and recharge mee with dangers and invincible difficulties, I have escaped. But it greeveth me that it is

rather by fortune: yea and by my discretion then by justice: And it vexeth me, to bee without the protection of the lawes and under any other safegard, then theirs. As things now stand, I live more then halfe by the favour of others; which is a severe obligation. I would not bee endebted for my safety, neither to the goodnesse, nor to the goodwill of other great men, which applaude themselves with my liberty and legalitie; nor to the facilitie of my predecessours or mine owne manners: for, what if I were other then I am? If my demeanour, the libertie of my conversation, or happily alliance, binde my neighbours: It is a cruelty, that they should acquit themselves of it, in suffring mee to live, and that they may say; wee give him a free and undisturbed continuation of divine service, in the chaple of his house, whilst all other Churches round about him are by us prophaned and deserted; and wee freely allow and pardon him the fruition of his goods and use of his life, as hee maintaineth our wives, and in time of neede keepeth

our cattle. It is long since, that in my house, wee have a share in Lycurgus the Athenians praise, who was the generall storier, depositary and guardian of his fellow-cittizens goods and purses. I am now of opinion, that a man must live by lawe and authoritie, and not by recompence or grace. How many gallant men have rather made choise to loose their life, then be endebted for the same? I shunne to submit my selfe to any manner of obligation. But above all, to which bindes mee by dutye of bondes of honour. I finde nothing so deare, as what is given mee: and that because my will remaines engaged by a title of ingratitude: And I more willinglye receave such offices, as are to bee sould. A thing easie to bee beleaved; for these I give nothing but money; but for those, I give my selfe. The bonde that houldes mee by the lawe of honestie, seemeth to mee much more urgent and forcible, then that of civill compulsion. I am more gentlye tide by a Notarie, then by my selfe. Is it not reason, that my conscience bee much

more engaged to that, wherein shee hath simplie and onely beene trusted? Els, my faith oweth nothing; for shee had nothing lent hir. Let one helpe himselfe with the confidence or assurance hee hath taken from mee. I would much rather breake the prison of a wall or of the lawes, then the bonde of my worde. I am nicely scrupulous in keeping of my promises, nay almost superstitious; and in all subjects I commonly passe them uncertaine and conditionall. To such as are of no waighty consequence, I adde force with the jealousie of my rule: shee rackes and chargeth mee with hir owne interest. Yea, in such enterprises as are altogether mine owne and free, if I speake the word, or name the point, mee thinkes I prescribe the same unto mee: and that to give it to anothers knowledge, it is to preordaine it unto himselfe. Me seemes I absolutely promise, when I speake. Thus I make but small bragge of my propositions. The condemnation I make of my selfe, is more mooving, forcible and severe, then that of the judges,

who onely take me by the countenance of common obligation: the constraint of my conscience is more rigorous and more strictly severe: I faintly follow those duties, to which I should bee haled, if I did not goe to them. *Hoc ipsum ita justum est quod rectè fit, si voluntarium*: "This is so just, as it is well done, if it be voluntarie." If the action have no glimps of libertie, it hath neither grace nor honour.

CIC. *Off.*
l. i.

TER.
Ad.
act iii.
sc. 4.

Quod me jus cogit, vix voluntate impetrent.

What law enforceth me to doe,
By will they can scarce winne me to.

Where necessitie drawes mee, I love to relent my will. *Qua quicquid imperio cogitur, exigenti magis, quam præstanti acceptum refertur*: "For whatsoever is enforced by command, is more imputed to him that exacteth then in him that performeth." I know some, that follow this aire, even unto injustice: They will rather give, then restore; sooner lend, then pay;

and more sparingly doe good to him, to whom they are bound to doe it. I bend not that way, but am mainely against it. I love so much to disoblige and discharge my selfe, that I have somtimes esteemed as profit, the ingrattitudes, the offences, and indignities I had received of those, to whom either by nature or accidents, I was by way of friendship somewhat behoulding: taking the occasion of their fault for a quittance and discharge of my debt. Although I continue to pay them the apparent offices with common reason; I notwithstanding finde some sparing in doing that by justice, which I did by affection, and somewhat to ease my selfe with the attention and diligence of my inward will. *Est prudentis sustinere ut cursum, sic impetum benevolentiae:* “It is a wisemans part to keepe a hand as on the course, so on the career of his goodwill:” Which where ever I apply my selfe, is in me too urgent and over-pressing: at least for a man that by no meanes would be enthroned. Which husbandrie stands mee

CIC.
De
Amic.

in stead of some comfort, about the imperfections of those that touch me. Indeed I am much displeas'd, they should thereby be of lesse worth: but so it is, that I also save something of my engagement and application towards them. I allow of him, that loves his childe so much the lesse, by how much more he is either deformedly crooked, or scald-headed: And not onely when he is knavish or shrewd, but also being unluckie or ill borne (for God himselfe hath in that abated of his worth and naturall estimation) alwaies provided, that in such a cold and sleight affection, hee beare himselfe with moderation and exact justice. In mee, proximitie of blood doth nothing diminish, but rather aggravate defects. After all, according to the skill I have in the knowledge of benefits and thankfulnessse, which is a knowledge very subtill and of great use, I see no man more free and lesse indebted, then hitherto I am my selfe. What ever I owe, the same I owe simply to common and naturall obligations. There is no

man more absolutely quit and cleare else
whence.

——— *nec sunt mihi nota potentum*
Munera.

With gifts I am not much acquainted,
Of mighty men, and much lesse tainted.

Princes give mee sufficiently, if they take nothing from me, and doe me much good, if they doe me no hurt: it is all I require of them. Oh how much am I beholding to God, forsomuch as it hath pleased him, that whatsoever I enjoy, I have immediately received the same from his grace: that he hath particularly reserved all my debt unto himselfe. I most instantly beseech his sacred mercy, that I may never owe any man so much as one essentiall God-a-mercie. Oh thrise fortunate libertie, that hath brought me so farre. May it end successefully. I endeavour to have no manner of need of any man. *In me omnisspes est mihi*: “All my hope for all my helpe is my selfe.” It is a thing that every man may effect in himselfe: but they more easily, whom God

hath protected and sheltred from naturall and urgent necessities. Indeed it is both lamentable and dangerous, to depend of others. Our selves, which is the safest and most lawfull refuge, are not very sure under our selves. I have nothing that is mine owne, but my selfe: yet is the possession thereof partly defective and borrowed. I manure my selfe, both in courage (which is the stronger) and also in fortune, that if all things else should forsake me, I might finde something, wherewith to please and satisfie my selfe. Eleus Hippias did not onely store himselfe with learning, that in time of need hee might joiffully withdraw himselfe amongst the Muses, and be sequestred from all other company: nor onely with the knowledge of Philosophie, to teach his minde to be contented with her, and when his chance should so dispose of him, manfully to passe over such incommodities, as exteriorlie might come unto him. But moreover he was so curious in learning to dresse his meat, to notte his haire, to make his clothes, breeches and shoes, that as much

as could possibly be, he might wholly relie and trust to himselfe, and be freed from all forraine helpe. A man doth more freely and more blithely enjoy borrowed goods: when it is not a bounden jovissance and constrained through neede: and that a man hath in his will the power, and in his fortune the meanes to live without them. I know my selfe well. But it is very hard for mee to imagine any liberalitie of another body so pure towards me, or suppose any hospitalitie so free, so hartie and genuine, as would not seeme affected, tyrranicall, disgraced and attended-on by reproach, if so were that necessitie had forced and tied me unto it. As to give is an ambitious qualitie, and of prerogative, so is taking a qualitie of submission. Witnes the injurious and pick-thanke refusall, that Bajazeth made of the presents which Themir had sent him. And those which in the behalfe of Soliman the Emperour were sent to the Emperour of Calicut, did so vex him at the hart, that hee did not onely utterly reject and scornfully refuse them; saying, that

neither himselfe nor his predecessors before him, were accustomed to take any thing, and that their office was rather to give; but besides he caused the Ambassadors, to that end sent unto him, to be cast into a deepe dungeon. When Thetis (saith Aristotle) flattereth Jupiter: when the Lacedemonians flatter the Athenians, they doe not thereby intend to put them in minde of the good they have done them, which is ever hatefull, but of the benefits they have received of them. Those I see familiarly to employ and make use of all men, to begge and borrow of all men, and engage themselves to all men, would doubtlesse never doe it, knew they as I doe, or tasted they as I have done, the sweete content of a pure and undepending libertie: and if therewithall (as a wiseman ought) they did duly ponder what it is for a man to engage himselfe into such an obligation, or libertie depriving bond. It may happily be paide sometimes, but it can never be utterly dissolved. It is a cruell bondage, to him that loveth, throughly and by all

meanes to have the free scope of his libertie. Such as are best and most acquainted with mee, know, whether ever they saw any man living, lesse solliciting, lesse craving, lesse importuning or lesse begging, then I am, or that lesse employeth or chargeth others, which if I be, and that beyond all moderne example, it is no great wonder, sithence so many parts of my humours or manners contribute thereunto. As a naturall kinde of stubbornesse; an impatience to be denied; a contraction of my desires and desseignes; and an insufficiencie or untowardlinesse in all manner of affaires; but above all, my most favoured qualities, lethall sloathfulnessse, and a genuine liberty. By all which meanes, I have framed an habite, mortally to hate, to be behoulding to any creature els, or to depend of other, then unto and of my selfe. True it is, that before I employ the beneficence or liberalitie of an other, in any light or waighty occasion, small or urgent neede soever: I doe to the utmost power employ all that ever I am able, to avoide and forbear

it. My friends doe strangelie importune and molest me, when they sollicite and urge mee to entreate a third man. And I deeme it a matter of no lesse charge and imputation, to disingage him that is endebted unto mee, by making use of him, then to engage my selfe unto him that oweth mee nothing. Both which conditions being removed, let them not looke for any combersome, negotious and carefull matter at my hands (for I have denounced open warre unto all manner of carke and care) I am commodiously easie and ready in times of any bodies necessitie. And I have also more avoyded to receive, then sought to give: which (as Aristotle saith) is also more facile. My fortune hath afforded me small meanes to benefit others, and that little she hath bestowed on me, the same hath shee also meanelly and indifferently placed. Had shee made mee to bee so borne that I might have kept some ranke amongst men, I would then have beene ambitious in procuring to bee beloved, but never to bee feared or admired. Shall I expresse it

more insolentlie? I would have had as much regarde unto pleasing, as unto profit-
ing. Cyrus doth most wiselye, and by the
mouth of an excellent Captaine and also a
better Philosopher, esteeme his bountie and
prise his good deedes, farre beyonde his
valour and above his warlike conquests.
And Scipio the elder, wheresoever hee seeketh
to prevaile and set forth himselfe, rateth
his debonairitie and valueth his humanitie
above his courage and beyond his victories :
and hath ever this glorious saying in his
mouth : “ That hee hath left his enemies as
much cause to love him, as his friends.” I
will therefore say, that if a man must thus
owe any thing, it ought to bee under a
more lawful title, then that whereof I
speake, to which the law of this miserable
warre dooth engage me ; and not of so
great a debt, as that of my totall preserva-
tion and whole estate : which dooth unre-
parablie over-whelme mee. I have a
thousand times gone to bedde in mine
house, imagining I should the very same
night, either have bene betrayed or slaine

in my bedde : compounding and conditioning with fortune, that it might be without apprehension of fearefull astonishment and languishment ; And after my praiers, have cried out,

VIRG.
Ecl. i.
11.

Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit ?

Shall these our grounds so deckt and drest,
By godlesse souldiers be possest ?

What remedie ? It is the place where my selfe and most of my ancestors were borne : therein have they placed their affection and their name. Wee harden our selves unto whatsoever we accustome our selves. And to a wretched condition, as ours is, custome hath beene a most favourable present, given us by nature, which enureth and lulleth our sense asleepe, to the suffring of divers evils. Civill warres have this one thing worse then other warres, to cause every one of us to make a watch-tower of his owne house.

OVID.
Trist. 1
iv. *El.*
i. 69.

*Quàm miserum, porta vitam muroque tueri,
Vixque suæ tutum viribus esse domus !*

How hard with gate and wall our life to gard,
And scarce be safe in our owne houses bard !

It is an irkesome extremitie, for one to be troubled and pressed even in his owne houshold and domesticall rest. The place wherein I dwell, is ever both the first and last to the batterie of our troubles: and where peace is never absolutely discerned,

Tum quoque cùm pax est, trepidant formidine belli. LUCAN.
 1. i. 256.
 Ev'n when in peace they are,
 They quake for feare of warre.

———— *quoties pacem fortuna lacessit,* *Ibid.*
Hac iter est bellis, melius fortuna dedisses 252.
Orbe sub Eoo sedem, gelidaque sub Arcto,
Errantesque domos.

As oft as fortune troubleth peace, their race
 Warres makes this way: fortune with better
 grace,
 In th' Easterne world thou shouldst have giv'n
 them place,
 Or wandring tents for warre, under the cold
 North-starre.

I sometimes draw the meanes to strengthen
 my selfe against these considerations, from
 carelesnesse and idlenesse: which also in
 some sort bring us unto resolution. It
 often befalleth me, with some pleasure, to

imagine what mortall dangers are, and to expect them. I do even hood-winkt, with my head in my bosome and with stupiditie, plunge my selfe into death, without considering or knowing it, as into a deepe, hollow and bottomlesse abyссе, which at one leape doth swallow me up, and at an instant doth cast me into an eternall slumber, full of insipiditie and indolencie. And in these short, sudden or violent deaths, the consequence I fore-see of them, affords me more comfort, then the effect of feare. They say, that even as life is not the best, because it is long, so death is the best, because it is short. I estrange not my selfe so much by being dead, as I enter into confidence with dying. I enwrap and shrowd my selfe in that storme, which shall blinde and furiously wrap me, with a ready and insensible charge. Yea if it hapned (as some gardners say) that those Roses and Violets are ever the sweeter and more odoriferous, that grow neere unto Garlike and Onions, forsomuch as they sucke and draw all the ill savours of the ground unto them :

so that these depraved natures would draw and sucke all the venome of mine aire, and infection of my climate ; and by their neer-nesse unto me, make me so much the better and purer ; that I might not lose all. That is not ; but of this, something may be, forsomuch as goodnesse is the fairer and more attracting when it is rare, and that contrarietie stifneth, and diversitie encloseth well-doing in it selfe, and by the jealousie of opposition and glory, it doth inflame it. Theeves and stealers (godamercie their kindnesse) have in particular nothing to say to mee : no more have I to them. I should then have to do with over-many sorts of men. Alike consciences lurke under divers kinds of garments : Alike crueltie, disloialtie and stealing. And so much the worse, by how much it is more base, more safe and more secret under the colour of lawes. I hate lesse an open-professed injurie, then a deceiving traitrous wrong ; an hostile and war-like, then a peacefull and lawfull. Our feaver hath seased upon a body, which it hath not much empaired. The fire was in

it, but now the flame hath taken hold of it. The report is greater; the hurt but little. I ordinarily answer such as demand reasons for my voiages: That I know what I shunne, but wot not what I seeke. If one tell mee, there may bee as little sound health amongst strangers, and that their manners are neither better nor purer, then ours: I answer first that it is very hard:

VIRG.
Georg.
l. i. 506.

Tam multæ scelerum facies.

The formes so manifold
Of wickednesse we hold.

Secondly, that it is ever a gaine, to change a bad estate for an uncertaine. And that others evils, should not touch us so neare as ours. I will not forget this, that I can never mutinie so much against France, but I must needs looke on Paris with a favourable eye: It hath my hart from my infancy: whereof it hath befallne me as of excellent things: the more other faire and stately citties I have seene since, the more hir beauty hath power and doth still usurpingly gaine upon my affection. I

love that Citty for hir owne sake, and more in hir onely subsisting and owne being, then when it is full-fraught and embellished with forraine pompe and borrowed garish ornaments : I love hir so tenderly, that even hir spots, hir blemishes and hir warts are deare unto me. I am no perfect French-men, but by this great-matchlesse Citty, great in people, great in regard of the felicitie of hir situation ; but above all, great and incomparable in varietie and diversitie of commodities : The glory of France, and one of the noblest and chiefe ornaments of the world. God of his mercy free hir, and chase away all our divisions from hir : Being entirely united to hir selfe, I finde hir defended from all other violence. I forewarne hir, that of all factions, that shall bee the worst, which shall breed discord and sedition in hir. And for hir sake, I onely feare hir selfe. And surely, I am in as great feare for hir, as for any other part of our state. So long as she shall continue, so long shall I never want a home or retreat, to retire and shrowd my selfe at all times : a thing able to make me

forget the regret of all other retreates. Not because Socrates hath said it, but because such is in truth my humour, and peradventure not without some excuse, to esteeme all men as my country-men ; and as I kindly embrace a Polonian as a Frenchman ; postposing this naturall bond, to universall and common. I am not greatly stricken with the pleasantnesse of naturall aire. Acquaintances altogether new and wholly mine, doe in my conceit countervaile the woorth of all other vulgar and casuall acquaintances of our neighbours. Friendships meerely acquired by our selves, doe ordinarily exceed those, to which wee are joyned, either by communication of Climate, or affinity of blood. Nature hath plac't us in the world free and unbound, wee emprison our selves into certaine streights: As the kings of Persia, who bound themselves never to drinke other water, then of the river Choaspez ; foolishly renouncing all lawfull right of use in all other waters: and for their regard dried up all the rest of the world. What Socrates did in his latter

dayes, to deeme a sentence of banishment worse, then a doome of death against himselfe, being of the minde I am now, I shall never be neither so base minded, nor so strictly habituated in my country, that I would follow him. The celestiall lives, have divers images, which I embrace more by estimation, then by affection. And some to extraordinary, and so highly elevated, which because I am not able to conceive, I cannot embrace by estimation. This humor was very tenderly apprehended by him, who deemed all the world to be his Citty. True it is, he disdained peregrinations, and had not much set his foote beyond the territory of Athens. What, if he bewailed the mony his friend offred to lay out, to disingage his life, and refused to come out of prison, by the intercession of others, because he would not disobey the lawes, in a time wherin they were otherwise so corrupted? These examples are of the first kind for me. Of the second there are others, which I could find in the very same man. Many of these rare examples exceed the power of my

action; but some exceed also the force of my judgement. Besides these reasons, I deem travell to be a profitable exercise. The minde hath therein a continuall exercitation, to marke things unknowne, and note new objects. And as I have often said, I know no better schoole, to fashion a mans life, then uncessantly to propose unto him the diversity of so many other mens lives, customes, humors and fantazies; and make him taste or apprehend one so perpetuall variety of our natures shapes or formes. Therein the body is neither absolutely idle nor wholly troubled: and, that moderate agitation doth put him into breath. My selfe, as crazed with the chollicke as I am, can sit eight, yea sometimes ten houres on horse-backe, without wearinesse or tiring.

VIRG.
Æn. l.
vi. 114.

Vires ultra sortemque senectæ.

Beyond strength ordinary,
Which old yeeres use to cary.

No weather is to me so contrary, as the scorching heat of the parching Sunne. For,

these Umbrels or riding canopies, which since the ancient Romans, the Italians use, doe more weary the armes, then ease the head. I would faine-faine know what industry it was in the Persians, so anciently, and even in the infancie of luxuriousnesse (as Xenophon reporteth) to fanne themselves, and at their pleasures to make cold shades. I love rainy and durty weather, as duckes doe. The change either of aire or climate doth nothing distemper mee. All heavens are alike to me, I am never vexed or beaten, but with internall alterations, such as I produce my selfe, which surprise and possesse me least in times of way-fairing. It is a hard matter to make mee resolve of any journey: but if I be once on the way, I hold out as long and as farre, as another. I strive as much in small, as I labour in great enterprises: and to prepare my selfe for a short journey or to visit a friend, as to undertake a farre-set voiage. I have learn't to frame my journies after the Spanish fashion, all at once and out-right; great and reasonable. And in extreme heats, I

travell by night, from Sunne-set to Sunne-rising. The other fashion, confusedly and in haste to bait by the way and dine, especially in Winter, when the daies are so short, is both troublesome for man, and incommodious for horse. My Jades are the better, and hold out longer. No horse did ever faile me, that held out the first daies journey with me. I water them in all waters; and onely take care of their last watering, that before I come to mine Inne they have way enough to heat their water. My slothfulnesse to rise in the morning, alloweth such as follow mee sufficient leasure to dine, before wee take horse. As for me, I never feed over-late: I commonly get an appetite in eating, and no otherwise: I am never hungry but at the table. Some complaine, that being married, and well strucken in yeeres, I have enured my selfe, and beene pleased to continue this exercise. They doe me wrong: The best time for a man to leave his house, is when hee hath so ordered and settled the same, that it may continue without him: and when he hath

so disposed his affaires, that they may answer the ancient course and wonted forme. It is much more indiscretion,¹ and an argument of want of judgement, to goe from home, and leave no trustie guard in his house, and which for lacke of care may be slow or forgetfull in providing for such necessities, as in your absence it may stand in need of. The most profitable knowledge, and honourablest occupation for a matron or mother of a familie, is the occupation and knowledge of huswiferie. I see divers covetous, but few huswives. It is the mistresse-qualitie that all men should seeke after, and above all other endeavour to finde: [as the only dowry, that serveth, either to ruine and overthrow, or to save and enrich our houses. Let no man speake to me of it; according as experience hath taught me, I require in a married woman the Oeconomicall vertue above all others. Wherein I would have her absolutely skilfull, since by my absence I commit the whole charge, and bequeath the full government of my houshold to her.

I see (and that to my griefe) in divers houses the master or goodman come home at noone all weary, durty and dusty, with drudging and toiling about his businesse, when the mistresse or good-wife is either scarce up, or if shee bee, shee is yet in her closet, dressing, decking, smuggling or trimming of her selfe. It is a thing onely fitting Queenes or Princes; whereof some doubt might be made. It is ridiculous that the idlenesse, and unjust that the lithernesse of our wives should be fostered with our sweat, and maintained by our travell: No man (as neere as I can) shall fortune to have a more free and more absolute use, or a more quiet and more liquid fruition of his goods, then I have. If the husband bring matter; nature her selfe would have women to bring forme. Concerning duties of wedlocke-friendship, which some happily imagine to be interested or prejudiced by the husbands absence, I beleeve it not. Contrariwise, it is a kinde of intelligence, that easily growes cold by an over-continuall assistance, and decaieth by

assiduitie; for, to stand still at racke and manger breedeth a satietie. Every strange woman seemeth to us an honest woman: And all feele by experience, that a continuall seeing one another, cannot possibly represent the pleasure, men take by parting and meeting againe. These interruptions fill mee with a new kinde of affection, toward mine owne people, and yeeld me the use of my house more pleasing: vicissitude doth now and then en-earnest my minde toward one, and then toward another. I am not ignorant how true amitie hath armes long enough, to embrace, to claspe and hold from one corner of the world unto another: namely in this, where is a continuall communication of offices, that cause the obligation, and revive the remembrance thereof. The Stoickes say, that there is so great an affinitie and mutuall relation, betweene wise men, that he who dineth in France, feedeth his companion in Ægypt; and if one of them doe but hold up his finger, where ever it bee, all the wise men dispersed upon

the habitable land, feele a kinde of aid thereby. Jovissance and possession, appertaine chiefly unto imagination. It {embraceth more earnestly and uncessantly what she goeth to fetch, then what wee touch. Summon and count all your daily ammusements; and you shall finde, you are then furthest and most absent from your friend, when he is present with you. His assistance releaseth your attention, and giveth your thoughts libertie, at all times and upon every occasion, to absent themselves. If I be at Rome, or any where else, I hold, I survay and governe my house and the commodities, which I have left about and in it. I even see my walles, my trees, my grasse and my rents, to stand, to grow, to decay and to diminish, within an inch or two of that I should doe when I am at home.

Ante oculos errat domus, errat forma locorum.

My house is still before mine eies,
There still the forme of places lies.

If we but onely enjoy what we touch,

farewell our crownes when they are in our
coafers, and adiew to our children, when
they are abroad or a hunting; we would
have them neerer. In the garden is it farre
off? within halfe a daies journey? What,
within ten leagues, is it farre or neere? If
it be neere: what is eleven, twelve, or
thirteene? and so step by step. Verily
that woman who can prescribe unto her
husband, how many steps end that which is
neere, and which step in number begins the
distance she counts farre, I am of opinion,
that she stay him betweene both.

———— *excludat jurgia finis.*

Let the conclusion, Exclude confusion.

Utor permissio, caudæque pilos ut equinæ

Paulatim vello: et demo unum, demo etiam unum

Dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi.

I use the grant, and plucke by one and one
The horse-taile haire, till when the bush is gone,
I leave the Jade a curtall taile or none.

HOR. l.
ii.
Epist.
i. 38.

Ibid.
45.

And let them boldly call for Philosophie to
helpe them. To whom some might re-
proach, since she neither discerneth the one

nor other end of the joynt, betweene the overmuch and the little ; the long and the short ; the light and the heavie, the neare and the farre ; since she neither knowes the beginning nor ending thereof, that she doth very uncertainly judge of the middle. *Rerum natura nullam nobis dedit cognitionem finium* : “ Nature hath afforded us no knowledge of hir endes.” Are they not yet wives and friendes of the deceased, that are not at the end of this, but in the other world ? wee embrace both those that have beene, and those which are not yet, not onely the absent. We did not condition, when wee were married, continually to keepe our selves close hugging one another, as some, I wot not what little creatures doe, we see daily ; or as those bewitched people of Karenti, in a kinde of dogged manner. And a woman should not have hir eyes so greedily or so dotingly fixed on hir husbands fore-part, that if neede shall require, she may not view his hinder-partes. But might not the saying of that cunning Painter, who could so excellently set forth

their humours and pourtray their conditions, fitly bee placed heere, lively to represent the cause of their complaints ?

*Uxor, si cesses, aut te amare cogitat,
Aut tete amari, aut potare, aut animo obsequi,
Et tibi bene esse soli, cum sibi sit malè.*

TER.
Adelph.
act i.
sc. 1.

If you be slow, your wife thinks that in love
you are,
Or are belov'd, or drinke, or all for pleasure care,
And that you onely fare-well, when she ill doth
fare.

Or might it be, that opposition and contradiction doe naturally entertaine, and of themselves nourish them: and that they are sufficiently accommodated, provided they disturbe and incommode you? In truly-perfect friendship, wherein I presume to have some skill and well-grounded experience; I give my selfe more unto my friend, than I draw him unto me. I doe not onely rather love to doe him good, then he should doe any to me; but also, that he should rather doe good unto himselfe, then unto me; For then doth he me most good, when he doth it to himselfe. And if absence

be either pleasing or beneficiall unto him, it is to me much more pleasing, then his presence: and that may not properly be termed absence, where meanes and waies may be found to enter-advertise one another. I have heeretofore made good use, and reaped commoditie by our absence and distance. Wee better replenished the benefit, and extended further the possession of life, by being divided and farre-asunder: He lived, he rejoiced, and he saw for mee, and I for him, as fully, as if he had beene present: Being together, one partie was idle: We confounded one another. The separation of the place, made the conjunction of our mindes and willes, the richer. This insatiate and greedie desire of corporall presence, doth somewhat accuse the weaknesse in the jovissance of soules. Concerning age, which some allege against me, it is cleane contrary. It is for youth, to subject and bondage it selfe to common opinions, and by force to constraine it selfe for others. It may fit the turne of both; the people and it selfe: Wee have but overmuch to

doe with our selves alone. According as naturall commodities faile us, let us sustaine our selves by artificiall meanes. It is injustice, to excuse youth in following her pleasures, and forbid age to devise and seeke them. When I was yong, I concealed my wanton and covered my youthfull passions, with wit; and now being aged, I endeavour to passe the sadde and incident to yeeres, with sport and debauches. Yet doe Platoes lawes forbid men to travell abroad, before they are forty or fifty yeeres of age, that so their travell may sort more profitable, and proove more instructive. I should more willingly consent to this other second article of the said lawes, which forbiddeth men to wander abroad, after they are once threescore. Of which age, few that travell farre-journies returne home againe. What care I for that? I undertake it not, either to returne or to perfect the same. I onely undertake it to be in motion: So long as the motion pleaseth me, and I walke that I may walke. Those runne not, that runne after a Benefice or after a Hare: But

they runne, that runne at barriers and to exercise their running. My desseigne is every where divisible, it is not grounded on great hopes: each day makes an end of it. Even so is my lifes voiage directed. Yet have I seene divers farre-countries, where I would have beene glad to have beene staid. Why not? If Chrysippus, Diogenes, Cleanthes, Antipater and Zeno, with so many other wise men of that roughly-severe, and severely - strict Sect, forsooke their Countries (without just cause to bee offended with them) onely to enjoy another aire? Truly the greatest grieve of my peregrinations, is, that I cannot have a firme resolution, to establish my abiding where I would. And that I must ever resolve with my selfe to returne, for to accommodate my selfe unto common humours. If I should feare to die in any other place, then where I was borne; if I thought I should die lesse at my ease, farre from mine owne people: I would hardly goe out of France, nay I should scarcely goe out of mine owne parish, without feeling some dismay. I feele death

ever pinching me by the throat, or pulling me by the backe: But I am of another mould; to me it is ever one, and at all times the same. Neverthelesse if I were to chuse, I thinke it should rather be on horsebacke, than in a bed; from my home, and farre from my friends. There is more harts-sorrow, than comfort, in taking ones last farewell of his friends. I doe easily forget or neglect these duties or complements of our common or civill courtesie. For, of Offices appertaining to unaffected amitie, the same is the most displeasing and offensive: And I should as willingly forget to give a body that great adiew, or eternall farewell. If a body reape any commoditie by this assistance, hee also findes infinite inconveniences in it. I have seene divers die most piteously, compassed and beset round with their friends and servants: Such multitudes, and thronging of people doth stifle them. It is against reason, and a testimony of smal affection, and little care they have that you should die at rest. One offendeth your eies, another

molesteth your eares, the third vexeth your mouth : You have neither sense nor limme, or parte of your body, but is tormented and grieved. Your hart is ready to burst for pittie to heare your friends moanes and complaints ; and to rive asunder with spite to heare peradventure some of their wailings and moans, that are but fained and counterfet. If a man have ever had a milde or tender nature, being weake and ready to die, he must then necessarily have it more tender and relenting. It is most requisite, that in so urgent a necessitie, one have a gentle hand and fitly applied to his sences, to scratch him where he itcheth ; or else he ought not be clawed at all. If wee must needs have the helpe of a Midwife, to bring us into this world, there is reason we should also have the aiding-hand of a wise man, to deliver us out of the same. Such a one, and therewithall a true friend, should a man before-hand purchase very deare, only for the service of such an occasion. I am not yet come to that disdainfull vigor, which so fortifieth it selfe, that at such times

nothing aideth, nor nothing troubleth: I flie a lower pitch. I seeke to squat my selfe, and steale from that passage: not by feare, but by Art. My intent is not in such an action, to make either triall or shew of my constancie. Wherefore? Because, then shall the right and interest I have in reputation cease. I am content with a death united in it selfe, quiet and solitarie, wholly mine, convenient to my retired and private life. Cleane contrary to the Roman superstition, where hee was judged unhappie, that died without speaking, and had not his neerest friends to close his eies. I have much adoe to comfort my selfe, without being troubled to comfort others: cares and vexations enow in my minde, without needing circumstances to bring me new; and sufficient matter to entertaine my selfe, without borrowing any. This share belongs not to the part of societie: It is the act of one man alone. Let us live, laugh and be merry amongst our friends, but die and yeeld up the ghost amongst strangers, and such as wee know not. Hee

who hath money in his purse, shall ever finde some ready to turne his head, make his bedde, rubbe his feet, attend him, and that will trouble and importune him no longer than hee list: and will ever shew him an indifferent and well-composed countenance, and without grumbling or grudging give a man leave to doe what he please, and complaine as he list. I daily endeavour by discourse to shake off this childish humour and inhumane conceit, which causeth, that by our griefes and paines we ever desire to moove our friends to compassion and sorrow for us, and with a kinde of sympathie to condole our miseries and passions. We endeare our inconveniences beyond measure, to extract teares from them: And the constancie we so much commend in all others, undauntedly to endure all evill fortunes; we accuse and upbraid to our nearest allies, when they molest us: we are not contented they should have a sensible feeling of our calamities; if they doe not also afflict themselves for them. **A** man should as much as he can set forth

and extend his joy; but to the utmost of his power, suppress and abridge his sorrow. He that will causelesly be moaned, and sans reason, deserveth not to be pitied when he shall have cause and reason for it. To be ever complaining and alwaies moaning, is the way never to be moaned and seldome to be pitied: and so often to seeme overpassionately-pitifull, is the meane to make no man feelingly-ruthfull towards others. He that makes himselfe dead being alive, is subject to be accounted alive when he is dying. I have seene some take pepper in the nose, forsomuch as they were told that they had a cheerefull countenance; that they looked well; that they had a temperate pulse: to force laughter, because some betraied their recoverie: and hate their health, because it was not regrettable. And which is more, they were no women. I for the most, represent my infirmities such as they are: And shunne such words as are of evill presage, and avoid composed exclamations. If not glee and mirth, at least an orderly-setled countenance of the by-

standers and assistants, is sufficiently-convenient to a wise and discreet sicke-man, who though he see himselfe in a contrary state, he will not picke a quarrell with health. He is pleased to behold the same, sound and strong in others ; and at least for company-sake to enjoy his part of it. Though he feele and finde himselfe to faint and sinke downe, he doth not altogether reject the conceits and imaginations of life, nor doth he avoid common entertainments. I will studie sicknesse when I am in health : when it comes, it will really enough make her impression, without the helpe of my imagination. We deliberately prepare our selves before-hand for any voiage we undertake, and therein are resolved : the houre is set when we will take horse, and we give it to our company, in whose favour we extend it. I finde this unexpected profit by the publication of my maners, that in some sort it serveth me for a rule. I am sometimes surprized with this consideration, not to betray the historie of my life. This publike declaration, bindes me to keepe my

selfe within my course, and not to contradict the image of my conditions: commonly lesse disfigured and gaine-said, then the malignitie and infirmitie of moderne judgements doth beare. The uniformitie and singlenesse of my manners, produceth a visage of easie interpretation; but because the fashion of them is somewhat new and strange, and out of use, it giveth detraction to faire play. Yet is it true, that to him, who will goe about loyally to injure me, he thinkes I doe sufficiently afford him matter, whereby he may detract and snarle at my avowed and knowen imperfections, and wherewith hee may be satisfied, without vaine contending and idle skirmishing. If my selfe by preoccupating his discovery and accusation, hee thinkes I barre him of his snarling, it is good reason hee take his right, towards amplification and extension: Offence hath her rights beyond justice: And that the vices, whereof I shew him the rootes in mee, he should amplifie them to trees. Let him not onely employ thereunto those that possesse mee, but those which

but threaten mee. Injurious vices, both in qualitie and in number. Let him beat mee that way. I should willingly embrace the example of Dion the Philosopher. Antigonus going about to scoffe and quip at him touching his birth and off-spring, he interrupted him and tooke the word out of his mouth : " I am " (said hee) " the sonne of a bond-slave, a butcher, branded for a rogue, and of a whoore, whom my father by reason of his base fortune, tooke to wife : Both were punished for some misdeede. Being a childe, an Orator bought me as a slave, liking me for my beautie and comelinesse ; and dying, left mee all his goods ; which having transported into this citie of Athens, I have applied my selfe unto Philosophie. Let not Historians busie themselves in seeking newes of mee. I will at large blaz on my selfe, and plainly tell them the whole discourse." A generous and free-minded confession doth disable a reproch and disarme an injurie. So it is, that when all Cards be told, me seemes, that I am as oft commended as dispraised beyond

reason. As also me thinks, that even from my infancie, both in ranke and degree of honour, I have had place given mee, rather above and more, than lesse and beneath that which appertained to mee. I should better like to be in a countrie, where these orders might either be reformed or contemned. Amongst men, after that striving or altercation for the prerogative or upper hand in going or sitting, exceedeth three replies, it becommeth incivill. I neither feare to yeeld and give place, nor to follow and proceed unjustly, so I may avoid such irkesome and importunate contestations. And never did man desire precedencie or place before me, but I quitted the same without grudging. Besides the profit I reape by writing of my selfe, I have hoped for this other, that if ever it might happen my humours should please or sympathize with some honest man, he would before my death seeke to be acquainted with me, or to overtake mee. I have given him much ground: For, whatsoever a long acquaintance or continuall familiarity might have

gained him in many wearisome yeares, the same hath hee in three dayes fully seene in this Register; and that more safely and more exactly. A pleasant fantazie is this of mine; many things I would bee loath to tell a particular man, I utter to the whole world. And concerning my most secret thoughts and inward knowledge, I send my dearest friends to a Stationers shop.

PERS.
Sat. v.
22.

Excutienda damus præcordia.

Our very entrailes wee
Lay foorth for you to see.

If by so good markes and tokens, I had ever knowen or heard of any one man, that in this humour had beene answerable to mee, I would assuredly have wandred very farre to finde him out: For, the exceeding joy of a sortable and in one consent agreeing company, cannot (in mine opinion) be sufficiently endeared or purchased at too high a rate. Oh God! who can expresse the value or conceive the true worth of a friend? How true is that ancient golden saying, that the use of a friend is more

necessary and pleasing, then of the elements, water and fire. But to returne to my former discourse: There is then no great inconvenience in dying farre from home and abroad. Wee esteeme it a part of duty and decencie to withdraw our selves for naturall actions, lesse hideous and lesse disgracefull then this. But also those that come unto that, in languishing manner to draw a long space of life, should not happily wish with their miserie to trouble a whole family. Therefore did the Indians of a certaine countrie deeme it just and lawfull, to kill him that should fall into such necessitie. And in another of their Provinces, they thought it meete to forsake him, and as well as hee could leave him alone to seeke to save himselfe. To whom at last, prove they not themselves tedious and intolerable? Common offices proceed not so farre. Perforce you teach crueltie unto your best friends; obdurating by long use, both wife and children, not to feele, nor to conceive, nor to moane your evils any longer. The groanes and out-cries of my chollike, cause

no more ruth and wailing in any body. And should we conceive pleasure by their conversation (which seldome hapneth, by reason of the disparitie of conditions, which easily produceth either contempt or envy towards what man soever) is it not too-too much, therwith to abuse a whole age? The more I should see them with a good heart to straine themselves for me, the more should I bewaile their paine. The law of curtesie alloweth us to leane upon others, but not so unmanerly to lie upon them and underpropt our selves in their ruine. As hee who caused little infants to be slaine, that with their innocent blood he might be cured of a malady he had. Or another who was continually stored with yoong teudrels or lasses, to keepe his old-frozen limbs warme a nights, and entermix the sweetnesse of their breath with his old-stinking and offensive vapours. Decrepitude is a solitary qualitie. I am sociable even unto excesse, yet doe I thinke it reasonable, at last to substract my opportunity from the sight of the world, and

hatch it in my selfe. Let me shrowd and shrugge my selfe into my shell, as a tortoise : and learne to see men, without taking hold of them. I should outrage them in so steepe a passage. It is now high time to turne from the company. But heere will some say, that in these farre journies you may peradventure fall into some miserable dog-hole or poore cottage, where you shall want all needfull things. To whom I answer, that for things most necessary in such cases, I ever carry most of them with me : And that, where-ever wee are, wee cannot possibly avoid fortune, if she once take upon her to persecute us. When I am sicke, I want nothing that is extraordinarie : what nature cannot worke in me, I will not have a Bolus, or a glister to effect. At the very beginning of my agues or sicknesses that cast me downe, whilst I am yet whole in my senses and neere unto health, I reconcile my selfe to God by the last duties of a Christian ; whereby I finde my selfe free and discharged ; and thinke I have so much more reason and authoritie over my

sicknesse, I finde lesse want of Notaries and counsell, then of Physitions. What I have not disposed of my affaires or settled of my state when I was in perfect health, let none expect I should doe it beeing sicke. Whatever I will doe for the service of death, is alwayes ready done. I dare not delay it one onely day. And if nothing be done, it is as much to say, that either some doubt hath delaide the choise: For, sometimes it is a good choise, not to chuse at all: Or that absolutely I never intended to doe any thing. I write my booke to few men, and to few yeares. Had it beene a matter of lasting continuance, it should have beene compiled in a better and more polished language: According to the continuall variation, that hitherto hath followed our French tongue. Who may hope, that it's present forme shall be in use fifty yeares hence? It dayly changeth and slips our hands: and since I could speake the same, it is much altred and well nigh halfe varied. We say it is now come to a full perfection. There is no age but saith as much of hers.

It lies not in my power, so long as it glideth and differeth and altereth as it doth, to keepe it at a stay. It is for excellent and profitable compositions to fasten it unto them, whose credit shall either diminish or encrease, according to the fortune of our state. For all that, I feare not to insert therein divers private articles, whose use is consumed amongst men living now adayes : and which concerne the particular knowledge of some, that shall further see into it, then with a common understanding. When all is done, I would not (as I often see the memory of the deceased tossed too and fro) that men should descant and argue : “ Thus and thus he judged ; thus he lived ; thus he ment : had he spoken when his life left him, he would have given I wot what : There is no man knew him better then my selfe.” Now, as much as modestie and decorum doth permit me ; I heere give a taste of my inclinations and an essay of my affection : which I doe more freely and more willingly by word of mouth, to any that shall desire to be throughly informed

of them. But so it is, that if any man shall looke into these memorialls, he shall finde, that either I have said all, or des-seigned all. What I cannot expresse, the same I point at with my finger.

LUCR.
lib. i.
419.

*Verum animo satis hæc vestigia parva sagaci
Sunt, per quæ possis cognoscere cætera tute.*

But this small footing to a quicke-sent minde
May serve, whereby safely the rest to finde.

I leave nothing to bee desired or divined of mee. If one must entertaine himselfe with them, I would have it to be truely and justly. I would willingly come from the other world, to give him the lie, that should frame me other then I had beene: were it he meant to honour mee. I see that of the living, men never speake according to truth; and they are ever made to be what they are not. And if with might and maine, I had not upheld a friend of mine whom I have lately lost, he had surely been mangled and torne in a thousand contrary shapes. But to make an end of my weake humours: I confesse, that in

travelling I seldome alight in any place or come to any Inne, but first of all I cast in my minde whether I may conveniently lie there, if I should chance to fall sicke; or dying, die at my ease and take my death quietly. I will, as neere as I can be lodged in some convenient part of the house, and in particular from all noise or stinking savours; in no close, filthy or smoaky chamber. I seeke to flatter death by these frivolous circumstances: Or as I may rather say, to discharge my selfe from all other trouble or encombrance; that so I may wholly apply and attend her, who without that shall happily lie very heavy upon me. I will have her take a full share of my lives eases and commodities; it is a great part of it and of much consequence, and I hope it shall not belie what is past. Death hath some formes more easie then others, and assumeth divers qualities; according to all mens fantazies. Among the naturall ones, that proceeding of weakenesse and heavy dulnesse, to me seemeth gentle and pleasant. Among the violent I imagine

a precipice more hardly, then a ruine that overwhelmes me: and a cutting blow with a sword, then a shot of an harquebuse: and I would rather have chosen to drinke the potion of Socrates, then wound my selfe as Cato did. And though it bee all one yet doth my imagination perceiue a difference, as much as is betweene death and life, to cast my selfe into a burning furnace, or in the channell of a shallow river. So foolishly doth our feare respect more the meane, then the effect. It is but one instant; but of such moment, that to passe the same according to my desire, I would willingly renounce many of my lives-dayes. Since all mens fantazies, finde either excesse or diminution in her sharpnesse; since every man hath some choise betweene the formes of dying, let us trie a little further, whether we can finde out some one, free from all sorrow and grieffe. Might not one also make it seeme voluptuous, as did those who died with Anthonie and Cleopatra? I omit to speake of the sharpe and exemplar efforts, that philosophy and religion produce:

But amongst men of no great fame, some have beene found (as one Petronius, and one Tigillinus at Rome) engaged to make themselves away, who by the tendernesse of their preparations have in a manner lulled the same asleepe. They have made it passe and glide away, even in the midst of the security of their accustomed pastimes and wanton recreations: Amongst harlots and good felowes; no speech of comfort, no mention of will or testament, no ambitious affectation of constancie, no discourse of their future condition, no compunction of sinnes committed, no apprehension of their soules-health, ever troubling them; amid sports, playes, banketting, surfetting, chambring, jesting, musicke and singing of amorous verses: and all such popular and common entertainments. Might not wee imitate this manner of resolution in more honest affaires and more commendable attempts? And since there are deaths good unto wise men and good unto fooles, let us finde some one that may be good unto such as are betweene both. My

imagination presents me some easie and milde countenance thereof, and (since we must all die) to bee desired. The tyrants of Rome have thought, they gave that criminall offender his life, to whom they gave the free choise of death. But Theophrastus a Philosopher so delicate, so modest and so wise, was he not forced by reason, to dare to utter this verse, latinized by Cícero :

CIC.
Tusc.
Qu. 1. v.
Theoph.
Calisth.

Vitam regit fortuna non sapientia.

Fortune our life doth rule,
Not wisdom of the schoole.

Fortune giveth the facilitie of my lives-condition some aide; having placed it in such a time, wherein it is neither needfull nor combersome unto my people. It is a condition I would have accepted in all the seasons of my age: but in this occasion to trusse up bag and baggage, and take up my bed and walke: I am particularly pleased, that when I shall die, I shall neither breede pleasure nor cause sorrow in them. Shee hath caused (which is the recompence of an

artist) that such as by my death may pretend any materiall benefit, receive thereby elsewhere, jointly a materiall losse and hinderance. Death lies sometimes heavie upon us, in that it is burthensome to others: and interesseth us with their interest, almost as much as with ours: and somtimes more; yea altogether. In this conveniency of lodging that I seeke, I neither entermix pompe nor amplitude; For, I rather hate it. But a certaine simple and homely proprietie, which is commonly found in places where lesse Arte is, and that nature honoureth with some grace peculiar unto her selfe. *Non ampliter sed munditer convivium. Plus salis quàm sumptus*: “Not a great, but a neate feast. More conceite then cost.”

PLAU-
TIN.

And then, it is for those, who by their urgent affaires are compelled to travell in the midst of deepe Winter, and amongst the Grisons, to be surprized by such extreamities in their journies. But I, who for the most part never travell, but for pleasure, will neither bee so ill advised, nor

so simply guided. If the way be fowle on my right hand, I take the left: If I find my selfe ill at ease or unfit to ride, I stay at home. Which doing, and observing this course, in very truth I see no place, and come no where, that is not as pleasant, as convenient and as commodious as mine owne house. True it is, that I ever finde superfluitie superfluous: and observe a kinde of troublesomenesse in delicatenesse and plenty. Have I omitted or left any thing behind me that was worth the seeing? I returne backe; It is ever my way, I am never out of it. I trace no certaine line, neither right nor crooked. Comming to any strange place, finde I not what was tould mee? As it often fortuneth, that others judgements agree not with mine, and have most times found them false, I grieve not at my labour: I have learned that what was reported to bee there, is not. I have my bodies complexion as free, and my taste as common, as any man in the world. The diversity of fashions betweene one and other nations, concerneth mee

nothing, but by the varieties-pleasure. Each custome hath his reason. Bee the trenchers or dishes of wood, of pewter or of earth: bee my meate boyled, rosted or baked; butter or oyle, and that of Olives or of Wall-nuts; hot or colde; I make no difference; all is one to me: And as one, that is growing old, I accuse the generous facultie; and had neede that delicatnesse and choise, should stay the indiscretion of my appetite, and sometime ease and solace my stomacke. When I have beene out of France, and that to do me curtesie, some have asked me, whether I would be served after the French maner, I have jested at them, and have ever thrust-in amongst the thickest tables and fullest of strangers. I am ashamed to see our men besotted with this foolish humor, to fret and chafe, when they see any fashions contrary to theirs. They thinke themselves out of their element, when they are out of their Village: Where ever they come they keepe their owne country fashions, and hate, yea and abhorre all strange maners: Meete they a countri-

man of theirs in Hungary, they feast that good fortune : And what doe they ? Marry close and joyne together, to blame, to condemne and to scorne so many barbarous fashions as they see. And why not Barbarous, since not French ? Nay happily they are the better sort of men, that have noted and so much exclaimed against them. Most take going out but for comming home. They travell close and covered, with a silent and incommunicable wit, defending themselves from the contagion of some unknowne ayre. What I speake of such, puts mee in minde in the like matter, of that I have heretofore perceived in some of your yoong Courtiers. They onely converse with men of their coate ; and with disdain or pittie looke upon us, as if we were men of another World. Take away their new fangled, mysterious and affected courtly complements, and they are out of their byase. As farre to seeke and short of us, as we of them. That saying is true ; That an honest man is a man compound. Cleane contrary, I travell fully gluttred with our

fashions : Not to seeke Gaskoines in Sicilie ; I have left over many at home. I rather seeke for Græcians and Persians : Those I accost, them I consider, and with such I endeavor to be acquainted : to that I prepare and therein I employ my selfe. And which is more, me seemeth, I have not met with many maners, that are not worth ours. Indeede I have not wandred farre, scarsly have I lost the sight of our Chimnies. Moreover, most of the casuall companies you meete withall by the way, have more incommodity than pleasure : a matter I doe not greatly take hold of, and lesse now that age dooth particularize and in some sort sequester me from common formes. You suffer for other, or others endure for you. The one inconvenience is yrkesome, the other troublesome : but yet the last is (in my conceipt) more rude. It is a rare, chaunce and seld-seene fortune, but of exceeding solace and inestimable woorth, to have an honest man, of singular experience, of a sound judgement, of a resolute understanding and constant resolution, and

of manners conformable to yours, to accompany or follow you with a good will. I have found great want of such a one in all my voyages. Which company a man must seeke with discretion and with great heed obtaine, before he wander from home. With me no pleasure is fully delightsome without communication; and no delight absolute, except imparted. I do not so much as apprehend one rare concept, or conceive one excellent good thought in my minde, but me thinks I am much grieved and grievously perplexed, to have produced the same alone, and that I have no simpathizing companion to impart it unto. *Si cum hac exceptione detur sapientia, ut illam inclusam teneam, nec enunciem, rejiciam:* "If wisdom should be offered with this exception, that I should keepe it concealed, and not utter it, I would refuse it." The other strain'd it one note higher. *Si contigerit ea vita sapienti, ut omnium rerum affluentibus copiis, quamvis omnia, quæ cognitione digna sunt, summo otio secum ipse consideret et contempletur, tamen si*

solitudo tanta sit, ut hominem videre non-possit, excedat à vita: “If a wiseman might leade such a life, as in abundance of all things hee may in full quiet contemplate and consider all things worthy of knowledge, yet if he must be so solitary as he may see no man, he should rather leave such a life.” Architas his opinion is sutable to mine, which was, that it would bee a thing unpleasing to the very heavens and distastefull to man, to survay and walke within those immense and divine and cœlestiall bodies, without the assistance of a friend or companion: Yet is it better to be alone, than in tedious and foolish company. Aristippus loved to live as an alien or stranger everywhere.

*Me si facta meis paterentur ducere vitam
Auspiciis.*

If fates would me permit
To live as I thinke fit,

VIRG.
Æn.
lib. iv.
339.

I should chuse to weare out my life with my
bum in the saddle, ever riding.

———— *visere gestiens,*
Qua parte debacchentur ignes,
Qua nebulae pluvique røres.

HOR.
Car.
lib. iii.
Od. iii.
54.

Delighting much to goe and see
 Where fire heats rage furiously,
 Where clouds and rainy dewes most be.

Have you not more easie pastimes?
 What is it you want? Is not your house
 well seated, and in a good and wholesome
 ayre? Sufficiently furnished, and more
 then sufficiently capable? His Royall
 Majesty hath in great state beene in the
 same, and more than once taken his repast
 there. Doth not your family in rule and
 government leave many more inferior to
 hir, than above hir eminency? Is there
 any locall thought or care, that as extra-
 ordinary doth ulcerate, or as indigestible
 doth molest you?

ENNI.
 Cic.
 Senect.

Quæ te nunc coquat et vexet sub pectore fixa.

Which now boyles in thy brest,
 And let's thee take no rest.

Where doe you imagine you may bee
 without empeachment or disturbance?
Nunquam simpliciter fortuna indulget:
 "Fortune never favours fully without
 exception." You see then, there is none

but you that trouble and busie your selfe :
 and every where you shall follow your self,
 and in all places you shall complaine.
 For, heere below there is no satisfaction
 or content, except for brutall or divine
 mindes. Hee who in so just an occasion
 hath no content, where doth he imagine to
 finde it? Unto how many thousands of
 men, doth such a condition as yours, bound
 and stay the limites of their wishes?
 Reforme but your selfe ; by that you may
 doe all: Whereas towards fortune you
 have no right or interest, but patience.

Nulla placida quies est, nisi quam ratio
composuit: "There is no pleasing settled
 rest, but such as reason hath made-up."

SEN.
 Ep. lvi.
 m.

I see the reason of this advertisement, yea
 I perceive it wel. But one should sooner
 have done and more pertinently, in one
 bare word to say unto me: Be wise.
 This resolution is beyond wisdom. It is
 her Worke and hir production. So doth
 the Physition, that is ever crying to a
 languishing, heart-broken sicke-man, that
 he be merry and pull up a good hart ; he

should lesse foolishly perswade him if he did but bid him, To be healthy; as for me, I am but a man of the common stamp. It is a certaine, sound and of easie-understanding precept: Be content with your own; that is to say with reason: the execution wherof notwithstanding is no more in the wiser sort, than in my self: It is a popular word, but it hath a terrible far-reaching extension. What comprehends it not? All things fall within the compasse of discretion and modification. Wel I wot, that being taken according to the bare letter, the pleasure of travell brings a testimony of unquietnesse and irresolution. Which to say truth, are our mistrisse and predominant qualities. Yea, I confesse it: I see nothing, bee it but a dreame or by wishing, whereon I may take hold. Onely varietie and the possession of diversitie doth satisfie mee: if at least any thing satisfie mee. In travell this doth nourish mee, that without interest I may stay my selfe; and that I have meanes commodiously to divert my selfe from it. I love a

private life, because it is by mine owne choice, that I love it, not by a diffidence or disagreeing from a publike life; which peradventure is as much according to my complexion. I thereby serve my Prince more joiffully and genuinely, because it is by the free election of my judgement and by my reason, without any particular obligation. And that I am not cast or forced thereunto, because I am unfit to be received of any other, or am not beloved: so of the rest. I hate those morsels that necessitie doth carve mee. Every commoditie, of which alone I were to depend, should ever hold me by the throat:

Alter remus aquas, alter mihi radat arenas.

Let me cut waters with one oare,
With th' other shave the sandie shoare.

PRO-
PERT. li.
iii. *El.*
ii. 23.

One string alone can never sufficiently hold me. You will say, there is vanitie in this ammusement. But where not? And these goodly precepts are vanitie, and Meere vanitie is all worldly wisdom.

Dominus novit cogitationes sapientum, PSAL. xciii. 11.

quoniam vanæ sunt: "The Lord knowes the thoughts of the wise, that they are vaine." Such exquisite subtilities, are only fit for sermons. They are discourses, that will send us into the other World on horsebacke. Life is a materiall and corporall motion; an action imperfect and disordered, by it's owne essence: I employ or apply my selfe to serve it according to it selfe.

VIRG.
Æn. l.
vi. 743.

Quisque suos patimur manes:
All of us for our merit,
Have some attending spirit.

CIC.
Offic.
lib. i.

Sic est faciendum, ut contra naturam universam nihil contendamus, ea tamen conservata propriam sequamur: "We must so worke, as we endeavour nothing against nature in generall, yet so observe it, as we follow our owne in speciall." To what purpose are these heaven-looking and nice points of Philosophie, on which no humane being can establish and ground it selfe? And to what end serve these rules, that exceed our use and excell our strength? I often see, that there are certaine Ideaes

or formes of life proposed unto us, which neither the proposer nor the Auditors have any hope at all to follow ; and which is worse, no desire to attaine. Of the same paper, whereon a Judge writ but even now the condemnation against an adulterer, hee will teare a scantlin, thereon to write some love-lines to his fellow-judges wife. The same woman from whom you came lately, and with whom you have committed that unlawfull-pleasing sport, will soone after, even in your presence, raile and scold more bitterly against the same fault in her neighbour, than ever Portia or Lucrece could. And some condemne men to die for crimes, that themselves esteeme no faults. I have in my youth seene a notable man with one hand to present the people most excellent and well-written verses, both for invention and extreme licentiousnesse ; and with the other hand, at the same instant, the most sharpe-railling reformation, according to Divinitie, that happily the World hath seene these many-many yeeres. Thus goes the world,

and so goe men. We let the lawes and precepts follow their way, but we keepe another course: Not onely by disorder of manners, but often by opinion and contrary judgement. Heare but a discourse of Philosophie read; the invention, the eloquence and the pertinencie, doth presently tickle your spirit and moove you. There is nothing tickleth or pricketh your conscience: it is not to her that men speake. Is it not true? Ariston said, that Neither Bath nor Lecture are of any worth, except the one wash cleane, and the other cleanse all filth away. One may busie himselfe about the barke, when once the pith is gotten out: As when wee have drunke off the Wine, wee consider the graving and workmanship of the cuppe. In all the parts of ancient Philosophie, this one thing may be noted, that one same worke-man publisheth some rules of temperance, and therewithall some compositions of love and licentiousnesse. And Xenophon in Cliniaes bosome, writ against the Aristippian vertue. It is not a miraculous conversion, that so

doth wave and hull them to and fro. But it is, that Solon doth sometimes represent himselfe in his owne colours, and somtimes in forme of a Law-giver: now he speaketh for the multitude, and now for himselfe. And takes the free and naturall rules to himselfe; warranting himselfe with a constant and perfect soundnesse.

Cur entur dubii medicis majoribus ægri.

Let patients in great doubt,
Seeke great Physitians out.

JUV.
Sat. xiii.
124.

Antisthenes alloweth a wise man to love and doe what hee list, without respect of lawes, especially in things he deemeth needfull and fit: Forasmuch as he hath a better understanding than they, and more knowledge of vertue. His Disciple Diogenes said; To perturbations we should oppose, reason; to fortune, confidence: and to lawes, nature: To dainty and tender stomacks, constrained and artificiall ordinances. Good stomackes are simplie served with the prescriptions of their naturall appetite. So doe our

Phisitions, who whilst they tie their patients to a strik't diet of a panada or a sirope, feede themselves upon a melone, dainty fruits, much good meat, and drinke all maner of good Wine. I wot not what Bookes are, nor what they meane by wise-dome and philosophy (quoth the Curtizan Lais) but sure I am, those kinds of people knocke as often at my gates, as any other men. Because our licenciousnesse transports us commonly beyond what is lawfull and allowed, our lives-precepts and lawes have often been wrested or restrained beyond universall reason.

JUVEN.
Sat.
xiv.233.

*Nemo satis credit tantum delinquere, quantum
Permittas.*

No man thinks it enough so farre t'offend
As you give lawfull leave (and there to end).

It were to bee wished, there were a greater proportion betwene commandement and obedience: And unjust seemeth that ayme or goale whereto one cannot possibly attaine. No man is so exquisitely honest or upright in living, but brings all his actions and

thoughts within compasse and danger of the lawes ; and that ten times in his life might not lawfully be hanged. Yea happily such a man, as it were pittie and dangerously-hurtfull to loose, and most unjust to punish him.

———— *Olle quid ad te,*

De cute quid faciat ille vel illa sua ;

Foole, what hast thou to doe, what he or shee
With their owne skinnes or themselves doing
bee ?

MART.
l. vii.
Epig.
ix. 1.

And some might never offend the lawes, that notwithstanding should not deserve the commendations of vertuous men : and whom philosophie might meritoriously and justly cause to be whipped. So troubled, dimme-sighted and partiall is this relation. Wee are farre enough from being honest according to God : For, wee cannot bee such according to our selves. Humane wisdom could never reach the duties, or attaine the devoirs it had prescribed unto it selfe. And had it at any time attained them, then would it doubtlesse prescribe some others beyond them, to which it might ever aspire and pretend. So great an enemy

is our condition unto consistence. Man dooth necessarily ordaine unto himselfe to bee in fault. Hee is not very craftie, to measure his dutie by the reason of another beeing, than his owne. To whom prescribes he that, which he expects no man will performe? Is he unjust in not dooing that, which hee cannot possibly atchieve? The lawes which condemne us, not to bee able; condemne us for that we cannot performe. If the worst happen, this deformed libertie, for one to present him selfe in two places, and the actions after one fashion, the discourses after an other; is lawfull in them, which report things: But it cannot bee in them, that acknowledge themselves as I doe. I must walke with my penne, as I goe with my feete. The common high way must have conference with other wayes. Catoes vertue was vigorous, beyond the reason of the age he lived in: and for a man that entermedled with governing other men, destinated for the common service; it might bee said to have beene a justice, if not unjust, at least vaine and out of season.

Mine owne manners, which scarce disagree one inch from those now currant, make me notwithstanding in some sort, strange, uncouth and unsociable to my age. I wot not, whether it be without reason, I am so distasted and out of liking with the world, wherein I live and frequent: but well I know, I should have small reason to complaine, the world were distasted and out of liking with mee, since I am so with it. The vertue assigned to the worlds affaires, it is a vertue with sundry byases, turnings, bendings and elbowes, to apply and joyne it selfe to humane imbecilitie: mixed and artificiall: neither right, pure or constant, nor meerey innocent. Our Annales even to this day, blame some one of our Kings, to have over-simply suffred himselfe to be led or mis-led by the conscientious perswasions of his Confessor. Matters of state have more bold precepts."

———— *exeat aula,*
Qui vult esse pius.
 He that will godly bee,
 From Court let him be free.

LUCAN.
Bell.
Civ.
 lib. viii.
 493.

I have heretofore assayd to employ my opinions and rules of life, as new, as rude, as impolished or as unpolluted, as they were naturally borne with me, or as I have attained them by my institution; and wherewith, if not so commodiously, at least safely in particular, I serve mine owne turne, unto the service of publike affaires and benefit of my Common-wealth: A scholasticall and novice vertue; but I have found them very unapt and dangerous for that purpose. He that goeth in a presse or throng of people, must sometimes step aside, hold in his elbowes, crosse the way, advance himselfe, start backe, and forsake the right way, according as it falls out: Live he not so much as he would himselfe, but as others will: not according to that he proposeth to himselfe, but to that which is proposed to him: according to times, to men and to affaires; and as the skilfull Mariner, saile with the winde. Plato saith, that who escapes untainted and cleane-handed from the managing of the world; escapeth by some wonder. He sayes also, that when

he instituteth his Philosopher as chiefe over a Common-wealth ; he means not a corrupted or law-broken commonwealth, as that of Athens ; and much lesse, as ours, with which wisdome herselfe would be brought to a non-plus, or put to her shifts. And a good hearb, transplanted into a soile very diverse from her nature, doth much sooner conforme it selfe to the soile, then it reformeth the same to it selfe. I feelingly perceiveth that if I were wholly to enure my selfe to such occupations, I should require much change and great repairing. Which could I effect in me (and why not with time and diligence ?) I would not. Of that litle which in this vacation I have made triall-of, I have much distasted my selfe : I sometimes finde certaine temptations arise in my minde, towards ambition ; but I start aside, bandie and opinionate my selfe to the contrarie :

At tu Catulle obstinatus obdura.

Be thou at any rate,
Obdurate, obstinate.

CATUL.
Lyr.
Epig.
viii. 19.

I am not greatly called, and I invite my

selfe as litle unto it. Libertie and idlenesse, my chiefe qualities, are qualities diameterly contrary to that mysterie. We know not how to distinguish mens faculties. They have certaine divisions and limites uneasie and overnice to be chosen. To conclude by the sufficiency of a private life, any sufficiencie for publike use, it is ill concluded: Some one directs himselfe well, that cannot so well direct others; and composeth Essayes, that could not worke effects. Some man can dispose and order a siege, that could but ill commaund and marshall a battell: and discourseth well in private, that to a multitude or a Prince would make but a bad Oration. Yea peradventure, t'is rather a testimonie to him that can do one, that he cannot doe the other, but otherwise. I finde that high spirits are not much lesse apt for base things, then base spirits are for high matters. Could it be imagined, that Socrates would have given the Athenians cause to laugh at his owne charges, because hee could never justly compt the suffrages of his tribe,

and make report thereof unto the counsell? Truly the reverence I beare and respect I owe unto that mans perfections, deserveth that his fortune bring to the excuse of my principal imperfections, one so notable example. Our sufficiencie is retailed into small parcells. Mine hath no latitude, and is in number very miserable. Saturninus answered those, who had conferred all authoritie upon him, saying: "Oh you my fellow-souldiers, you have lost a good Captaine, by creating him a bad Generall of an Armie." Who in time of infection vanteth himselfe, for the worlds-service, to employ a genuine or sincere vertue, either knowes it not, (opinions being corrupted with maners; in good sooth, heare but them paint it forth, marke how most of them magnifie themselves for their demeanours, and how they forme their rules: in lieu of pourtraying vertue, they onely set forth meere injustice and vice: and thus false and adulterate they present the same to the institution of Princes) or if he know it, hee wrongfully boasteth himselfe; and whatever he saith,

he doth many things whereof his owne conscience accuseth him. I should easily believe Seneca, of the experience he made of it in such an occasion, upon condition he would freely speake his minde of it unto mee. The honourablest badge of goodnesse in such a necessitie, is ingenuously for a man to acknowledge both his owne and others faults; to stay and with his might, hinder the inclination towards evill: and avie to follow this course, to hope and wish better. In these dismembrings or havocks of France, and divisions wherinto we are miserably falne, I perceive every man travell and busie himselfe to defend his owne cause, and the better sort, with much dissembling and falsehood. Hee that should plainely and roundly write of it, should write rashly and viciously. Take the best and justest part, what is it else but the member of a crased, worme-eaten and corrupted body? But of such a body the member least sicke, is called sound: and good reason why, because our qualities have no title but in comparison. Civill innocency

is measured according to places and seasons. I would be glad to see such a commendation of Agesilaus in Xenophon, who beeing entreated of a neighbour Prince, with whom he had sometimes made warre, to suffer him to passe through his countrie, was therewith well pleased; granting him free passage through Peloponnese, and having him at his mercy, did not only not emprison nor empoison him, but according to the tenour of his promise, without shew or offence or unkindnesse, entertained him with all curtesie and humanitie. To such humours, it were a matter of no moment: At other times and elsewhere, the libertie and magnanimitie of such an action shall be highly esteemed. Our gullish Gaberdines would have mockt at it. So little affinity is there betweene the Spartan and the French innocencie. We have notwithstanding some honest men amongst us; but it is after our fashion. He whose maners are in regularity established above the age he liveth-in; let him either wrest or muffle his rules: or (which I would rather perswade him) let

him withdraw himselfe apart, and not medle with us. What shall he gaine thereby?

JUVEN. *Egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri*
Sat. Hoc monstrum puero, et miranti jam sub aratro
 xiii. 64. *Piscibus inventis et factæ comparo mulæ.*

See I a man of holinesse and vertues rare,
 To births bimembred, under wonderfull plow-
 share,
 Fish found, for moiles with ole, this monster I
 compare.

One may bewaile the better times, but not avoide the present: one may desire other magistrates but notwithstanding he must obey those he hath: And happily it is more commendable to obey the wicked, than the good. So long as the image of the received, allowed and ancient lawes of this Monarchie shall be extant and shine in any corner thereof; there will I be; there will I abide. And if by any disaster they shall chauce to have contradiction or empeachment amongst themselves, and produce two factions, of doubtfull or hard choise: my election shall bee to avoide, and if I can

escape this storme. In the meanwhile, either nature or the hazard of warre, shall lend mee that helping hand. I should freely have declared my selfe betweene Cæsar and Pompey. But betweene those three theeves which came after, where either one must have hid himselfe, or followed the winde : which I deeme lawfull, when reason swayeth no longer.

Quod diversus abis ?

Whither have you recourse,
So farre out of your course ?

VIRG.
Æn.
lib. v.
166.

This mingle-mangle is somewhat beside my text. I stragle out of the path ; yet is it rather by licence, then by unadvisednesse : My fantasies follow one another : but sometimes a farre-off, and looke one at another ; but with an oblique looke. I have heretofore cast mine eyes upon some of Platoes Dialogues ; bemolted with a fantastick variety : the first part treated of love, all the latter of Rhetoricke. They feare not those variances ; and have a wonderfull grace in suffering themselves to

bee transported by the winde ; or to seeme so. The titles of my chapters, embrace not alwayes the matter : they often but glance at it by some marke : as these others, Andria, Eunuchus ; or these, Sylla, Cicero, Torquatus. I love a Poeticall kinde of march, by friskes, skips and jumps. It is an arte (saith Plato) light, nimble, fleeting and light-brain'd. There are some treatises in Plutarke, where he forgets his theame, where the drift of his argument is not found but by incidencie and chaunce, all stuffed with strange matter. Marke but the vagaries in his Dæmon of Socrates. Oh God ! what grace hath the variation, and what beautie these startings and nimble escapes ; and then most, when they seeme to emply carelesnesse and casualtie : It is the unheedie and negligent reader, that looseth my subject, and not my self. Some word or other shall ever be found in a corner, that hath relation to it, though closely couched. I am indiscreetly and tumultuously at a fault ; my stile and wit are still gadding alike. A little folly is

tolerable in him, that will not be more sottish ; say our maisters precepts, and more their examples. A thousand Poets labour and languish after the prose-manner, but the best ancient prose, which I indifferently scatter heere and there for verse, shineth every where, with a poetically vigour and boldnesse, and representeth some aire or touch of it's fury : Verily shee ought to have the maistry and preheminance given her in matters of speech. A Poet (saith Plato) seated on the Muses footestoole, doth in a furie powre-out whatsoever commeth in his mouth, as the pipe or cocke of a fountaine, without considering or ruminating the same : and many things escape him, diverse in colour, contrary in substance, and broken in course. Ancient Divinitie is altogether Poesie (say the learned) and the first Philosophie. It is the originall language of the Gods. I understand that the matter distinguisheth it selfe. It sufficiently declareth where it changeth, where it concludeth, where it beginneth, and where it rejoyneth ; without enterlacings of words,

joyning ligaments and binding seames wrested-in for the service of weake and unattentive eares: and without glossing or expounding my selfe. What is he, that would not rather not be read at all, then read in drowsie and cursorie manner: *Nihil est tam utile, quod in transitu prosit*: "There is nothing so profitable, that being lightly past over, will doe good." If to take bookes in hand were to learne them: and if to see, were to view them; and if to runne them over, were to seize upon them, I should be to blame, to make my selfe altogether so ignorant as I say. Since I cannot stay the readers attention by the weight: *Manco male*, if I happen to stay him by my intricate confusion: yea but he will afterward repent, that ever he ammused himselfe about it. You say true, but hee shall have ammused himselfe upon it. And there be humors, to whom understanding causeth disdaine, who because they shall not know what I meane will esteeme mee the better, and will conclude the mysterie and depth of my sense by the obscuritie: Which, to

speake in good earnest, I hate as death, and would shunne it, if I could avoid my selfe. Aristotle vaunteth in some place to affect the same. A vicious affectation. Forso-much as the often breaking of my Chapters, I so much used in the beginning of my booke, seemed to interrupt attention, before it be conceived : Disdaining for so little a while to collect and there seat it selfe : I have betaken my selfe to frame them longer ; as requiring proposition and assigned leasure. In such an occupation, he to whom you will not grant one houre, you will allow him nothing. And you do nought for him, for whom you doe, but in doing some other thing. Sithence peradventure I am particularly tied and precisely vowed, to speake by halves, to speake confusedly, to speake discrepantly. I therefore hate this trouble-feast reason : And these extravagant projects, which so much molest mans life, and these so subtle opinions, if they have any truth ; I deeme it over-deare, and find it too incommodious. On the other side, I labour to set forth vanitie and make sottish-

nesse to prevaile, if it bring me any pleasure. And without so nicely controlling them, I follow mine owne naturall inclinations. I have elsewhere seene some houses ruined, statues overthrowen, both of heaven and of earth: But men be alwaies one. All that is true: and yet I can not so often surway the vast toombe of that Citie so great, so populous and so puissant, but I as often admire and reverence the same. The care and remembrance of evils is recommended unto us. Now have I from my infancie beene bred and brought up with these: I have had knowledge of the affaires of Rome, long time before I had notice of those of my house. I knew the Capitoll, and it's platforme, before I knew Louvre, the pallace of our Kings in Paris; and the River Tiber, before Seyne. I have more remembred and thought upon the fortunes and conditions of Lucullus, Metellus and Scipio, then of any of our countrey-men. They are deceased, and so is my father, as fully as they: and is as distant from me and life in eighteene yeeres as they were in

sixteene hundred : Whose memorie, amitie and societie, I notwithstanding omit not to continue, to embrace and converse withall, with a perfect and most lively union. Yea of mine owne inclination, I am more officious toward the deceased. They can no longer help themselves ; but (as me seemeth) they require so much the more my ayde : There is Gratitude, and there appeareth she in her perfect lustre. A benefit is lesse richly assigned, where retrogradation and reflexion is. Arcesilaus going to visit Ctesibius that was sicke, and finding him in very poore plight, faire and softly thrust some mony under his boulder, which he gave him : And concealing it from him, left and gave him also a quittance for ever being beholding to him. Such as have at any time deserved friendship, or love or thanks at my hands, never lost in the same, by being no longer with me. I have better paid and more carefully rewarded them, beeing absent and when they least thought of it. I speake more kindly and affectionately of my friends, when there is

least meanes, that ever it shall come to their eares, I have heretofore undergone a hundred quarrels for the defence of Pompey and Brutus his cause. This acquaintance continueth to this day betweene us. Even of present things wee have no other holde, but by our fantazie. Perceiving my selfe unfit and unprofitable for this age, I cast my selfe to that other; And am so besotted with it that the state of the said ancient, free, just and flourishing Rome, (for I neither love the birth, nor like the old-age of the same) doth interest, concerne and passionate me. And therefore can I not so often looke into the situation of their streets and houses, and those wondrous-strange ruines, that may be said to reach down to the Antipodes, but so often must I ammuse my selfe on them. Is it Nature or by the error of fantasie, that the seeing of places, wee know to have beene frequented or inhabited by men, whose memory is esteemed or mencioned in stories, doth in some sort moove and stirre us up as much or more, than the hearing of their noble

deeds, or reading of their compositions?

Tanta vis admonitionis inest in locis: Et CIC. S.
de Fin.
id quidem in hac urbe infinitum; quacunque

enim ingredimur, in aliquam historiam
vestigium ponimus: “So great a power of

admonition is in the very place: And that in
this Citty is most infinite; for which way

soever we walke, we set our foote upon some
History.” I am much delighted with the

consideration of their countenance, port and
abilliments. I ruminat those glorious

names betweene my teeth, and make mine
eares to ring with the sound of them. *Ego*

illos veneror, et tantis nominibus semper
assurgo: “I do reverence them, and at

their names I do rise and make curtesie.”

Of things but in some sort great, strange
and admirable, I admire their common

parts. I could wish to see them walke and
suppe together, and heare their discourses.

It were Ingratitude to despise, and impiety
to neglect the reliques or images of so many

excellent, honest good men, and therewithall
so valiant, which I have seene live and die:

And who by their examples, had we the

wit or grace to follow them, afford us so many notable instructions. And Rome as it stands now, deserveth to be loved: Confederated so long since, and sharing titles with our Crowne of France: Being the only common and universall Citie: The Sovereigne Magistrate therein commanding, is likewise knowen abroad in divers other places. It is the chiefe Metropolitan Citie of all Christian Nations: Both French and Spaniards, and all men else are there at home. To be a Prince of that state, a man needs but be of Christendome, where ever it be seated. There's no place here on earth, that the Heavens have embraced with such influence of favors and grace, and with such constancie: Even hir ruine is glorious with renowne, and swolne with glorie.

Laudandis preciosior ruinis.

Ev'n made more honourable,
By ruines memorable.

Low-levelled as she lieth, and even in the tombe of hir glory, she yet reserveth the lively image and regardfull markes of

Empire. *Ut palam sit uno in loco gaudentis opus esse naturæ*: “So as it is cleere, in one place is set-forth the worke of Nature in her jollity.” Some one would blame himsele, yea and mutinie, to feele himsele tickled with so vaine a pleasure. Our humors are not over vaine, that be pleasant. Whatsoever they be, that constantly content a man capable of common understanding, I could not finde in my heart to moane or pittie him. I am much beholding to fortune, in asmuch as untill this day, she hath committed nothing outragiously against me, or imposed any thing upon mee, that is beyond my strength, or that I could not well beare. It is not haply her custome, to suffer such as are not importunate or over busie with hir, to live in peace.

*Quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit,
A Diis plura feret, nil cupientium,
Nudus castra peto, multa petentibus,
Desunt multa.*

HOR.
Car.
lib. iii.
Od. xvi.
21, 42.

The more that men shall to themselves denie,
The more the Gods will give them : threed-bare I
Follow the campe of them that nought desire,
They still want much, that still doe much require.

If she continue so, I shall depart very well content and satisfied.

HOB.
Car. 1.
ii. Od.
xviii.
11.

———— *nihil supra*
Deos laceſso.————
More than will ſerve, to have
Of Gods I doe not crave.

But beware the ſhocke: Thouſandes miſcarry in the haven, and are caſt away being neereſt home. I am eaſily comforted with what ſhall happen heere when I am gone. Things preſent trouble me ſufficiently, and ſet me thorowly a worke.

OVID.
Metam.
l. ii.
140.

Fortunæ cætera mando.
The reſt I doe commit
To Fortune (as is fit).

Besides, I am not tied with that ſtrong bond, which ſome ſay, bindes men to future times, by the children bearing their names, and ſucceeding them in honors. And being ſo much to be deſired, it may be I ſhall wiſh for them ſo much the leſſe. I am by my ſelfe but overmuch tied unto the world, and faſtned unto life: I am pleaſed to be in Fortunes hold by the circumſtances

properly necessary to my state, without enlarging her jurisdiction upon me by other waies: And I never thought, that to be without children, were a defect, able to make mans life lesse compleat and lesse contented. A barren state or sterill vacation, have also their peculiar commodities. Children are in the number of things, that need not greatly bee desired; especially in these corrupted daies, wherein it would bee so hard a matter to make them good. *Bona jam nec nasci licet, ita corrupta sunt semina*: “We cannot now have good things so much as grow, the seeds are so corrupt.” Yet have they just cause to moane them, that having once gotten, lose them untimely. He who left me my house in charge, considering my humor, which was to stay at home so little, fore-saw I should be the overthrow of it. He was deceived: I am now as I came unto it, if not somewhat better. And that, without any Office or Church-living; which are no small helps. As for other matters, if Fortune have offred mee no violent or

extraordinary offence, so hath she not shewed me any great favour or extraordinary grace. Whatsoever I have belonging to it, that may properly be termed her gifts, was there before I came unto it; yea and a hundred yeeres before. I particularly enjoy no essentiall good, or possesse no solid benefit, that I owe unto her liberalitie: Indeed shee hath bestowed some wind-pufft favours upon me, which may rather be termed titular and honorable in shew, then in substance, or materiall: And which, in good truth, she hath not granted, but offered me. God he knowes, to me, who am altogether materiall; not satisfied but with realitie, which must also be massie and substantiall: And who, if I durst confesse it, would not thinke avarice much lesse excusable then ambition: nor grieve lesse evitable, then shame: nor health lesse desirable, then learning: or riches, lesse to be wished, then nobilitie. Amongst her vaine favours, I have none doth so much please my fond selfe-pleasing conceit, as an authenticke Bull, charter or patent of

denizonship or borgeouship of Rome, which at my last being there, was granted me by the whole Senate of that Citie: garish and trimly adorned with goodly Seales, and written in faire golden Letters: bestowed upon me with all gracious and free liberalitie. And forsomuch as they are commonly conferred in divers stiles, more or lesse favourable: and that before I had ever seene any, I would have beene glad to have had but a paterne or formular of one; I will for the satisfaction of any, if he fortune to be possessed with such a curiositie as mine, here set down the true copy or transcript of it: and thus it is.

Quod Horatius Maximus, Martius Cecius, Alexander Mutus, almæ urbis conservatores de Illustrissimo viro Michaële Montano, Equite sancti Michaëlis, et à Cubiculo Regis Christianissimi, Romana civitate donando, ad Senatum retulerunt, S.P.Q.R. de ea re ita fieri censuit.

CUM veteri more et instituto cupidè illi semper studioseque suscepti sint, qui virtute ac nobilitate præstantes, magno

Reipublicæ nostræ usui atque ornamento fuissent, vel esse aliquando possent: Nos majorum nostrorum exemplo atque auctoritate permoti, præclaram hanc Consuetudinem nobis imitandam ac servandam fore censemus. Quamobrem cùm Illustrissimus Michael Montanus Eques sancti Michaëlis, et à cubiculo Regis Christianissimi; Romani nominis studiosissimus, et familiæ laude atque splendore et propriis virtutum meritis dignissimus sit, qui summo Senatus Populique Romani judicio ac studio in Romanam Civitatem adsciscatur, placere Senatui P.Q.R. Illustrissimum Michaëlem Montanum rebus omnibus ornatissimum, atque huic inclyto Populo charissimum, ipsum posterosque in Rom. civitatem adscribi, ornarique omnibus et præmiis et honoribus, quibus illi fruuntur, qui Cives Patriiique Romani nati aut jure optimo facti sunt. In quo censere Senatum P.Q.R. se non tam illi Jus Civitatis largiri quàm debitum tribuere, neque magis beneficium dare quàm ab ipso accipere, qui hoc Civitatis munere accipiendo, singulari Civitatem ipsam ornamento

atque honore affecerit. Quam quidem S.C. auctoritatem iidem Conservatores per Senatus P.Q.R. scribas in acta referri atque in Capitolii curia servari, privilegiumque, hujusmodi fieri, solitoque urbis sigillo communiri curarunt. Anno ab urbe condita CXDCCCXXXI. post Christum natum M.D.LXXXI. III. Idus Martii.

*Horatius Fuscus sacri S.P.Q.R.
scriba.*

*Vincent Martholus sacri S.P.Q.R.
scriba.*

AT the motion of Horatius Maximus, Martius Cecius, Alexander Mutus, who are Conservators of this beautifull Cittie, concerning the endenizing and making Cittizen of Rome the noble Gentleman Michaell de Montaigne, Knight of the Order of Saint Michaell, and one of the Chamber of the most Christian King, the Senate and people of Rome thought good thereof thus to enact. Whereas by the antient custome and good order, they have ever and with good will beene entertained,

who excelling in vertue and nobilitie have been, or at any time might be of any great use or ornament unto our common-weale: Wee, mooved by example and authoritie of our Auncesters, decree, That this notable custome, by us should be ensued and observed. Wherefore, sithence the right Noble Michael de Montaigne, Knight of Saint Michaels Order, and one of the chamber of the most Christian King, both is most affectionate unto the Roman name, and by the commendations and splendor of his pedegree, as also by the merites of his proper vertues, most worthy to be adopted and inserted into the Romane Cittie with a speciall judgement and good will of the Senate and people of Rome: It pleaseth the Senate and people of Rome that the right noble Michael de Montaigne, adorned in all complements, and well-beloved of this famous Communalitie, both himselfe and his successours should be ascribed and enfranchized into this Romane Cittie, and be graced with all rewards and honours, which they enjoy, who either have

been borne, or elected, either Citizens or Noble men of Rome. Wherein the Senate and people doe decree, That they doe not so much vouchsafe him the right of their Cittie, as give him that is due unto him; nor doe they rather give him a benefite, than receive it of him, who by accepting this gift of the Cittie, doth countenance the Cittie with a singular ornament and honour. Which Act and authoritie of the Senates Decree, the saide Conservators caused by the Clearks of the Senate and people to be registred and laide-up in the Capitoll Court, and this Priveledge to be made and signed with the Citties usuall Seale. In the yeare since the building of the Cittie CXDCCCXXXI. after the birth of Christ a thousand five hundred eighty and one: the Ides of March.

Horatius Fuscus, and Vincent Martholus,
Clarks of the sacred Senate and
people of Rome.

Being neither Burgeois nor Denizon of any Cittie, I am well pleased to bee so, of

the noblest and greatest that ever was heretofore, or ever shall be hereafter. If others did so attentively consider and survey themselves as I doe, they should as I doe, finde themselves full of inanie, fondnesse or vanity. I can not be rid of it, except I rid and quit my selfe. Wee are all possessed and overwhelmed therewith, as well one as the other. But such as have a feeling of it, have somewhat the better bargaine: And yet I am not sure of it. This common opinion and vulgar custome, to looke and marke elsewhere then on our selves, hath wel provided for our affaires. It is an object full-fraught with discontent, wherein we see nothing but miserie and vanitie. To th'end we should not wholly be discomforted. Nature hath very fitly cast the action of our sight outward: Wee goe forward according to the streame, but to turne our course backe to our selves, is a painefull motion: the sea likewise is troubled, raging and disquieted, when t'is turned and driven into it selfe. Observe (saith every one) the motions and bransles

of the heavens : take a survay of all : the quarrell of this man, the pulse of that man, and anothers last testament : to conclude, behold and marke ever, high or low, right or oblique, before or behinde you. It was a paradoxall commandement, which the God of Delphos laid heeretofore upon us ; Saying : “ View your selves within ; know your selves ; and keepe you to your selves : ” Your minde and your will, which elsewhere is consumed, bring it unto it selfe againe : you scatter, you stragle, you stray, and you distract your selves : call your selves home againe ; rowze and uphold your selves : you are betrayed, you are spoiled and dissipated ; your selves are stolne and taken from your selves. Seest thou not how all this universe holdeth all his sights compelled inward, and his eyes open to contemplate it selfe ? Both inward and outward it is ever vanitie for thee ; but so much lesse vanitie, by how much lesse it is extended. Except thy selfe, Oh man, (said that God) every thing doth first seeke and study it selfe, and according to it's

neede hath limites to her travells, and bounds to her desires. There's not one so shallow, so empty, and so needy as thou art who embracest the whole world: Thou art the Scrutator without knowledge, the magistrate without jurisdiction: and when all is done, the vice of the play.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

How one ought to Govern his Will.

IN regard of the common sort of men, few things touch mee, or (to speake properly) sway me: For it is reason they touch, so they possesse-us not. I have great neede, both by study and discourse, to encrease this priviledge of insensibilitie, which is naturally crept farre into me. I am not wedded unto many things, and by consequence, not passionate of them. I have my sight cleare, but tied to few objects: My senses delicate and gentle; but my apprehension and application hard and dull: I engage my selfe with difficulty. As much as I can, I employ my selfe wholly to my selfe. And in this very subject, I would willingly bridle and uphold mine affection, lest it be too farre plunged therein; Seeing it is a Subject I possesse at the mercy of others, and over which fortune hath more interest then my selfe.

So-as even in my health, which I so much esteeme, it were requisite not to desire, nor so carefully to seeke it, as thereby I might light upon intolerable diseases. We must moderate our selves, betwixt the hate of paine, and the love of pleasure. Plato sets downe a meane course of life betweene both. But to affections that distract me from my selfe, and divert me elsewhere ; surely, to such I oppose my selfe with all my force. Mine opinion is, that one should lend himselfe to others, and not give himselfe but to himselfe. Were my will easie to engage or apply it selfe, I could not continue : I am over tender both by nature and custome,

OVID.
Trist.
 li. iii.
El. ii.
 9.

— *fugax rerum, securaque in otia natus.*

Avoiding active businesse,
 And borne to secure idlenesse.

Contested and obstinate debates, which in the end would give mine adversarie advantage, the issue which would make my earnest pursuite ashamed, would perchance torment mee cruelly. If I vexed as other men, my soule should never have strength to beare th'alaroms and emotions,

that follow such as embrace much. She would presently be displaced by this intestine agitation. If at any time I have beene urged to the managing of strange affaires, I have promised to undertake them with my hand, but not with my lungen, and liver; to charge, and not to incorporate them into mee; to have a care, but nothing at all to bee over passionate of them: I looke to them, but I hatch them not. I worke enough to dispose and direct the domesticall troubles within mine owne entrailes and veines, without harbouring, or importune my selfe with any forraine employments: And am sufficiently interested with my proper, naturall and essentiall affaires, without seeking others businesses. Such as know how much they owe to themselves; and how many offices of their owne they are bound to performe, shall finde that nature hath given them this commission fully ample and nothing idle. Thou hast businesse enough within thy selfe, therefore stray not abroad: Men give themselves to hire. Their

faculties are not their own, but theirs to whom they subject themselves; their inmates, and not themselves, are within them. This common humour doth not please me. We should thriftily husband our mindes liberty, and never engage it but upon just occasions; which if wee judge impartially, are very few in number. Looke on such as suffer themselves to be transported and swayed, they doe it everywhere. In little as well as in great matters; to that which concerneth, as easie as to that which toucheth them not. They thrust themselves indifferently into all actions, and are without life, if without tumultuary agitation. *In negotiis sunt, negotii causa*: "They are busie that they may not be idle, or else in action for actions sake." They seeke worke but to be working. It is not so much because they will goe, as for that they cannot stand still. Much like to a rowling stone, which never stayes untill it come to a lying place. To some men, employment is a marke of sufficiency and a badge of dignity. Their spirits seeke

rest in action, as infants repose in the cradle. They may be said, to be as serviceable to their friends, as importunate to themselves. No man distributes his mony to others, but every one his life and time. We are not so prodigall of any thing, as of those whereof to be covetous would be both commendable and profitable for us. I follow a cleane contrary course, I am of another complexion: I stay at home and looke to my selfe. What I wish-for, I commonly desire the same but mildely; and desire but little: so likewise I seldome employ and quietly embusie my selfe. What ever they intend and act, they doe it with all their will and vehemency. There are so many dangerous steps, that for the more security, wee must somewhat slightly and superficially slide through the world, and not force it. Pleasure it selfe is painefull in it's height.

—— *incedis per ignes,
Subpositos cineri doloso.*

You passe through fire (though unfraid)
Under deceitfull ashes laid.

HOR.
Car. 1.
ii. Od. i.
7.

The towne-counsell of Bourdeaux chose me Maior of their Citty, being farre from France ; but further from any such thought. I excused my selfe and would have avoided it. But they told mee I was to blame ; the more, because the kings commandement was also employed therein. It is a charge, should seeme so much the more goodly, because it hath neither fee nor reward, other then the honour in the execution. It lasteth two yeares, but may continue longer by a second election, which seldome hapneth. To me it was, and never had beene but twice before : Some yeares past the Lord of Lansac ; and lately to the Lord of Biron, Marshall of France. In whose place I succeeded ; and left mine to the Lord of Matigon, likewise Marshall of France. Glorious by so noble an assistance.

Uterque bonus pacis bellique minister. .

Both, both in peace and warre,
Right serviceable are.

Fortune would have a share in my promotion by this particular circumstance,

which shee of her owne added thereunto ; not altogether vaine. For Alexander disdaind the Corinthian Ambassadors, who offred him the freedome and Burgeoise of their Cittie, but when they told him that Bacchus and Hercules were likewise in their registers, hee kindly thanked them and accepted their offer. At my first arrivall, I faithfully disciphered and conscientiously displaid my selfe, such as I am indeede : without memorie, without diligence, without experience and without sufficiencie ; so likewise without hatred, without ambition, without covetousnesse and without violence : that so they might bee duely instructed what service they might, or hope, or expect at my hands. And forsomuch as the knowledge they had of my deceased father, and the honour they bare unto his memory, had mooved them to chuse me to that dignitie, I told them plainely, I should be very sorie, that any man should worke such an opinion in my will, as their affaires and Cittie had done in my fathers, while he held the said government, whereunto they

had called mee. I remembred to have seene him being an infant, and he an old man, his minde cruelly turmoiled with this publike toile; forgetting the sweete aire of his owne house, whereunto the weakenesse of his age had long before tied him; neglecting the care of his health and family, in a maner despising his life, which as one engaged for them, he much endangered, riding long and painefull journeies for them. Such a one was he: which humor proceeded from the bountie and goodnesse of his nature. Never was minde more charitable or more popular. This course, which I commend in others, I love not to follow: Neither am I without excuse. He had heard, that a man must forget himselfe for his neighbour: that in respect of the generall, the particular was not to bee regarded. Most of the worldes-rules and precepts hold this traine, to drive us out of our selves into the wide world, to the use of publike society. They presumed to worke a goodly effect, in distracting and withdrawing us from our selves: supposing wee were by a naturall

instinct, too-too much tied unto it : and to this end have not spared to say any thing. For to the wise it is no novelty, to preach things as they serve, and not as they are. Truth hath her lets, discommodities and incompatibilities with us. Wee must not often deceive others, lest we beguile our selves. And seele our eyes, and dull our understanding, thereby to repaire and amend them. *Imperiti enim judicant, et qui frequenter in hoc ipsum fallendi sunt, ne errent :* “ For unskillfull men judge, who must often even therefore bee deceived, lest they erre and bee deceived.” When they prescribe us, to love three, foure yea fifty degrees of things before our selves, they present us with the Arte of shooters who to come neerer the marke take their aime far above the same. To make a crooked sticke straight, we bend it the contrary way. I suppose that in the temple of Pallas, as we see in all other religions, they had some apparent mysteries, of which they made shew to all the people ; and others more high and secret, to bee imparted onely to

such as were professed. It is likely, that the true point of friendship, which everie man oweth to himselfe, is to be found in these. Not a false amitie, which makes us embrace glorie, knowledge, riches and such like, with a principall and immoderate affection, as members of our being; nor an effeminate and indiscreete friendship; Wherein hapneth as to the Ivie, which corrupts and ruins the Wals it claspeth: But a sound and regular amity, equally profitable and pleasant. Who so understandeth all her duties and exerciseth them, hee is rightly endenized in the Muses cabinet: Hee hath attained the tipe of humane Wisedome and the perfection of our happinesse. This man knowing exactly what hee oweth to himselfe, findeth, that he ought to employ the use of other men and of the world unto himselfe; which to performe, he must contribute the duties and offices that concerne him unto publike society. He that lives not somewhat to others, liveth little to himselfe. *Qui sibi amicus est, scito hunc amicum omnibus*

SEN.
Epist.
vi. f.

esse: “He that is friend to himselfe, know, he is friend to all.” The principall charge we have, is every man his particular conduct. And for this onely wee live heere. As he that should forget to live well and religiously, and by instructing and directing others, should thinke himselfe acquitted of his duty; would be deemed a foole: Even so, who forsaketh to live healthy and merrily himselfe, therewith to serve another, in mine opinion taketh a bad and unnaturall course. I will not, that in any charge one shall take in hand, hee refuse or thinke much of his attention, of his labour of his steps, of his speech, of his sweat, and if need be of his blood,

——— *non ipse pro charis amicis,
Aut patria timidus perire.*

Not fearing life to end
For Country or deare friend.

HOR.
Car. l.
iv. Od.
ix. 51.

But it is onely borrowed and accidentally; The mind remaining ever quiet and in health: not without action, but without vexation or passion. Simply to moove or

be dooing, costs it so little, that even sleeping it is mooving and dooing. But it must have it's motion with discretion. For the body receiveth the charges imposed him, justly as they are : But the spirit extendeth them, and often to his hinderance makes them heavy ; giving them what measure it pleaseth. Like things are effected by divers effortes and different contentions of will. The one may goe without the other. For, how many men doe dayly hazard themselves in warre which they regard not, and presse into the danger of battells, the losse wherof shall no whit breake their next sleep? Wheras some man in his own house, free from this danger, which he durst not so much as have look't towards it, is for the Wars issue more passionate, and therewith hath his minde more perplexed than the soldier, that therein employeth both his blood and life. I know how to deale in publike charges, without departing from my selfe the breadth of my naile ; and give my selfe to an other, without taking mee from my selfe : This sharpenesse and violence of desires hindreth more,

then steade the conduct of what we undertake, filling us with impacience to the events, either contrary or slow : and with bitternesse and jealousie toward those with whom wee negotiate. Wee never governe that thing well, wherewith we are possessed and directed.

———— *Malè cuncta mimstrat*

Impetus.————

Fury and haste doe lay all waste ;
Mislacing all, disgracing all.

He who therein employeth but his judgement and direction, proceeds more cheerefully : he faines, he yeelds, hee deferrers at his pleasure according to the occasions of necessity : hee failes of his attempt, without torment or affliction : ready and prepared for a new enterprise. He marcheth alwayes with the reines in his hand. Hee that is besotted with this violent and tyrannicall intention, doth necessarily declare much indiscretion and injustice. The violence of his desire transports him. They are rash motions, and if fortune helpe not much, of little fruit. Philosophie wills us to banish

choller in the punishment of offences ; not to the end revenge should be more moderate, but contrary, more weighty and surely set on : wherunto this violence seemeth to bee a let. Choller doth not onely trouble, but wearieth the executioners armes. This passionate heat dulleth and consumes their force. As in too much speede, *festinatio tarda est*: "Hastinesse is slow." Haste makes waste, and hinders and stayes it selfe: *Ipsa se velocitas implicat*: "Swiftnesse entangles it selfe." As for example, according as by ordinarie custome I perceive, covetousnesse hath no greater let, then it selfe. The more violent and extended it is, the lesse effectuall and fruitfull. Commonly it gathers wealth more speedily being masked with a shew of liberality. A very honest Gentleman and my good friend, was likely to have endangered the health of his body, by an over passionate attention and earnest affection to the affaires of a Prince, who was his Maister. Which Maister hath thus described himselfe unto me: That as another, hee discerneth and hath a feeling

of the burthen of accidents : but such as have no remedie, hee presently resolveth to suffer with patience : For the rest, after hee hath appointed necessary provisions, which by the vivacitie and nimblenesse of his wit hee speedily effects, hee then attends the event with quietnesse. Verily, I have seene in him at one instant a great carelesnesse and liberty, both in his actions and countenance : Even in important and difficult affaires. I finde him more magnanimous and capable, in bad then in good fortune. His losses are to him more glorious, than his victories ; and his mourning than his triumphs. Consider how in meere vaine and frivolous actions, as at chesse, tennis and such like sports, this earnest and violent engaging with an ambitious desire to winne, doth presently cast both minde and limmes into disorder and indiscretion. Wherein a man doth both dazle his sight and distemper his whole body. Hee who demeaneth himselfe with most moderation both in winning and loosing, is ever nearest unto himselfe, and hath his wits best about

him. The lesse hee is mooved or passionate in play, the more safely doth he governe the same, and to his greater advantage. We hinder the mindes seizure and holdfast, by giving her so many things to seize upon. Some wee should onely present unto her, others fasten upon hir, and others incorporate into hir. Shee may see and feele all things, but must onely feede on hir selfe: And bee instructed in that which properly concerneth hir, and which meerely belongeth to her essence and substance. The lawes of nature teach us what is just and fit for us. After the wise-men have told us, that according to nature no man is indigent or wanteth, and that each-one is poore but in his owne opinion, they also distinguish subtilly, the desires proceeding from Nature, from such as grow from the disorders of our fantasie. Those whose end may be discerned are meerely hers; and such as flie before us and whose end we cannot attaine, are properly ours. Want of goods may easily be cured, but the poverty of the minde, is incurable.

*Nam si, quod satis est homini, id satis esse potesset,
Hoc sat erat; nunc, quum hoc non est, qui credimus
porro*

Divitias ullas animum mi explere potesse?

If it might be enough, that is enough for man,
This were enough, since it is not, how thinke we
can

Now any riches fill
My minde and greedy will?

Socrates seeing great store of riches, jewells and pretious stuffe carried in pompe through his Citty: "Oh how many things" (quoth he) "doe not I desire!" Metrodorus lived daily with the weight of twelve ounces of foode: Epicurus with lesse: Metrocles in winter lay with sheepe, and in summer in the Cloisters of Churches. *Sufficit ad id natura, quod poscit*: "Nature is sufficient for that which it requires." Cleanthes lived by his handes, and boasted, that if Cleanthes would, he could nourish another Cleanthes. If that which Nature doth exactly and originally require at our handes, for the preservation of our being, is over little (as in truth what it is, and how good cheape

SEN.
Epist.
90.

our life may be maintained, cannot better be knowne or expressed than by this consideration. That it is so little, and for the smalnesse thereof, it is out of Fortunes reach, and she can take no hold of it) let us dispense something els unto our selves, and call the custome and condition of every-one of us by the name of Nature. Let us taxe and stint and feede our selves according to that measure; let us extend both our appurtenances and reckonings thereunto. For so farre, me seemes, we have some excuse: Custome is a second Nature, and no lesse powerfull. What is wanting to custome, I hold it a defect: And I had well nigh as leefe one should deprive mee of my life, as refraine or much abridge me of the state wherein I have lived so long. I am no more upon termes of any great alteration nor to thrust my selfe into a new and un-usuall course, no not toward augmentation: it is no longer time to become other or be transformed. And as I should complaine if any great adventure should now befall me, and grieve it came

not in time that I might have enjoyed the same.

Quo mihi fortuna, si non conceditur uti ?

Whereto should I have much,
If I to use it grutch ?

HOB.
l. i.
Epist.
v. 12.

I should likewise bee grieved at any inward purchase : I were better in a manner, never, than so late, to become an honest man : and well practised to live, when one hath no longer life. I who am ready to depart this World, could easily be induced, to resigne the share of wisdom I have learn't, concerning the Worlds commerce, to any other man new-come into the world. It is even as good as Mustard after dinner. What neede have I of that good, which I cannot enjoy ? Whereto serveth knowledge, if one have no head ? It is an injury and disgrace of Fortune, to offer us those presents, which, forsomuch as they faile us when we should most neede them, fill us with a just spite. Guide me no more : I can go no longer. Of so many dismembrings that Sufficiency hath, patience

sufficeth us. Give the capacity of an excellent treble to a Singer, that hath his lungs rotten ; and of eloquence to an Hermit confined into the Deserts of Arabia. There needes no Arte to further a fall. The end findes it selfe in the finishing of every worke. My world is at an end, my forme is expired. I am wholly of the time past. And am bound to authorize the same, and thereto conforme my issue. I will say this by way of example ; that the eclipsing or abridging of tenne dayes, which the Pope hath lately caused, hath taken me so low, that I can hardly recover my selfe. I follow the yeares, wherein we were wont to compt otherwise. So long and antient a custome doth challenge and recall me to it againe. I am thereby enforced to be somewhat an hereticke : Incapable of innovation, though corrective. My imagination maugre my teeth runnes still tenne dayes before, or tenne behinde ; and whispers in mine eares : This rule toucheth those, which are to come. If health it selfe so sweetely-pleasing, comes to me but by fittes, it is

rather to give me cause of griefe then possession of it selfe. I have no where left mee to retire it. Time forsakes mee; without which nothing is enjoyed. How small accompt should I make of these great elective dignities I see in the world, and which are onely given to men, ready to leave the world ! wherein they regard not so much how duely they shall discharge them, as how little they shall exercise them : from the beginning they looke to the end. To conclude, I am ready to finish this man, not to make another. By long custome, this forme is changed into substance, and Fortune into Nature. I say therefore, that amongst us feeble creatures, each one is excusable to compt that his owne, which is comprehended under measure. And yet all beyond these limites, is nothing but confusion.

It is the largest extension we can grant our rights. The more wee amplifie our neede and possession, the more we engage our selves to the crosses of fortune and adversities. The cariere of our desires must

be circumscribed, and tied to strict bounds of neerest and contiguous commodities. Moreover, their course should be managed, not in a straight line, having another end, but round, whose two points hold together, and end in our selves with a short compasse. The actions governed without this reflection, I meane a neere and essentiall reflection, as those of the covetous, of the ambitious and so many others, that runne directly point-blancke, the course of which carrieth them away before them, are erronious and crazed actions. Most of our vacations are like playes. *Mundus universus exercet histrioniam*: "All the world doth practise stage-playing." Wee must play our parts duly, but as the part of a borrowed personage. Of a visard and apparance, wee should not make a reall essence, nor proper of that which is another. Wee cannot distinguish the skinne from the shirt. It is sufficient to disguise the face, without deforming the breast. I see some transforme and transubstantiate themselves, into as many new formes and strange beings, as they

undertake charges: and who emprelate themselves even to the heart and entrailles; and entraine their offices even sitting on their close stoole. I cannot teach them to distinguish the salutations and cappings of such as regard them, from those that respect either their office, their traine or their mule. *Tantum se fortune permitunt, etiam ut naturam dediscant*: “They give themselves so much over to Fortune, as they forget Nature.” They swell in mind and puffe up their naturall discourse, according to the dignity of their office. The Maior of Bourdeaux, and Michaell Lord of Montaigne, have ever beene two, by an evident separation. To bee an advocate or a Treasurer, one should not be ignorant of the craft incident to such callings. An honest man is not comptable for the vice and folly of his trade, and therefore ought not to refuse the exercise of it. It is the custome of his country; and there is profite in it. Wee must live by the worlde, and such as we finde it, so make use of it. But the judgement of an Emperour should be

above his Empire; and to see and consider the same as a strange accident. Hee should know how to enjoy himselfe apart; and communicate himselfe as James and Peter; at least to himselfe. I cannot so absolutely or so deeply engage my selfe. When my will gives me to any party, it is not with so violent a bond; that my understanding is thereby infected. In the present intestine trouble of our State, my interest hath not made mee forget neither the commendable qualities of our adversaries, nor the reproachfull of those I have followed. They partially extoll what ever is on their side: I doe not so much as excuse the greater number of my friends actions. A good Oratour looseth not his grace by pleading against me. The intricatenesse of our debate remooved, I have maintained my selfe in equanimity and pure indifferency. *Neque undea necessitates belli, principiumodium genero:* "Nor beare I capitall hatred, when I am out of the necessitie of warre." Wherein I glory, for that commonly I see men erre in the contrary. Such as extend

the choller and hatred, beyond their affaires (as most men doe) shew that it proceedes elsewhence, and from some private cause: Even as one being cured of an ulcer, and his fever remaineth still, declareth it had another more hidden beginning. It is the reason they beare none unto the cause, in generall: and forsomuch as it concerneth the interest of all, and of the state: But they are vexed at it, onely for this; that it toucheth them in private. And therefore are they distempered with a particular passion, both beyond justice and publicke reason. *Non tam omnia universi, quàm ea, quæ ad quemque pertinent, singuli carpébant:* "All did not so much finde fault withall, as every one with those that appertained to every one." I will have the advantage to be for us, which though it be not, I enrage not. I stand firmly to the sounder parts. But I affect not to be noted a private enemy to others, and beyond generall reason, I greatly accuse this vicious forme of obstinate contesting: He is of the League, because he admireth the grace of the Duke of Guise:

or he is a Hugonote, forsomuch as the King of Navarres activity amazeth him: He findes fault in the Kings behaviours, therefore he is sedicious in his heart. I would not give the magistrate my voice, that he had reason to condemne a booke, because an hereticke was therein named and extolled to be one of the best Poets of this age. Dare wee not say that a theefe hath a good leg? if he have so indeede; if she be a strumpet, must she needes have a stinking breath? In wiser ages, revoked they the proud title of Capitolinus, they had formerly given to Marcus Manlius, as the preserver of religion and publicke liberty? Suppressed they the memory of his liberality, his deeds of armes and military rewards granted to his vertues, because to the prejudice of his countries lawes, he afterward affected a Royalty? If they once conceive a hatred against an Orator or an advocate, the next day he becommeth barbarous and uneloquent. I have elsewhere discoursed of zeale, which hath driven good men into like errors. For my selfe, I can say: that he doth

wickedly, and this vertuously. Likewise, in prognostickes or sinister events of affaires, they will have every man blinde or dull in his owne cause: and that our perswasion and judgement, serve not the truth but the project of our desires. I should rather erre in the other extreimity; So much I feare my desire might corrupt me. Considering, I somewhat tenderly distrust my selfe in things I most desire. I have in my dayes seene wonders, in the indiscreete and prodigious facility of people, suffering their hopes and beliefes, to bee led and governed, as it hath pleased and best fitted their leaders: above a hundred discontents, one in the neck of another: and beyond their fantasies and dreames. I wonder no more at those, whom the apish toyes of Apollonius and Mahomet have seduced and blinded. Their sence and understanding is wholly smothered in their passion. Their discretion hath no other choise but what pleaseth them and furthereth their cause. Which I had especially observed in the beginning of our distempered factions and

factions troubles. This other which is growne since, by imitation surmounteth the same. Whereby I observe, that it is an inseparable quality of popular errours. The first beeing gone, opinions entershocke one another, following the winde, as waves doe. They are no members of the body, if they may renounce it; if they folow not the common course. But truely they wrong the just partes, when they seeke to helpe them with fraude or deceipts. I have alwayes contradicted the same. This meane is but for sicke braines: The healthy have surer and honester wayes to maintaine their resolutions and excuse all contrary accidents. The Heavens never saw so weighty a discord and so harmefull a hatred, as that betweene Cæsar and Pompey; nor ever shall heereafter: Mee seemeth notwithstanding, I see in those noble and Heroicall mindes, an exemplar and great moderation of the one toward the other. It was a jalousie of honour and emulation of command, which transported them, not to a furious and indiscreete hatred; without malice or de-

traction. In their sharpest exploits, I discover some reliques of respect and cinders of well-meaning affection. And I imagine, that had it beene possible, either of them desired rather to effect his purpose without overthrowing his competitour, than by working his utter ruine. Note how contrarie the proceeding was betweene Sylla and Marius. We must not runne headlong after our affections and private interests. As in my youth, I ever opposed my selfe to the motions of love, which I felt to usurpe upon me; and laboured to diminish it's delights, lest in the end it might vanquish and captivate me to his mercy: So do I now in all other occasions, which my will apprehendeth with an over great appetite. I bend to the contrary of my disposition, as I see the same plunged and drunke with it's owne Wine. I shunne so farre foorth to nourish hir pleasure, as I may not revoke it without a bloody losse. Those mindes which through stupidity see things but by halves, enjoy this happinesse, that such as be hurtfull, offend them least:

It is a spirituall leprosie, that hath some shew of health; and such a health, as Philosophy doth not altogether contemne. But yet it may not lawfully bee termed wisdom; as we often doe. And after this manner did in former times some body mocke Diogenes, who in the dead of Winter, went all naked, embracing an image of snow, to try his patience; Who meeting him in this order, said thus unto him; "Art thou now very colde?" "Nothing at all," answered Diogenes. "What thinkest thou to doe then, that is either hard or exemplar by standing in the colde?" replied the other: "To measure constancy, we must necessarily know sufferance." But such minds as must behold crosse events, and fortunes injuries in their height and sharpnesse, which must weigh and taste them according to their naturall bitternesse and charge; let them employ their skill and keep themselves from embracing the causes, and divert their approaches. What did King Cotys? He payed liberally for that goodly and rich Vessell, which one had presented unto him,

but forsomuch as it was exceeding brittle, hee presently brake it himselfe, that so betimes he might remoove so easie an occasion of choller against his servants. I have in like sort shunned confusion in my affaires, and sought not to have my goods contiguous to my neighbours, and to such as I am to be linked in strict friendshippe: Whence commonly ensue causes of alienation and unkindnesse. I have heeretofore loved the hazardous play of Cardes and Dice; I have long since left it, onely for this that notwithstanding any faire semblance I made in my losses, I was inwardly disquieted. Let a man of honour, who is to take a lie or endure an outragious wrong, and cannot admit a bad excuse for paiment or satisfaction, avoid the progresse of contentious altercations. I shunne melancholike complexions and froward men, as infected. And in matters, I cannot talke of without interest and emotion, I meddle not with them, except duty constraine mee thereunto. *Melius non incipient, quam desinent*: "They shall better not beginne,

than leave off." The surest way, is then to prepare our selves before occasion. I know that some wisemen have taken another course ; and have not feared to engage and vehemently to insinuate themselves into diverse objects. Those assure themselves of their owne strength, under which they shrowd themselves against all manner of contrary events, making mischiefs to wrestle one against another, by vigor and vertue of patience :

VIRG. *Velut rupes vastum quæ prodit in æquor,*
Obvia ventorum furiis, expositaque ponto,
Vim cunctam atque minas perfert cœlique marisque,
 ——— *ipsa immota manens.*

Much like a rocke, which but's into the Maine,
 Meeting with windes-rage, to the Sea laid plaine,
 It doth the force of skies and Seas sustaine,
 Endure their threats, yet doth unmoov'd remaine.

Let us not imitate these examples, we shall not attaine them. They opinionate themselves resolutely to behold, and without perturbation to bee spectatours of their Countries ruine, which whilome possessed and commaunded their full will. As for

our vulgar minds, therin is too much effort and roughnesse. Cato quit thereby the noblest life that ever was. Wee seely-ones must seeke to escape the storme further off: We ought to provide for apprehension and not for patience, and avoid the blowes wee cannot withstand. Zeno seeing Chremonides a yoong man whom he loved, approach to sit neere him; rose up sodainely. Cleanthes asking him the reason? "I understand" (said hee) "that Physitions above all things prescribe rest, and forbid emotion in all tumors." Socrates saith not; yeeld not to the allurements of beauty; maintaine it, enforce your selves to the contrary: "Shunne her" (saith hee) "runne out of her sight and companie; as from a violent poison, that infecteth and stingeth farre-off." And his good Disciple, faining or reciting, but in mine opinion, rather reciting then faining, the matchlesse perfections of that great Cyrus, describeth him distrusting his forces to withstand the blandishments or allurings of the divine beautie of that famous Panthea his Captive,

Matth.
vi. 13.

committing the visitation and garde of her to an other, that had lesse liberty then himselfe. And likewise the Holy-Ghost saith *Ne nos inducas in tentationem*: "And lead us not into temptation." We pray not that our reason be not encountred and vanquished by concupiscence: but that it be not so much as assayed therewith: That we bee not reduced to an estate, where we should but suffer the approaches, sollicitations and temptations of sinne: and we entreat our Lord, to keepe our conscience quiet, fully and perfectly free from all commerce of evill. Such as say they have reason for their revenging passion, or any other minde-troubling perturbation: say often truth, as things are, but not as they were. They speake to us, when the causes of their error are by themselves fostred and advanced. But retire further backward, recall their causes to their beginning: there you surprise and put them to a non plus. Would they have their fault be lesse, because it is more ancient; and that of an unjust beginning,

the progresse be just? He that (as I doe) shall wish his countries wellfare, without fretting or pining himselfe, shall be grieved, but not swoune, to see it threatning, either his owne downefall, or a continuance no lesse ruinous. Oh seely - weake barke, whom both waves, windes and Pilote, hull and tosse to so contrary desseignes!

———— *in tam diversa, magister,*
Ventus et unda trahunt.————

Maister the wave and winde
So diverse wayes doe binde.

Who gapes not after the favour of Princes, as after a thing without which hee cannot live; nor is much disquieted at the coldnesse of their entertainment or frowning countenance nor regardeth the inconstancy of their will. Who hatcheth not his children or huggeth not honours, with a slavish propension; nor leaves to live commodiously having once lost them. Who doth good, namely for his owne satisfaction, nor is much vexed to see men censure of his actions against his merite.

A quarter of an ounce of patience provideth for such inconveniences. I finde ease in this receipt: redeeming my selfe in the beginning, as good cheape as I can: By which meanes I perceive my selfe to have escaped much trouble and manifold difficulties. With very little force, I stay these first motions of my perturbations: And I abandon the subject which beginnes to molest me, and before it transport mee. Hee that stops not the loose, shall hardly stay the course. He that cannot shut the dore against them, shall never expell them being entred. He that cannot attaine an end in the beginning, shall not come to an end of the conclusion. Nor shall hee endure the fall, that could not endure the starts of it. *Etenim ipsæ se impellunt, ubi semel à ratione discessum est: ipsaque sibi imbecillitas indulget, in altumque provehitur imprudens: nec reperit locum consistendi:* "For they drive themselves headlong, when once they are parted and past reason; and weakenesse soothes it selfe, and unawares is carried into the

CIC.
Tusc.
Qu. l. iv.

deepe, nor can it finde a place to tarry in." I feele betimes, the low windes, which are forerunners of the storme, buzze in mine eares and sound and trie mee within ?

——— *ceu flamina prima*
Cùm deprensa fremunt sylvis, et cæca volutant
Murmura, venturos nautis prodentia ventos.

VIRG.
En. 1.
 x. 97.

As first blasts in the woods perceiv'd to goe
 Whistle, and darkely speake in murmurs low,
 Foretelling Marriners what windes will grow.

How often have I done my selfe an apparant injustice, to avoide the danger I should fall into, by receiving the same, happily worse, from the judges, after a world of troubles, and of foule, and vile practises, more enemies to my naturall disposition, then fire or torment? *Convenit à litibus quantum licet, et nescio an paulo plus etiam quàm licet, abhorrentem esse; Est enim non modò liberale, paululum non nunquam de suo jure decedere, sed interdum etiam fructuosum:* "As much as wee may, and it may be more then we may, we should abhorre brabling and lawing; for it is not onely an ingenious part, but sometimes

CIC.
Off. lib.
 i.

profitable also at sometimes to yeeld a little of our right." If we were wise indeede, wee should rejoyce and glory, as I heard once a yong-gentleman, borne of a very great house, very wittily and unfainedly, rejoyce with all men that his mother had lost her sute; as if it had beene a cough, an ague, or any other yrksome burthen. The favours, which fortune might have given mee, as aliances and acquaintances with such as have Sovereaigne authority in those things; I have, in my conscience done much instantly to evoide imploying them to others prejudice, and not over-value my rights above their worth. To conclude, I have so much prevailed by my endeavours (in a good houre I may speake it) that I am yet a virgin for any sutes in law, which have notwithstanding not omitted gently to offer mee their service, and under pretence of lawfull titles insinuate themselves into my allowance, would I but have given eare unto them. And as a pure maiden from quarrels; I have without important offence, either

passive or active, lingred out a long life, and never heard worse than mine owne name: A rare grace of heaven. Our greatest agitations, have strange springs and ridiculous causes. What ruine did our last Duke of Burgundie runne into, for the quarrell of a cart-load of sheepes-skinnes? And was not the graving of a seale, the chiefe cause of the most horrible breach and topsie-turvy, that ever this worlds-frame endured? For, Pompey and Cæsar are but the new buddings and continuation of two others. And I have seene in my time, the wisest heads of this realme assembled with great ceremonie and publike charge, about treaties and agreements, the true deciding wherof depended in the meane while absolutely and soveraignely of the will and consultations held in some Ladies pate or cabinet; and of the inclination of some sillie woman. Poets have most judiciously look't into this, who but for an apple have set all Greece and Asia on fire and sword. See why that man doth hazzard both his honor and life on the

fortune of his rapier and dagger ; let him tell you whence the cause of that contention ariseth ; he can not without blushing ; so vaine and so frivolous is the occasion. To embarke him, there needes but little advise-ment, but being once-in, all parts doe worke ; Then are greater provisions re-quired, more difficult and important. How farre more easie is it not to enter, than to get forth ? We must proceed contrary to the brier, which produceth a long and straight stalke at the first springing ; but after, as tired and out of breath, it makes many and thicke knots, as if they were pawses, shewing to have no more that vigor and constancie. Wee should rather begin gently and leasurely ; and keepe our strength and breath for the perfection of the worke. We direct affaires in the beginning, and holde them at our mercie, but being once undertaken, they guide and transport us, and we must follow them. Yet may it not be sayd, that this counsell hath freed me from all difficulties, and that I have not beene often troubled to controle

and bridle my passions: which are not always governed according to the measure of occasions: whose entrances are often sharpe and violent. So is it, that thence may be reaped good fruit and profit. Except for those, who in well doing are not satisfied with any benefit, if their reputation be in question. For in truth, such an effect is not compted of but by every one to himselfe. You are thereby better satisfied, but not more esteemed, having reformed your selfe, before you come into action or the matter was in sight: yet not in this onely, but in all other duties of life, their course which aime at honour, is diverse from that, which they propound unto themselves, that follow order and reason. I finde some, that inconsiderately and furiously thrust themselves into the listes and growe slacke in the course. As Plutarke saith, that "Such as by the vice of bashfulnesse are soft and tractable to graunt whatsoever is demaunded, are afterward as prone and facile to recant and breake their word:" In like manner, he that enters lightly into

a quarrel, is subject to leave it as lightly. The same difficultie which keeps me from embracing the same, should encite me, being once mooved and therein engaged, to continue resolute. It is an ill custome. Being once embarked, one must either goe on or sinke. "Attempt coldly" (sayed Byas) "but pursue hotly." For want of judgement, our harts faile us: Which is also lesse tolerable. Most agreements of our moderne quarrels, are shamefull and false: Wee onely seeke to save apparances, and therewithst betray and dis-avow our true intentions. We salve the deede: We know how wee spake it, and in what sence the by-standers know it: yea and our friends to whom wee would have our advantages knowne. It is to the prejudice of our libertie and interest of our resolutions-honour, that we dis-avow our thoughts and seeke for starting holes in falshood, to make our agreements. Wee belie our selves, to salve a lie we have given to another. We must not looke whether your action or word may admitte another inter-

pretation, but it is your owne true and sincere construction, that you must now maintaine ; whatsoever it cost you. It is to your vertue and to your conscience that men speake ; parts that ought not to be disguised. Leave we these base courses, wrangling shifts and verball meanes, to petty-fogging Lawyers. The excuses and reparations, or satisfactions, which dayly I see made ; promised and given to purge indiscretion, seeme to me more foule than indiscretion it selfe. Better were it for one to offend his adversarie againe, than in giving him such satisfaction, to wrong himselfe so much. You have braved him mooved by choller, and now you seeke to pacifie and flatter him in your cold and better sence : Thus you abase your selfe more, than you were before exalted. I find no speech so vicious in a Gentleman, as I deeme any recantation he shall make, dishonorable ; especially if it be wrested from him by authoritie : Forsomuch as obstinacie is in him more excusable, than cowardize. Passions are to me as easie to be avoyded,

as they are difficult to be moderated. *Excinduntur facilius animo, quàm temperantur*: "They are more easilie rooted out of the minde, than brought to good temper." Hee that can not attaine to this noble Stoicall impassibilitie, let him shrowde himselfe in the bosome of this my popular stupiditie. What they did by vertue, I inure my selfe to doe by Nature. The middle region harboureth stormes; the two extreames containe Philosophers and rurall men, they concurre in tranquillity and good hap.

VIRG.
Georg.
l. ii.
490.

*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.
Fortunatus et ille, Deos qui novit agrestes,
Panâque, Silvanumque senem, Nymphâsque sorores.*
Happy is he that could of things the causes finde,
And subject to his feete all fearefulnessse of minde,
Inexorable fate, and noise of greedy Hell.
And happy he, with Countrie Gods acquainted well,
Pan and old Silvan knowes,
And al the sister shrowes.

The beginnings of all things are weake and tender. We must therefore be cleare-

sighted in beginnings: For, as in their budding wee discern not the danger, so in their full growth wee perceive not the remedy. I should have encountred a thousand crosses, daily more hard to be digested in the course of ambition, than it hath bin uneasie for me to stay the naturall inclination, that led me unto them.

——— *jure perhorruī,*

Latè conspicuum tollere verticem.——

I have beene much afraid for causes right,
To raise my foretop far abroad to sight.

HOR.
Car. 1.
iii. 16,
18.

All publike actions are subject to uncertaine and divers interpretations: For, too many heads judge of them. Some say of this my Citty employment (whereof I am content to speake a word; not that it deserves it, but to make a shew of my manners in such things) I have demeaned my selfe like one that is to slowly mooved and with a languishing affection: And they are not altogether void of reason. I strive to keepe my minde and thoughts quiet. *Cum semper Natura tum etiam ætate iam quietus:*

“Both ever quiet by Nature, and now because of yeeres.” And if at any time they are debauched to some rude and piercing impression, it is in truth without my consent. From which naturall slacknesse, one must not therefore inferre any prooffe of disability: For, Want of care and lacke of judgement are two thinges: And lesse unkindnesse and ingratitude toward those Citizens, who to gratifie me, employed the utmost of all the meanes they could possibly; both before they knew me and since. And who did much more for me, in appoynting me my charge the second time, then in choosing me the first. I love them with all my heart, and wish them all the good that may be. And truly if occasion had beene offered, I would have spared nothing to have done them service. I have stirred and laboured for them, as I doe for my selfe. They are a good people, warlike and generous; yet capable of obedience and discipline, and fit for good employment, if they be well guided. They say likewise, that I passed over this charge

of mine without any deede of note or great shew. It is true. Moreover, they accuse my cessation, when as all the world was convicted of too much dooing: I have a most nimble motion, where my will doth carrie me. But this point is an enemie unto perseverance. Whosoever will make use of mee, according to my selfe, let him employ me in affaires, that require vigor and liberty: that have a short, a straight, and therewithall a hazardous course: I may peradventure somewhat prevaile therein. Whereas if it be tedious, craftie, laborious, artificiall and intricate, they shall doe better to addresse themselves to some other man. All charges of importance are not difficult. I was prepared to labour somewhat more earnestly, if there had beene great neede. For it lyes in my power, to doe something more than I make shew-of, and than I love to doe. To my knowledge, I have not omitted any motion that duty required earnestly at my hands. I have easily forgotten those, which ambition blendeth with dutie and cloketh with

her title. It is they, which most commonly fill the eyes and eares, and satisfie men. Not the thing itselfe, but the apparence payeth them. If they heare no noise, they imagine we sleepe. My humours are contrary to turbulent humours. I could pacifie an inconvenience or trouble without troubling my selfe, and chastise a disorder without alteration.

Have I neede of choller and inflammation; I borrow it, and therewith maske my selfe: My maners are mustie, rather wallowish then sharpe. I accuse not a Magistrate that sleepeth, so they that are under it sleepe also. So sleepe the lawes. For my part, I commend a gliding, an obscure and reposed life. *Neque submissam et abjectam, neque se efferentem*: "Neither too abject and submisse, nor vaunting it selfe too much." But my fortune will have it so; I am descended of a family that hath lived without noise and tumult: and of long continuance particularly ambitious of integritie. Our men are so framed to agitation and ostentations that goodnesse,

CIC.
Off.
lib. i.

moderation, equitie, constancie, and such quiet and meane qualities, are no more hard-of. Rough bodies are felt, smooth ones are handled imperceptibly. Sickness is felt, health little or not at all: nor things that annoy us, in regard of such as sting us. It is an action for ones reputation and private commoditie, and not for the common good, to refer that to be done in the market place, which a man may do in the counsel-chamber: and at noone day, what might have been effected the night before: and to be jealous to doe that himselfe, which his fellow can performe as well. So did some Surgeons of Greece shew the operations of their skill, upon scaffolds, in view of all passengers, thereby to get more practise and custome. They suppose, that good orders cannot be understood, but by the sound of a trumpet. Ambition is no vice for pettie companions, and for such endeavours as ours. One saide to Alexander: "Your father will leave you a great commaund, easie and peacefull:" the boy was envious of his fathers victories,

and of the justice of his government. He would not have enjoyed the worlds Empire securely and quietly. Alcibiades in Plato, loveth rather to die yong, faire, rich, noble, learned, and all that in excellence, then to stay in the state of such a condition. This infirmitie is happily excusable, in so strong and full a minde. When these pettie wretched soules, are therewith enveagled; and thinke to publish their fame, because they have judged a cause rightly, or continued the order in guarding of a Citties gates; by how much more they hoped to raise their head, so much more doe they shew their simplicities. This pettie well-doing, hath neither body nor life. It vanisheth in the first moneth; and walkes but from one corner of a street to another. Entertaine therewith your sonne and your servant, and spare not. As that ancient fellow, who having no other auditor of his praises and applauding of his sufficiency, boasted with his chamber-maide, exclaiming: "Oh Perette, what a gallant and sufficient man thou hast to thy maister!"

If the worst happen, entertaine your selves in your selves: As a Counsellour of my acquaintance, having degorged a rable of paragraphes, with an extreame contention and like foolishnesse; going out of the counsell-chamber, to a pissing place neere unto it; was heard very conscientiously to utter these words to himselfe: *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*: “Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give the glory.” He that cannot otherwise, let him pay himselfe out of his owne purse. Fame doth not so basely prostitute it selfe, nor so cheape. Rare and exemplar actions, to which it duly belongeth, could not brooke the company of this innumerable multitude of vulgar petty actions. Well may a piece of marble raise your titles as high as you list, because you have repaired a piece of an olde Wall, or cleansed a common ditch; but men of judgement will never doe it. Report followeth not all goodnesse, except difficulty and rarity be joynd thereunto. Yea simple estimation, according to the Stoikes, is not due to every

PSAL.
CXV. 1.

action proceeding from vertue. Neither would they have him commended, who through temperance abstaineth from an old blear-ey'd woman. Such as have knowen the admirable qualities of Scipio the Affrican, renounce the glory which Panætius ascribeth unto him, to have abstained from gifts, as a glory, not his alone, but peculiar to that age. We have pleasures sortable to our fortune; let us not usurpe those of greatness. Our owne are more naturall. They are the more solide and firme, by how much the meaner. Since it is not for conscience, at least for ambition let us refuse ambition. Let us disdain this insaciate thirst of honour and renowne, base and beggarly, which makes us so suppliantly to crave it of all sortes of people: *Quæ est ista laus quæ possit è macello peti?* "What praise is this, which may bee fetcht out of the Shambles?" By abject meanes, and at what vile rate soever. To be thus honoured, is meerey a dishonour. Learne we to bee no more greedie of glorie, then we are capable of it. To be proud of every profitable and

CIC. *De*
Fin. l.
ii.

innocent action, is it fit for men to whom it is extraordinary and rare. They will value it, for the price it cost them. According as a good effect is more resounding; I abate of it's goodnes: the jelousie I conceive, it is produced more because it is so resounding, than because it is good. What is set-out to shew, is halfe solde. Those actions have more grace, which carelessly and under silence, passe from the handes of a Workeman, and which some honest man afterward chuseth and redeemeth from darkenesse, to thrust them into the worlds-light; Onely for their worth. *Mihi quidem laudabiliora videntur omnia, quæ sine venditione, et sine populo teste fiunt*: "All things in sooth seeme to me more commendable that are performed with no ostentation; and without the people to witness," said the most glorious man of the World. I had no care but to preserve and continue, which are deafe and insensible effects. Innovation is of great lustre: But interdicted in times, when we are most urged, and have to defend our selves but from novelties;

CIC.
Tusc.
Qu. 1.
ii.

Abstinence from doing, is often as generous, as doing: but it is not so apparant. My small worth is in a manner all of this kinde. To be short, the occasions in this my charge have seconded my complexion; for which I conne them hartly thanks. Is there any man that desireth to be sicke, to see his Physition set a worke? And should not that Physition be well whipped, who to put his arte in practize, would wish the plague to infect us? I was never possessed with this impious and vulgar passion, to wish that the troubled and distempred state of this City, might raise and honour my governe-ment. I have most willingly lent them my hand to further, and shoulders to aide their ease and tranquillity. He that will not thanke me for the good order and for the sweet and undisturbed rest, which hath accompanied my charge; cannot at least deprive me of that part, which by the title of my good fortune belongeth unto me. This is my humour, that I love as much to be happy as wise: And attribute my successes as much to the meere grace of God, as to the

meane furtherance of my operation. I had sufficiently published to the World my insufficiency in managing of such publike affaires: Nay, there is something in me, worse than insufficiency: Which is, that I am not much displeas'd therewith: and that I endeavour not greatly to cure it, considering the course of life I have determin'd to my selfe. Nor have I satisfi'd my selfe in this employment. But have almost attain'd what I had promis'd unto my selfe: Yet have I much exceed'd, what I had promis'd those, with whom I was to negotiate; For I willingly promise somewhat lesse, then I can performe, or hope to accomplish. Of this I am assur'd, I have never left offence or hatred amongst them: To have left either regret or desire of me. This know I certainly, I have not much affected it.

——— *Mêne huic confidere monstro,
Mêne salis placidi vultum, fluctúsque quietos
Ignorare!*———

VIRG.
*Æn. lib.
v. 849.*

Should I this monster trust? Should I not know
The calme Seas counterfait dissembling shew,
How quietly sometimes the flouds will go?

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

Of the Lame or Cripples.

TWO or three yeares are now past, since the yeere hath beene shortned tenne dayes in France. Oh how many changes are like to ensue this reformation! It was a right remooving of Heaven and Earth together, yet nothing remooveth from it's owne place: My Neighbours finde the season of their seede and Harvest time, the opportunity of their affaires, their lucky and unlucky dayes, to answer just those seasons to which they had from all ages assigned them. Neither was the errour heeretofore perceived, nor is the reformation now discerned in our use. So much uncertainty is there in all things: So grosse, so obscure and so dull is our understanding. Some are of opinion, this reformation might have bin redressed after a lesse incommodious maner; substracting according to the example of Augustus, for some yeares, the

bissextile or leape day: Which in some sort, is but a day of hinderance and trouble: Untill they might more exactly have satisfied the debt: Which by this late reformation is not done: For wee are yet some dayes in arrerages: And if by such meane, we might provide for times to come, appoynting that after the revolution of such or such a number of yeares, that extraordinary day might for ever be eclipsed: so that our misreckoning should not henceforward exceede foure and twenty houres. Wee have no other computation of time, but yeares: The World hath used them so many ages: And yet is it a measure, we have not untill this day perfectly established. And such, as wee dayly doubt, what forme other Nations have diversly given the same; and which was the true use of it. And what if some say, that the Heavens in growing olde presse themselves towards us, and cast into an uncertainty of houres and dayes? And as Plutarke saith of moneths; that even in his dayes, Astrologie could not yet limite

the motion of the Moone? Are not we then well help-up, to keepe a register of things past? I was even now plodding (as often I doe) upon this, what free and gadding instrument humane reason is. I ordinarily see, that men, in matters proposed them, doe more willingly ammuze and busie themselves in seeking out the reasons, than in searching out the trueth of them. They omit presuppositions, but curiously examine consequences. They leave things, and runne to causes. Oh conceited discourses! The knowledge of causes doth onely concerne him, who hath the conduct of things: Not us, that have but the sufferance of them. And who according to our neede, without entering into their beginning and essence, have perfectly the full and absolute use of them. Nor is wine more pleasant unto him that knowes the first faculties of it. Contrariwise; both the body and the minde, interrupt and alter the right, which they have of the Worlde's use and of themselves, commixing therewith the opinion of learn-

ing. The effects concerne us, but the meanes, nothing at all. To determine and distribute, belongeth to superiority and regency ; as accepting, to subjection and apprenticeshippe. Let us re-assume our custome. They commonly beginne thus : How is such a thing done ? Whereas they should say : Is such a thing done ? Our discourse is capable to frame an hundred other Worlde, and finde the beginnings and contexture of them. It needeth neither matter nor ground. Let it but runne on : It will as well build upon emptinesse, as upon fulnesse and with inanity as with matter.

Dare pondus idonea fumo.

That things which vanish straight
In smoke, should yet beare weight.

PERS.
Sat. v.
20.

I finde, that wee should say most times : “There is no such thing.” And I would often employ this answer ; but I dare not : for they cry ; It is a defeature produced by ignorance and weakenesse of spirite. And

I must commonly juggle for company sake, to treat of idle subjects and frivolous discourses, which I believe nothing at all. Since truly, it is a rude and quarrelous humour, flatly to deny a proposition. And few misse (especially in things hard to be perswaded) to affirme, that they have seene it: Or to alleadge such witnesses, as their authoritie shall stay our contradiction. According to which use, we know the foundations and meanes of a thousand things that never were. And the world is in a thousand questions descanted and bandied too and fro; the *pro* and *contra* of which is meerly false. *Ita finitima sunt falsa veris, ut in præcipitem locum non debeat se sapiens committere*: "Falsehood is so neere Neighbour to trueth, that a wise-man should not put himselfe upon a slipperie downefal. Truth and falsehood have both alike countenances, their port, their taste and their proceedings semblable." Wee beholde them with one same eyes. I observe that we are not onely slowe in defending our selves from deceipt, but that wee seeke

CIC. ~
 Acad.
 Qu.
 lib. iv.

and sue to embrace it. Wee love to meddle and entangle our selves with vanity, as conformable unto our being. I have seene the birth of divers miracles in my dayes. Although they be smothered in their first growth, wee omit not to foresee the course they would have taken, had they lived their full age. The matter is to finde the end of the clue; that found, one may winde-off what he list: And there is a further distance from nothing to the least thing in the World, than betweene that and the greatest. Now the first that are embued with the beginning of strangenesse, comming to publish their history, finde by the oppositions made against them, where the difficulty of perswasion lodgeth; and goe about with some false patch, to botch uppe those places. Besides that, *Insita hominibus libidine alendi de industria rumores*: "Men having a natural desire to nourish reports." We naturally make it a matter of conscience, to restore what hath beene lent us, without some usury and accession of our encrease. A par-

ticular error, doeth first breede a publike error: And when his turne commeth, a publike error begetteth a particular error. So goeth all this vast frame, from hand to hand, confounding and composing it selfe; in such sort that the furthest-abiding testimonie, is better instructed of it, then the nearest: and the last informed, better perswaded then the first. It is naturall progresse: For, whosoever beleeveth any thing, thinkes it a deede of charity, to perswad it unto another: Which, that hee may the better effect, hee feareth not to adde something of his owne invention thereunto, so farre as hee seeth necessary in his discourse, to supply the resistance and defect, hee imagineth to bee in anothers conception. My selfe, who make an especiall matter of conscience to lie, and care not greatly to ad credit or authority to what I say, perceive nevertheles, by the discourses I have in hand, that being ernested, either by the resistance of another, or by the earnestnes of my narration; I swell and amplifie my subject by my voyce,

motions, vigor and force of wordes : as also by extension and amplification, not without some prejudice to the naked truth. But yet I doe it upon condition, that to the first that brings mee home againe, and enquireth for the bare and simple truth at my hands : I sodainely give over my hold, and without exaggeration emphasis or amplification, I yeeld both my selfe and it unto him. A lively, earnest and ready speech as mine, is easie transported unto hyperboles. There is nothing whereunto men are ordinarily more prone, then to give way to their opinions. Where ever usuall meanes faile us, wee adde commandement, force, fire and sword. It is not without some ill fortune to come to that passe, that the multitude of believers, in a throng where fooles doe in number so farre exceede the wise, should bee the best touchstone of truth. *Quasi verò quidquam sit tam valdè, quàm nil sapere vulgare. Sanitatis patrociniū est, insanientium turba :*

“As though anything were so common as to have no wit. The multitude of them

CIC.
De
Divin.
l. ii.

that are mad, is a defence for them that are in their wits." It is a hard matter for a man to resolve his judgement against common opinions. The first perswasion taken from the very subject, seizeth on the simple: whence under th'authority of the number and antiquity of testimonies, it extends it selfe on the wiser sort. As for me, in a matter, which I could not believe being reported by one: I should never credite the same, though affirmed by a hundred. And I judge not opinions, by yeares. It is not long since one of our Princes, in whom the gowt had spoiled a gentle disposition and blithe composition; suffered himselfe so farre to bee perswaded or mis-led, by the report made unto him of the wondrous deedes of a Priest, who by way of charmes, spells and gestures cured all diseases; that hee undertooke a long-tedious journey to finde him out: and by the vertue of his apprehension did so perswade, and for certaine houres so lull his legs asleepe, that for a while hee brought them to doe him that service, which

for a long time they had forgotten. Had fortune heaped five or six like accidents one in the necke of another, they had doubtlesse beene able to bring this miracle into nature. Whereas afterward there was so much simplicity and so little skill found in the architect of these workes, that he was deemed unworthy of any punishment: As likewise should bee done with most suchlike things, were they throughly knowen in their nature. *Miramur ex intervallo fallentia*: “Wee wonder at those things that deceive us by distance.” Our sight doth in such sort, often represent us a farre-off with strange images, which vanish in approaching neerer. *Nunquam ad liquidum fama perducitur*: “Fame is never brought to be cleare.” It is a wonder, to see how from many vaine beginnings and frivolous causes, so famous impressions doe ordinarily arise and ensue. Even that hindereth the information of them: For, whilst a man endeavoureth to finde out causes, forcible and weighty ends, and worthy so great a name, hee looseth the true and essentiall. They are so little,

that they escape our sight. And verily a right wise, heedy and subtile inquisitor is required in such questings; imparciall and not preoccupied. All these miracles and strange events, are untill this day hidden from me: I have seene no such monster, or more expresse wonder in this world, then my selfe. With time and custome a man doth acquaint and enure him selfe to all strangenesse: But the more I frequent and know my selfe, the more my deformity astonieth me: and the lesse I understand my selfe. The chiefest priviledge to produce and advance such accidents, is reserved unto fortune. Travelling yesterday thorough a village, within two leagues of my house, I found the place yet warme of a miracle that was but newly failed and discovered, wherewith all the country thereabout had for many months bene ammused and abused; and diverse bordering Provinces began to listen unto it, and severall troupes of all qualities ceased not thicke and threefold to flocke thither. A yong man of that towne, undertooke one

night in his owne house (never dreaming of any knavery) to counterfeit the voice of a spirit or ghost, but onely for sport, to make himselfe merry for that present, which succeeding better then he had imagined ; to make the jest extend further, and himselfe the merrier, he made a country-maiden acquainted with his devise ; who because she was both seely and harmelesse, consented to bee secret and to second him : In the end they got another, and were now three, all of one age and like sufficiency : and from private spirit-talking, they beganne with hideous voices to cry and roare aloud, and in, and about churches hiding themselves under the chiefe Altar, speaking but by night, forbidding any light to bee set up : From speeches tending the worldes subversion, and threatning of the day of judgement (which are the subjects, by whose authority and abusive reverence, imposture and illusion, is more easily lurked) they proceeded to certaine visions and strange gestures, so foolish and ridiculous, that ther is scarce any thing more grosse and

absurd used among Children, in their childish sports. Suppose I pray you, that fortune would have seconded this harmelesse devise or juggling tricke; Who knoweth how farre it would have extended, and to what it would have growen? The poore seely three Divels are now in prison, and may happily e're long pay deere for their common sottishnesse; and I wot not whether some cheverell judge or other, will bee avenged of them for his. It is manifestly seene in this, which now is discovered; as also in divers other things of like quality, exceeding our knowledge; I am of opinion that we uphold our judgement, as well to reject, as to receive. Many abuses are engendered in the World; or to speake more boldly, all the abuses of the World are engendered upon this, that we are taught to feare to make profession of our ignorance; and are bound to accept and allow, all that wee cannot refute. Wee speake of all things by precepts and resolution. The Stile of Rome did beare, that even the same, that a witnes deposed, because he

had seene it with his owne eyes ; and that which a Judge ordained of his most assured knowledge, was conceived in this form of speech, "It seemeth so unto me." I am drawn to hate likely things, when men goe about to set them downe as infallible. I love these wordes or phrases, which mollifie and moderate the temerity of our propositions : "It may be : Peradventure : In some sort : Some : It is saide : I thinke," and such like : And had I beene to instruct children, I would so often have put this manner of answering in their mouth ; enquiring, and not resolving : "What meanes it ? I understand it not : It may well bee : Is it true ?" that they should rather have kept the forme of learners, untill three score yeeres of age, than present themselves Doctors at ten ; as many doe. Whosoever will be cured of ignorance, must confesse the same. Iris is the daughter of Thaumantis. Admiration is the ground of all Philosophie : Inquisition the progresse : Ignorance the end. Yea but there is some kinde of ignorance strong and generous,

that for honor and courage is nothing beholding to knowledge: An ignorance, which to conceive rightly, there is required no lesse learning, than to conceive true learning.

Being yong, I saw a law-case, which Corras a Counsellor of Tholouse caused to bee printed of a strange accident of two men, who presented themselves one for another. I remember (and I remember nothing else so well) that me thought, he proved his imposture, whom he condemned as guilty, so wondrous strange and so far-exceeding both our knowledge and his owne, who was judge, that I found much boldnes in the sentence which had condemned him to be hanged. Let us receive some forme of sentence that may say: "The Court understands nothing of it;" more freely and ingenuously, than did the Areopagites; who finding themselves urged and entangled in a case they could not well cleare or determine, appointed the parties to come againe and appeare before them a hundred yeares after. The witches about my

countrie, are in hazard of their life, upon the opinion of every new authour, that may come to give their dreames a body. To apply such examples as the holy word of God offreth us of such things (assured and irrefragable examples) and joine them to our moderne events ; since wee neither see the causes nor meanes of them, some other better wit then ours is thereunto required. Peradventure it appertaineth to that onely most-mightie testimony, to tell us: This here, and that there ; and not this other are of them. God must be beleaved ; and good reason he should be so. Yet is there not one amongst us, that will be amazed at his owne narration (and he ought necessarily to be astonished at it, if he be not out of his wits) whether he employ it about others matters ; or against himselfe. I am plaine and homely, and take hold on the maine point, and on that which is most likely ; avoiding ancient reproches. *Majorem fidem homines adhibent iis quæ non intelligunt. Cupidine humani ingenii libentius obscura creduntur* : “Men give more credite to

things they understand not: Things obscure are more willingly beleev'd through a strange desire of mans wit." I see that men will be angry: and am forbid to doubt of it upon paine of execrable injuries. A new manner of perswading. Mercie for Gods sake. My believe is not carried away with blowes. Let them tyrannize over such as accuse their opinion of falsehood; I onely accuse mine of difficulty and boldnesse. And equally to them I condemne the opposite affirmation: if not so imperiously. He that with bravery and by commaundement will establish his discourse, declareth his reason to bee weake: For a verball and scholasticall altercation, that they have as much apparence as their contradictors. *Videantur sanè, non affirmantur modò*: "Indeede let them seeme, so they bee not avouched." But in effectuall consequence they draw from it, these have great ods. To kill men; there is required a bright-shining and cleare light. And our life is over-reall and essentiall, to warrant these supernaturall and fantasticall

accidents. As for drugges and poisons, they are out of my element: they are homicides, and of the worst kinde. In which neverthelesse, it is said, that one must not alwayes reliee upon the meere confession of those people: For, they have sometimes beene seene to accuse themselves, to have made away men which were both sound and living. In these other extravagant accusations, I should easily say that it sufficeth what commendations soever he hath, a man be believed in such things as are humane: but of such as are beyond his conception and of a supernaturall effect, hee ought then onely be believed, when a supernaturall approbation hath authorized him. That priviledge it hath pleased God to give some of our testimonies, ought not to bee vilified, or slightly communicated. Mine eares are full of a thousand such tales. Three saw him such a day in the East; three saw him the next day in the West; at such an houre; in such a place; and thus and thus attired; verily in such a case I could not beleve my selfe. How much

more naturall and more likely doe I finde it, that two men should lie, then one in twelve houres, passe with the windes, from East to West? How much more naturall, that our understanding may by the volubility of our loose-capring minde be transported from his place? then that one of us should by a strange spirit, in flesh and bone, be carried upon a broome through the tunnell of a chimney? Let us, who are perpetually tossed too and fro with domesticall and our owne illusions, not seeke for forraine and unknowen illusions. I deeme it a matter pardonable, not to beleeve a wonder, so farreforth at least as one may divert and exclude the verification by no miraculous way. And I follow Saint Augustines opinion, that a man were better bend towards doubt, than encline towards certaintie, in matters of difficult triall and daungerous beliefe. Some yeares are now past, that I travelled through the country of a soveraigne Prince: who in favour of mee, and to abate my incredulity, did mee the grace, in his owne presence,

and in a particular place, to make mee see tenne or twelve prisoners of that kinde; and amongst others an olde beldam witch; a true and perfect sorceresse, both by her uglines and deformity; and such a one as long before was most famous in that profession. I sawe both proofes, witnesses, voluntary confessions, and some other insensible markes about this miserable olde woman; I enquired and talked with her a long time, with the greatest heed and attention I could; yet am I not easily carried away by preoccupation. In the end, and in my conscience, I should rather have appointed them Helleborum, than Hemlocke. *Captisque res magis mentibus, quàm consceleratis similis visa*: “The matter seemed liker to mindes captivate then guiltie.” Law hath her owne corrections for such diseases. Touching the oppositions and arguments, that honest men have made unto mee, both there, and often else-where, I have found none that tie mee; and that admit not alwayes a more likely solution, than their conclusions.

True it is, that proofes and reasons grounded upon the fact and experience. I untie not : for indeede they have no end ; but often cut them, as Alexander did his knotte. When all is done, it is an over-valuing of ones conjectures, by them to cause a man to be burned alive. It is reported by diverse examples (and Præstantius saith of his father) that being in a slumber much more deeply, then in a full-sound sleepe, he dreamed and verily thought himselfe to be a Mare, and served certaine souldiers for a sumpter-horse, and was indeede what he imagined to bee. If sorcerers dreame thus materially : If dreames may sometimes be thus incorporated into effects : I cannot possibly believe, that our will should therefore be bound to the lawes and justice : which I say, as one who am neither a Judge, nor a Counsellor unto Kings, and furthest from any such worthinesse : but rather a man of the common stamp, and both by my deedes and sayings, borne and vowed to the obedience of publique reason. Hee that should register my humours, to the prejudice

of the simplest lawe, or opinion, or custome of this village, should greatly wrong himsele, and injury me as much. For in what I say, I gape for no other certainty, but that such was then my thought. A tumultuous and wavering thought. It is by way of discourse that I speake of all; and of nothing by way of advise. *Nec me pudet, ut istos, fateri nescire, quod nesciam:* “Nor am I ashamed, as they are, to confesse I know not that which I doe not knowe.”

I would not bee so hardy to speake, if of duty I ought to bee believed: and so I answered a great man, who blamed the sharpenesse and contention of my exhortations. When I see you bent and prepared on one side; with all the endeavour I can, I will propose the contrary unto you; to resolve and enlighten your judgement, not to subdue or binde the same: God hath your heartes in his handes, and hee will furnish you with choise. I am so malapert, as to desire, that my opinions alone, should give sway to a matter of such importance. My fortune hath not raised them to so powerfull

and deepe conclusions. Truely, I have not onely a great number of complexions, but an infinite many of opinions, from which, had I a sonne of mine owne, I would disswade him, and willingly make him to distaste them. What? If the truest are not ever the most commodious for man; he being of so strange and untamed a composition: Whether it be to the purpose, or from the purpose, it is no great matter. It is a common Proverbe in Italie, that He knowes not the perfect pleasure of Venus, that hath not laine with a limping Woman. Either fortune, or some particular accident have long since brought this by-saying in the peoples mouth: and it is as well spoken of men as of women: For the Queene of the Amazons answered the Scithian, that wooed her to loves-embracements, ἀρισταχολὸς οἴφει: "The croked man doeth it best." In that feminine common-wealth of theirs, to avoyde the domination of men, they were wont in their infancy to maime them, both their armes and legges and other limmes, that might any way advantage their strength

over them, and made onely that use of them, that we in our World make of our Women. I would have saide, that the loose or disjoynted motion of a limping or crooke-backt Woman, might adde some new kinde of pleasure unto that businesse or sweet sinne, and some un-assaid sensuall sweetnesse, to such as make triall of it: but I have lately learnt, that even ancient Philosophy hath decided the matter: Who saith, that the legs and thighs of the crooked-backt or halting-lame, by reason of their imperfection, not receiving the nourishment, due unto them, it followeth that the Genitall partes, that are above them, are more full, better nourished and more vigorous. Or else, that such a defect hindring other exercise, such as are therewith possessed, do lesse waste their strength and consume their vertue, and so much the stronger and fuller, they come to Venus sportes. Which is also the reason why the Græcians described their Women-Weavers, to bee more hotte and earnestly-luxurious, than other Women: Because of their

sitting-trade, without any violent exercise of the body. What cannot we dispute of according to that rate? I might likewise say of these, that the same stirring, which their labour, so sitting doth give them, doth rouze and sollicite them, as the jogging and shaking of their Coache, doth our Ladies. Doe not these examples fit that whereof I spake in the beginning? That our reasons doe often anticipate the effect, and have the extension of their jurisdiction so infinite, that they judge and exercise themselves in inanity, and to a not being? Besides the flexibility of our invention, to frame reasons unto all manner of dreames; our imaginations is likewise found easie to receive impressions from falsehood, by very frivolous appearances. For, by the onely authority of the antient and publicke use of this word or phrase, I have heretofore perswaded my selfe, to have received more pleasure of a Woman, in that she was not straight, and have accompted hir crookednesse in the number of hir graces. Torquato Tasso, in

the comparison he makes betweene Italy and France, reporteth to have noted, that we commonly have more slender and spiny legges, than the Italian Gentlemen; and imputeth the cause unto our continuall riding and sitting on horse-backe. Which is the very same, from which Suetonius draweth another cleane contrary conclusion: For, he saith, that Germanicus had by the frequent use of this exercise, brought his to be very big. There is nothing so supple and wandering, as our understanding. It is like to Theramenez shooe, fit for all feet. It is double and diverse, and so are matters diverse and double. "Give me a Dragma of Silver," saide a Cinike Philosopher unto Antigonus: "It is not the present of a King," answered he; "Give then a talent:" "It is no gift for a Cinike," quoth he:

*Seu plures calor ille vias, et cæca relaxat
Spiramenta, novas veniat qua succus in herbas:
Seu durat magis, et venas astringit hiantes,
Ne tenues pluvicæ, rapidive potentia solis
Acrior, aut Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurat.*

VIRG.
Georg.
li. i.
89.

Whether the heate layes open holes unseene,
Whereby the sappe may passe to hearbs fresh-
greene :

Or rather hardens and bindes gaping vaines,
Lest sharpe power of hot sunne, or thinning
raines,

Of piercing North-cold blaste,
Should scorch, consume and waste.

Ogni medaglia ha il suo riverscio : “ Each outside hath his inside,” saith the Italian. Lo why Clitomachus was wont to say, that Carneades had surmounted the labours of Hercules ; because he had exacted consent from men ; that is to say opinion and temerity to judge. This fantasie of Carneades, so vigorous (as I imagine) proceeded antiently, from the impudency of those, who make profession to know ; and from their excessive selfe-overweening. Æsope was set to sale, together with two other slaves ; a Chapman enquired of the first, what he could doe : he to endear himselfe, answered, mountaines and wonders, and what not ? For he knew and could doe all things. The second answered even so for himselfe, and more

too: But when he came to Æsope, and demaunded of him what he could doe: "Nothing" (said he) "for these two have forestaled all, and know and can doe all things, and have left nothing for mee." So hath it happened in the schoole of philosophy. The rashnes of those who ascribed the capacity of all things to mans wit, through spight and emulation produced this opinion in others, that humane wit was not capable of any thing. Some holde the same extremity in ignorance, that others hold in knowledge. To the end none may deny, that man is not immoderate in all and every where: and hath no other sentence or arrest, than that of necessity, and impuissance to proceede further.

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

Of Physiognomy.

ALMOST all the opinions we have, are taken by authority, and upon credit: There is no hurt. We cannot chuse worse, then by our selves, in so weake an age. This image of Socrates his discourse, which his friends have left us, we only approve it, by the reverence of publicke approbation. It is not of our owne knowledge: they are not according to our use. Might such a man be borne now adayes, there are but few would now esteeme him. Wee discern not graces inlie or aright; We onely perceive them by a false light set out and pufft up with arte: Such as passe under their naturall purity and simplicity, doe easily escape so weake and dimme a sight as ours is. They have a secret, unperceived and delicate beauty: he had neede of a cleere, farre-seeing and true-discerning sight, that

should rightly discover this secret light. Is not ingenuity (according to us) cosin-germaine unto sottishnesse, and a quality of reproach? Socrates maketh his soule to moove, with a naturall and common motion. Thus saith a plaine Country-man, and thus a seely Woman: Hee never hath other people in his mouth, than Coach-makers, Joyners, Coblers and Masons. They are inductions and similitudes, drawn from the most vulgar and knowen actions of men: every one understands him. Under so base a forme, wee should never have chosen the noble worthinesse and brightnesse of his admirable conceptions: Wee that esteeme all those but meane and vile, that learning doth not raise: and who have no perceiving of riches, except set out in shew and pompe. Our World is framed but unto ostentation. Men are puffed up with winde, and moved or handled by bounds, as Baloones. This man proposeth no vaine fantasies unto himselfe. His end was, to store us with things and furnish us with precepts, which

really more substantially and jointly serve our life :

LUCAN.
Bel.
Civ.
lib. ii.
380.

——— *servare modum, finemque tenere,
Naturamque sequi.*

To keepe a meane, to hold the end,
And natures conduct to attend.

So was he ever all one alike : And raised himselfe to the highest pitch of vigor, not by fits, but by complexion. Or to say better ; he raised nothing, but rather brought downe and reduced all difficulties, or sharpenesse to their originall and naturall state, and thereunto subdued vigor. For, in Cato, it is manifestly seene, to be an outright proceeding, far-above and beyond the common : By the brave exploits of his life, and in his death, hee is ever perceived to be mounted upon his great horses. Whereas this man keeps on the ground, and with a gentle and ordinary pace, treateth of the most profitable discourses, and addresseth himselfe both unto death and to the most thorny and crabbed crosses, that may happen unto the course of humane life. It hath indeede fortun'd, that the

worthiest man to be known, and for a patterne to be presented to the world, he is the man of whom we have most certaine knowledge. He hath beene declared and enlightned by the most cleare-seeing men, that ever were; the testimonies wee have of him, are in faithfulness and sufficiency most admirable. It is a great matter, that ever he was able to give such order unto the pure imaginations of a childe, that without altring or wresting them, he hath thence produced the fairest effects of our minde. He neither represents it rich nor high-raised; but sound and pure: and ever with a blithe and undefiled health. By these vulgar springs and naturall wards: by these ordinary and common fantasies, sans mooving or without urging himselfe, hee erected not onely the most regular, but the highest and most vigorous opinions, actions and customes, that ever were. Hee it is, that brought humane wisdom from heaven againe, where for a long time it had beene lost, to restore it unto man: where her most just and laborious worke is.

See or heare him pleade before his judges ; marke with what reasons hee rouzeth his courage to the hazards of warre, what arguments fortifie his patience against detraction, calumniation, tyranny, death, and against his wives peevish head : therein is nothing borrowed from arte, or from learning. The simplest may there know their meanes and might : it is impossible to goe further backe or lower. He hath done humane nature a great kindenesse, to shew what and how much she can doe of her selfe. Wee are every one richer then we imagine, but we are taught to borrow, and instructed to shift ; and rather to make use of others goods and meanes, then of our owne. There is nothing whereon man can stay or fix himselfe in time of his neede. Of voluptuousnesse, of riches, of pleasure, of power, hee ever embraceth more, then hee can graspe or hold. His greedinesse is incapable of moderation. The very same I finde to bee in the curiosity of learning and knowledge : he cuts out more worke then hee can well make an end of : and

much more then he neede. Extending the profit of learning, as farre as his matter.

Ut omnium rerum, sic literarum quoque intemperantia laboramus: “Wee are sicke of a surfet, as of all things, so of learning also.” And Tacitus hath reason to commend Agricolaes mother, to have brideled in her sonne an over-burning and earnest desire of learning. It is a good, being neerely looked unto, that containeth as other humane goods, much peculiar vanitie and naturall weakenesse: and is very chargeable. The acquisition and purchase whereof is much more hazardous, then of all other viandes and beverage. For, whatsoever else wee have bought, we carry home in some vessell or other, where wee have law to examine it’s worth: how much, and at what time wee are to take-it. But Sciences, wee cannot sodainely put them into any other vessell, then our minde: we swallow them in buying them and goe from the market either already infected or amended. There are some, which insteade of nourishing, doe but hinder and surcharge us; and

SEN.
Epist.
106. ff.

other some, which under colour of curing, empoison us. I have taken pleasure in some place, to see men, who for devotions sake have made a vow of ignorance, as of chastity, poverty and penitence. It is also a kind of guelding of our inordinate appetites, to muzzle this greedinesse, which provoketh us to the study of bookes, and deprive the minde of that voluptuous delight, which by the opinion of learning doth so tickle us. And it is richly to accomplish the vow of poverty, to joine that of the minde unto it. Wee neede not much learning for to live at ease. And Socrates teacheth us, that wee have both it, and the way to finde and make use of it, within us. All our sufficiency, that is beyond the naturall, is wellnigh vaine and superfluous. It is much, if it charge and trouble us no more, then it steads us. *Paucis opus est literis ad mentem bonam*: "Wee have neede of little learning to have a good minde." They are febricitant excesses of our spirit: a turbulent and unquiet instrument. Rowze up your selfe, and you shall finde forcible

SEN.
Epist.
106 f.

arguments against death to bee in your selfe ; most true and very proper to serve and steade you in time of necessity. T'is they which induce a peasant swaine, yea and whole nations to die as constantly as any Philosopher. Should I have died lesse merrily before I read the Thusculanes ? I thinke not. And when I finde my selfe in my best wits, I perceiue, that I have somewhat enriched my tongue ; my courage but little. It is even as nature framed the same at first. And against any conflict, it shields it selfe, but with a natural and common march. Bookes have not so much served me for instruction, as exercitation. What if learning, assaying to arme us with new wardes and fences, against naturall inconveniences, hath more imprinted their greatnesse and weight in our fantasie, then her reasons, quidities and subtilities, therewith to cover us ? They are subtilities indeed ; by which she often awaketh us very vainely. Observe how many sleight and idle arguments the wisest and closest authours frame and scatter about one good

sound: which if you consider neerely, are but vaine and incorporall. They are but verball wyles, which beguile us. But forsomuch as it may bee profitable: I will not otherwise blanch them. Many of that condition are scattered here and there, in diverse places of this volume; either borrowed or imitated. Yet should a man somewhat heed, he call not that force, which is but quaintnes; or terme that which is but quipping sharpe, solide; or name that good, which is but faire: *Quæ magis gustata quàm potata delectant*: “Which more delight us being but tasted, then swild and swallowed downe.” All that which pleaseth, feedeth not: *Ubi non ingenii sed animi negotium agitur*: “Where it is no matter of wit, but of courage.” To see the struggling endeavours which Seneca giveth himselfe, to prepare himselfe against death; to see him sweate with panting; to see him bathe so long upon this pearch, thereby to strengthen and assure himselfe: I should have made question of his reputation, had he not most undant-

CIC.
Tusc.
Qu. 1. v.

edly maintained the same in his death. His so violent and frequent agitation, sheweth that himselfe was fervent and impetuous. *Magnus animus remissius loquitur, et securius: Non est alius ingenio, alius animo color:* “A great courage speakes softly but securely. Wit hath not one colour, and courage another.” He must be convicted at his owne charges. And sheweth in some sort, that hee was pressed by his adversary. Plutarkes maner by how much more disdainfull and farre-extending it is (in my opinion) so much more manlike and perswasive is it: I should easily beleeve, that his soule had her motions more assured and more regular. The one more sharpe, pricketh and sodainely starts us: toucheth the spirit more. The other more solide, doth constantly enforme, establish and comfort us: toucheth more the understanding. That ravisheth our judgement; this doth gaine it. I have likewise seene other compositions and more revered, which in .purtraying the combate, they endure against the provocations of the

SEN.
Epist.
cxv. El.
i.

flesh, represent them so violent, so powerfull and so invincible, that our selves, who are cast in the common mould of other men, have as much to admire the unknowen strangenesse and unfelt vigor of their temptation, as their constant resistance. To what purpose doe we so arme and steele our selves with these labouring-efforts of learning? Let us diligently survey the surface of the earth, and there consider so many seely-poore people as wee see toyl-ing, sweltring and drooping about their businesse, which never heard of Aristotle, nor of Plato, nor ever knew what examples or precepts are. From those doth nature dayly draw and affoord us effects of constancy and patterns of patience, more pure and forcible, then are those, we so curiously study-for in schooles. How many do I ordinarily see, that misacknowledge poverty; how many that wish for death, or that passe it without any alaram or affliction? A fellow that dungeth my gardine, hath happily this morning buried his father or his childe. The very names

whereby they call diseases, doe somewhat mylden and diminish the sharpenes of them. With them a Phthisique or consumption of the lungs, is but an ordinary cough: A dysenterie or bloody flix, but a distemper of the stomacke: A pleurisie but a cold or murre: and as they gently name them, so they easily endure them. Grievous are they indeed, when they hinder their ordinary labour or breake their usuall rest: They will not take their beds but when they thinke they shall dy. *Simplex illa et aperta virtus in obscuram et solertem scientiam versa est*: "That plaine and cleare vertue is turned into obscure and cunning knowledge." I was writing this about a time that a boistrous storme of our tumultuous broiles and bloody troubles, did for many months space, with all it's might and horroure, hang full over my head. On the one side, I had the enemies at my gates; on the other, the Picoreurs or freebooters, farre worse foes. *Non armis sed vitiis certatur*: "We contend not with armour, but with vices." And at one time

felt and endured all manner of harme-bringing military injuries :

OVID.
Pont. l.
i. El.
iv. 55.

*Hostis adest dextra lævâque à parte timendus,
Vicinôque malo terret utrâmqve latus.*

A fearefull foe on left hand and on right,
Doth with his neighbour harmes both sides
afright.

Oh monstrous Warre: Others worke without; this inwardly and against hir selfe: And with her owne venome gnaweth and consumes her selfe. It is of so ruinous and maligne a Nature; that together with all things els, she ruineth her selfe: and with spitefull rage, doth rent, deface and massacre it selfe. Wee doe more often see it, by and through hir selfe, to waste, to desolate and dissolve hir selfe, then by or through want of any necessary thing, or by enemies force. All manner of discipline doth shunne and flie it. She commeth to cure sedition, and hir selfe is throughly therewith infected: She goeth about to chastize disobedience, and sheweth the example of it: and being employed for the

defence of Lawes, entreth into actual rebellion against her owne ordinances. Aye me, where are we? Our Physicke bringeth infection.

*Nostre mal s'empoysonne
Du secours qu'on luy donne.*

Our evill is empoysond more
By plaister they would lay to th'sore.

——— *exuperat magis ægrescitque modendo.*

It rises higher, quicker,
And growes by curing sicker.

VIRG.
Æn. l.
xii. 46.

*Omnia fanda nefanda malo permista furore,
Justificam nobis mentem avertere Deorum.*

CATUL.
Argon.
v. 405.

Lawfull unlawfull deedes with fury blended,
Have turn'd from us the Gods just minde
offended.

In these popular diseases, one may in the beginning distinguish the sound from the sicke: but if they chance to continue any time, as ours hath done and doth still, all the body, yea head and heeles feele themselves the worse: no part is exempted from corruption. For, there is no aire a man drawes so greedily, or sucks so gluttonously: and that more spreads it selfe, or

penetrates more deeply, then doth licentiousnesse. Our Armies have no other bond to tie them, or other ciment to fasten them, then what commeth from strangers: It is now a hard matter to frame a body of a compleate, constant, well-ordred and coherent Army of Frenchmen: Oh what shame is it? We have no other discipline, then what borrowed or auxiliar Souldiers shew us. As for us, wee are led-on by our owne discretion and not by the commanders; each man followeth his owne humour: and hath more to doe within, then without. It is the commaundement should follow, court and yeeld unto: hee onely ought to obey: all the rest is free and loose. I am pleased to see, what remisnesse and pusilanimitie is in ambition, and by what steps of abjection and servitude, it must arrive unto it's end. But I am displeased to see some debonaire and well-meaning mindes, yea such as are capable of justice, dayly corrupted, about the managing and commanding of this many-headed confusion. Long suffrance begets custome;

custome, consent and imitation. We had too-too many infected and ill-borne mindes, without corrupting the good, the sound and the generous. So that, if we continue any time, it will prove a difficult matter to finde out a man unto whose skill and sufficiencie, the health or recovery of this state may bee committed in trust, if fortune shall happily be pleased to restore it us againe.

*Hunc saltem everso juvenem succurrere seculo,
Ne prohibete.*

Forbid not yet this youth at least,
To aide this age more then opprest.

What is become of that antient precept ; That Souldiers ought more to feare their Generall than their enemie ? And of that wonderfull examplelesse example : That the Romane army having upon occasion enclosed within her trenches, and round-beset an apple-orchard ; so obedient was shee to her Captaines, that the next morning, it rose and marched away without entring the same or touching one apple, although they were full-ripe and very delicious : So that

when the owner came, he found the full number of his apples? I should bee glad, that our Youths, in steade of the time they employ about lesse profitable peregrinations, and lesse honourable apprentishippes, would bestow one moyty, in seeing and observing the warres that happen on the sea, under some good Captaine or excellent Commaunder of Malta; the other moyty in learning and surveying the discipline of the Turkish armies. For it hath many differences and advantages over ours. This ensueth, that heere our Souldiers become more licentious in expeditions, there they proove more circumspect and fearefully wary. For, small offences and petty larcenies, which in times of peace, are in the common people punished with whipping or bastonadoes, in times of warre are capitall crimes. For an egge taken by a Turke without paying, hee is by their law to have the full number of fifty stripes with a cudgell. For every other thing, how sleight soever not necessary for mans feeding, even for very trifles, they are either

thrust through with a sharpe stake, which they call Empaling, or presently beheaded. I have beene amazed, reading the story of Selim, the cruellest Conqueror that ever was, to see, at what time hee subdued the Country of Ægypt, the beauteous-goodly gardines round about the Citty of Damasco, all open and in a conquered Country; his maine armie lying encamped round about, those gardines were left untouched and unspoyled by the handes of his Souldiers, onely because they were commaunded to spoyle nothing, and had not the watchword of pillage. But is there any malady in a Common-weale, that deserveth to bee combated by so mortall drugge? No saide Favonius, not so much as the usurpation of the tyrannicall possession of a Commonwealth. Plato likewise is not willing one should offer violence to the quiet repose of his Country, no not to reforme or cure the same; and alloweth not that reformation, which disturbeth or hazardeth the whole estate; and which is purchased with the blood and ruine of the Cittizens. Establish-

ing the office of an honest man, in these causes, to leave all there: But onely to pray God, to lend his extraordinary assisting hand unto it. And seemeth to be offended with Dyon his great friend, to have therein proceeded somewhat otherwise. I was a Platonist on that side before ever I knew there had beene a Plato in the world. And if such a man ought absolutely be banished our commerce, and refused our societie: (hee who for the sincerity of his conscience, deserved by meane of divine favour, athwart the publique darkenesse, and through the generall ignorance of the world wherein hee lived, so farre to enter and so deeply to penetrate into christian light) I doe not thinke, that it befitteth us, to be instructed by a Pagan. Oh what impiety is it, to expect from God no succour simply his, and without our co-operation. I often doubt, whether amongst so many men, that meddle with such a matter, any hath beene found of so weake an understanding, that hath earnestly beene perswaded, he proceeded toward reformation, by the utmost

of deformations; that hee drew toward his salvation, by the most expresse causes, that wee have of undoubted damnation: that overthrowing policy, disgracing magistrates, abusing lawes, under whose tuition God hath placed him; filling brotherly mindes and loving hearts, with malice, hatred and murther; calling the Divels and furies to his helpe; he may bring assistance to the most sacred mildnesse and justice of divine Law. Ambition, avarice, cruelty and revenge have not sufficient proppes and natural impetuosity; let us allure and stirre them uppe by the glorious title of justice and devotion. There can no worse estate of things bee imagined, than where wickednesse commeth to bee lawfull: And with the Magistrates leave, to take the cloake of vertue: *Nihil in speciem fallacius quàm prava religio, ubi deorum numen prætenditur sceleribus*: "There is nothing more deceitfull to shew, than corrupt religion, when the power of Heaven is made a pretence and cloake for wickednesse." The extreame kinde of injustice (according to

Plato) is, that that which is unjust, should be held for just. The common people suffered therein greatly then; not only present losses,

——— *undique totis*

Usque, adeo turbatur agris.———

Such revell and tumultuous rout
In all the country round about.

But also succeeding dommages. The living were faine to suffer, so did such as then were scarce borne. They were robbed and pilled, and by consequence so was I, even of hope: spoiling and depriving them of al they had to provide their living for many yeares to come.

Quæ nequeunt secum ferre aut abducere, perdunt,

Et cremat insontes turba scelestâ casas :

Muris nulla fides, squallent popularibus agri.

They wretch-lesse spoyle and spill what draw or
drive they may not,
Guilty rogues to set fire on guilt-lesse houses
stay not.

In wals no trust, the field

By spoile growes waste and wilde.

Besides these mischiefes, I endured some others. I incurred the inconveniences that

moderation bringeth in such diseases. I was shaven on all handes : To the Ghibelin I was a Guelf, to Guelf a Ghibelin. Some one of my Poets expresseth as much, but I wot not where it is. The situation of my house, and the acquaintance of such as dwelt round about me, presented me with one visage; my life and actions with another. No formall accusations were made of it; for there was nothing to take hold of. I never opposed my selfe against the lawes; and who had called me in question, should have lost by the bargaine. They were mute suspicions, that ranne under hand, which never want apparance in so confused a hurly-burly, no more than lacke of envious or foolish wittes. I commonly affoord ayde unto injurious presumption, that fortune scattereth against me; by a fashion I never had, to avoid justifying, excusing or interpreting my selfe; deeming it to be a putting of my conscience to compromise, to pleade for hir, *Perspicuitas enim, argumentatione elevatur*: "For the clearing of a cause, is lessened by the arguing."

And as if every man saw into mee as cleare as I doe my selfe, in lieu of withdrawing, I advance my selfe to the accusation and rather endeare it; by an erroneous and scoffing confession: except I flatly hold my peace, as of a thing unworthy any answer. But such as take it for an overproud confidence, doe not much lesse disesteeme and hate me for it, than such as take it for weakenesse of an indefensible cause. Namely the great, with whom want of submission, is the extreame fault. Rude to all justice, that is knowen or felt: not demisse, humble or suppliant. I have often stumbled against that piller. So it is, that by the harmes which befell mee, an ambitious man would have hanged himselfe; and so would a covetous churle. I have no care at all to acquire or get.

HOR.
lib. i.
Epist.
xviii.
107.

*Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mihi vivam
Quod superest tibi, si quid superesse volent dii.*

Let me have, that I have, or lesse, so I may live
Unto my selfe the rest, if any rest God give.

But losses that come unto me by others injury, be it larceny or violence, pinch mee,

in a manner as one sicke and tortured with avarice. An offence causeth undoubtedly more grieffe and sharpenesse, than a losse. A thousand severall kindes of mischiefes fell upon mee one in the necke of another ; I should more stoutly have endured them, had they come all at once. I bethought my selfe, amongst my friendes, to whom I might commit a needy, a defective and unfortunate olde age : But after I had surveyed them all, and cast mine eyes every where, I found my selfe bare and far to seeke. For one to sowse himselfe downe headlong, and from so great a height, hee should heedily forecast that it may be in the armes of a solide, stedfast, vigorous and fortunate affection. They are rare, if there be any. In the end I perceived the best and safest way, was to trust both my selfe and my necessity, unto my selfe. And if it should happen to be but meanly and faintly in Fortunes grace, I might more effectually recommend my selfe unto mine owne favour, more closely fasten and more neerely looke unto my selfe. In all things men relie

upon strange props, to spare their owne: onely certaine and onely powerfull, know they but how to arme themselves with them. Every man runneth out and unto what is to come, because no man is yet come into himselfe. And I resolved, that they were profitable inconveniences: forsomuch as when reason will not serve, we must first warne untoward Scholars with the rod; as with fire and violence of wedges, we bring a crooked peece of wood to be straight. It is long since I call, to keepe my selfe unto my selfe, and live sequestred from aliene and strange things notwithstanding I daily start out and cast mine eyes aside. Inclination, a great mans favourable word, a kind looke doth tempt me. God he knowes whether there bee penury of them now-adayes, and what sense they beare. I likewise, without frowning, listen to the subornings, framed to drawe mee to some towne of merchandise or city of trafficke; and so coldly defend my selfe, that it seemes I should rather endure to be overcome, than not. Now to a spirit so indocile, blowes are required: and this

vessell, that of it selfe is so ready to warpe, to unhoope, to escape and fall in peeces, must be closed, hooped and strongly knockt with an adze. Secondly, that this accident served me as an exercitation to prepare my selfe for worse, if worse might happen: if I, who both by the benefite of fortune and condition of my maners, hoped to be of the last, should by this tempest be one of the first surpris'd. Instructing my selfe betimes, to force my life and frame it for a new state. True-perfect liberty, is, for one to be able to doe and worke all things upon himselfe. *Potentissimus est qui se habet in potestate*: "Hee is of most power, that keepes himselfe in his owne power." In ordinary and peacefull times, a man prepares himselfe for common and moderate accidents: but in this confusion, wherein wee have beene these thirty yeeres, every French man, be it in generall or in particular, doth hourelly see himselfe upon the point of his fortunes over-throw and downfall. By so much more ought each one have his courage stored and his minde fraughted, with more

SEN.
Epist.
ix.

strong and vigorous provisions: Let us thanke Fortune, that hath not made us live in an effeminate, idle and languishing age: Some, whom other meanes could never bring unto it, shall make themselves famous by their misfortunes. As I reade not much in Histories, these confusions of other states, without regret, that I could not better them present; So doth my curiosity make me somewhat please my selfe, with mine eies to see this notable spectacle of our publike death; her symptomes and formes. And since I could not hinder the same, I am content to bee appointed as an assistant unto it, and thereby instruct my selfe. Yet seeke we evidently to know in shadowes, and understand by fabulous representations upon Theaters, to shew of the tragicke revolutions of humane fortune. It is not without compassion of that wee heare, but wee please ourselves to rowze up our displeasure, by the rarenesse of these pitifull events. Nothing tickles, that pincheth not. And good Historians avoid calme narrations, as a dead water or mort-mere;

to retreewe seditions and finde out warres, whereto they know we call them. I doubt whether I may lawfully avow, at how base a rate of my lifes rest and tranquillity, I have past it more than halfe in the ruine of my Country. In accidents that touch mee not in my freehold, I purchase patience very cheape; and to complaine to my selfe, I respect not so much what is taken from mee, as what is left me both within and without. There is comfort, in sometimes eschewing one, and sometimes another of the evils, that one in the necke of another surprise us, and elsewhere strike us round about. As matters of publike interrests, according as my affection is more universally scattred, she is thereby more enfeebled. Since it is halfe true: *Tantum ex publicis malis sentimus quantum ad privatas res pertinet*: “Wee feele so much of common harmes as appertaine to our private estate.” And that the health whence wee fell was such, that her selfe solaceth the regret we should have for her. It was health, mary but in comparison of the

contagion, which hath followed the same. Wee are not falne very high. The corruption and the brigandage, which now is in office and dignity, seemes to me the least tolerable. Wee are lesse injuriously robbed in the midst of a wood, then a place of security. It was an universall coherency of members spoiled avie one another; and most of them, with old-rankled ulcers, which neither admitted nor demaunded recovery. Truely this shaking-fit did therefore more animate then deterre me, onely by the aide of my conscience, which not onely quietly, but fiercely carried it selfe; and I found no cause to complaine, of my self. Likewise, as God never sends men either evils or goods absolutely pure; my health held out well for that time, yea against her ordinary: And as without it I can do nothing, so with it, there are few things I cannot doe. She gave me meanes to summon and rouze up all my provisions, and to beare my hand before my hurt, which happily would have gone further: And proved in my patience, that yet I had some

hold against fortune ; and that to thrust me out of my saddle, there was required a stronger counterbuffe. This I speake not, to provoke her to give me a more vigorous charge. I am her servant, and yeeld my selfe unto her : For Gods sake let her be pleased. Demaund you whether I feele her assaults ? I doe indeede. As those whom sorrow possesseth and overwhelmeth, doe notwithstanding at one time or other suffer themselves by intermissions to be touched by some pleasure, and now and then smile. I have sufficient power over my selfe, to make mine ordinary state quiet and free from all tedious and irkesome imaginations ; but yet I sometimes suffer my selfe by starts to be surpris'd with the pinchings of these unpleasant conceits, which whilst I arme my selfe to expell or wrestle against them, assaile and beate mee. Loe here another huddle or tide of mischief ; that on the necke of the former came rushing upon mee. Both within and round about my house, I was overtaken, in respect of all other, with a most contagious pestilence. For, as

soundest bodies are subject to grievous diseases, because they onely can force them : so the aire about me being very healthy, wher in no mans memory, infection (although very neere) could ever take footing : coming now to be poisoned brought forth strange effects.

HOR.
Car. 1.
i. Od.
xxviii.
19.

*Mista senum et juvenum densantur funera nullum
Sæva caput Proserpina fugit.*

Of old and yoong thicke funerals are shared ;
By cruell Proserpine no head is spared.

I was faine to endure this strange condition, that the sight of my house was irkesome unto me. Whatever was therein, lay all at randon, no man looked thereunto ; and was free for any that had a minde unto it. I who have so long beene a good house-keeper, and used to hospitality, was much troubled and put to my shifts, how to finde out some retreat for my family. A dismaied and scattered family, making both her selfe and her friends afraide, and breeding horreur where it sought to retire for shelter ; being now, to shift and change her dwelling,

so soone as any of the company beganne to feele his finger ake, all the rest were dismayed. Every sicknesse is then taken for the plague: none hath leasure to consider them. And the mischief is, that according to rules of arte, what danger soever approacheth, a man must continue forty dayes in anxiety or feare of that evill; in which time your owne imagination doth perplex you as shee list and infect your health. All which had much lesse toucht mee, had I not beene forced to beare other mens burthens and partake all their grievances, and for six months space, in miserable maner, to be a woefull guide to so great confused a Caravane. For I ever carry my preservatives about me, which are resolution and sufferance. Apprehension doth not greatly presse me; which is particularly feared in this sicknesse. And if being alone, I should have taken it, it had beene a stronger and further flight: It is a death in mine opinion, not of the worst: It is commonly short and speeding voide of lingring giddinesse, without paine,

comforted by the publike condition ; without ceremonie, without mourning, and without thronging. But for the people about us, the hundreth part of soules cannot be saved.

——— *videas desertâque regna*

Pastorum, et longè saltus latèque vacantes.

Kingdomes of Shepherdes desolate forlorne,
Parkes iarre and neere lie waste, a state all torne.

In that place, my best revenue is manuell : what a hundred men laboured for me, lay fallow for a long time. What examples of resolution saw we not then in all this peoples simplicitie ? Each one generally renounced all care of life. The grapes (which are the countries chiefe commoditie) hung still and rotted upon the vines un-touch't : all indifferently preparing themselves, and expecting death, either that night or the next morrow : with countenance and voice so little daunted, that they seemed to have compromitted to this necessitie, and that it was an universall and inevitable condemnation. It is ever such. But what

slender hold hath the resolution of dying ? The difference and distance of some few houres : the onely consideration of the company yeelds the apprehension diverse unto us. Behold these because they die in one same month, children, yoong, old ; they are no more astonied, they are no longer wept-for. I saw some that feared to stay behinde, as if they had beene in some horride solitude : And commonly I knew no other care amongst them, but for graves : it much grieved them, to see the dead carcasses scattered over the fields, at the mercie of wilde beasts ; which presently began to focke thither. Oh how humane fantasies differ and are easily disjoined ! The Neorites, a nation whilome subdued by Alexander the Great, cast out their dead mens bodies into the thickest of their woods, there to be devoured : the grave onely esteemed happy among them. Some in good health digged already their graves, othersome yet living did goe into them. And a day-labourer of mine, as he was dying, with his owne hands and feete

pulled earth upon him, and so covered himselfe. Was not this a lying downe in the shade to sleepe at ease? An enterprise in some sort as highly noble, as that of some Romane Souldiers, who after the battell of Canna, were found with their heads in certaine holes or pits, which themselves had made, and filled up with their hands, wherein they were smothered. To conclude, a whole nation was presently by use brought to a march, that in undantednesse yeelds not to any consulted and foremeditated resolution. The greatest number of learnings instructions, to encourage us have more shew then force, and more ornament then fruit. Wee have forsaken nature, and yet wee will teach her her lesson: Shee, that lead us so happily, and directed us so safely: And in the meane while, the traces of her instructions and that little, which by the benefit of ignorance, remaineth of her image, imprinted in the life of this rusticall troupe of unpolished men; learning is compelled to goe daily a borrowing, thereby to make her disciples

a patterne of constancie, of innocencie and of tranquillitie. It is a goodly matter to see how these men full of so great knowledge, must imitate this foolish simplicitie; yea in the first and chiefe actions of vertue. And that our wisdom should learne of beasts, the most profitable documents, belonging to the chiefest and most necessarie parts of our life. How we should live and die, husband our goods, love and bring up our children, and entertaine justice. A singular testimonie of mans infirmitie: and that this reason we so manage at our pleasure, ever finding some diversitie and noveltie, leaveth unto us no maner of apparent tracke of nature. Wherwith men have done, as perfumers doe with oile, they have adulterated her, with so many argumentations, and sophisticated her with so diverse farre-fetcht discourses, that she is become variable and peculiar to every man, and hath lost her proper, constant and universall visage: whereof we must seeke for a testimonie of beasts, not subject to favor or corruption, nor to diversitie of

opinions. For it is most true, that themselves march not alwayes exactly in natures path, but if they chance to stray, it is so little, that you may ever perceive the tracke. Even as horses led by hand doe sometimes bound and start out of the way, but no further then their halters length, and neverthelesse follow ever his steps that leadeth them: And as a Hawke takes his flight but under the limites of hir cranes or twyne. *Exilia, tormenta, bella, morbos, naufragia meditare, ut nullo sis malo tyro:* “Banishments, torments, warres; sicknesses, shipwracks, all these fore-cast and premeditate, that thou maiest seeme no novice, no freshwater Souldier to any misadventure.” What availeth this curiositie unto us, to preoccupate all humane natures inconveniences, and with so much labour and toyling against them, to prepare our selves, which peradventure shall nothing concerne us? (*Parem passis tristitiam facit, pati posse:* “It makes men as sad that they may suffer some mischiefe, as if they had suffred it.” Not onely the blow, but the

winde and cracke strikes us.) Or as the most febricitant, for surely it is a kinde of fever, now to cause your selfe to be whipped, because fortune may one day chance to make you endure it: and at Mid-Sommer to put-on your furr'd Gowne, because you shall neede it at Christmas? Cast your selves into the experience of all the mischiefes, that may befall you, namely of the extreamest: there try your selfe (say they) there assure your selfe. Contrarywise, the easiest and most naturall, were even to discharge his thought of them. They will not come soone enough, their true being doth not last us long enough, our spirit must extend and lengthen them, and before hand incorporate them into himselfe, and therewith entertaine himselfe, as if they lay not sufficiently heavy on our senses. They will weigh heavy enough, when they shall be there, (saith one of the maisters, not of a tender, but of the hardest Sect) meane while favour thy selfe: Beleeve what thou lovest best: What availes it thee to collect and prevent thy ill fortune: and

for feare of the future, lose the present ; and now to be miserable, because in time thou maiest bee so ? They are his owne wordes. Learning doth us willingly one good office, exactly to instruct us in the demensions of evils.

Curis acuens mortalia corda.

Mens cogitations whetting,
With sharpe cares inly fretting.

It were pittie, any part of their greatnesse should escape our feeling and understanding. It is certaine, that preparation unto death, hath caused more torment unto most, than the very sufferance. It was whilome truely said, of and by a most judicious Authour : *Minus afficit sensus fatigatio, quàm cogitatio* : “Wearinesse lesse troubleth our senses, then pensivenesse doth.” The apprehension of present death, doth sometimes of it selfe annimate us, with a ready resolution, no longer to avoide a thing altogether inevitable. Many Gladiators have in former ages beene seene, having at first fought very cowardly, most couragiously to embrace

death ; offering their throate to the enemies sword, yea and bidde them make haste. The sight distant from future death hath neede of a slowe constancy, and by consequence hard to bee found. If you know not how to die, take no care for it ; Nature her selfe will fully and sufficiently teach you in the nicke, she will exactly discharge that worke for you ; trouble not your selfe with it.

*Incertam frustra mortales funeris horam
 Quæritis, et qua sit mors aditura via :
 Pœna minor certam subito perferre ruinam,
 Quod timeas, gravius sustinuisse diu.*

CATUL.
Eleg. i.
 29, 16.

Of death th' uncertaine houre you men in vaine
 Enquire, and what way death shall you dis-
 traine :

A certaine sodaine ruine is lesse paine,
 More grievous long what you feare to sustaine.

We trouble death with the care of life,
 and life with the care of death. The one
 annoyeth, the other affrights us. It is not
 against death, we prepare our selves ; it is
 a thing too momentary. A quarter of an
 houre of passion without consequence and

without annoyance, deserves not particular precepts. To say truth, we prepare our selves against the preparations of death. Philosophy teacheth us, ever to have death before our eyes, to fore-see and consider it before it come: Then giveth us rules and precautions so to provide, that such foresight and thought hurt us not. So doe Physitians, who cast us into diseases, that they may employ their drugges and skill about them. If we have not knowen how to live, it is injustice to teach us how to die, and deforme the end from all the rest. Have wee knowen how to live constantly and quietly, wee shall know how to die resolutely and reposedly. They may bragge as much as they please. *Tota Philosophorum vita commentatio mortis est*: "The whole life of a Philosopher is the meditation of his death." But me thinkes, it is indeede the end, yet not the scope of life. It is her last, it is her extremity; yet not her object. Hir selfe must be unto hir selfe, hir aime, hir drift and her designe. Hir direct studie is, to

order, to direct and to suffer hir selfe. In the number of many other offices, which the generall and principall Chapter, to know how to live containeth, is this speciall Article, "To know how to die." And of the easiest, did not our owne feare weigh it downe. To judge them by their profit and by the naked truth, the lessons of simplicity, yeeld not much to those, which Doctrine preacheth to the contrary unto us. Men are different in feeling, and diverse in force : they must be directed to their good, according to themselves and by divers waies :

Quò me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes.

Where I am whirld by winde and wether,
I guest-like straight am carried thether.

HOR. l.
i. *Epist.*
i. 15.

I never saw meane paisant of my neighbours, enter into cogitation or care, with what assurance or countenance, hee should passe this last houre. Nature teacheth him never to muze on death, but when he dieth. And then hath hee a better grace in it, than Aristotle ; whom death perplexed

doubly, both by her selfe and by so long a premeditation. Therefore was it Cæsars opinion, that "The least premeditated death, was the happiest and the easiest." *Plus dolet, quàm necesse est, qui ante dolet, quàm necesse est*: "He grieves more than he need, That grieves before he neede." The sharpnesse of this imagination, proceedes from our curiosity. Thus we ever hinder our selves; desiring to fore-runne and sway naturall prescriptions: It is but for Doctors being in health, to fare the worse by it, and to frowne and startle at the image of death. The vulgar sort, have neither neede of remedy nor comfort, but when the shocke or stroke commeth. And justly considers no more of it, than hee feeleth. And is it not as we say, that the vulgares stupidity and want of apprehension, affoorde them this patience in private evils, and this deepe carelesnes of sinister future accidents? That their mind being more grosse, dull and blockish, is lesse penetrable and agitable? In Gods name, if it be so, let us henceforth keepe a schoole of brutality. It

is the utmost fruit that Sciences promise unto us, to which she so gently bringeth her disciples. We shall not want good teachers, interpreters of naturall simplicity. Socrates shall be one. For, as neare as I remember, he speaketh in this sence unto the Judges, that determine of his life: "I feare me my maisters" (saith hee) "that if I intreate you not to make me die, I shall confirme the evidence of my accusers; which is, That I professe to have more understanding than others; as having some knowledge more secret and hidde of things both above and beneath us. I know I have neither frequented nor knowen death, nor have I seene any body, that hath either felt or tried her qualities, to instruct me in them. Those who feare her, presuppose to know: As for me, I neither know who or what shee is, nor what they doe in the other worlde. Death may peradventure be a thing indifferent, happily a thing desirable. Yet is it to bee beleaved, that if it be a transmigration from one place to another, there is some amendement in going to live

with so many worthy famous persons, that are deceased; and be exempted from having any more to doe with wicked and corrupted Judges. If it be a consummation of ones being, it is also an amendement and entrance into a long and quiet night. Wee finde nothing so sweete in life, as a quiet rest and gentle sleepe, and without dreames. The things I know to be wicked, as to wrong or offend ones neighbour; and to disobey his superiour, be he God or man, I carefully shunne them: Such as I know not whether they bee good or bad, I cannot feare them. If I goe to my death, and leave you alive; the Gods onely see, whether you or I shall prosper best. And therefore, for my regarde, you shall dispose of it, as it shall best please you. But according to my fashion, which is to counsell good and profitable things, this I say, that for your owne conscience you shall doe best to free and discharge mee: except you see further into mine owne cause than my selfe. And judging according to my former actions, both publike and private, according to my

intentions, and to the profit, that so many of our Cittizens, both yoong and olde, draw daily from my conversation, and the fruit, all you reape by me you cannot more justly or duely discharge your selves toward my desertes, than by appointing (my poverty considered) that I may live, and at the common charge bee kept, in the Brytaneo : which for much lesse reasons, I have often seene you freely graunt to others. Impute it not to obstinacy or disdaine in mee, nor take it in ill part, that I, according to custome proceede not by way of intreatie, and moove you to commiseration. I have both friends and kinsfolkes, being not (as Homer saith) begotten of a blocke or stone, no more than other men : capable to present themselves humbly suing with teares and mourning : and I have three desolate wailing children to moove you to pittie. But I should make your Cittie ashamed, of the age I am in, and in that reputation of wisdom, as now I stand in prevention to yeeld unto so base and abject countenances. What would the worlde say of other Athen-

ians? I have ever admonished such as have heard me speake, never to purchase or redeeme their life, by any dishonest or unlawfull act. And in my countries warres, both at Amphipolis, at Potidea, at Delia, and others, in which I have beene, I have shewen by effects, how farre I was from warranting my safety by my shame. Moreover, I should interest your duty, and prejudice your calling, and perswade you to foule unlawfull things; for, not my prayers, but the pure and solide reasons of justice should perswade you. You have sworne to the Gods, so to maintaine your selves. Not to beleve there were any, might seeme I would suspect, recriminate or retorte the fault upon you. And my selfe should witness against my selfe, not to beleve in them as I ought: distrusting their conduct, and not meerey remitting my affaires into their handes. I wholly trust and relie on them; and certainly holde, that in this, they will dispose as it shall bee meetest for you, and fittest for me. Honest men, that neither live, nor are dead,

have no cause at all to feare the Gods." Is not this a childish pleading, of an unimaginable courage; and in what necessity employed? Verily it was reason, hee should preferre it before that, which the great Orator Lysias had set downe in writing for him; excellency fashioned in a judiciary Stile; but unworthie of so noble a criminall. Should a man have heard an humbly-suing voice out of Socrates his mouth? Would that prowde vertue have failed in the best of her shew? And would his rich and powerfull nature, have committed her defence unto arte, and in her highest Essay, renounced unto trueth and sinceritie, the ornaments of his speech, to adorne and decke himselfe with the embellishment of the figures and fictions of a fore-lern't Oration? Hee did most wisely, and according to himselfe, not to corrupt the tenure of an incorruptible life, and so sacred an image of humane forme, to prolong his decrepitude for one yeere; and wrong the immortall memory of so glorious an end. He ought his life, not to himselfe, but to

the worlds example. Had it not beene a publike losse, if he had finished the same in some idle, base and obscure manner? Truely, so carelesse and effeminate a consideration of his death, deserved, posteritie should so much more consider the same for him : which it did. And nothing is so just in justice, as that, which fortune ordained for his commendation. For the Athenians did afterward so detest and abhorre those, which had furthered and caused his death, that of all they were loathed and shunned as cursed and excommunicated men : what soever they had but touched was held to bee polluted : No man would so much as wash with them in bathes or hot-houses : no man affoord them a salutation, much lesse accost or have to doe with them : so that being in the end no longer able to endure this publike hatred and generall contempt, they all hanged themselves. If any man thinkes, that amongst so many examples, I might have chosen for the service of my purpose, in Socrates his sayings, I have chosen or

handled this but ill : and deemeth this discourse, to be raised above common opinions : I have done it wittingly : for I judge otherwise. And hold it to bee a discourse, in ranke and sincerity, much shorter and lower, then vulgar opinions. It representeth in an un-artificial boldnesse, and infantine securitie, the pure impression and first ignorance of nature. Because it is credible, that wee naturally feare paine, but not death, by reason of her. It is a part of our being, no lesse essentiall than life. To what end would Nature have else engendred the hate and horror of it, seeing it holdes therein, and with it a ranke of most great profit, to foster the succession, and nourish the vicissitude of her works ? And that in this universall Common-weale, it steadeth and serveth more for birth and augmentation, then for losse, decay or ruine.

Sic rerum summa novatur.

So doth the summe of all,
By courses rise and fall.

LUCR.
l. ii. 73.

Mille animas una necata dedit.

We thousand soules shall pay,
For one soule made away.

The decay of one life, is the passage to a thousand other lives. Nature hath imprinted in beasts, the care of themselves and of their preservation. They proceede even to the feare of their empairing; to shooke or hurt themselves: and that wee should not shackle or beate them, accidents subject to their sence and experience: But that we should kill them, they cannot feare it, nor have they the faculty to imagine or conclude their death. Yet is it reported, that they are not seene onely to embrace and endure the same joyfully (most Horses neigh in dying, and Swannes sing when it seiseth them.) But moreover, they seeke it when they neede it; as by divers examples may be proved in the Elephants. Besides, the manner of arguing, which Socrates useth here, is it not equally admirable, both in simplicitie and in vehemency? Verily "It is much easier, to speake as Aristotle, and live as Cæsar, than speake and live as Socrates." Therein consists the extreame degree of difficultie and perfection; arte cannot attaine unto it. Our

faculties are not now so addressed. We neither assay, nor know them; we invest our selves with others, and suffer our owne to be idle. As by some might be saide of me: that here I have but gathered a nose-gay of strange floures, and have put nothing of mine unto it, but the thred to binde them. Certes, I have given unto publike opinion, that these borrowed ornaments accompany me; but I meane not they should cover or hide me: it is contrary to mine intention, who would make shew of nothing that is not mine owne, yea and mine owne by nature: And had I believed my selfe, at all adventure I had spoken alone. I dayly charge my selfe the more beyond my proposition and first forme, upon the fantasie of time, and through idlenesse. If it mis-seeme me, as I thinke it doth, it is no great matter; it may be profitable for some other. Some aleadge Plato, and some mention Homer, that never saw them, or as they say in English, "Many a man speakes of Robin Hood, that never shot in his bow:" And I have taken diverse

passages from others then in their spring. Without paine or sufficiency; having a thousand volumes of bookes about me, where now I write, if I please, I may presently borrow from a number of such botcherly-patchcotes (men that I plod not much upon) wherewith to enamell this treaty of Phisiognomie. I neede but the liminary epistle of a Germane to store me with allegations: and we goe questing that way for a fading greedy glory, to cousin and delude the foolish world. These rapsodies of common places, wherewith so many stufte their study, serve not greatly but for vulgar subjects, and serve but to shew and not to direct us: A ridiculous -fond fruite of learning, that Socrates doth so pleasantly enveigh and exagitate against Euthydemus. I have seene bookes made of things neither studied nor ever understood: the authour comming to diverse of his learned and wise friends the search of this and that matter, that so he might compile them into a booke, contenting himselfe for his owne part, to have cast the plot and projected the

desseigne of it, and by his industry to have bound up the fagot of unknowne provisions : at least is the inke and paper his owne. This may bee saide to bee a buying or borrowing, and not a making or compiling of a booke. It is to teach men, not that one can make a booke, but to put them out of doubt, that hee cannot make it. A president of the law, in a place where I was, vanted himselfe, to have hudled up together two hundred and od strange places in a presidentiall law-case of his : In publishing of which, hee defaced the glory, which others gave him for it. A weake, childish and absurde boasting in my opinion, for such a subject and for such a man. I doe cleane contrary ; and amongst so many borrowings, am indeed glad to filch some one ; disguising and altering the same to some new service. On hazard, to let men say, that it is for lacke of understanding it's naturall use, I give it some particular addressing of mine owne hand, to the end it may be so much lesse meerey strange. Whereas these put their larcenies to publike

view and garish shew. So have they more credite in the lawes, then I. We other naturalists suppose, that there is a great and in comparable preference, betweene the honour of invention and that of allegation. Would I have spoken according to learning, I had spoken sooner: I had writen at such times as I was neerer to my studies, when I had more wit and more memory; and should more have trusted the vigor of that age, then the imperfection of this, had I beene willing to professe writing of bookes. And what if this gracious favour, which fortune hath not long since offered mee by the intermission of this worke, could have befallne me in such a season, in lieu of this, where it is equally desireable to possesse, and ready to loose?

Two of mine acquaintance (both notable men in this faculty) have, in my conceit, lost much because they refused to publish themselves at forty yeares of age, to stay untill they were three score. Maturity hath her defects, as well as greenenesse, and worse. And as incommodious or unfit is

old age unto this kinde of worke, as to any other. Whosoever put's his decrepitude under the presse, committeth folly, if thereby he hopes to wring out humors, that shall not taste of dotage, of foppery, or of drousinesse. Our spirit becommeth costive and thickens in growing old. Of ignorance I speake sumptuously and plentifully, and of learning meagerly and pitiously: This accessorily and accidentally; That expressly and principally. And purposely I treat of nothing, but of nothing; nor of any one science but of unscience. I have chosen the time, where the life I have to set forth, is all before mee, the rest holdes more of death. And of my death onely should I finde it babling, as others doe, I would willingly, in dislodging, give the World advise. Socrates hath been a perfect patterne in all great qualities. I am vexed, that ever he met with so unhansome and crabbed a body, as they say he had, and so dissonant from the beauty of his minde. Himselfe so amorous and so besotted on beauty. Nature did him wrong. There is

nothing more truly-semblable, as the conformity or relation between the body and the minde. *Ipsi animi, magni refert, quali in corpore locati sint: multa enim è corpore existunt quæ acuant mentem: multa, quæ obtundant:* "It is of great import in what body the minde is bestowed: for many things arise of the body to sharpen the minde, and many things to dull and rebate it." This man speakes of an unnaturall ill-favourdnesse, and membrall deformity: but we call ill-favourdnesse a kinde of unseemelnesse at the first sight, which chiefly lodgeth in the face; and by the colour worketh a dislike in us; A freckle, a blemmish, a rude countenance, a sower looke, proceeding often of some inexplicable cause, may be in well ordered, comely and compleate limmes. The foulnesse of face, which invested a beauteous minde in my deare friend La Boitie, was of this predicament. This superficial ill-favourdnesse, which is notwithstanding to the most imperious, is of lesse prejudice unto the state of the minde: and hath small certainty

in mens opinion. The other, by a more proper name called a more substantiall deformity, beareth commonly a deeper inward stroke. Not every shooe of smooth-shining leather, but every well-shapen and handsome-made shoe, sheweth the inward and right shape of the foot. As Socrates said of his, that it justly accused so much in his mind had he not corrected the same by institution. But in so saying, I suppose, that according to his wonted use, he did but jest: and so excellent a mind, did never frame it selfe. I cannot often enough repeate, how much I esteeme beauty, so powerfull and advantagious a quality is she. He named it, a short tyranny: And Plato the priviledge of Nature. We have none that exceeds it in credit. She possesseth the chiefe ranke in the commerce of society of men: She presents it selfe forward: she seduceth and preoccupates our judgement, with great authority and wonderfull impression. Phryne had lost her plea, though in the hands of an excellent lawyer, if with opening her garments, by the sodaine

flashing of hir beauty, she had not corrupted her judges. And I finde, that Cyrus, Alexaunder and Cæsar those three Masters of the World, have not forgotten or neglected the same in atchieving their great affaires. So hath not the first Scipio. One same word in Greek importeth faire and good. And even the Holy-Ghost calleth often those good, which he meaneth faire. I should willingly maintaine the ranke of the goods, as imployed the song, which Plato saith to have beene triviall, taken from some auncient Poet; Health beauty and riches. Aristotle saith, that the right of commaunding, doth of duty belong to such as are faire; and if haply any be found, whose beauty approached to that of the Gods images, that veneration is equally due unto them. To one that asked him, why the fairest were both longer time and oftner frequented? "This question" (quoth he) "ought not to be mooved but by a blinde man." Most, and the greatest Philosophers, paide for their schooling and attained unto Wisedome, by the intermission of their

beauty, and favour of their comelines. Not onely in men that serve me, but in beastes also, I consider the same within two inches of goodnesse. Yet me thinkes, that the same feature and manner of the face and those lineaments, by which some argue certaine inward complexions, and our future fortunes, is a thing that doth not directly nor simply lodge under the Chapter of beauty and ill favourdnesse; no more than all good favours, or cleerenesse of aire, doe not alwayes promise health; nor all fogges and stinkes, infection, in times of the plague. Such as accuse Ladies to contradict the beauty, by their manners, guesse not alwayes at the truth. For, in an ill favourd and ill composed face, may sometimes harbour some aire of probitie, and trust. As on the contrary, I have sometimes read betweene two faire eyes, the threats of a maligne and dangerous-ill-boding nature. There are some favourable Physiognomies; For in a throng of victorious enemies, you shall presently ammiddest a multitude of unknowen faces, make choise of one man

more than of others, to yeeld your selfe unto and trust your life ; and not properly by the consideration of beauty. A mans looke or aire of his face, is but a weake warrant ; notwithstanding it is of some consideration. And were I to whippe them, I would more rudely scourge such as maliciously bely and betray the promises, which Nature had charactred in their front. And more severely would I punish malicious craft in a debonaire apparance and in a mild promising countenance. It seemeth there bee some lucky and well boding faces, and other some unlucky and ill presaging : And I thinke, there is some Arte to distinguish gently-milde faces, from naves and simple ; the severe from the rude ; the malicious from the froward ; the disdainfull from the melancholike and other neighbouring qualities. There are some beauties, not onely fierce-looking, but also sharpe-working, some others pleasing-sweete, and yet wallowishly tastlesse. To prognosticate future successes of them, be matters I leave undecided. I have (as elsewhere I noted) taken for my regard

this ancient precept, very rawly and simply: That we cannot erre in following Nature: and that the soveraigne document is, for a man to conforme himselfe to her. I have not (as Socrates) by the power and virtue of reason, corrected my naturall complexions, nor by Arte hindered mine inclination. Look how I came into the World, so I goe-on: I strive with nothing. My two Mistris partes, live of their owne kindenesse in peace and good agreement; but my nurses milke, hath (thanks be to God) beene indifferently wholesome and temperate. Shall I say thus much by the way? That I see a certaine image of bookish or scholasticall *preud'-hommie*, only which is in a manner in use amongst us, held and reputed in greater esteeme than it deserveth, and which is but a servant unto precepts, brought under by hope, and constrained by feare? I love it such as lawes and religions make not, but over-make and authorize; that they may bee perceived to have wherewith to uphold her selfe without other aide:

sprung up in us of her owne proper roots, by and from the seed of universall reason, imprinted in every man that is not unnaturall. The same reason, that reformeth Socrates from his vicious habite, yeelds him obedient both to Gods and men, that rule and commaund his Citty: couragious in his death; not because his soule is immortall, but because hee is mortall. A ruinous instruction to all common-weales and much more harmefull, than ingenious and subtile, is that which perswadeth men, that onely religious believe, and without manners, sufficeth to content and satisfie divine justice. Custome makes us see an enormous distinction betweene devotion and conscience. I have a favourable apparence, both in forme and in interpretation.

Quid dixi habere me? Imò habui Chreme:

Heu tantùm attriti corporis ossa vides.

TER.
Heau.
act i.
sc. 1.

I have; what did I say;

I had what's now away.

Alas, you onely now behold,

Bones of a body worne and old.

And which makes a contrary shew to

that of Socrates. It hath often betided me, that by the simple credite of my presence and aspect, some that had no knowledge of me, have greatly trusted unto it, were it about their owne affaires or mine. And even in forraine countries, I have thereby reaped singular and rare favours. These two experiments, are hapily worthy to be particularly related. A *quidam* gallant, determined upon a time to surprise both my house and my selfe. His plot was, to come riding alone to my gate, and instantly to urge entrance. I knew him by name, and had some reason to trust him, being my neighbour and somewhat alide unto me. I presently caused my gates to be opened, as I do to all men. He comes-in all afrighted, his horse out of breath; both much harassed. He entertaines me with this fable; that within halfe a league of my house he was sodainely set-upon by an enemie of his, whome I knew well and had heard of their quarrell: that his foe had wondrously put him to his spurres; that being surprised unarmed, and having fewer

in his company then the other, he was glad to runne away, and for safety had made haste to come to my house, as to his sanctuary: That he was much perplexed for his men, all which he supposed to be either taken or slaine. I endeavoured friendly to comfort and sincerely to warrant and refresh him. Within a while came gallopping foure or five of his Souldiers, amazed, as if they had beene out of their wits, hasting, to be let-in: Shortly after came others, and others, all proper men, well mounted, better armed, to the number of thirty or thereabouts, all seeming distracted for feare, as if the enemy that pursued them had beene at their heeles. This mysterie beganne to summon my suspicion. I was not ignorant of the age wherin I lived, nor how much my house might bee envied: and had sundry examples of others of my acquaintance, that had beene spoiled, beset and surprised thus and thus. So it is, that perceiving with my selfe, there was nothing to be gotten, though I had begunne to use them kindly,

if I continued not, and being unable to rid my selfe of them and cleare my house without danger and spoiling all ; as I ever doe, I tooke the plainest and naturall well meaning way, and commaunded they should be let-in and bid welcome. And to say truth, I am by nature little suspicious or mistrustfull, I am easily drawn to admit excuses and encline to mild interpretations. I take men according to common order, and suppose every one to meane as I doe, and believe these perverse and tretcherous inclinations, except I be compelled by some autenticall testimonie, no more then monsters or miracles. Besides, I am a man, that willingly commit my selfe unto fortune, and carelessly cast my selfe into her armes : Whereof hitherto I have more just cause to commend my selfe, then to complaine. And have found her more circumspect and friendly-carefull of my affaires, then I am my selfe. There are certaine actions in my life, the conduct of which may justly be termed difficult, or if any be so disposed, prudent. And of

those, suppose the third part of them to be mine owne ; truly the other two are richly theirs. We are to blame, and in my conceit we erre, that we doe not sufficiently and so much as we ought, trust the heavens with ourselves. And pretend more in our owne conduct, then of right appertaines unto us. Therefore doe our desseignes so often miscarry, and our intents so seldome sort to wished effect. The heavens are angry, and I may say envious of the extension and large priviledge we ascribe unto the right of humane wisdom, to the prejudice of theirs : and abridge them so much the more unto us, by how much more we endeavour to amplify them. But to come to my former discourse. These gallants kept still on horsebacke in my court, and would not alight : their Captaine with me in my hall, who would never have his horse set-up, still saying that he would not stay, but must necessarily withdraw himselfe, so soone as he had newes of his followers. He saw himselfe master of his enterprise, and nothing was wanting but the execution.

Hee hath since reported very often, (for he was no whit scrupulous or afraid to tell this story) that my undaunted lookes, my undismaide countenance, and my liberty of speech, made him reject all manner of treasonable intents or trecherous desseignes. What shall I say more? He bids me farewell, calleth for his horse, gets up, and offreth to be gone, his people having continually their eies fixed upon him, to observe his lookes and see what signe he should make unto them: much amazed to see him be gone, and wondring to see him omit and forsake such an advantage. An other time, trusting to a certaine truce or cessation of armes, that lately had beene published through our campes in France, as one suspecting no harme, I undertooke a journey from home, through a dangerous and very ticklish country; I had not rid far, but I was discovered, and behold three or foure troupes of horsemen, all severall wayes, made after me, with purpose to entrap me: One of which overtooke mee the third day; where I was round

beset and charged by fifteene or twenty Gentlemen, who had all vizardes and cases, followed aloofe-off by a band of Argoletiers. I was charged, I yeilded, I was taken and immediately drawne into the bosome of a thicke Wood, that was not far-off; there puld from my Horse, stripped with all speed, my truncks and cloke-bags rifled, my box taken; my Horses, my equipage and such things as I had, dispersed and shared amongst them. We continued a good while amongst those thorny bushes, contesting and striving about my ransome, which they racked so high, that it appeared well I was not much knowen of them. They had long contestation among themselves for my life. And to say truth: there were many circumstances, threatned me of the danger I was in.

VIRG.
Æn. l.
vi.

Tunc animis opus, Ænea, tunc pectore firmo.

Of courage then indeed,
Then of stout brest is need.

I ever stood upon the title and priviledge of the truce and proclamation made in the

Kings name, but that availed not: I was content to quit them whatever they had taken from me, which was not to be despised, without promising other ransome. After wee had debated the matter to and fro, the space of two or three houres, and that no excuses could serve, they set me upon a lame jade, which they knew could never escape them, and committed the particular keeping of my person to fifteene or twenty harque-busiers, and dispersed my people to others of their crew, commaunding we should all divers wayes bee carried prisoners; and my selfe being gone two or threescore paces from them,

Jam prece Pollucis, jam Castoris implorata.

Pollux and Castors aide,
When I had humbly praide,

CATUL.
El. iv.
65.

behold a sodain and unexpected alteration took them. I saw their Captaine comming towards me, with a cheerfull countenance and much milder speeches then before: carefully trudging up and downe through all the troups, to find out my goods againe, which as he found all scattred he forced every man

to restore them unto me; and even my boxe came to my handes againe. To conclude, the most precious jewell they presented me, was my liberty; as for my other things, I cared not greatly at that time. What the true cause of so unlookt-for a change and so sodaine an alteration was, without any apparent impulsion, and of so wonderfull repentance, at such a time, in such an opportunity and such an enterprise, fore-meditated, consulted and effected without controlement, and which through custome and the impiety of times was now become lawfull, (for at the first brunt I plainly confessed, and genuinly told them what side I was of, where my way lay, and whither I was riding) I verily know not yet, nor can I give any reason for it. The chiefest amongst them unmasked himselfe, told mee his name and repeated diverse times unto me, that I should acknowledge my deliverance to my countenance, to my boldnesse and constancy of speech, and be beholding to them for it, insomuch as they made me unworthy of such a misfortune;

and demanded assurance of me for the like curtesie. It may be, that the inscrutable goodnesse of God would use this vaine instrument for my preservation: For, the next morrow it also shielded mee from worse mischief or amboscadoes, whereof themselves gently forewarned me. The last is yet living, able to report the whole successe himselfe; the other was slaine not long since. If my countenance had not answered for me, if the ingenuity of mine inward intent might not plainely have bene disciphered in mine eyes and voice, surely I could never have continued so long, without quarrells or offences: with this indiscreete liberty, to speake freely (be it right or wrong) what ever commeth to my minde, and rashly to judge of things. This fashion may in some sort, (and that with reason) seeme uncivill and ill accomodated in our customary manners: but outrageous or malicious, I could never meete with any, would so judge it, or that was ever distasted at my liberty if he received the same from my mouth. Words reported againe have,

as another sound, so another sense. And to say true, I hate no body; And am so remisse to offend, or slow to wrong any, that for the service of reason it selfe, I cannot doe it. And if occasions have at any time urged me in criminall condemnations to doe as others, I have rather beene content to be amearced then to appeare. *Ut magis peccari nolim, quàm satis animi, ad vindicanda peccata habeam:* "So as I had rather men should not offend, then that I should have courage enough to punish their offences." Some report, that Aristotle beeing upbraided by some of his friends, that hee had beene over mercifull toward a wicked man: "I have indeede" (quoth he) "beene mercifull toward the man, but not toward his wickednesse." Ordinary judgements are exasperated unto punishment by the horror of the crime. And that enmildens me. The horror of the first murther, makes me feare a second. And the uglinesse of one cruelty, induceth me to detest all maner of imitation of it. To me, that am but a plaine fellow and see

no higher than a steeple, may that concerne, which was reported of Charillus King of Sparta : “ He cannot be good, since he is not bad to the wicked.” Or thus ; for Plutarke presents it two wayes, as he doth a thousand other things diversly and contrary ; “ Hee must needes be good, since he is so to the wicked.” Even as in lawfull actions, it grieves me to take any paines about them, when it is with such as are therewith displeased. So, to say truth, in unlawfull, I make no great conscience, to employ my selfe or take paines about them, being with such as consent unto them.

THE THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

Of Experience.

THERE is no desire more naturall, then that of knowledge. We attempt all meanes that may bring us unto it. When reason failes us, we employ experience.

MANIL.
lib. i.
Ast. 61.

*Per varios usus artem experientia fecit,
Exemplo monstrante viam.*

By diverse proofes experience arte hath bred,
Whilst one by one the way examples led.

Which is a meane by much more, weake and vile. But trueth is of so great consequence, that wee ought not disdain any induction, that may bring us unto it. Reason hath so many shapes, that wee knowe not which to take holde of. Experience hath as many. The consequence wee seeke to draw from the conference of events, is unsure, because they are ever dissemblable. No quality is so universall in this surface of things, as variety and

diversity. The Greekes, the Latines, and wee use for the most expresse examples of similitude, that of eggs. Some have nevertheless beene found, especially one in Delphos, that knew markes of difference betweene egges, and never tooke one for another. And having diverse Hennes, could rightly judge which had laid the egge. Dissimilitude doth of it selfe insinuate into our workes, no arte can come neere unto similitude. Neither Perozet nor any other carde-maker can so industriously smoothe or whiten the backside of his cardes, but some cunning gamster will distinguish them, onely by seeing some other player handle or shuffle them. Resemblance doth not so much make one, as difference maketh another. Nature hath bound herselfe to make nothing that may not be dissemblable. Yet doth not the opinion of that man greatly please mee, that supposed by the multitude of lawes, to curbe the authority of judges, in cutting out their morsells. He perceived not, that there is as much liberty and extension in the interpretation of lawes,

as in their fashion. And those but mocke themselves, who thinke to diminish our debates and stay them, by calling us to the expresse word of sacred Bible. Because our spirit findes not the field lesse spacious, to controule and checke the sense of others, then to represent his own : and as if there were as litle courage and sharpenesse to glöse as to invent. Wee see how farre hee was deceived. For wee have in France more lawes then all the world besides ; yea more than were needefull to governe all the worlds imagined by Epicurus : *Ut olim flagitiis, sic nunc legibus laboramus* : “As in times past we were sicke of offences, so now are we of lawes.” As wee have given our judges so large a scope to moote, to opinionate, to suppose and decide, that there was never so powerfull and so licentious a liberty. What have our lawmakers gained with chusing a hundred thousand kindes of particular cases, and adde as many lawes unto them ? That number hath no proportion, with the infinite diversity of humane accidents. The multiplying of our inven-

tions shall never come to the variation of examples. Adde a hundred times as many unto them, yet shall it not followe, that of events to come, there be any one found, that in all this infinite number of selected and enregistred events, shall meete with one, to which hee may so exactly joyne and match it, but some circumstance and diversity will remaine, that may require a diverse consideration of judgement. There is but little relation betweene our actions, that are in perpetuall mutation, and the fixed and unmooveable lawes. The most to be desired, are the rarest, the simplest and most generall. And yet I believe, it were better to have none at all, then so infinite a number as wee have. Nature gives them ever more happy, then those wee give our selves. Witnessse the image of the golden age that Poets faine; and the state wherein wee see diverse nations to live, which have no other. Some there are, who to decide any controversie, that may rise amongst them, will chuse for judge the first man that by chance shall travell alongest their

mountaines: Others, that upon a market day will name some one amongst themselves, who in the place without more wrangling shall determine all their questions. What danger would ensue, if the wisest should so decide ours, according to occurrences and at first sight; without being tied to examples and consequences? Let every foote have his owne shooe. Ferdinando King of Spaine sending certaine Collonies into the Indies, provided wisely, that no lawyers or students of the lawes should bee carried thither, for feare lest controversies, sute or processes should people that new-found world. As a Science that of her owne nature engendreth altercation and division, judging with Plato that Lawyers and Phisitions are an ill provision for any countrie. Wherefore is it, that our common language so easie to bee understood in all other matters, becommeth so obscure so harsh and so hard to bee understood in law-cases, bills, contracts, indentures citations, wills and testaments? And that hee who so plainely expresseth himselfe, what

ever hee spake or write of any other subject, in law matters findes no manner or way to declare himselfe or his meaning, that admits not some doubt or contradiction : Unlesse it be, that the Princes of this arte applying themselves with a particular attention, to invent and chuse strange, choise and solemne words, and frame artificiall cunning clauses, have so plodded and poized every sillable ; canvased and sifted so exquisitely every seame and quidity, that they are now so entangled and so confounded in the infinity of figures and so severall-small partitions, that they can no more come within the compasse of any order, or prescription or certaine understanding. *Confusum est quidquid usque in pulverem sectum est* : “Whatsoever is sliced into very powder is confused.”

Whosoever hath seene children, labouring to reduce a masse of quicke-silver to a certaine number, the more they presse and worke the same, and strive to force it to their will, so much more they provoke the liberty of that generous mettall, which

scorneth their arte, and scatteringly disperseth it selfe beyond all imagination. Even so of lawyers, who in subdividing their subtleties or quiddities, teach men to multiply doubts : and by extending and diversifying difficulties, they lengthen and amplifie, they scatter and disperse them. In sowing and retailing of questions, they make the World to fructifie and abound in uncertainty, in quarrels, in sutes and in controversies. As the ground the more it is crumbled, broken and deeply removed or grubbed up, becommeth so much more fertile. *Difficultatem facit doctrina* : "Learning breedes difficultie." Wee found many doubts in Ulpian, wee finde more in Bartolus and Baldus. The trace of this innumerable diversity of opinions should never have beene used to adorne posteritie, and have it put in her head, but rather have beene utterly razed out. I know not what to say to it ; but this is seene by experience, that so many interpretations, dissipate and confound all trueth. Aristotle hath written to bee understoode : Which

if he could not, much lesse shall another not so learned as he was ; and a third, than he who treateth his owne imagination. We open the matter, and spill it in distemperring it. Of one subject we make a thousand : And in multiplying and subdividing we fall againe into the infinity of Epicurus his Atomes. It was never seene, that two men judged alike of one same thing. And it is impossible to see two opinions exactly semblable : not onely in divers men, but in any one same man, at severall houres. I commonly find something to doubt-of, where the commentary happily never deigned to touch, as deeming it so plaine. I stumble somtimes as much in an even smooth path ; as some horses that I know, who oftner trip in a faire plaine way, than in a rough and stony. Who would not say, that glosses increase doubts and ignorance, since no booke is to bee seene, whether divine or profane, commonly read of all men, whose interpretation dimmes or tarnisheth not the difficulty ? The hundred commentary sends him to his succeder, more thorny

and more crabbed, than the first found him. When agreed wee amongst our selves, to say, this booke is perfect, there's now nothing to bee said against it? This is best seene in our French-pedling Law. Authoritie of Law is given to infinite Doctours, to infinite arrests, and to as many interpretations. Finde we for all that any ende of neede of interpretors? Is there any advauncement or progresse towards tranquility seene therein? Have wee now lesse neede of Advocates and Judges, then when this huge masse of Law was yet in hir first infancy? Cleane contrary, we obscure and bury understanding. We discover it no more but at the mercy of so many Courts, Barres, or Plea-benches. Men mis-acknowledge the naturall infirmity of their minde. She doth but quest and firret, and uncessantly goeth turning, winding, building and entangling her selfe in hir owne worke; as doe our silke-wormes, and therein stifleth hir selfe. *Mus in pice*: "A Mouse in pitch." Hee supposeth to note a farre-off I wot not what apparence of cleernesse

and immaginary truth; but whilst he runneth unto it, so many lets and difficulties crosse his way, so many empeachments and new questings start up, that they stray loose and besot him. Not much otherwise than it fortun'd to Æsops Dogges, who farre-off discovering some shew of a dead body to flote upon the Sea, and being unable to approach the same, undertooke to drinke up all the Water, that so they might drie-up the passage; and were all stifeled. To which answereth that, which one Crates said of Heraclitus his compositions, that they needed a Reader, who should be a cunning swimmer, lest the depth and weight of his learning should drowne and swallow him up. It is nothing but a particular weakenesse, that makes us contend with that which others or wee our selves have found in this pursuite of knowledge. A more sufficient man will not bee pleased therewith. There is place for a follower, yea and for our selves, and More wayes to the Wood than one. There is no ende in our inquisitions. Our end is in the

other World. It is a signe his wits grow short, when hee is pleased ; or a signe of wearinesse. No generous spirit staves and relies upon himselfe. Hee ever pretendeth and goeth beyond his strength. He hath some vagaries beyond his effects. If he advaunce not himselfe, presse, settle, shocke, turne, winde and front himselfe, hee is but halfe alive ; His pursuites are termelesse and formelesse. His nourishment is admiration, questing and ambiguitie : Which Apollo declared sufficiently, alwayes speaking ambiguously, obscurely and obliquely unto us ; not feeding, but busying and amusing us. It is an irregular uncertaine motion, perpetuall, patternelesse and without end. His inventions enflame, follow and enterproduce one another.

*Ainsi voit-on en un ruisseau coulant,
 Sans fin l'une eau, apres l'oultre roulant,
 Et tout de rang, d'un eternal conduit
 L'une suit l'autre, et l'une l'autre fuit.
 Par cette-cy, celle-là est poussée,
 Et cette-cy, par l'autre est devancée :
 Tousjours l'eau va dans l'eau, et tousjours est ce
 Mesme ruisseau, et tousjours eau diverse.*

As in a running river we behold
How one wave after th'other still is rold,
And all along as it doth endlesse rise,
Th'one th'other followes, th'one from th'other
flies.

By this Wave, that is driv'n, and this againe,
By th'other is set forward all amaine.
Water in Water still, one river still,
Yet diverse Waters still that river fill.

There's more adoe to enterprete interpretations, than to interpret things: and more bookes upon bookes, then upon any other subject. We doe but enter-glose our selves. All swarmeth with commentaries: Of Authours there is great penury. Is not the chiefest and most famous knowledge of our ages, to know how to understand the wise? Is it not the common and last scope of our study? Our opinions are grafted one upon an other. The first serveth as a stocke to the second; the second to the third. Thus we ascend from steppe to steppe. Whence it followeth, that the highest-mounted hath often more honour, than merite. For, hee is got-up but one inch above the shoulders of the last save one.

How often and peradventure foolishly, have I enlarged my Booke to speake of himselfe? Foolishly if it were but for this reason: That I should have remembred, that what I speake of others, they doe the like of me. That those so frequent glances on their workes, wisse their hart shivereth with their love they beare them; and that the disdainfull churlishnesse wherewith they beate them, are but mignardizes and affectations of a motherly favour. Following Aristotle, in whom, both esteeming and dis-esteeming himselfe, arise often of an equall aire of arrogancy. For mine excuse; That in this I ought to have more liberty than others, forsomuch as of purpose, I write both of my selfe and of my writings, as of my other actions: that my theame doth turne into it selfe: I wot not whether every man will take it. I have seene in Germanie, that Luther hath left as many divisions and altercations, concerning the doubt of his opinions, yea and more, than himselfe mooveth about the Holy Scriptures. Our contestation is verball. I demaund

what Nature voluptuousnesse, circle and substitution is? The question is of words, and with words it is answered. A stone is a body: but he that should insist and urge, And what is a body? A substance: And what a substance? And so goe-on: Should at last bring the respondent to his Calepine or wittes end. One worde is changed for another word, and often more unknowen. I know better what Homo is, then I know what Animall is, either mortall or reasonable. To answer one doubt, they give mee three: It is Hidraes head. Socrates demaunded of Memnon what vertue was; "There is," answered Memnon, "the vertue of a Man, of a Woman, of a Magistrate, of a private Man, of a Childe, of an olde Man: What vertue meane you?" "Yea marry, this is very well," quoth Socrates; "we were in search of one vertue, and thou bringest me a whole swarme." Wee propose one question, and wee have a whole huddle of them made unto us againe. As no event or forme doth wholly resemble another, so doth it not altogether differ one from another. Oh

ingenious mixture of Nature. If our faces were not like, wee could not discern a man from a beast: If they were not unlike, we could not distinguish one man from another man. All things hold by some similitude: Every example limpeth. And the relation, which is drawn from experience, is ever defective and imperfect. Comparisons are neverthelesse joyned together by some end. So serve the Lawes, and so are they sorted and fitted to all our sutes or affaires: by some wire-drawen, forced and collaterall interpretation. Since the morall Lawes which respect the particular duty of every man in himselfe, are so hard to be taught and observed, as we see they are: It is no wonder, if those which governe so many particulars, are more hard. Consider the forme of this Law, by which we are ruled: It is a lively testimony of humane imbecility; so much contradiction and so many errours are therein contained. That which we thinke favour or rigour in Law (wherein is so much of either, that I wot not wel whether we shal so often find indifferency

in them, are crazed-infected parts and unjust members of the very body and essence of Law. Certaine poore Country-men came even now to tell me in a great haste, that but now in a forrest of mine, they have left a man wounded to death, with a hundred hurts about him, yet breathing, and who for Gods sake hath begged a little water and some helpe to raise himselfe at their handes. But that they durst not come neere him and ran all away, for feare some officers belonging to the Law should meete and catch them ; and as they doe with such as they find neere unto a murdered body, so they should bee compelled to give an account of this mischance, to their utter undooing ; having neither friends nor mony to defend their innocency. What should I have said unto them ? It is most certaine, that this Office of humanity had brought them to much trouble. How many innocent and guilt-lesse men have wee seene punished ? I say without the Judges fault ; and how many more that were never discovered ? This hath hapned in my time. Certaine

men are condemned to death for a murder committed ; the sentence, if not pronounced, at least concluded and determined. This done, the Judges are advertised by the Officers of a sub-alternall Court, not far-off, that they have certaine prisoners in hold, that have directly confessed the foresaid murder, and thereof bring most evident markes and tokens. The question and consultation is now in the former Court, whether for all this, they might interrupt, or should deferre the execution of the sentence pronounced against the first. They consider the novelty of the example and consequence thereof, and how to reconcile the judgement. They conclude, that the condemnation hath passed according unto Law, and therefore the Judges are not subject to repentance. To be short, these miserable Wretches are consecrated to the prescriptions of the Law. Philip, or some other, provided for such an inconvenience, in this manner. He had by an irrevocable sentence condemned one to pay another a round summe of money for a fine. A while

after, the truth being discovered, it was found, he had wrongfully condemned him. On one side was the right of the cause, on the other the right of judiciary formes. He is in some sort to satisfie both parties, suffering the sentence to stand in full power: and with his owne purse recompenced the interest of the condemned. But hee was to deale with a reparable accident, my poore slaves were hanged irreparably. How many condemnations have I seene more criminall, than the crime it selfe? All this put me in minde of those auncient opinions; That Hee who will doe right in grosse, must needes doe wrong by retaile; and injustly in small things, that will come to doe justice in great matters; That humane justice is framed according to the modell of physicke, according to which, whatsoever is profitable is also just and honest: And of that the Stoickes hold, that Nature her selfe in most of her workes, proceedeth against justice: And of that which the Cyreniaques hold, that there is nothing just of it selfe: That customes and lawes

frame justice. And the Theodorians, who in a wise man allow as just, all manner of theft, sacrilege and paillardise, so he thinke it profitable for him. There is no remedy: I am in that case, as Alcibiades was, and if I can otherwise chuse, will never put my selfe unto a man that shall determine of my head; or consent that my honour or life, shall depend on the industry or care of mine attorney, more then mine innocency. I could willingly adventure my selfe, and stand to that Law, that should as well recompence me for a good deed, as punish me for a mis-deede: and where I might have a just cause to hope, as reason to feare. Indemnitie is no sufficient coyne for him, who doeth better than not to trespasse. Our Law presents us but one of hir hands, and that is her left hand. Whosoever goes to Law, doth in the end but loose by it. In China, the policy, arts and government of which kingdome, having neither knowledge or commerce with ours; exceed our examples in divers partes of excellency; and whose Histories teach me,

how much more ample and diverse the World is, than either we or our forefathers could ever enter into. The Officers appointed by the Prince to visite the state of his Provinces, as they punish such as abuse their charge, so with great liberality they reward such as have uprightly and honestly behaved themselves in them, or have done any thing more then ordinary, and besides the necessity of their duty: There, all present themselves, not onely to warrant themselves, but also to get something: Not simply to be paid, but liberally to be rewarded. No judge hath yet, God be thanked, spoken to me as a judge, in any cause whatsoever either mine or another mans; criminall or civill. No prison did ever receive me, no not so much as for recreation to walke in. The very imagination of one, maketh the sight of their outside seeme irkesome and loathsome to mee. I am so besotted unto liberty, that should any man forbidde me the accesse unto any one corner of the Indiaes I should in some sort live much discontented. And so long

as I shall finde land or open ayre elsewhere, I shall never lurke in any place, where I must hide my selfe. Oh God, how hardly could I endure the miserable condition of so many men, confined and immured in some corners of this kingdome, barred from entring the chiefest Citties, from accesse into Courts, from conversing with men, and interdicted the use of common wayes, onely because they have offended our lawes. If those under which I live, should but threaten my fingers end, I would presently goe finde out some others, wheresoever it were. All my small wisdom, in these civill and tumultuous warres, wherein we now live, doth wholly employ it selfe, that they may not interrupt my liberty, to goe and come where ever I list. Lawes are now maintained in credit, not because they are essentially just, but because they are lawes. It is the mysticall foundation of their authority; they have none other; which availes them much: They are often made by fooles. More often by men, who in hatred of equality, have want of equity;

But ever by men, who are vaine and irresolute Authours. There is nothing so grossely and largely offending, nor so ordinarily wronging as the Lawes. Whosoever obeyeth them because they are just, obeyes them not justly the way as he ought. Our French Lawes doe in some sort, by their irregularity and deformity, lend an helping hand unto the disorder and corruption, that is seene in their dispensation and execution. Their behest is so confused, and their commaund so inconstant, that it in some sort excuseth, both the disobedience and the vice of the interpretation, of the administration and of the observation. Whatsoever then the fruit is wee may have of Experience, the same which we draw from forraine examples, will hardly stead our institution much; if we reape so small profit from that wee have of our selves, which is most familiar unto us: and truely sufficient to instruct us of what wee want. I study my selfe more than any other subject. It is my supernaturall Metaphisike, it is my naturall Philosophy.

PRO-
PERT. 1.
iii. *El.*
iv. 26.

*Qua Deus hanc mundi temperet arte domum,
Qua venit exoriens, qua deficit, unde coactis
Cornibus in plenum menstrua luna redit :
Unde salo superant venti, quid flamine captet
Eurus, et in nubes unde perennis æqua.
Sit ventura dies mundi quæ subruat arces.*

This Worlds great house by what arte God doth
guide.

From whence the monethly Moone doth rising
ride,

How wane, how with clos'd hornes returne to
pride.

How windes on seas beare sway, what th' Easterne
winde

Would have, how still in clowdes we water finde ;
If this worlds Towers to rase a day be signde.

Quærite quos agitat mundi labor :

All this doe you enquire

Whom this worldes travailes tyre.

In this universality I suffer my selfe
ignorantly and negligently to be managed
by the generall law of the world. I shall
sufficiently know it when I shall feele it.
My learning cannot make her change her
course : shee will not diversifie her selfe
for me ; it were folly to hope it : And
greater folly for a man to trouble himselfe

about it; since it is necessarily semblable publicke and common. The governours capacity and goodnesse, should thoroughly discharge us of the governments care. Philosophicall inquisitions and contemplations serve but as a nourishment unto our curiosity. With great reason doe Philosophers addresse us unto natures rules: But they have nought to doe with so sublime a knowledge: They falsifie them, and present her to us with a painted face, too-high in colour and overmuch sophisticated; whence arise so many different pourtraits of so uniforme a subject. As shee hath given us feete to goe withall, so hath she endowed us with wisdom to direct our life. A wisdom not so ingenious, sturdie and pompous, as that of their invention, but yet easie, quiet and salutarie. And that in him who hath the hap to know how to employ it orderly and sincerely, effecteth very well what the other saith: that is to say naturally. For a man to commit himselfe most simply unto nature, is to doe it most

wisely. Oh how soft, how gentle, and how sound a pillow is ignorance and incuriositie to rest a well composed head upon. I had rather understand my selfe well in my selfe, then in Cicero. Out of the experience I have of my selfe, I finde sufficient ground to make my selfe wise, were I but a good proficient scholler. Whosoever shall commit to memorie the excesse or inconvenience of his rage or anger past, and how farre that fit transported him, may see the deformity of that passion, better then in Aristotle, and conceive a more just hatred against it. Whosoever calleth to minde, the dangers he hath escaped, those which have threatned him, and the light occasions that have remooved him from one to another state, doth thereby the better prepare himselfe to future alterations, and knowledge of his condition. Cæsars life hath no more examples for us, then our owne ; Both imperiall and popular ; it is ever a life that all humane accidents regard. Let us but give eare unto it, we recorde all that to us, that wee principally stand in

neede of. He that shall call to minde how often and how severall times hee hath beene deceived, and misaccompted his owne judgement: is hee not a simple gull, if hee doe not for ever afterward distrust the same? When by others reason, I finde my selfe convicted of a false opinion, I learne not so much, what new thing he hath told me; and this particular ignorance; which were but a small purchase; as in generall I learne mine owne imbecilitie and weakenesse, and the treason of my understanding: whence I draw the reformation of all the masse. The like I doe in all my other errours: by which rule I apprehend and feele great profite for, and unto my life. I regarde not the species or individuum, as a stone whereon I have stumbled. I learne every where to feare my going, and endeavour to order the same. To learne that another hath either spoken a foolish jest, or committed a sottish act, is a thing of nothing. A man must learne, that he is but a foole: A much more ample and important instruction. The false steps

my memory hath so often put upon mee, at what time she stood most upon her selfe, have not idly beene lost: she may sweare and warrant mee long enough; I shake mine eares at her: the first opposition made in witnesse of her, makes me suspect. And I durst not trust her in a matter of consequence; nor warrant her touching others affaires. And were it not, that what I doe for want of memorie, others more often doe the same for lacke of faith, I would ever in a matter of fact rather take the truth from anothers mouth, then from mine owne. Would every man prie into the effects and circumstances of the passions that sway him, as I have done of that whereunto I was allotted; hee should see them comming; and would somewhat hinder their course and abate their impetuositie: They doe not alwayes surprise and take hold of us at the first brunt, there are certaine forethreatnings and degrees as forerunners.

*Fluctus uti primò cæpit cùm albescere ponto,
Paulatim sese tollit mare, et altius undas
Erigit, inde imo consurgit ad æthera fundo.*

As when at sea, floods first in whitenesse rise,
 Sea surgeth softly, and then higher plies
 In waves, then from the ground mounts up to
 skies.

Judgement holds in me a presidentiall seate, at least hee carefully endeavours to hold it: He suffers my appetites to keep their course: both hatred and love, yea and that I beare unto my selfe; without feeling alteration or corruption. If he can not reforme other parts according to himselfe, at least he will not be deformed by them: he keepes his court apart. That warning-lesson given to all men, to knowe themselves, must necessarily be of important effect, since that God of wisdom, knowledge and light, caused the same to be fixed on the frontispice of his temple: as containing whatsoever he was to counsell us. Plato saith also, that wisdom is nothing but the execution of that ordinance: And Socrates doth distinctly verifie the same in Zenophon. Difficulties and obscuritie are not perceived in every science, but by such as have entrance into them: For, some

degree of intelligence is required, to be able to marke that one is ignorant: and wee must knocke at a gate, to knowe whether it bee shutte. Whence ensueth this Platonicall subtiltie, that neither those which knowe have no further to enquire, forsomuch as they knowe already: nor they that knowe not, because to enquire, it is necessary they know what they enquire after. Even so in this, for a man to know himselfe: that every man is seene so resolute and satisfied, and thinks himselfe sufficiently instructed or skilfull, doth plainely signifie that no man understands any thing, as Socrates teacheth Euthydemus. My selfe, who professe nothing else, finde therein so bottomlesse a depth, and infinit a varietie, that my apprenticeship hath no other fruit, than to make me perceive how much more there remaineth for me to learne. To mine owne weaknesse so often acknowledged, I owe this inclination which I beare unto modestie; to the obedience of beliefes prescribed unto mee; to a constant coldnesse and moderation of opinions; and hatred of

this importunate and quarellous arrogancie, wholly beleaving and trusting it selfe, a capitall ennemie to discipline and veritie. Doe but heare them sway and talke. The first fopperies they propose, are in the stile, that Religions and Lawes are composed in.

Nihil est turpius quàm cognitioni et præceptioni, assertionem approbationemque præcurrere: Cic. Acad. Quæ. lib. i. f. “Nothing is more absurd,

than that avowehing and allowance should runne before knowledge and precept.”

Aristarchus saide, that in ancient times, there were scarce seven wise men found in the world: and in his time, hardly seven ignorant. Have not we more reason to say it in our dayes, than he had? Affirmation and selfe-conceit, are manifest signes of foolishnesse. Some one, who a hundred times a day hath had the canvase and beene made a starke coxcombe, shall notwithstanding be seene to stand upon his Ergoes, and as presumptuously-resolute as before. You would say, he hath since some new minde and vigor of understanding infused into him. And that it betides him,

as to that ancient childe of the Earth, who by his falling to the ground and touching his Mother, still gathered new strength and fresh courage.

ANTE-
US.

——— *cui cùm tetigere parentem,*

Jam defecta vigent renovato robore membra.

Whose failing limmes with strength renew'd
regrow,

When they once touch his mother Earth below.

Doth not this indocile, blocke-headed asse, thinke to reassume a new spirite, by undertaking a new disputation? It is by my experience I accuse humane ignorance, which (in mine opinion) is the surest part of the Worlde's schoole. Those that will not conclude it in themselves, by so vaine an example as mine, or theirs, let them acknowledge it by Socrates, the Maister of Maisters. For the Philosopher Antisthenes, was wont to say to his Disciples: Come on my Maisters, let you and me goe to heare Socrates. There shall I bee a fellow Disciple with you. And upholding this Doctrine, of the Stoickes Sect, that only

vertue sufficed to make a life absolutely-happy ; and having no neede of any thing, but of Socrates his force and resolution, he added moreover : This long attention, I employ in considering my selfe enableth me also to judge indifferently of others : And there are few things whereof I speake more happily and excusably. It often fortuneth me to see and distinguish more exactly the conditions of my friends, than themselves do. I have astonied some by the pertinencie of mine owne discription, and have warned him of himselfe. Because I have from mine infancy enured my selfe to view mine owne life in others lives ; I have thereby acquired a studious complexion therein. And when I thinke on it, I suffer few things to escape about me, that may in any sort fit the same ; whether countenances, humour or discourses. I studiouslie consider all I am to eschew and all I ought to follow. So by my friends productions I discover their inward inclinations. Not to marshall or range this infinite varietie of

so diverse and so distracted actions to certaine Genders or Chapters, and distinctly to distribute my parcels and divisions into formes and knowne regions.

IRG.
Georg.
lib. i.
103.

*Sed neque quàm multæ species, et nomina quæ sint.
Est numerus.*

But nor how many kindes, nor what their names :
There is a number of them (and their frames).

The wiser sort speake and declare their fansies more specially and distinctly : But I, who have no further insight then I get from common use, without rule or method, generally present mine owne, but gropingly. As in this : I pronounce my sentence by articles, loose and disjoynted : it is a thing cannot be spoken at once and at full. Relation and conformity are not easily found in such base and common mindes as ours. Wisedome is a solide and compleate frame ; every severall piece whereof keepeth his due place and beareth his marke. *Sola sapientia in se tota conversa est* : “Onely wisedome is wholly turned into it selfe.” I leave it to

artists, and I wot not whether in a matter so confused, so severall and so casuall, they shall come to an end, to range into sides, this infinite diversity of visages; and settle our inconstancy and place it in order. I doe not onely finde it difficult to combine our actions one unto another; but take every one aparte, it is hard, by any principall quality to desseigne the same properly: so double, so ambiguous and party-coloured are they to diverse lusters. Which in Perseus the Macedonian King was noted for a rare matter, that his spirit fastning it selfe to no kinde of condition; went wandring through every kinde of life: and representing so new-fangled and gadding maners, that hee was neither knownen of himselfe nor of others, what kinde of man hee was: mee thinkes may well-nigh agree and sute with all the world. And above all, I have seene some other of his coate or humour, to whom (as I suppose) this conclusion might also more properly be applide. No state of mediocrity being ever transported from one extreame to

another, by indivinable occasions : no maner of course without crosses, and strange contrarieties : no faculty simple : so that the likeliest a man may one day conclude of him, shall be, that he affected and laboured to make himselfe knowen by being not to be knowen. A man had neede of long-tough eares, to heare himselfe freely judged. And because there be few that can endure to heare it without tingling : those which adventure to undertake it with us, shew us a singular effect of true friendship. For, that is a truely-perfect love, which, to profit and doe good, feareth not to hurt or offend. I deme it absurd, to censure him, in whom bad qualities exceede good conditions. Plato requireth three parts in him that will examine anothers minde : Learning, goodwill, and boldnesse. I was once demanded, what I would have thought my selfe fit-for, had any beene disposed to make use of me, when my yeares would have fitted service :

VIRG.
Æn. lib.
v. 415.

*Dum melior vires sanguis dabat, æmula nec dum
Temporibus geminis canebat sparsa senectus.*

While better blood gave strength, nor envious
 old yeares
 Ore-laid with wrinckled temples grew to hoary
 haire.

I answered, for nothing. And I willingly excuse my selfe that I can doe nothing which may enthrall mee to others. But had my fortune made me a servant, I would have told my maister all truths; and, had he so wild it, controled his maners: Not in grosse, by scholastical lessons, which I cannot doe: besides, I see no true reformation to ensue in such as know them: but faire and softly and with every opportunity observing them; and simply and naturally judging them distinctly by the eye. Making him directly to perceive, how and in what degree hee is in the common opinion; opposing my selfe against his flatterers and sycophants. There is none of us, but would be worse then Kings, if as they are, hee were continually corrupted with that rascally kinde of people. But what? if Alexander that mighty King and great Philosopher, could

not beware of them? I should have had sufficient fidelity, judgement and liberty for that. It would be a namelesse office, otherwise it should lose both effect and grace; And is a part, which cannot indifferently belong to all. For, truth it selfe, hath not the priviledge to bee employed at all times, and in every kinde: Bee her use never so noble, it hath his circumscriptions and limites. It often commeth to passe, the world standing as it doth, that truth is whispered into Princes eares, not onely without fruit, but hurtfully and therewithall unjustly. And no man shall make me beleve, but that an hallowed admonition may be viciously applied, and abusively employed: and that the interest of the substance should not sometimes yeeld to the interest of the forme. For such a purpose and mystery I would have an unrepining man and one contented with his owne fortune,

MART.
lib. x.
Epigr.
xlvii.
12.

Quod sit, esse velit, nihilque malit :

Willing to be as him you see,
Or rather nothing else to bee :

and borne of meane degree: Forsomuch as

on the one side, hee should not have cause to feare, lively and neerely to touch his maisters heart, therby not to lose the course of his preferment: And on the other side, being of a low condition, hee should have more easie communication with all sorts of people. Which I would have in one man alone; for, to empart the priviledge of such liberty and familiarity unto many, would beget an hurtful irreverence. Yea, and of that man, I would above all things require trusty and assured silence. A King is not to bee credited, when for his glory, hee boasteth of his constancy, in attending his enemies encounter: if for his good amendment and profit, hee cannot endure the liberty of his friends words, which have no other working power, then to pinch his learning: the rest of their effect remaining in his owne hands. Now, there is not any condition of men, that hath more neede of true, sincerly-free and open-hearted advertisements, then Princes. They undergoe a publike life, and must applaude the opinion of so many spectators, that if

they be once enured, to have that concealed from them, which diverteth them from their course, they at unawares and insensibly finde themselves deeply engaged in the hatred and detestation of their subjects; many times for occasions, which had they beene forewarned, and in time gently reformed, they might no doubt have eschewed, to no interest or prejudice of their private delights. Favorites doe commonly respect themselves more then their masters. And surely it toucheth their free-hold, forsomuch as in good truth, the greatest part of true friendships-offices, are towards their soveraigne in a crabbed and dangerous Essay. So that, there is not onely required much affection and liberty, but also an undanted courage. To conclude, all this galiemafrie which I huddle-up here, is but a register of my lives-Essayes: which in regard of the internall health are sufficiently exemplare to take the instruction against the haire. But concerning bodily health, no man is able to bring more profitable experience, then my selfe;

who present the same pure, sincere and in no sorte corrupted or altered, either by arte or selfe-will'd opinion. Experience in her owne precinct, may justly be compared to Physicke, unto which, reason giveth place. Tiberius was wont to say, that whatsoever had lived twenty yeares, should be able to answer himselfe of all such things as were either wholesome or hurtfull for him, and know howe to live and order his body without Physicke. Which hee peradventure had learned of Socrates; who industriously advising his disciples (as a study of chiefe consequence) to study their health, told them moreover, that it was very hard, if a man of understanding, heedefully observing his exercises, his eating and drinking, should not better then any Physition discern and distinguish such things as were either good or bad or indifferent for him. Yet doth Physicke make open profession alwayes to have experience for the touch-stone of her operation. And Plato had reason to say, that to be a good Physition, it were requisite, that he

who should undertake that profession, had past through all such diseases as hee will adventure to cure, and knowen or felt all the accidents and circumstances hee is to judge of. It is reason, themselves should first have the pox, if they will know how to cure them in others. I should surely trust such a one better then any else. Others but guide us, as one who sitting in his chaire paints seas, rockes, shelves and havens upon a boarde, and makes the modell of a tall ship, to saile in all safety : But put him to it in earnest, he knowes not what to doe, nor where to beginne. They make even such a description of our infirmities as doth a towne-crier, who crieth a lost horse, or dog, and describeth his haire, his stature, his eares, with other markes and tokens ; but bring either unto him, he knowes him not. Oh God, that physicke would one day afford me some good and perceptible helpe, how earnestly would I exclaime,

Tandem efficaci do manus scientiæ,

I yeeld, I yeeld at length,

To knowledge of chiefe strength.

The Artes that promise to keepe our body and minde in good health, promise much unto us ; but therewith there is none performeth lesse what they promise. And in our dayes, such as make profession of these Artes amongst us, doe lesse then all others shew their effects. The most may be said of them, is, that they sell medicinable drugs ; but that they are Physitians, no man can truly say it. I have lived long enough, to yeeld an account of the usage that hath brought mee to this day. If any bee disposed to taste of it, as his taster I have given him an assay. Loe here some articles, digested as memory shall store me with them. I have no fashion, but hath varied according to accidents : I onely register those I have most beene acquainted with ; and hetherto possesse me most. My forme of life is ever alike, both in sicke- nesse and in health : one same bed, the same houres, the same meate, the same drinke doth serve me. I adde nothing to them but the moderation of more or lesse, according to my strength or appetite. My

health is to keepe my accustomed state free from care and trouble. I see that sicke-nesse doth on the one side in some sort divert me from it, and if I beleeve Physitians, they on the other side will turne mee from it: So that both by fortune and by arte I am cleane out of my right bias. I beleeve nothing more certainly then this; that I cannot be offended by the use of things, which I have so long accustomed. It is in the hands of custome to give our life what forme it pleaseth: in that it can do all in all. It is the drinke of Circes, diversifieth our nature as she thinkes good. How many nations neere bordering upon us imagine the feare of the sereine or night-calme to be but a jest, which so apparantly doth blast and hurt us? and whereof our Mariners our watermen, and our councitriemen make but a laughing-stocke? You make a Germane sicke, if you lay him upon a matteras, as you distemper an Italian upon a fether-bed, and a Frenchman to lay him in a bed without curtaines, or lodge him in a

chamber without a fire. A Spaniard can not well brooke to feede after our fashion, nor wee endure to drinke as the Swizzers. A Germane pleased me well at Augusta to raile against the commodity of our chimnies, using the same reasons or arguments, that wee ordinarily imploy in condemning their stoves. For, to say truth, the same close-smothered heate, and the smell of that oft-heated matter, whereof they are composed, fumeth in the heads of such as are not accustomed unto them; not so with me. But on the other side, that heate being equally dispersed, constant and universall, without flame or blazing, without smoake, and without that winde which the tonnells of our chimnies bring us, may many wayes be compared unto ours. Why doe we not imitate the Romanes architecture?

It is reported that in auncient times they made no fire in their houses, but without and at the foote of them: Whence by tonnells, which were convaide through their thickest walls, and contrived neere

and about all such places as they would have warmed; so that the heate was conuaied into every part of the house. Which I have seene manifestly described in some place of Seneca, though I can not well remember where. This Germane, hearing mee commend the beauties and commodities of his Citty (which truly deserveth great commendation) beganne to pittie mee, because I was shortly to goe from it. And the first inconvenience hee urged mee withall, was the heavinesse in the head, which Chimnies in other places would cause mee. Hee had heard some other body complaine of it, and therefore alleadged the same against mee, beeing wont by custome to perceive it in such as came to him. All heate comming from fire doth weaken and dull mee: Yet saide Evenus, that fire was the best sauce of life. I rather allow and embrace any other manner or way to escape cold. Wee feare our Wines when they are lowe; whereas in Portugall, the fume of it is counted delicious, and is the drinke of Princes.

To conclude, each severall Nation hath divers customes, fashions and usages ; which, to some others, are not onely unknowne and strange, but savage, barbarous and wondrous. What shall wee doe unto that people, that admit no wisse, except printed ; that will not believe men, if not printed in Bookes, nor credite truth, unlesse it bee of competent age ? Wee dignifie our fopperies, when wee put them to the presse. It is another manner of weight for him, to say, I have seene it, then if you say, I have heard it reported. But I, who misbelieve no more the mouth, than the hand of men ; and know that men write as indiscreetly, as they speake unadvisedly ; and esteeme of this present age, as of another past ; alleadge as willingly a friend of mine as Aulus Gellius or Macrobius, and what my selfe have seene, as that they have written. And as they account vertue to bee nothing greater by being longer, so deeme I truth to be nothing wiser by being more aged. I often say it is meere folly that makes us runne after strange and

scholasticall examples. The fertilitie of them is now equall unto that of Homer and Platoes times. But is it not, that we rather seek the honour of allegations, than the truth of discourses? As if it were more to borrow our proofes from out the shope of Vascosan or Plantin, than from that we dayly see in our village. Or verely that wee have not the witte to blanch, sift out or make that to prevaile, which passeth before us, and forcibly judge of it, to drawe the same into example. For, if wee say, that authority failes us, to adde credite unto our testimony, wee speake from the purpose. Forsomuch as in my conceit, could we but find out their true light Natures greatest myracles and the most wonderfull examples, namely upon the subject of humane actions, may bee drawn and formed from most ordinary, most common and most knowen things. Now concerning my subject, omitting the examples I know by bookes; And that which Aristotle speaketh of Andron of Argos, that hee would travell all over the

scorching sands of Lybia, without drinking : A Gentleman, who hath worthily acquitted himselfe of many honourable charges, reported where I was, that in the parching heate of Summer, hee had travelled from Madrill to Lisbone, without ever drinking. His age respected, he is in very good and healthy plight, and hath nothing extraordinary in the course or custome of his life, saving (as himselfe hath told me,) that hee can very well continue two or three moneths, yea a whole yeere, without any manner of beverage. He sometimes finds himselfe thirsty, but let's it passe ; and holds, that it is an appetite, which will easily and of it selfe languish away : and if he drinke at any time, it is more for a caprice or humor, than for any need or pleasure. Loe here one of another key. It is not long since, that I found one of the wisest men of France, (among those of no meane fortune) studying hard in the corner of a great Hall, which for that purpose was hung about with tapistrie, and round about him a disordered rable of his

servaunts, groomes and lackeys; pratling, playing and hoyting: who tolde me (as Seneca in a manner saith of himselfe) that he learn'd and profited much by that hurly-burly or tintimare: as if beaten with that confused noyse, he did so much the better recall and close himselfe into himselfe, for serious contemplation; and that the said tempestuous rumours did strike and repercusse his thoughts inward. Whilst he was a scholler in Padua, his study was ever placed so neere the jangling of bells, the ratling of coaches and rumbling tumults of the market place, that for the service of his study, he was faine, not onely to frame and enure himself to contemne, but to make good use of that turbulent noise. Socrates answered Alcibiades, who wondered how hee could endure the continuall tittle-tattle and uncessant scoulding of his Wife: even as those who are accustomed to heare the ordinary creaking of the squeaking wheelles of welles. My selfe am cleane contrary, for I have a tender braine, and easie to take snuffe in the nose, or to be

transported. If my minde be busie alone, the least stirring, yea the buzzing of a flie doth trouble and distemper the same. Seneca in his youth, having earnestly undertaken to follow the example of Sextius, to feede on nothing that were taken dead: could with pleasure (as himselfe averreth) live so a whole yeere. And left it, onely because he would not bee suspected to borrow this rule from some new religions, that instituted the same. He therewithall followed some precepts of Attalus, not to lie upon any kinde of carpets or bedding that would yeeld under one; and untill he grew very aged, hee never used but such as were very hard and un-yeelding to the body. What the custome of his dayes makes him accoumpt rudenesse, ours makes us esteeme wantonnesse. Behold the difference betweene my varlets life and mine: The Indians have nothing further from my forme and strength. Well I wot, that I have heretofore taken boyes from begging and that went roaguing up and downe, to serve mee; hoping to doe some

good upon them, who have within a little while after left mee, my fare and my livery; onely that they might without controule or checke follow their former idle loytring life. One of which I found not long since gathering of muskles in a common sincke, for his dinner; whom (doe what I could) I was never able, neither with entreaty to reclaime, nor by threatening to withdrawe, from the sweetnesse hee found in want, and delight he felt in roaguing lazinesse. Even vagabonding roagues, as well as rich men, have their magnificences and voluptuousnesse, and (as some say) their dignities, preheminences and politike orders. They are effects of custome and use: and what is bred in the bone, will never out of the flesh. Both which have power to enure and fashion us, not onely to what forme they please (therefore, say the wise, ought we to be addressed to the best, and it will immediately seeme easie unto us) but also to change and variation: Which is the noblest and most profitable of their

apprentisages. The best of my corporall complexions, is, that I am flexible and little opiniative. I have certaine inclinations, more proper and ordinary, and more pleasing than others. But with small adoe and without compulsion, I can easily leave them and embrace the contrary. A yong man should trouble his rules, to stirre-up his vigor; and take heede he suffer not the same to grow faint, sluggish or teasty: For, there is no course of life so weake and sottish, as that which is mannaged by Order, Methode and Discipline

*Ad primum lapidem vectari cum placet, hora
Sumitur ex libro, si prurit frictus ocelli
Angubus, inspecta genesi collyria quærit.*

JUVEN.
Sat. vi.
477.

List he to ride in coach but to Mile-end,
By th' Almanacke he doth the houre attend:
If his eye-corner itch, the remedy,
He fet's from calculation of nativity.

If he beleeeve mee, he shall often give himselfe unto all manner of excesse: otherwise the least disorder will utterly overthrow him; and so make him unfit and unwelcome in all conversations. The

most contrary quality in an honest man, is nice-delicatenesse, and to bee tied to one certaine particular fashion. It is particular, if it be not supple and pliable. It is a kinde of reproch, through impuissance not to doe or not to dare, what one seeth his other companions doe or dare. Let such men keepe their kitchin. It is undecent in all other men, but vitious and intollerable in one professing Armes: who (as Philopœmen said) should fashion himselfe to all manner of inequality and diversity of life. Although I have (as much as might bee) bene enured to liberty and fashioned to indifferency; yet in growing aged, I have through carelesnesse relied more upon certaine forms (my age is now exempted from institution, and hath not anie thing else to looke unto, but to maintaine it selfe) which custome hath already, without thinking on it, in certaine things so well imprinted her character in me, that I deeme it a kinde of excesse to leave them. And without long practise, I can neither sleepe by day; nor eate

betweene meales; nor breake my fast; nor goe to bed without some entermission; as of three houres after supper; nor get children, but before I fall-asleepe, and that never standing; nor beare mine owne sweate; nor quench my thirst, either with cleere water or wine alone; nor continue long bare-headed; nor have mine haire cut after dinner. And I could as hardly spare my gloves as my shirt: or forbear washing of my handes, both in the morning and rising from the table; or lie in a bed without a testerne and curtaines about it, as of most necessary things: I could dine without a table-cloth, but hardly without a cleane napkin, as Germans commonly doe. I foule and sully them more than either they or the Italians: and I seldome use either spoone or forke. I am sory wee follow not a custome, which according to the example of Kings I have seene begunne by some; that upon every course or change of dish, as we have shift of cleane trenchers, so we might have change of cleane napkins. We! reade that that laborious souldier

Marius, growing olde, grew more nicely delicate in his drinking, and would taste no drinke, except in a peculiar cuppe of his. As for me, I observe a kinde of like methode in glasses, and of one certaine forme, and drinke not willingly in a common-glasse: no more than of one ordinary hand: I mislike all manner of mettall in regard of a bright transparent matter: let mine eyes also have taste of what I drinke according to their capacity. I am beholding to custome for many such nicenesses and singularities. Nature hath also on the other side bestowed this upon mee, that I can not wel brooke two ful meales in one day, without surcharging my stomacke; nor the meere abstinence of one, without filling my selfe with winde, drying my mouth and dulling my appetite: And I doe finde great offence by a long sereine or night-calme. For some yeeres since, in the out-roads or night-services that happen in times of warres, which many times continue all night, five or sixe houres after my stomacke beginnes to qualme,

my head feeleth a violent aking, so that I can hardly hold-out till morning without vomiting. When others goe to breakefast, I goe to sleepe: and within a while after I shall be as fresh and jolly as before. I ever thought that the serein never fell, but in the shutting in of night, but having in these latter yeeres long time frequented very familiarly the conversation of a Gentleman, possessed with this opinion, that it is more sharpe and dangerous about the declination of the Sunne, an houre or two before it set, which he carefully escheweth, and despiseth that which falles at night: he hath gone about to perswade and imprint into mee, not onely his discourse but also his conceit. What if the very doubt and inquisition, woundeth our imagination and changeth us? Such as altogether yeelde to these bendings, draw the whole ruine upon themselves. And I bewaile diverse Gentlemen, who being yoong and in perfect health, have by the ignorant foolishnes of their Physitians brought themselves into consumptions and

other lingering diseases ; and as it were in Physickes fetters. Were it not much better to be troubled with a rheume, than for ever through discustome, in an action of so great use and consequence, loose the commerce and conversation of common life ? Oh yrkesome learning ! Oh Science full of molestation ; that wasteth us the sweetest houres of the day. Let us extend our possession unto the utmost meanes. A man shall at last, in opinionating himselfe, harden and enure himselfe for it, and so correct his complexion : as did Cæsars the falling sicknesse, with contemning and corrupting the same. A man should apply himselfe to the best rules, but not subject himselfe unto them : except to such (if any there bee) that duty and thraldome unto them, be profitable. Both Kings and Philosophers obey nature, and goe to the stoole, and so doe Ladies : Publike lives are due unto ceremony : mine which is obscure and private, enjoyeth all naturall dispensations. To be a Souldier and a Gascoyne, are qualities somewhat subject to indiscre-

tion. And I am both. Therefore will I say thus much of this action; that it is requisite we should remit the same unto certaine prescribed night-houres; and by custome (as I have done) force and subject our selves unto it: But not (as I have done) growing in yeeres, strictly tie him selfe to the care of a particular convenient place, and of a commodious Aiax or easie close-stoole for that purpose: and make it troublesome with long sitting and nice observation. Neverthelesse in homeliest matters and fowlest offices, is it not in some sorte excusable, to require more care and cleanelinesse? *Naturâ homo mundum et elegans animal est:* "By nature man is a cleanly and neate creature." SEN. Epist. 92.

Of all naturall actions, there is none wherein I am more loath to be troubled or interrupted, when I am at it. I have seene divers great men and souldiers, much troubled and vexed with their bellies untune and disorder, when at untimely houres it calleth upon them:

whilst mine and my selfe never misse to call one upon another at our appointment: which is, as soone as I get out of my bed, except some urgent busines or violent sicknesse trouble mee. Therefore (as I saide) I judge no place where sicke men may better seate themselves in security, then quietly and wisht to holde themselves in that course of life, wherein they have beene brought up and habituated. Any change or variation soever, astonieth and distempereth. Will any beleeve, that Chestnutttes can hurt a Perigordin or a Luquios, or that milke or whit-meates are hurtful unto a mountaine dwelling people? whom if one seeke to divert from their naturall diet, he shall not onely prescribe them a new, but a contrary forme of life: A change which a healthy man can hardly endure. Appoynt a Bretton of threescore yeeres of age to drinke water; put a Seaman or Mariner into a Stove; forbid a lackey of Baske to walke: you bring them out of their element, you deprive them of

all motion, and in the end, of aire, of light and life.

——— *an vivere tanti est ?*

Doe we reckon it so deare,
Onely living to be here ?

COR.
GAL. *El.*
i. 155.

Cogimur à suetis animum suspendere rebus.

Atque ut vivamus, vivere desinimus :

From things erst us'd we must suspend our minde,
We leave to live that we may live by kinde.

Hos superesse reor quibus et spirabilis aër,

Et lux qua regimur, redditur ipsa gravis.

Doe I thinke they live longer, whom doth grieve
Both aire they breathe, and light whereby they
live.

If they doe no other good, at least they doe this, that betimes they prepare their patients unto death, by little undermining and cutting-off the use of life. Both in health and in sicknesse, I have willingly seconded and given my selfe over to those appetites that pressed mee. I allow great authority to my desires and propensions. I love not to cure one evill by another mischiefe. I hate those remedies, that impor-

tune more then sicknesse. To be subject to the cholike, and to be tied to abstaine from the pleasure I have in eating of oysters, are two mischiefes for one. The disease pincheth us on the one side, the rule on the other. Since we are ever in danger to misdoe, let us rather hazard our selves to follow pleasure. Most men doe contrary and thinke nothing profitable, that is not painefull: Facility is by them suspected. Mine appetite hath in diverse things very happily accommodated and ranged it selfe to the health of my stomake. Being yong, acrimony and tartnesse in sawces did greatly delight me, but my stomake being since glutted therewith, my taste hath likewise seconded the same. Wine hurts the sicke; it is the first thing that with an invincible distaste, brings my mouth out of taste. Whatsoever I receive unwillingly or distastefully hurts me, whereas nothing doth it whereon I feede with hunger and rellish. I never received harme by any action that was very pleasing unto me. And yet I have

made al medicinall conclusions, largely to yeeld to my pleasures. And when I was yong.

Quem circumcursans huc atque huc sæpe Cupido CATUL.
Fulgebat crocina splendidus in tunica, *El. iv.*
 About whom Cupid running here and there, 131.
 Shinde in the saffron coate which he did weare.

I have as licentiously and inconsiderately as any other, furthred al such desires as possessed me ;

Et militavi non sine gloria. HOR.
 A Souldier of loves hoast, *Car. 1,*
 I was not without boast. *iii. Od.*
XXvi. 2.

More notwithstanding in continuation and holding out, then by snatches or by stealth.

Sex me vix memini sustinuisse vices.
 I scarce remember past
 Six courses I could last.

It is surely a wonder accompanied with unhappinesse to confesse how yong and weake I was brought under it's subjection. Nay, shall I not blush to tell it? It was long before the age of choise or yeares of

discretion : I was so yoong, as I remember nothing before. And fitly may my fortune bee compared to that of Quartilla, who remembred not her mayden-head.

*Inde tragus celeresque pili, mirandúque matri
Barba meæ.*

Thence goatishnesse, haire over-soone, a beard
To make my mother wonder, and afear'd.

Physitians commonly enfold and joine their rules unto profit, according to the violence of sharpe desires or earnest longings, that incidently follow the sicke. No longing desire can be imagined so strange and vicious, but nature will apply herself unto it. And then how easie is it to content ones fantasie ? In mine opinion, this part importeth all in all ; at least more and beyond all other. The most grievous and ordinary evils are those, which fancy chargeth us withall. That Spanish saying doth every way please me : *Deffienda me Dios de my* : “God defend me from my selfe.” Being sicke, I am sory I have not some desire may give mee the contentment to satiate and cloy the same : Scarsly would a medicine divert me from it.

So doe I when I am in health : I hardly see any thing left to be hoped or wished-for. It is pittie a man should be so weakned and enlanguished, that hee hath nothing left him but wishing. The arte of Physicke is not so resolute, that whatsoever wee doe, wee shall bee void of all authority to doe it. Shee changeth and shee varieth according to climates ; according to the Moones ; according to Fernelius ; and according to Scala. If your Physitian thinke it not good that you sleepe, that you drinke wine, or eate such and such meates : Care not you for that ; I will finde you another that shall not be of his opinion. The diversity of physicall arguments and medicinall opinions, embraceth all manner of formes. I saw a miserable sicke man, for the infinite desire he had to recover, ready to burst, yea and to die with thirst ; whom not long since another Physitian mocked, utterly condemning the others counsell, as hurtfull for him. Had not hee bestowed his labour well ? A man of that coate is lately dead of the stone, who during the time of his

sicknesse used extreame abstinence to withstand his evill ; his fellowes affirme that contrary, his long fasting had withered and dried him up, and so concocted the gravell in his kidnies. I have found, that in my hurts and other sicknesses, earnest talking distempers and hurts me as much as any disorder I commit. My voice costs me deare, and wearieth me ; for I have it lowd, shrill and forced : So that, when I have had occasion to entertaine the eares of great men, about weighty affaires, I have often troubled them with care how to moderate my voice. This story deserveth to bee remembred and to divert me. A certaine man, in one of the Greeke schooles spake very lowde, as I doe ; the maister of the ceremonies sent him word, hee should speake lower : “ Let him ” (quoth he) “ send me the tune or key in which he would have me speake.” The other replied, that hee should take his tune from his eares to whom he spake. It was well sayd, so hee understood himselfe : Speake according as you have to doe with your auditory. For if one say,

let it suffice that he heareth you; or, governe your selfe by him: I do not thinke he had reason to say so. The tune or motion of the voyce, hath some expression or signification of my meaning: It is in me to direct the same, that so I may the better represent my selfe. There is a voyce to instruct one to flatter, and another to chide. I will not onely have my voyce come to him, but peradventure to wound and pierce him. When I brawle and rate my lackey, with a sharpe and piercing tune; were it fit he should come to me and say, "Master speake softly, I understand and heare you very well"? *Est quedam vox ad auditum accommodata non magnitudine sed proprietate*: "There is a kinde of voyce well applied to the hearing, not by the greatnesse of it, but by the proprietie." The word is halfe his that speaketh, and halfe his that harkeneth unto it. The hearer ought to prepare himselfe to the motion or bound it taketh. As betweene those that play at tennis, he who keepes the hazard, doth prepare, stand, stirre and march, according

as he perceives him who stands at the house, to looke, stand, remooove and strike the ball, and according to the stroake. Experience hath also taught mee this, that wee lose our selves with impatience. Evills have their life, their limites ; their diseases and their health. The constitution of diseases is framed by the patterne of the constitution of living creatures. They have their fortune limited even at their birth, and their dayes allotted them. Hee that shall imperiously goe about, or by compulsion (contrary to their courses) to abridge them, doth lengthen and multiply them ; and instead of appeasing, doth harsell and wring them. I am of Crantors opinion, that a man must neither obstinately nor frantikely oppose himselfe against evills ; nor through demissenesse of courage faintingly yeeld unto them, but according to their condition and ours, naturally incline to them. A man must give sickenneses their passage : And I finde that they stay least with mee, because I allow them their swinge, and let them doe what they list. And contrary to common-

received rules, I have without ayde or arte ridde my selfe of some, that are deemed the most obstinately lingring, and unremoovably-obstinate. Let nature worke: Let hir have hir will: Shee knoweth what shee hath to doe, and understands hir selfe better than wee doe. But such a one died of it, will you say; So shall you doubtlesse; if not of that, yet of some other disease. And how many have wee seene die, when they have had a whole Colledge of Physitians round about their bed, and looking in their excrements? Example is a bright looking-glasse, universall and for all shapes to looke-into. If it be a lushious or taste-pleasing potion, take it hardly; it is ever so much present ease. So it be delicious and sweetely-tasting, I will never stand much upon the name or colour of it. Pleasure is one of the chiefest kindes of profite. I have suffered rheumes, gowty defluxions, relaxions, pantings of the heart, megreimes and other such-like accidents, to grow old in me, and die their naturall death; all which have left me, when I

halfe enured and framed my selfe to foster them. They are better conjured by curtesie, then by bragging or threats. We must gently obey and endure the lawes of our condition: We are subject to grow aged, to become weake and to fall sicke, in spite of all physicke. It is the first lesson the Mexicans give their children; When they come out of their mothers wombes, they thus salute them: "My childe, thou art come into the world to suffer; Therefore suffer and hold thy peace." It is injustice for one to grieve, that any thing hath befallen to any one, which may happen to all men. *Indignare si quid in te iniquè propriè constitutum est*: "Then take it ill, if any thing bee decreed unjustly against thee alone." Looke on an aged man, who sueth unto God to maintaine him in perfect, full and vigrous health, that is to say, he will be pleased to make him yong againe:

OVID.
Trist.
 l. iii. *El.*
 viii. 11.

Stulte quid hæc frustra votis puerilibus optas?

Foole why dost thou in vaine desire,
 With childish prayers thus t'aspire?

Is it not folly? his condition will not beare

it. The gowt, the stone, the gravell and indigestion are symptomes or effects of long continued yeares; as heates, raines and windes, are incident to long voyages. Plato cannot beleeve, that Æsculapius troubled himselfe with good rules and diet to provide for the preservation of life, in a weake, wasted and corrupted body: being unprofitable for his country, inconvenient for his vocation, and unfit to get sound and sturdy Children: and deeme not that care inconvenient unto divine justice and heavenly Wisedome, which is to direct all things unto profite. My good sir, the matter is at an end: You cannot be recovered; for the most, you can be but tampered withall, and somewhat under-propt, and for some houres have your misery prolonged.

*Non secus instantem cupiens fulcire ruinam
Diversis contra nititur obicibus,
Donec certa dies omni compage solutâ
Ipsum cum rebus subruat auxilium.*

COR.
GAL. *El.*
173.

So he that would an instant ruine stay,
With divers props strives it to underlay,
Till all the frame dissolv'd a certaine day,
The props with th' edifice doth oversway.

A man must learne to endure that patiently, which he cannot avoyde conveniently. Our life is composed, as is the harmony of the World, of contrary things; so of divers tunes, some pleasant, some harsh, some sharpe, some flat, some low and some high: What would that Musicion say, that should love but some one of them? He ought to know how to use them severally and how to entermingle them. So should we both of goods and evils, which are con-substantiall to our life. Our being cannot subsist without this commixture, whereto one side is no lesse necessarie than the other. To goe about to kicke against naturall necessity, were to represent the folly of Ctesiphon, who undertooke to strike or wince with his mule. I consult but little about the alterations which I feele: For these kinde of men are advantagious, when they hold you at their mercy. They glut your eares with their Prognostications, and surprising mee heretofore, when by my sicke-nesse I was brought very lowe and weake, they have injuriously handled me with their

Doctrines, positions, prescriptions, magistrall fopperies and prosopopeyall gravity; sometimes threatning me with great paine and smart, and othertimes menacing me with neere and unavoydable death: All which did indeede move, stirre and touch mee neere, but could not dismay, or remoove mee from my place or resolution: If my judgement be thereby neither changed nor troubled; it was at least hindred: It is ever in agitation and combating. Now I entreate my imagination as gently as I can, and were it in my power I would cleane discharge it of all paine and contestation. A man must further, help, flatter and (if he can) cozen and deceive it. My spirit is fit for that office. There is no want of apparances every where. Did he perswade, as he preacheth, he should successefully ayde me. Shall I give you an example? He tels me, it is for my good, that I am troubled with the gravell: That the compositions of my age, must naturally suffer some leake or flaw: It is time they beginne to relent and gaine-say themselves: It is a common necessity: And

it had beene no new wonder for mee. That way I pay the reward due unto age, and I could have no better reckoning of it. That such company ought to comfort me, being fallen into the most ordinary accident incident to men of my dayes. I every where see some afflicted with the same kinde of evill ; whose society is honourable unto mee, forsomuch as it commonly possesseth the better sort of men : and whose essence hath a certaine nobility and dignity connexed unto it : That of men tormented therewith, fewe are better cheape quit of it : and yet, it costs them the paine of a troublesome dyet, tedious regiment, and daily loathsome taking of medicinall drugges and phisicall potions : Whereas I meerly owe it to my good fortune. For, some ordinary broths made of Eringos or Sea-Holme, and Burstwort, which twice or thrice I have swallowed downe, at the request of some Ladies, who more kindly then my disease is unkind, offred me the moiety of theirs, have equally seemed unto mee as easie to take, as unprofitable in operation. They must pay a thousand

vowes unto Æsculapius, and as many crownes to their Physition, for an easie profluvion or abundant running of gravell, which I often receive by the benefite of Nature. Let mee bee in any company, the decency of my countenance is thereby nothing troubled; and I can hold my water full tenne houres, and if neede bee, as long as any man that is in perfect health: The feare of this evill (saith he) did heeretofore affright thee, when yet it was unknowen to thee. The cries and despaire of those, who through their impatience exasperate the same; bred a horror of it in thee. It is an evill that comes and falles into those limmes, by, and with which thou hast most offended: Thou art a man of conscience:

Quæ venit indignè pœna, dolenda venit.

The paine that comes without desart,
Comes to us with more grieffe and smart.

OVID.
Epist. v.
8.

Consider but how milde the punishment is, in respect of chers, and how favourable. Consider his slownesse in comming: hee onely incommodeth that state and encombred

that season of thy life, which (all things considered) is now become barren and lost, having as it were by way of composition given place unto the sensuall licenciousnesse and wanton pleasures of thy youth. The feare and pittie, men have of this evill, may serve thee as a cause of glory. A quality, whereof, if thy judgement be purified and thy discourse perfectly sound, thy friends doe notwithstanding discover some sparkes in thy complexion. It is some pleasure for a man to heare others say of him: "Loe there a patterne of true fortitude; loe there a mirrour of matchlesse patience." Thou art seene to sweate with labour, to grow pale and wanne, to wax red, to quake and tremble, to cast and vomite blood, to endure strange contractions, to brooke convulsions, to trill downe brackish and great teares, to make thicke, muddie blacke, bloody and fearefull urine, or to have it stopt by some sharpe or rugged stone, which pricketh and cruelly wringeth the necke of the yarde: entertaining in the meane while the by-standers with an ordinary and undanted

countenance, by pawses jesting and by entermissions dallying with thy servants: keeping a parte in a continued discourse; with wordes now and then excusing thy grieffe, and abating thy painefull sufferance. Dost thou remember those men of former ages, who to keep their vertue in breath and exercise, did with such greedinesse seeke after evils? Suppose Nature driveth and brings thee unto that glorious Schoole, into which thou hadst never come of thine owne accord and free will. If thou tel me, it is a dangerous and mortall evill, what others are not so? For, it is a kinde of physicall cousenage, to except any, and so they goe directly unto death: what matter is it, whether they goe by accident unto it; and easily slide on either hand, toward the way that leadeth us thereunto? But thou diest not because thou art sicke; thou diest because thou art living. Death is able to kill thee without the helpe of any sicknesse. Sicknesse have to some prolonged their death; who have lived the longer, inasmuch as they imagined they were still dying.

Seeing it is of woundes, as of diseases, that some are medicinall and wholesome. The chollike is often no lesse long-lived than you. Many are seene, in whom it hath continued even from their infancy unto their extreamest age, who had they not forsaken hir company ; she was like to have assisted them further. You oftner kill her, than she doth you. And if she did present thee with the image of neer-imminent death, were it not a kinde office for a man of that age, to reduce it unto the cogitations of his end ? And which is woorse, thou hast no longer cause to be cured : Thus and howsoever, common necessity calles for thee against the first day. Consider but how artificially and how mildely she brings thee in distaste with life, and out of liking with the world ; not forcing thee with a tyrannicall subjection, as infinite other diseases doe, wherwith thou seest olde men possessed, which continually holde them fettered and ensnared, and without release of weakenesse nor intermission of paines but by advertisements and instructions, reprised by intervalles :

entermixing certaine pawses of rest, as if it were : to give thee meane, at thy ease, to meditate and repeate her lesson. To give thee leasure and ability to judge soundly, and like a man of a corage to take a resolution, shee presents thee with the state of thy condition perfect, both in good and evill, and in one same day, sometimes a most pleasing, sometimes a most intolerable life. If thou embrace not death, at least thou shakest her by the hand once a moneth. Whereby thou hast more cause to hope, that she will one day surprise thee without threatning. And that being so often brought into the haven ; supposing to be still in thy accustomed state, one morning at unawares both thy selfe and thy confidence shall be transported over. A man hath no reason to complaine against those diseases, which so equally divide time with health. I am beholding to Fortune, that shee so often assailes mee with one same kinde of weapon : shee by long use doth fashion and enure mee unto it, harden and habituate mee thereunto : I now know within a little

which way and how I shall bee quit. For want of naturall memory I frame some of paper. And when some new symptome or accident commeth to my evill, I set it downe in writing: whence it proceedeth, that having now (in a manner) passed over and through all sortes of examples, if any astonishment threaten mee; running and turning over these my loose memorialles (as Sybillaes leaves) I misse no more to finde to comfort me with some favourable prognostication in my former past experience. Custome doth also serve mee, to hope the better heereafter. For, the conduct of this distribution, having so long beene constituted, it is to be supposed that Nature will not change this course, and no other worse accident shall follow, then that I feele. Moreover, the condition of this disease is not ill seeming to my ready and sodaine complexion. When it but faintly assailes mee, it makes mee afraid, because it is like to continue long: But naturally it hath certaine vigorous and violent excesses. It doth violently shake me for one or two

dayes. My reines have continued a whole
 age without alteration, an other is now well
 nigh come, that they have changed state.
 Evilles as well as goods have their periodes :
 this accident is happily come to his last.
 Age weakeneth the heate of my stomacke :
 his digestion being thereby lesse perfect,
 hee sendeth this crude matter to my reines.
 Why may not, at a certaine revolution, the
 heat of my reines be likewise infeabled : so
 that they may no longer petrifie my
 fleagme ; and Nature addresse her selfe to
 finde some other course of purgation ?
 Yeares have evidently made me drie up
 certaine rheumes : And why not these excre-
 ments, that minister matter to the stone
 or gravell ? But is there any thing so
 pleasant, in respect of this sodaine change,
 when by an extreame paine, I come by the
 voyding of my stone, to recover, as from
 a lightning, the faire Sunne-shine of
 health ; so free and full, as it happeneth
 in our sodaine and most violent cholliks ?
 Is there any thing in this paine suffered,
 that may be counterpoised to the sweete

pleasure of so ready an amendment? By how much more health seemeth fairer unto me after sickenes, so neere and so contiguous, that I may know them in presence one of another, in their richest ornaments; wherein they attyre themselves avy, as it were confront and counterchecke one another: Even as the Stoickes say, that Vices were profitablie brought in; to give esteeme and make head unto vertue; So may we with better reason and bold conjecture, affirme, that Nature hath lent us grieffe and paine, for the honour of pleasure and service of indolency. When Socrates (after he had his yrons or fetters taken from him) felt the pleasure or tickling of that itching, which their weight and rubbing had caused in his legges; he rejoyced, to consider the neere affinity that was betweene paine and pleasure: how they combined together by a necessary bond; so that at turnes they enter-engender and succede one another: And cry out to good Æsope, that hee should from that consideration have taken a proper body

unto a quaint fable. The worst I see in other diseases, is, that they are not so grievous in their effect, as in their issue. A man is a whole yeare to recover himselfe ; ever full of weakenesse, alwayes full of feare.

There is so much hazard and so many degrees before one can be brought to safety, that hee is never at an end. Before you can leave off your cover-chiefe and then your night-cappe ; before you can brooke the ayre againe, or have leave to drinke Wine, or lye with your Wife, or eate melons, it is much, if you fall not into some relapse or new misery. The gravell hath this priviledge, that it is cleane carried away. Whereas other maladies, leave ever some impression and alteration, which leaveth the body susceptible or undertaking of some new infirmity ; and they lend one an other their hands. Such are to be excused, as are contented with the possession they have over us, without extending the same, and without introducing their sequell : But courteous, kind and gracious are those

whose passage brings us some profitable consequence. Since I have had the stonechollike, I finde my selfe discharged of other accidents: more (as me thinks) then I was before, and never had ague since. I argue, that the extreame and frequent vomites I endure, purge me; and on the other side, the distastes and strange abstinences I tolerate, disgest my offending humours: and Nature voydeth in these stones and gravell, whatsoever is superfluous and hurtefull in her. Let no man tell me, that it is a medicine too deere sold. For, what availe so many loathsome pills, stincking potions, cauterizings, incisions, sweatings, setons, dyets and so divers fashions of curing, which, because we are not able to undergoe their violence and brooke their importunity, doe often bring us unto our graves? And therefore, when I am surprised, I take it as physicke: and when I am free, I take it as a constant and full deliverance. Lo here an other particular favour of my disease, which is, that he in a manner, keepes his play a-part, and let's mee keepe mine owne; or else I

want but courage to doe it : In his greatest emotion, I have held out tenne houres on Horse-backe with him. Doe but endure, you neede no other rule or regiment : Play, dally, dyne, runne, be gamesome, doe this, and if you can, doe the other thing, your disorder and debauching will rather availe than hurt it. Say thus much to one that hath the pox, or to one that hath the gowt, or to one that is belly-broken or cod-burst. Other infirmities have more universall bonds, torment farre-otherwise our actions, pervert al our order, and engage all the state of mans life unto their consideration : Whereas this doth only twitch and pinch the skinne, it neither medleth with your understanding, nor with your will, tongue, feete nor hands, but leaves them all in your disposition ; it rather rouzeth and awaketh you, then deterre and drouzie you. The mind is wounded by the burning of a feaver suppressed by an Epilepsie, confounded by a migrane, and in conclusion, astonied and dismayed by all the diseases that touch or

wound the whole masse of his body, and it's noblest partes: This never medleth with it. If therefore it go ill with it, his be the blame: she bewrayeth, she forsaketh and she displaceth her selfe. None but fools will be perswaded, that this hard, gretty and massie body, which is concocted and petrified in our kidneis, may be dissolved by drinks. And therefore after it is stirred, there is no way, but to give it passage; For if you doe not, he will take it himselfe. This other peculiar commodity I observe, that it is an infirmity, wherein we have but little to divine. We are dispensed from the trouble, whereinto other maladies cast us, by the uncertainty of their causes, conditions and progresses. A trouble infinitely painfull. We have no neede of doctorall consultations, or collegiall interpretations. Our senses tell us where it is, and what it is. By, and with such arguments, forcible or weake (as Cicero doth the infirmity of his old-age) I endeavour to lull asleepe, and study to amuse my imagination, and supple or annoynt her

sores. If they growe worse to morrow ; to morrow we shall provide for new remedies or escapes. That this is true : loe afterward againe, happly the lightest motion wrings pure blood out of my reines. And what of that? I omitte not to stirre as before, and with a youthfull and insolent heate ride after my hound. And find that I have great reason of so important an accident, which costs me but a deafe heavinesse and dombe alteration in that parte. It is some great stone that wasteth and consumeth the substance of my kidneis and my life, which I avoyde by little and little : not without some natural pleasure, as an excrement now superfluous and troublesome. And feele I something to shake? Expect not that I ammuse my selfe to feele my pulse or looke into my urine, thereby to finde or take some tedious prevention. I shall come time enough to feele the smart, without lengthening the same with the paine of feare. Who feareth to suffer, suffereth already, because he feareth.

Seeing the doubt and ignorance of those,

who will and do meddle with expounding the drifts and shifts of nature, with her internall progresse ; and so many false prognostications of their arte should make us understand her meanes infinitely unknowen. There is great uncertainty, variety and obscurity, in that shee promiseth and menaceth us. Except old-age, which is an undoubted signe, of deaths approching : of all other accidents, I see few signes of future things, whereon we may ground our divination. I onely judge my selfe by true-feeling sense and not by discourse : To what end ? since I will adde nothing therunto except attention and patience. Will you know what I gaine by it ? Behold those who doe otherwise, and who depend on so many diverse perswasions and counselles ; how oft imagination presseth them without the body. I have diverse times being in safety and free from all dangerous accidents, taken pleasure to communicate them unto Phisitions, as but then comming upon me. I endured the arrest or doome of their horrible conclusions,

and remained so much the more bounden unto God for his grace, and better instructed of the vanity of this arte. Nothing ought so much be recommended unto youth, as activitie and vigilancie. Our life is nothing but motion, I am hardly shaken, and am slow in all things, bee it to rise, to goe to bed, or to my meales. Seaven of the clocke in the morning is to me an early houre: And where I may commaund, I neither dine before eleven, nor sup till after six. I have heretofore imputed the cause of agues or maladies, whereinto I have falne, to the lumpish heavinesse or drowzy dulnesse, which my long sleeping had caused me. And ever repented mee to fall asleepe againe in the morning. Plato condemnes more the excesse of sleeping, then the surfet of drinking. I love to lie hard and alone, yea and without a woman by me: after the kingly manner: some what well and warme covered. I never have my bed warmed; but since I came to be an old man, if neede require, I have clothes given me to warme my feete and my

stomacke. Great Scipio was taxed to bee a sluggard or heavy sleeper (in my conceit) for no other cause, but that men were offended, hee onely should bee the man, in whom no faulte might justly bee found. If there be any curiosity in my behaviour or manner of life, it is rather about my going to bed, then any thing else; but if neede bee, I generally yeeld and accommodate my selfe unto necessity, as well and as quietly, and any other whosoever. Sleeping hath possessed a great parte of my life: and as old as I am, I can sleepe eight or nine houres together. I doe with profit withdraw my selfe from this sluggish propension, and evidently finde my selfe better by it. Indeede I somewhat feele the stroke of alteration, but in three dayes it is past. And I see few that live with lesse (when neede is) and that more constantly exercise themselves, nor whom toyling and labour offend lesse. My body is capable of a firme agitation, so it be not vehement and sodaine. I avoide violent exercises, and which induce mee to sweate: my limbs

will sooner be wearied, then heated. I can stand a whole day long, and am seldome weary with walking. Since my first age, I ever loved rather to ride then walke upon paved streetes. Going a foote, I shall durty my selfe up to the waste: and little men, going amongst our streetes, are subject (for want of presentiall apparence) to be justled or elbowed. I love to take my rest, bee it sitting or lying-along, with my legs as high or higher then my seate. No profession or occupation is more pleasing then the military; A profession or exercise, both noble in execution (for, the strongest, most generous and proudest of all vertues, is true valour) and noble in it's cause. No utilitie, is either more just or universall then the protection of the repose, or defence of the greatnesse of ones country. The company and dayly conversation of so many noble, young and active men, cannot but be well-pleasing to you: the dayly and ordinary sight of so diverse tragicall spectacles: the libertie and uncontrolled freedome of that artelesse and

unaffected conversation, masculine and ceremonious maner of life: the hourelly variety of a thousand ever-changing and differing actions: the couragious and minde stirring harmonie of warlike musike, which at once entertaineth with delight and enflameth with longing, both your eares and your minde: the imminent and matchlesse honour of that exercise: yea the very sharpenesse and difficulty of it, which Plato esteemeth so little, that in his imaginary commonwealth, he imparteth the same both to women and to children. As a voluntary Souldier, or adventurous knight you enter the lists, the bands or particular hazards, according as your selfe judge of their successes or importance: and you see when your life may therein be excusably employed,

VIRG.
Æn. lib.
iii. 317.

Pulchrūmque mori succurrit in armis.

And nobly it doth come in minde,
To die in armes may honor finde.

Basely to feare common dangers, that concerne so numberlesse a multitude, and not to dare, what so many sortes of men

dare, yea whole nations together, is onely incident to base, craven and milke-sop-hearts. Company and good fellowship doth harden and encourage children. If some chance to exceede and outgoe you in knowledge, in experience, in grace, in strength, in fortune, you have third and collateral causes to blame and take hold-of; but to yeeld to them in constancie of minde, and resolution of courage, you have none but your selfe to find fault with. Death is much more abject, languishing, grisly and painefull in a downe-bed, then in a field-combate; and agues, catarres or apoplexies, as painefull and mortall, as an harquebusado. He that should be made undantedly to beare the accidents of common life, should not neede to bumbast his courage, to become a man at armes. *Vivere, mi Lucilli, militare* SEN. *est*: “Friend mine, to live is to goe on *Epist.* 96 f. warre-fare.” I can not remember that ever I was scabbed: yet is itching one of natures sweetest gratifications, and as readie at hand. But repentance doth over-impotunately attend on it. I exercise the same

in mine eares (and by fits) which within doe often itch. I was borne with all my senses sound, almost in perfection. My stomake is commodiously good; and so is my head: both which, together with my winde, maintaine them selves athwart my agues. I have outlived that age, to which some nations have not without some reason prescribed for a just end unto life, that they allowed not a man to exceede the same. I have notwithstanding some remyses or intermissions yet: though unconstant and short, so sound and neate, that there is little difference betweene them and the health and indolencie of my youth. I speake not of youthly vigor and chearefull blithnesse; there is no reason they should follow mee beyond their limites:

HOR.
Car. lib.
 iii. *Od.*
 x. 15.

*Non hæc amplius est liminis, aut aquæ
 Cælestis, patiens latus.*

These sides cannot still sustaine,
 Lying without dores, showing raine.

My visage and eyes doe presently discover me. Thence beginne all my changes,

and somewhat sharper then they are in effect. I often moove my friends to pittie, ere I feele the cause of it. My looking glasse doth not amaze me : for even in my youth it hath diverse times befallne me, so to put-on a duskie looke, a wanne colour, a troubled behaviour and of ill presage, without any great accident ; so that Phisitions perceiving no inward cause to answer this outward alteration, ascribed the same to the secret minde or some concealed passion, which inwardly gnawed and consumed mee. They were deceived ; were my body directly by mee, as is my minde, we should march a little more at our ease. I had it then, not onely exempted from all trouble, but also full of satisfaction and blithenesse, as it is most commonly, partly by it's owne complexion, and partly by it's owne desaigne :

Nec vitiant artus ægræ contagia mentis.

Nor doth sicke mindes infection,
Pollute strong joynts complexion.

OVID.
Trist. 1.
iii. *El.*
viii. 25.

I am of opinion, that this her temperature hath often raised my body from his fallings :

he is often suppressed, whereas she, if not lasciviously wanton, at least in quiet and reposed estate. I had a quartan ague which held me foure or five moneths, and had altogether disvisaged and altered my countenance, yet my minde held ever out, not onely peaceably but pleasantly. So I feele no paine or smarte ; weakenesse and languishing doe not greatly perplex me. I see divers corporall defailances, the only naming of which breede a kind of horror, and which I would feare lesse then a thousand passions and agitations of the mind, which I see in use. I resolve to runne no more : it sufficeth me to goe-on faire and softly ; nor doe I complaine of their naturall decadence or empairing that possesseth me.

JUVEN.
Sat. xiii.
152.

Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus ?

Who wonders a swolne throate to see,
In those about the Alpes that be ?

No more, then I grieve that my continuance is not as long and sound, as that of an oake. I have no cause to finde fault with my imagination. I have in my life had

very few thoughts or cares, that have so much as interrupted the course of my sleepe, except of desire, to awaken without dismay or afflicting me. I seldome dreame, and when I doe, it is of extravagant things and chymeras; commonly produced of pleasant conceits, rather ridiculous then sorrowfull. And thinke it true, that dreames are the true interpreters of our inclinations: but great skill is required to sort and understand them.

*Res quæ in vita usurpant homines, cogitant, curant,
vident,*

*Quæque agunt vigilantes, agitantque ea sicut in somno
accidunt*

Minus mirandum est.

It is no wonder if the things, which we
Care-for, use, thinke, doe-offt, or waking see,
Unto us sleeping represented be.

Plato saith moreover, that is the office of wisdom to draw divining instructions from them, against future times. Wherein I see nothing but the wonderfull experience, that Socrates, Xenophon and Aristotle relate of them: men of unreprovable

authority. Histories reporte, that the inhabitants of the Atlantique Iles never dreame : who feede on nothing that hath beene slaine. Which I adde, because it is peradventure the occasion they dreame not. Pythagoras ordained therefore a certaine methode of feeding, that dreames might bee sorted of some purpose. Mine are tender, and cause no agitation of body or expression of voice in mee. I have in my dayes seene many strangely stirred with them. Theon the Philosopher walked in dreaming ; and Pericles his boy went upon the tiles and top of houses. I stand not much on nice choice of meates at the table : and commonly beginne with the first and neerest dish : and leape not willingly from one taste to another. Multitude of dishes, and varietie of services displease mee as much as any other throng. I am easily pleased with few messes and hate the opinion of Favorinus, that at a banquet you must have that dish whereon you feede hungerly taken from you, and ever have a new one set in the place : And that it is a niggardly

supper, if all the guests be not glutted with pinions and rumps of divers kindes of fowle: and that onely the daintie bird heccafico or snapfig deserveth to bee eaten whole at one morsell. I feede much upon salte cates, and love to have my bread somewhat fresh: And mine own Baker makes none other for my bord; against the fashion of my countrie. In my youth, my overseers had much adoe to reforme the refusall I made of such meats as youth doth commonly love best, as sweete-meates, confets and marchpanes. My Tutor was wont to finde great fault with my lothing of such dainties, as a kinde of squeamish delicacie. And to say truth, it is nothing but a difficultie of taste, where it once is applied. Whosoever remooveth from a childe a certaine particular or obstinate affection to browne bread, to bakon, or to garlike, taketh friandize from him. There are some, that make it a labour, and thinke it a patience to regret a good piece of powdred beefe, or a good gammon of bakon, amongst partridges. Are not they wise men in the

meane time? It is the chiefe daintie of all dainties: It is the taste of nice effeminate fortune, that will bee distasted with ordinarie and usuall things. *Per quæ luxuria divitiarum tædio ludit*: "Whereby the lavishnesse of plentie; playes with tedious pleasure." To forbear to make good cheare, because another doth it; for one to have care of his feeding, is the essence of that vice.

HOR. 1.
i. *Epi.*
v. 2.

Si modica cœnare times olus omne patella.

If in a sorry dish to sup

You brooke not all th'hearbe pottage up.

Indeede there is this difference, that it is better for one to tye his desires unto things easiest to be gotten, yet is it a vice to tie himselfe to any stricknesse. I was heeretofore wont to name a kinsman of mine over delicate, because, whilst hee lived in our Gallies, hee had unlearn't and left to lie upon a bedde, and to strippe himselfe to goe to bedde. Had I any male-children, I should willingly wish them my fortune. That good Father, it pleased God to allot

me (who hath nothing of mee but thankfulness for his goodnesse, which indeed, is as great as great may be) even from my cradle sent mee to be brought-up in a poore village of his, where he kept me so long as I suckt, and somewhat longer : breeding mee after the meanest and simplest - common fashion : *Magna pars libertatis est bene moratus venter* : “A mannerly belly is a great part of a man’s libertie.” Never take unto your selfe, and much lesse never give your wives the charge of your childrens breeding or education. Let fortune frame them under the popular and naturall Lawes : Let custome enure them to frugality, and breed them to hardnesse : That they may rather descend from sharpenesse, than ascend unto it. His conceipt aymed also at another end ; To acquaint and re-aly me, with that people and condition of men that have most neede of us : And thought I was rather bound to respect those which extend their armes unto me, than such as turne their backe toward me. And that was the reason he chose no other gossips to

SEN.
Epist.
123.

hold me at the font, than men of abject and base fortune, that so I might the more be bound and tied unto them. His purpose hath not altogether succeeded ill. I willingly give and accost my selfe unto the meaner sort; whether it bee because there is more glorie gotten by them, or through some naturall compassion, which in me is infinitely powerfull. The faction which I condemne in our civill warres, I shall more sharpely condemne when it prospers and flourisheth. I shall in some sort be reconciled unto it, when I see it miserably-depressed and overwhelmed. Oh how willingly doe I remember that worthy humour of Chelonis, daughter and wife to Kings of Sparta. Whilest Cleombrotus hir husband, in the tumultuous disorders of his Citty, had the upper hand of Leonidas her father, shee played the part of a good daughter: allying her selfe with her father, in his exile and in his misery, mainly opposing hir selfe against the Conquerour: Did fortune turne? So chaunged she hir minde, couragiously taking hir husbands

part: Whom she never forsooke, whether-soever his ruine or distresse carryed him. Having (in my seeming) no other choise, than to follow that side, where shee might doe most good, where shee was most wanted, and where she might shew her selfe most truly pittifull. I doe more naturally encline toward the example of Flamineus, who more and rather yeelded to such as had neede of him, than to those who might doe him good: than I bend unto that of Pyrrhus, who was ever wont, demissely to stoope and yeeld to the mighty, and insolently to grow proud over the weake. Long sitting at meales doth much weary and distemper mee: for, be it for want of better countenance and entertainment, or that I used my selfe unto it when I was a child, I feede as long as I sitte at the table. And therefore, being in mine owne house, though my board be but short, and that wee use not to sit long, I doe not commonly sit downe with the first, but a pretty while after others: According to the forme of Augustus: yet I imitate him not in his

rising before others. Contrary, I love to sit a great while after, and to heare some discourse or table-talke. Alwayes provided I beare not a part my selfe, for, if my belly bee full, I shall soone bee weary, and hurt my selfe with talking: and I finde the exercise of lowde-speaking and contesting before meate very pleasant and wholesome. The auncient Græcians and Romanes had better reason than wee, allotting unto feeding, which is a principall action of mans life (if any other extraordinary businesse did not let or divert them from it) divers houres, and the best part of the night: eating and drinking more leisurely than we doe, who passe and runne-over all our actions in post-haste: and extending this naturall pleasure unto more leisure and use: entermixing therewith divers profitable and mind-pleasing offices of civill conversation. Such as have care of me, may easily steale from me what soever they imagine may be hurtfull for me: inasmuch as about my feeding, I never desire or find fault with that I see not: That Proverb is verified in

me ; “ What eye seeth not, the heart rueth not.” But if a dish or any thing else be once set before me, they loose their labour, that go-about to tell me of abstinence : so that, when I am disposed to fast I must be sequestred from eaters, and have no more set before me, than may serve for a stinted and regular collation : for if I but sitte downe at a sett table, I forget my resolution. If I chance to bidde my cooke change the dressing of some kinde of meate or dish, all my men know, I inferre my appetite is wallowish and my stomacke out of ordeer, and I shall hardly touch it. I love all manner of flesh or fowle but greene rosted and rawe sodden, namely, such as may beare it without danger ; and love to have them throughly mortified ; and in divers of them the very alteration of their smell. Onely hardnesse or toughnesse of meate doth generally molest me (of all other qualities, I am as carelesse, and can as well brooke them, as any man that ever I knew) so that (contrary to received opinion) even amongst fishes, I shall finde some,

both too new and over-hard and firme. It is not the fault or want of teeth, which I ever had as perfectly-sound and compleate as any other man : and which but now, being so olde, beginne to threaten mee. I have from my infancie learnd to rubbe them with my napkin, both in the morning when I rise, and sitting downe and rising from the table. God doth them a grace, from whom by little and little he doth substract their life. It is the onely benefite of old age. Their last death shall be so much the lesse full, languishing and painefull : it shall then kill but one halfe or quarter of a man. Even now I lost one of my teeth, which of it selfe fell out, without strugling or paine : it was the naturall terme of it's continuance. That part of my being, with diverse others, are already dead and mortified in mee, others of the most active, halfe dead, and which, during the vigor of my age held the first ranke. Thus I sinke and scape from my selfe. What foolishnes will it be in my understanding, to feele the start of that fall, already so advaunced, as if it were perfectly whole ? I hope it not ;

verely I receive a speciall comfort in thinking on my death, and that it shall be of the most just and natural: and cannot now require or hope other favor of destinie, concerning that, then unlawfull. Men perswade themselves, that as heretofore they have had a higher stature, so their lives were longer; But they are deceived: for Solon, of those ancient times, though he were of an exceeding high stature, his life continued but 70 yeeres. Shal I, that have so much and so universally adored, that ἀριστον μέτρον, “a meane is best,” of former times; and have ever taken a meane measure for the most perfect, therefore pretend a most prodigious and unmeasurable life? whatsoever commeth contrary to Natures course, may be combersome, but what comes according to her, should ever please. *Omnia quæ secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis*: “All things are to be accompted good, that are done according to nature.” And therefore (saith Plato) is that death violent, which is caused either by woundes or sickenesses; but that of all others the easiest and in some sort

delitious, which surprizeth us by meanes of age. *Vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas*: "A forcible violence takes their life from the yoong, but a ripe maturitie from the old." Death entermedleth, and every where confounds it selfe with our life: declination doth preoccupate her houre, and insinuate it selfe in the very course of our advaancement: I have pictures of mine owne, that were drawne when I was five and twenty, and others being thirty yeeres of age, which I often compare with such as were made by mee, as I am now at this instant. How many times doe I say, I am no more my selfe; how much is my present image further from those, then from that of my decease? It is an over-great abuse unto nature to dragge and hurry her so farre, that shee must bee forced to give us over; and abandon our conduct, our eyes, our teeth, our legges and the rest, to the mercy of a forraine help and begged assistance: and to put our selves into the hands of arte, wearie to followe us. I am not overmuch or greedily desirous of sallets or of

fruites, except melons. My father hated all manner of sawces; I love them all. Overmuch eating doeth hurt and distemper me: but for the qualitie I have yet no certaine knowledge that any meate offends me: I never observe either a full or wained Moone, nor make a difference betweene the Spring time or Autumne. There are certaine inconstant and unknowne motions in us. For (by way of example) I have heeretofore found redish-rootes to be very good for mee, then very hurtfull, and now againe very well agreeing with my stomacke. In diverse other things, I feele my appetite to change, and my stomacke to diversifie from time to time. I have altred my course of drinking, sometimes from white to claret wine, and then from claret to white againe.

I am very friand and gluttonous of fish; and keepe my shroving dayes upon fish dayes; and my feasts upon fasting-dayes. I believe as some others doe, that fish is of lighter digestion than flesh. As I make it a conscience to eate flesh upon a fish day, so doth my taste to eate fish and flesh together.

The diversity betweene them, seemes to mee over-distant. Even from my youth I was wont now and then to steale some repast, either that I might sharpen my stomake against the next day; for, (as Epicurus was wont to fast, and made but sparing meales, thereby to accustome his voluptuousnesse, to neglect plenty: I, contrarie to him to enure my sensualitie to speede the better, and more merrily to make use of plentie) or else I fasted, the better to maintaine my vigor for the service or perform-ance of some bodily or mentall action: for both are strangely dulled and ideled in me, through over-muchfulnesse and repleatenesse. (And above all, I hate that foolish combination, of so sound and bucksome a Goddess, with that indigested and belching God all puffed with the fume of his liquor) or to recover my crazed stomake, or because I wanted some good companie. And I say as Epicurus said, that A man should not so much respect what he eateth, as with whom hee eateth. And commend Chilon; that he would not promise to come

to Perianders feast, before he knew certainly who were the other bidden guests. No viands are so sweetely pleasing, nor no sauce so tastefull, as that which is drawne from conversable and mutuall societie. I thinke it wholesome to eate more leisurely, and lesse in quantity, and to feede oftner : But I will have appetite and hunger to be endeared : I should finde no pleasure, after a phisicall maner, to swallow three or foure forced and spare meales a day. Who can assure me, if I have a good taste or stomake in the morning, that I shall have it againe at supper? Let us old men ; let us, I say, take the first convenient time that commeth : Let us leave hopes and prognostikes unto Almanacke-makers. The extreame fruite of my health, is pleasure : Let us hold fast on the present, and to us knowne. I eschew constancie in these Lawes of fasting. Who so will have a forme to serve him, let him avoyd continuance of it : but wee harden our selves unto it, and thereunto wholly apply our forces : sixe moneths after, you shall finde your stomake so enured unto it,

that you shall have gotten nothing but this, to have lost the liberty to use it otherwise without damage. I use to goe with my legges and thighs no more covered in Sommer than in Winter ; for I never weare but one paire of single silke-stockins. For the easing of my rheume and helpe of my chollike, I have of late used to keepe my head and belly warme. My infirmitie did in a few dayes habituate themselves thereunto, and disdained my ordinary provisions. From a single night-cappe, I came to a double coverchef, and from a bonnet, to a lined and quilted hat. The bumbasting of my doublet, serves me now for no more use then a stomacher : it is a thing of nothing, unlesse I adde a hare or a vultures skin to it ; and some warme wrapping about my head. Follow this gradation and you shall goe a faire pace. I will do no such thing. If I durst I could find in my hart to revoke the beginning I have given unto it. Fall you into any new inconvenience ? This reformation will no longer availe you. You are so accustomed unto it, that you

are driven to seeke some new one. So are they overthrowne, that suffer themselves with forced formalities or strict rules, to be intangled, and do superstitiously constraîne themselves unto them : they have neede of more, and of more after that : they never come to an end. It is much more commodious both for our businesse and for our pleasure (as did our forefathers) to loose our dinner, and deferre making of good cheere, unto the houre of withdrawing and of rest, without interrupting the day : So was I wont to doe heretofore. I have for my health found out since by experience, that on the contrary, it is better to dine, and that one shall digest better being awake. Whether I be in health or in sicknesse, I am not much subject to be thirsty : indeede my mouth is somewhat dry, but without thirst. And commonly I use not to drinke, but when with eating I am forced to desire it, and that is when I have eaten well. For a man of an ordinary stature I drinke indifferent much. In Sommer, and at an hungry

meale, I not onely exceede the limites of Augustus, who drunke but precisely three times: but, not to offend the rule of Democritus, who forbade us to stay at foure, as an unlucky number; if need be, I come to five: Three demisextiers, or thereabouts. I like little glasses best; and I love to empty my glasse: which some others dislike, as a thing unseemely. Sometimes, and that very often, I temper my wine one halfe, and many times three partes with water. And when I am in mine owne house, from an antient custome, which my fathers phisitian ordained both for him, and himselfe, looke what quantity of Wine is thought will serve mee a meale, the same is commonly tempered two or three houres before it be served in, and so kept in the seller. It is reported, that Cranaus King of the Athenians, was the first, that invented the mingling of Wine with Water. Whether it were profitable or no, I will not now dispute or stand upon. I thinke it more decent and more wholesome, that children should drinke no Wine, untill

they be past the age of sixteene or eighteene yeares. The most usuall and common forme of life, is the best : Each particularity, doth in mine opinion impugne it. And I should as much detest a Germane, that should put Water in his Wine, as a Frenchman, that should drinke it pure. Publike custome giveth Law unto such things. I feare a foggy and thick ayre, and shunne smoke more than death ; (the first thing I began to repaire when I came to be maister of mine owne house, was the chimnies and privies, which, in most of our buildings, is a generall and intolerable fault) and mischiefs and difficulties attending on Warre, there is none I hate more, than in hot-sweltring wether, to ride up and downe all the day-long in smokie dust, as many times our Souldiers are faine to doe. I have a free and easie respiration, and doe most commonly passe over my mures and colds without offence to my lungs, or without coughing. The soultry heate of sommer is more offensive to me, than the sharpnesse of Winter : for, besides the

incommodity of heate, which is lesse to bee remedied, than the inconvenience of cold ; and besides the force of the Sunnes beames, which strike into the head, mine eyes are much offended with any kinde of glittering or sparkling light ; so that I cannot well sit at dinner over against a cleare-burning fire. To allay or dim the whitenesse of paper, when I was most given to reading, I was wont to lay a piece of greene glasse upon my booke, and was thereby much eased. Hitherto I never used spectacles, nor know not what they meane ; and can yet see as farre as ever I could, and as any other man ; true it is, that when night comes, I begin to perceive a dimnes and weakenesse in reading ; the continual exercise whereof, and specially by night, was ever somewhat troublesome unto mine eyes. Loe-heere a steppe-backe, and that very sensible. I shall recoyle one more, from a second to a third, and from a third to a fourth, so gently, that before I feele the declination and age of my sight, I must bee starke blinde. So artificially doe the

Fates untwist our lives-threede. Yet am I in doubt, that my hearing is about to become thicke: and you shall see, that I shal have lost it halfe, when yet I shall finde fault with their voyces that speake unto mee. The minde must be strained to a high pitch, to make it perceiue howe it declineth. My going is yet very nimble, quicke and stout; and I wot not which of the twoo I can more hardly staie at one instant, cyther my minde or my body. I must like that preacher wel, that can tie mine attention to a whole sermon. In places of ceremonies, where every man doth so nicely stand upon countenance, where I have seene Ladies hold their eyes so steady, I could never so hold out, but some part of mine would ever be gadding: although I be sitting there, I am not well setled. As Chrysippus the Phylosophers chambermaide, saide of hir Master, that he was never drunke but in his legges; for whersoeuer he sate, he was ever accustomed to bee wagging with them; and this she saide at what time store of Wine had made his

companions cuppe-shotten, and yet he felt no alteration but continued sober in minde. It might likewise have beene saide of mee, that even from mine infancie, I had either folly or quicke-silver in my feete, so much stirring and naturall inconstancy have I in them, where ever I place them. It is unmannerlinesse, and prejudiciall unto health, yea and to pleasure also, to feede grosely and greedily, as I doe. I shall sometimes through haste bite my tongue and fingers ends. Diogenes meeting with a childe, that did eate so, gave his tutor a whirret on the eare. There were men in Rome, that as others teach youth to go with a good grace, so they taught men to chew, with decency. I doe sometimes loose the leisure to speake, which is so pleasing an entertainment at the table, provided they be discourses short, witty and pleasant. There is a kinde of jelosie and envy betweene our pleasures, and they often shocke and hinder one an other. Alcibiades, a man very exquisitely-skilfull in making good cheere, inhibited all manner of musicke at

tables, because it should not hinder the delight of discourses, for the reason which Plato affords him : that it is a custome of populare or base men to call for minstrels or singers at feasts, and an argument, they want witty or good discourses, and pleasing entertainment, wherewith men of conceipt and understanding knowe how to enterfeast and entertaine themselves. Varro requireth this at a bancket : an assemblie of persons, faire, goodly and handsome of presence, affable and delightfull in conversation, which must not be dumbe nor dull, sullaine nor slovenly : cleanlinesse and neatnesse in meates : and faire wether. A good minde-pleasing table-entertainment, is not a little voluptuous feast, nor a meanly artificiall banquet. Neither great or sterne commaunders in Warres, nor famous or strict Philosophers have disdained the use or knowledge of it. My imagination hath bequeathed three of them to the keeping of my memorie, onely which fortune did at several times, yeeld exceedingly delightsome unto me. My present

state doth now exclude me from them. For, every one, according to the good temper of body or mind, wherein he findes himselfe, addeth either principall grace or taste unto them. My selfe, who but grovell on the ground, hate that kinde of inhumane wisdom, which would make us disdainfull and enemies of the bodies reformation. I deeme it an equall injustice, either to take naturall sensualities against the hart, or to take them too neere the hart. Xerxes was a ninny-hammer, who enwrapped and given to all humane voluptuousnesse, proposed rewards for those, that should devise such as he had never heard-of. And he is not much behinde him in sottishnesse, that goes about to abridge those, which nature hath divided for him. One should neither follow nor avoyde them : but receive them. I receive them somewhat more amply and graciously, and rather am contented to follow naturall inclination. We neede not exaggerate their inanity : it will sufficiently be felt, and doth sufficiently produce it

selfe. Godamercy our weake, crazed and joy-diminishing spirit, which makes us distaste both them and himselfe. Hee treateth both himself and whatsoever he receiveth sometimes forward and other-times backward, according as himself is either insaciate, vagabond, newfangled or variable.

Sincerum est nisi vas, quodcunque infundis, accescit. HOR. l.
 In no sweet vessell all you poure, i. *Epist.*
 In such a vessell soone will sowre. ii. 54.

My selfe, who brag so curiously to embrace and particularly to allow the commodities of life; whensoever I looke precisely into it, I finde nothing therein but winde. But what? we are nothing but winde. And the very winde also, more wisely then we, loveth to bluster and to bee in agitation: And is pleased with his owne offices: without desiring stability or solidity; qualities that be not his owne. The meere pleasures of imagination, as well as displeasure (say some) are the greatest: as the ballance of Critolaius

did expresse. It is no wonder, shee composeth them at hir pleasure, and cuts them out of the whole cloth. I see dayly some notable presidents of it, and peradventure to be desired. But I, that am of a comixt condition, homely and plaine, cannot so throughly bite on that onely and so simple object: but shall grosely and carelesly give my selfe over to the present delights, of the generall and humane law. Intellectually sensible, and sensibly-intellectuall. The Cyrenaique Philosophers are of opinion, that as griefes, so corporal pleasures are more powerfull; and as double; so, more just. There are some (as Aristotle saith) who with a savage kinde of stupidity, will seeme distastefull or squemish of them. Some others I knowe, that doe it out of ambition. Why renounce they not also breathing? why live they not of their owne, and refuse light, because it commeth of gratuitie; and costs them neither invention nor vigor? That Mars, or Pallas, or Mercurie, should nourish them to see, insteade of Ceres, Venus, or Bacchus.

Will they not seeke for the quadrature of the circle, even upon their wives? I hate that we should be commanded to have our minds in the clouds, whilst our bodies are sitting at the table: yet would I not have the minde to be fastned thereunto, nor wallow upon it, nor lie along thereon, but to applie it selfe and sit at it. Aristippus defended but the body, as if wee had no soule: Zeno embraced but the soule, as if wee had no body. Both viciously. Pythagoras (say they) hath followed a Philosophie, all in contemplation: Socrates altogether in maners and in action: Plato hath found a mediocritie betweene both. But they say so by way of discourse. For, the true temperature is found in Socrates; and Plato is more Socraticall then Pythagoricall, and it becomes him best. When I dance, I dance; and when I sleepe, I sleepe. And when I am solitarie walking in a faire orchard, if my thoughts have a while entertained themselves with strange occurrences, I doe another while bring them to walke with mee in the

orchard, and to be partakers of the pleasure of that solitarinesse and of my selfe. Nature hath like a kinde mother observed this, that such actions as shee for our necessityes hath enjoyned unto us, should also be voluptuous unto us. And doth not onely by reason but also by appetite envite us unto them: it were injustice to corrupt her rules. When I behold Caesar and Alexander in the thickest of their wondrous great labours, so absolutely to enjoy humane and corporall pleasures, I say not, that they release thereby their minde, but rather strengthen the same; submitting by vigor of courage their violent occupation, and laborious thoughts to the customary use of ordinary life. Wise had they beene, had they beleevd, that that was their ordinary vocation, and this their extraordinary. What egregious fooles are we! Hee hath past his life in idlenesse, say we; alas I have done nothing this day. What? have you not lived? It is not onely the fundamentall, but the noblest of your occupation. Had I beene placed or

thought fit for the managing of great affaires, I would have shewed what I could have performed. Have you knowen how to meditate and manage your life? you have accomplished the greatest worke of all. For a man to shew and exploite himselfe, nature hath no neede of fortune, shee equally shewes her selfe upon all grounds, in all sutes, before and behinde, as it were without curtines, welt or garde. Have you knowen how to compose your manners? you have done more than hee who hath composed bookes. Have you knowen how to take rest? you have done more then he, who hath taken Empires and Citties. The glorious maister piece of man, is, to live to the purpose. All other things, as to raigne, to governe, to hoard up treasure, to thrive and to build, are for the most part but appendixes and supportes thereunto. It is to mee a great pleasure, to see a Generall of an armie at the foote of a breach, which he ere long intendeth, to charge or enter; all whole, undistracted and carelesly to prepare himselfe, whilst he sits at dinner with his

friends about him, to talke of any matter. And I am delighted to see Brutus, having both heaven and earth conspired against him and the liberty of Rome, by stealth to take some houres of the night from his other cares and walking of the round, in al security to reade, to note and to abbreviate Polibius. It is for base and petty mindes, dulled and overwhelmed with the weight of affaires, to be ignorant how to leave them, and not to know how to free themselves from them; nor how to leave and take them againe.

HOR.
Car. l. i.
Od. vii.
30.

*O fortes peiorâque passi,
Mecum sæpe viri, nunc vino pellite curas,
Cras ingens iterabimus æquor.*

Valiant compeeres, who oft have worse endured
With me, let now with wine your cares be cured :
To morrow wee againe
Wil launch into the maine.

Whether it be in jest or earnest, that the Sorbonicall or theologicall wine, and their feasts or gaudy dayes are now come to bee proverbially jested-at: I thinke there is some reason, that by how much more

profitably and seriously they have bestowed the morning in the exercise of their schooles, so much more commodiously and pleasantly should they dine at noone. A cleare conscience to have well employed and industriously spent the other houres, is a perfect seasoning and savory condiment of tables. So have wise men lived. And that inimitable contention unto vertue, which so amazeth us, in both Catoes, their so strictly-severe humour, even unto importunity, hath thus mildely submitted its selfe, and taken pleasure in the lawes of humane condition, and in Venus and Bacchus. According to their Sects-precepts, which require a perfectly wise man, to bee fully-expert and skilfull in the true use of sensualities, as in all other duties or devoires belonging to life. *Cui cor sapiat, ei et sapiat palatus:* CIC. Fin. 1. ii. "Let his palate be savory, whose heart is savory." Easie-yeelding and facility doth in my conceit, greatly honour, and is best befitting a magnanimous and noble minde. Epaminondas thought it no scorne, to thrust

himselfe amongst the boyes of his citie, and dance with them, yea and to sing and play, and with attention busie himselfe, were it in things that might derogate from the honor and reputation of his glorious victories, and from the perfect reformation of manners, that was in him. And amongst so infinite admirable actions of Scipio the grandfather, a man worthy to be esteemed of heavenly race, nothing addeth so much grace unto him, as to see him carelesly to dally and childishly to trifle, in gathering and chusing of cockle-shells, and play at cost castle alongst the sea-shoare with his friend Lælius. And if it were fowle weather, ammusung and solacing himselfe, to represent in writing and commedies the most popular and base actions of men. And having his head continually busied with that wonderfull enterprise against Hanniball and Affricke, yet hee still visited the schooles in Cicilie, and frequented the lectures of Philosophie, arming his enemies teeth at Rome with envy and spight. Nor anything more remarkeable in Socrates,

then, when being old and crazed, hee would spare so much time as to be instructed in the arte of dancing and playing upon instruments; and thought the time well bestowed. Who notwithstanding hath beene seene to continue a whole day and night in an extasie or trance, yea ever standing on his feete, in presence of all the Greeke armie, as it were surprised and ravished by some deepe and minde-distracting thought. Hee hath beene noted to be the first, amongst so infinite valiant men in the army, headlong to rush out, to helpe and bring-of Alcibiades, engaged and enthroned by his enemies: to cover him with his body, and by maine force of armes and courage, bring him off from the rout: And in the Deliane battell, to save and disingage Xenophon, who was beaten from his horse. And in the midst of all the Athenian people, wounded, as it were with so unworthy a spectacle, headlong present himselfe to the first man, to recover Theramenes, from out the hands of the officers and satelites, of the thirty tyrants of

Athens, who were leading him to his death ; and never desisted from his bold attempt, untill hee met with Theramenes himselfe, though hee were followed and assisted with two more. He hath beene seene (provoked thereunto by a matchlesse beauty, where-with he was richly endowed by nature) at any time of neede to maintaine severe continency. Hee hath continually beene noted to march to the warres on foote ; to breake the ice with his bare feete ; to weare one same garment in summer and winter ; to exceede all his companions in patience of any labour or travell ; to eate no more, or otherwise at any banquet, then at his ordinary : He hath beene seene seaven and twenty yeares together with one same undismaide countenance, patiently to beare and endure hunger, poverty, the indocilitie and stubbornesse of his children, the frowardnes and scratchings of his wife ; and in the end malicious detraction, tyranny, emprisonment, shakles and poison. But was that man envited to drinke to him by duty of civility ? he was also the man of the

army, to whom the advantage thereof remained. And yet he refused not, nor disdained to play for nuts with children, nor to run with them upon a hobby-horse, wherein he had a very good grace: For, all actions (saith Philosophy) doe equally besee me well, and honour a wise man. We have good ground and reason, and should never bee weary to present the image of this incomparable man, unto all patterns and forme of perfections. There are very few examples of life, absolutely full and pure. And our instruction, is greatly wronged, in that it hath certaine weake, defective and unperfect formes proposed unto it, scarcely good for any good use, which divert and draw us backe; and may rather be termed Corrupters then Correctors. Man is easily deceived. One may more easily goe by the sides, where extremitie serveth as a bound, as a stay and as a guide, then by the mid-way, which is open and wide; and more according unto arte, then according unto nature: but therewithall lesse nobly and with lesse commendation. The greatnesse of the

minde is not so much, to drawe up and hale forward, as to knowe how to range, direct and circumscribe it selfe. It holdeth for great whatever is sufficient. And sheweth her height, in loving meane things better then eminent. There is nothing so goodly, so faire and so lawfull as to play the man well and duely: Nor Science so hard and difficult, as to knowe how to live this life well. And of all the infirmities we have, the most savage, is to despise our being. Whoso will sequester or distract his minde, let him hardily doe it, if hee can, at what time his body is not well at ease, thereby to discharge it from that contagion: And elsewhere contrary; that shee may assist and favour him, and not refuse to be partaker of his naturall pleasures, and conjugally be pleased with them: adding thereunto, if shee bee the wiser, moderation, least through indiscretion, they might be confounded with displeasure. Intemperance is the plague of sensuality; and temperance is not her scourge, but rather her seasoning. Eudoxus, who thereon established his chiefe

felicity; and his companions, that raised the same to so high a pitch, by meanes of temperance, which in them was very singular and exemplar, savoured the same in her most gracious sweetenes. I enjoyne my minde, with a looke equally regular, to behold both sorrow and voluptuousnesse:

Eodem enim vitio est effusio animi in lætitia, quo in dolore contractio: “As faultie is the enlarging of the minde in mirth, as the contracting it in griefe;” and equally constant: But the one merrily, and the other severely: And according to that shee may bring unto it, to bee as carefull to extinguish the one, as diligent to quench the other. To have a perfect insight into good, drawes with it an absolute insight into evill. And sorrow hath in her tender beginning something that is unavoydable: and voluptuousnesse in her excessive ende, something that is evitable. Plato coupleth them together, and would have it to bee the equall office of fortitude, to combate against sorrowes, and fight against the immoderate and charming blandishments of

CIC.
Tusc.
Qu. l. iv.

sensuality. They are two fountaines, at which whoso draweth, whence, when and as much as hee needeth, bee it a cittie, be it a man, be it a beast, hee is very happy. The first must be taken for physicke and necessitie, and more sparingly: The second for thirst, but not unto drunkennesse. Paine, voluptuousnesse, love and hate, are the first passions a childe feeleth: if reason approach, and they apply themselves unto it; that is vertue. I have a Dictionary severally and wholly to my selfe: I passe the time when it is foule and incommodious; when it is faire and good, I will not passe it: I runne it over againe, and take holde of it. A man should runne the badde, and settle himselfe in the good. This vulgar phrase of passe time, and, to passe the time, represents the custome of those wise men, who thinke to have no better account of their life, then to passe it over and escape it: to passe it over and bawke it, and so much as in them lieth, to ignore and avoyde it, as a thing of an yrkesome, tedious, and to bee disdained quality. But I know it to

bee otherwise; and finde it to be both priseable and commodious, yea in her last declination; where I holde it. And Nature hath put the same into our handes, furnished with such and so favourable circumstances, that if it presse and molest us, or if unprofitably it escape us, we must blame ourselves. *Stulti vita ingrata est, trepida est, tota in futurum fertur*: “A fooles life is all pleasant, all fearefull, all fond of the future.” I therefore prepare and compose my selfe, to forgoe and lose it without grudging; but as a thing that is loseable and transitory by it’s owne condition: not as troublesome and importunate. Nor beseemes it a man not to be grieved when he dieth, except they be such as please themselves to live still. There is a kinde of husbandry in knowing how to enjoy it. I enjoy it double to others. For, the measure in jovissance dependeth more or lesse on the application we lend it. Especially at this instant, that I perceive mine to be short in time, I will extend it in weight: I will stay the readinesse of her flight, by

SEN.
Epist.
xv.

the promptitude of my holdfast by it : and by the vigor of custome recompence the haste of her fleeting. According as the possession of life is more short, I must endeavour to make it more profound and full. Other men feele the sweetnesse of a contentment and prosperity. I feele it as well as they ; but it is not in passing and gliding : yet should it be studied, tasted and ruminated, thereby to yeeld him condigne thankes, that it pleased to graunt the same unto us. They enjoy other pleasures, as that of sleepe, without knowing them. To the end that sleepe should not dully and unfeelingly escape me, and that I might better taste and bee acquainted with it, I have heeretofore found it good, to bee troubled and interrupted in the same. I have a kinde of contentment to consult with my selfe : which consultation I doe superficially runne over, but considerately sound the same, and apply my reason to entertaine and receive it, which is now become froward, peevish and distasted. Doe I finde my selfe in some quiet moode ? is there any sensuality

that tickles me? I doe not suffer the same to busie it selfe or dally about senses, but associate my minde unto it: Not to engage or plunge it selfe therein, but therein to take delight: not to lose, but therein to finde it selfe. And for her part I employ her, to view her selfe in that prosperous estate, to ponder and esteeme the good fortune she hath, and to amplifie the same. She measureth how much she is beholding unto God, for that she is at rest with her conscience, and free from other intestine passions, and hath in her body her natural disposition: orderly and competently enjoying certaine flattering and effeminate functions, with which it pleaseth him of his grace to recompence the griefes, where-with his justice at his pleasure smiteth us. Oh how availful is it unto her, to be so seated, that wherever she casteth her eyes, the heavens are calme round about her; and no desire no feare or doubt troubleth the ayre before her: there is no difficulty, either past, or present, or to come, over which her imagination passeth not without offence.

This consideration takes a great lustre from the comparison of different conditions. Thus doe I in a thousand shapes propose unto my selfe, those whom either fortune, or their owne error doth transport and torment. And these nearer, who so slackely and incuriously receive their good fortune. They are men which indeed passe their time: they overpasse the present and that which they possesse, thereby to serve their hopes with shadowes and vaine images, which fancy sets before them.

VIRG.
Æn. 1.
x. 641.

*Morte oblitâ quales fama est volitare figuras
Aut quæ sopitos deludunt somnia sensus.*

Such walking shapes we say, when men are dead,
Dreames, whereby sleeping senses are misse-led.

Which hasten and prolong their flight,
according as they are followed. The fruit
and scope of their pursuit, is to pursue:
As Alexander said, that "The end of his
travell, was to travell."

LUCAN.
l. ii. 656.

Nil actum credens cùm quid superesset agendum.

Who thought that nought was done,
When ought remain'd undone.

As for mee then, I love my life and cherish it, such as it hath pleased God to graunt it us. I desire not hee should speake of the necessity of eating and drinking. And I woulde thinke to offend no lesse excusably, in desiring it should have it double. *Sapiens divitiarum naturalium quæsi tor acerrimus*: “A wise man is a most eager and earnest searcher of those things which are natural.” Nor that we should sustaine our selves by only putting a litle of that drugge into our mouth, wherewith Epimenides was wont to alay hunger, and yet maintained himselfe. Nor that wee should insensibly produce children at our fingers endes or at our heeles, but rather (speaking with reverence) that wee might with pleasure and voluptuousnesse produce them both at our heeles and fingers endes. Nor that the body should bee voyde of desire, and without tick-ling delight. They are ungratefull and impious complaints. I cheerefully and thankfully, and with a good heart, accept what nature hath created for me:

SEN.
Epist.
119.

Cic.
Fin.
Bon. 1.
iii.

and am therewith well pleased, and am prowde of it. Great wrong is offred unto that great and all-puissant Giver, to refuse his gift, which is so absolutely good; and disanull or disfigure the same, since hee made perfectly good. *Omnia quæ secundum naturam sunt; estimatione digna sunt:* "All things that are according to nature, are worthy to bee esteemed." Of Philosophies opinions, I more willingly embrace those, which are the most solide: and that is to say, such as are most humane and most ours: My discourses are sutable to my manners; lowe and humble. She then brings forth a childe well pleasing mee, when she betakes herselfe to her Quiddities and Ergoes, to perswade us, that it is a barbarous aliance, to marry what is divine with that which is terrestriall; wedde reasonable with unreasonable; combine severe with indulgent, and couple honest with dishonest: that voluptuousnesse is a brutall quality, unworthy the taste of a wiseman. The onely pleasure he drawes from the enjoying of a faire yong bride, is

the delight of his conscience, by performing an action according unto order ; As to put on his bootes for a profitable riding. Oh that his followers had no more right, or sinewes, or pithe, or juice, at the dis-maydening of their wives, than they have in his Lesson. It is not that, which Socrates, both his and our Master, saith ; Hee valueth rightly as he ought corporall voluptuousnesse : but he preferreth that of the minde, as having more force, more constancy, facility, variety and dignity. This according to him, goeth nothing alone, he is not so fantastick ; but onely first. For him, temperance is a moderatrix, and not an adversary of sensualities. Nature is a gentle guide : Yet not more gentle, then prudent and just. *Intrandum est in rerum naturam, et penitus quid ea postulet, pervidendum* : “ Wee must enter into the nature of things, and throughly see what shee inwardly requiers.” I quest after her track ; we have confounded her with artificiall traces. And that Academicall and Peripateticall *summum bonum* or soveraigne

Cic.
Fin.
Bon. l.
v.

felicity, which is, to live according to her rules: by this reason becommeth difficult to be limited, and hard to bee expounded. And that of the Stoickes, couzin germane to the other, which is, to yeeld unto nature. Is it not an error, to esteeme some actions lesse woorthy, for so much as they are necessary? Yet shall they never remooove out of my head, that it is not a most convenient marriage, to wedde Pleasure unto Necessity. With which (saith an ancient Writer) the Gods doe ever complot and consent.

To what end doe wee by a divorce dismember a frame contexted with so mutuall, coherent and brotherly correspondency? Contrariwise, let us repaire and renue the same by enterchangeable offices: that the spirit may awake and quicken the dul heavynesse of the body, and the body stay the lightnesse of the spirit, and settle and fixe the same. *Qui velut summum bonum, laudet animæ naturam, et tanquam malum, naturam carnis accusat, profectò et animam carnaliter appetit, et carnē incarnaliter fugit,*

AUG.
Verb.
Apos-
tol. Ser.
xiii. c. 6.

quoniam id vanitate sentit humana, non veritate divina: “He that praiseth the nature of the soule, as his principall good, and accuseth nature of the flesh as evill, assuredly he both carnally affecteth the soule and carnally escheweth the flesh, since hee is of this mind not by divine verity, but humane vanitie.” There is no part or parcell unwoorthy of our care in that present, which God hath bestowed upon us: We are accomptable even for the least haire of it. And it is no commission for fashion sake for any man, to direct man according to hir condition: it is expresse, naturall and principall: And the Creator hath seriously and severely given the same unto us. Onely authority is of force with men of common reach and understanding; and is of more weight in a strange language. But here let us charge againe. *Stultitiæ proprium quis non dixerit, ignavè et contumaciter facere quæ facienda sunt: et aliò corpus impellere, alio animum, distrahique inter diversissimos motus?* “Who will not call it a property of folly

to doe sloathfully and frowardly, what is to be done, and one way to drive the body and another way the minde, and himselfe to bee distracted into most divers motions?" Which, the better to see, let such a man one day tell you the ammusements and imaginations, which he puts into his owne head, and for which he diverteth his thoughts from a good repast, and bewaileth the houre, he employeth in feeding himselfe: you shall finde there is nothing so wallowish in all the messes of your table, as is that goodly entertainment of his minde (It were often better for us to bee sound asleepe, than awake unto that wee doe), and you shall finde, that his discourses and intentions are not worth your meanest dish. Suppose they were the entrancings of Archimedes himselfe: and what of that? I here touch not, nor doe I blend with that rabble or raskality of men, as wee are, nor with that vanity of desires and cogitations, which divert us, onely those venerable mindes, which through a fervency of devotion and earnestnesse of religion, elevated to a con-

stant and consciencious meditation of heavenly-divine things, and which by the violence of a lively and vertue of a vehement hope, preoccupating the use of eternall soule-saving nourishment; the finall end, only stay and last scope of Christian desires; the onely constant delight and incorruptible pleasure; disdain to rely on our necessitous, fleeting and ambiguous commodities: and easily resigne, the care and use of sensuall and temporall feeding unto the body. It is a priviledged study. Super-celestiall opinions, and under-terrestriall manners, are things, that amongst us, I have ever seen to bee of singular accord. Æsope that famous man, saw his Master pisse as he was walking: What (saide he) must wee not &c. when wee are running? Let us husband time as well as wee can. Yet shall wee employ much of it, both idely and ill. As if our minde had not other houres enough to doe hir businesse, without disassociating hirselle from the body in that little space which shee needeth for hir necessity. They will bee exempted from them and escape

man. It is meere folly : insteade of transforming themselves into Angells, they transchange themselves into beasts : in lieu of advauncing, they abase themselves. Such transcending humors affright me as much, as steepy, high and inaccessible places. And I finde nothing so hard to be digested in Socrates his life, as his extasies and communication with Dæmones. Nothing so humane in Plato, as that which they say, hee is called divine. And of our sciences those which are raised and extolled for the highest, seeme to me, the most basest and terrestriall. I finde nothing so humble and mortall in Alexanders life, as his concepts about his immortalization. Philotas by his answere quipped at him very pleasantly and wittily. Hee had by a letter congratulated with him, and rejoyced that the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon had placed him amongst the Gods ; to whom he answered, that in respect and consideration of him, he was very glad ; but yet there was some cause those men should bee pittied, that were to live with a man and obay him,

who outwent others, and would not bee contented with the state and condition of a mortal man.

——— *Diis te minorem quidd geris, imperas.*

Since thou lesse then the Gods
Bear'st thee, thou rul'st with ods.

HOR.
Car. 1.
iii. Od. 6.

The quaint inscription, wherewith the Athenians honored the comming of Pompey into their Citty, agreeth well, and is conformable to my meaning.

*D'autant es tu Dieu, comme
Tu te recognois homme.*

So farre a God thou mai'st accompted be
As thou a man doost re-acknowledge thee.

PLUT.
Vit.
Pomp.

It is an absolute perfection, and as it were divine for a man to know how to enjoy his being loyally. We seeke for other conditions because we understand not the use of ours: and goe out of our selves, forsomuch as we know not what abiding there is. Wee may long enough get upon stilts, for be wee upon them, yet must wee goe with our owne legges. And sit we

upon the highest throne of the World, yet sit we upon our owne taile. The best and most commendable lives, and best pleasing me are (in my conceit) those which with order are fitted, and with decorum are ranged to the common mould and humane model: but without woonder or extravagancy. Now hath old age neede to be handled more tenderly. Let us recommend it unto that God, who is the protector of health, and fountaine of all wisdome: but blithe and sociall:

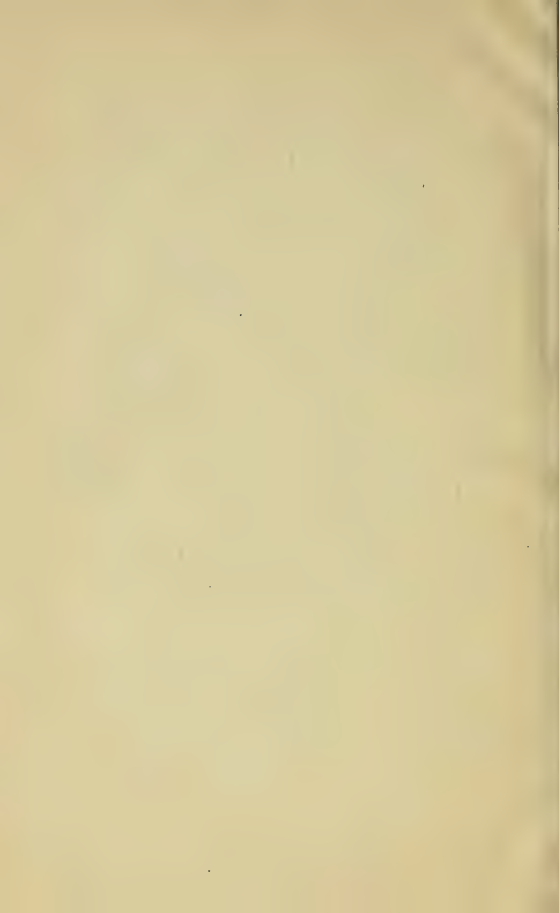
HOR.
Car. l. i.
Od.
xxxii.
17.

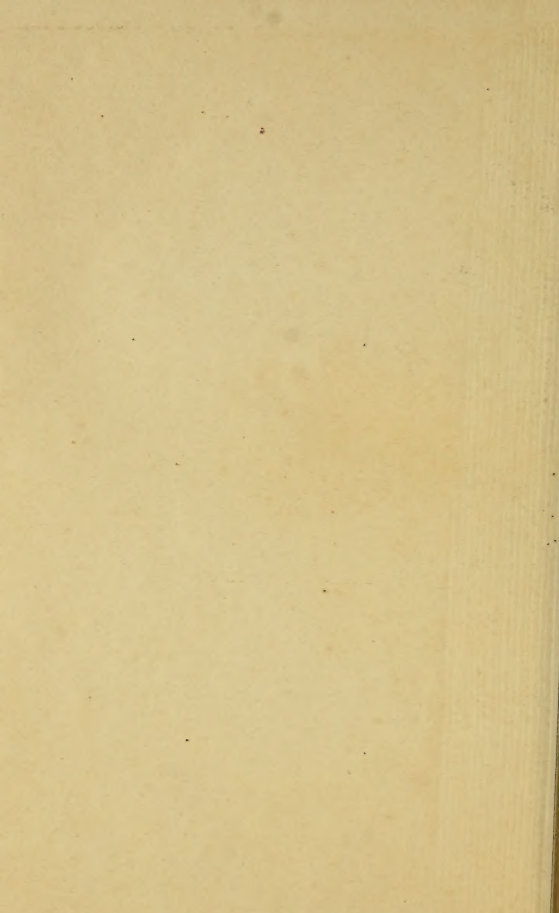
*Frui paratis et valido mihi
Latæ dones, et precor integra
Cum mente, nec turpem senectam,
Degere, nec cythara carentem.*

Apollo graunt, enjoy health I may
That I have got, and with sound minde, I pray:
Nor that I may with shame spend my old yeares,
Nor wanting musike to delight mine eares.

THE END OF THE THIRD AND LAST BOOKE.

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